

**PORTRAYAL OF PAKISTAN'S ROLE IN FIGHTING WAR AGAINST
TERRORISM IN INTERNATIONAL MEDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF
EDITORIALS THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE WASHINGTON POST
AND THE TELEGRAPH (2011-2015)**



Researcher:
Javid Ahmad Khattak
6FSS-PHDIR/S2015

Supervisor:
Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
HOD Dept. of Politics and IR

Co-Supervisor
Dr. Shabbir Hussain
Dept. of Media Studies
Bahria University Islamabad

Department of Politics and International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD



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TELEGRAPH (2011-2015)**

Javid Ahmad Khattak

Reg. No. 6FSS-PHDIR/S2015

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D degree in discipline of Social Sciences with specialization in International Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences International Islamic University, Islamabad.

Supervisor

Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi

Co- Supervisor

Dr. Shabbir Hussain

July 08, 2019

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has neither as whole nor part thereof been copied from any source. It is further declared that I have prepared this thesis entirely on the basis of my personal effort, made under the sincere guidance of my Supervisor, Co-supervisor and Colleagues. No portion of the work presented in the thesis has been submitted in support of any degree or qualification of this or any other University or Institute of learning

Javid Ahmed

Reg. No. 6FSS-PHDIR/S2015

Department of Politics and International Relations

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

DEDICATION

I dedicate this Ph.D thesis to my late father Gul Far Ali Khan passed away on 5-04-2021. My father harshly waited for completion my PHD but unpredictable life not allowed him to see the joyful movements. May allah grant him the highest place in Jannat-ul-Firdous. Ameen

Special thanks to my mother Sufian Bibi , wife Samina Naz and beloved sons Muhammad Tuha and Sovaid Khattak for their kindness, unparalleled inspiration and endless support throughout my studies.

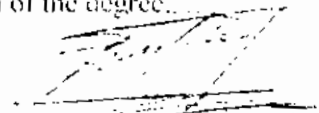
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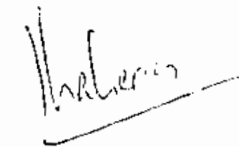
FINAL APPROVAL




This is to certify that we have gone through and evaluated the dissertation titled "Portrayal of Pakistan's Role in Fighting War against terrorism in International Media: An analysis of Editorials the New York Times, The Washington Post and the Telegraph (2011-2015)", submitted by Mr. Javid Ahmad, a student of Ph. D International Relations under University Registration No. 6-I SS/PHDIR/S15, in partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of Ph. D. This thesis fulfills the requirements in its core and quality for the award of the degree.

1. Supervisor
Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
Associate Professor
Department of Politics & International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University
Islamabad.
2. Co-Supervisor
Dr. Shabbir Hussain,
Associate Professor
Department of Media & Mass Communication
Bahria University, Islamabad
3. Internal Examiner
Professor Dr. Muhammad Khan
Department of Politics & International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University
Islamabad.
4. External Examiner-I
Professor Dr. Shaheen Akhtar
Department of IR, ICS,
National Defense University Islamabad
5. External Examiner-II
Professor Dr. Syed A. Siraj
Department of Mass Communication
Bahria University, Islamabad
6. Incharge of Department
Dr. Manzoor Ahmad
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics & International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University
Islamabad
7. Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University, Islamabad


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Javid Ahmad Khattak
6-FSS-PHDIR/S2015

July 08, 2019

ABSTRACT

In 2001, the world witnessed the historical event of 9/11. After 9/11, Pakistan has given the U.S. full support to counter-terrorism. Previous studies revealed that the Western media, mainly the U.S. media, portrayed the events in favor of U.S. policies. They stressed upon the U.S. government's viewpoint, justifications of war and projected military campaign, whereas a limited amount of coverage was given to the consequences of war on terror. Hence, this study focuses on the analysis of U.S. and British newspapers regarding Pakistan's role in the war on terror and how the international media framed the image of Pakistan. Second, to identify the different media frames and agendas were employed for the reporting on the war on terror. This study contributes to the scholarship on the interaction between media and foreign policy by focusing on the US and UK press while reporting on the role of Pakistan in the global war on terror.

This study contributes to framing and agenda-setting theories, in which it highlighted how the war on terror was framed differently by the press of two different countries and what other issues were, selected as their media agenda. For this purpose, content analysis of the elites press of US and UK was conducted on the analysis of role of Pakistan in the war on terror during the time period from 2011 to 2015.

The study found that the U.S. and British press provided excellent coverage to the war on terror. The study outcome reflects that the press not only gave an enormous space to the war on terror but portrayed a negative image of Pakistan's role. The tone of the media was found mostly against Pakistan. Findings of the study predict that all three newspapers, The New York Times, Washington Post and The Daily Telegraph present Pakistan as a foe. Pakistan received more unfavorable coverage in the U.S. and British newspapers. The study result shows that international media severely criticized the Pakistan military rather than acknowledging its sacrifices. They blamed that Pakistan military is supporting and using the

Taliban as a vehicle for influence in Afghanistan. The U.S. and British press did not publish any story in support of Pakistan security forces' sacrifices in war against terror even though Pakistan rendered over 70 thousand lives, including security personnel. Based on the study result, it is recommended that the international community should acknowledge the sacrifices rendered by Pakistan in fighting the war on terror. The U.S. must realize that it cannot resolve the Afghan issue without the support of Pakistan. A grand strategy should be devised and adopted to combat terrorism. The framework of the policy should be prepared with the consultation of all the stakeholders to bring lasting peace in Afghanistan.

Keywords: Pakistan, US, UK, Afghanistan, Taliban, Bin Laden, War on Terror, Media, Framing

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	American Broadcasting Company
APS	Army Public School
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CAF	Civil Armed Forces
CARs	Central Asian Republicans
CASA-1000	Central Asia-South Asia Power Project
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CISCO	Computer Information System Company
CNN	Cable News Network
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CTDs	Counter-Terrorism Departments
DCG	Defence Consultative Group
DG	Director General
DRC	Defence Resourcing Conference
ETIM	East Turkestan Islamic Movement
EU	Europe Union
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FY	Financial Year
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHSA	Global Health Security Agenda
GLOC	Ground Lines of Communications
GSP	General System of Preferences
GWOT	Global War on Terror
INDOPACOM	Indo-Pacific Command
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons

IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBOs	Intelligence-based Operations
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
INGOs	International Nongovernmental Organizations
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISPR	Inter-Services Public Relations
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
KPK	Khyber Pkhtunkhwa
KLB	Kerry-Lugar-Berman
LEAs	Law Enforcing Agencies
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
ME	Middle East
MFN	Most-Favoured Nation
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NACTA	National Counter Terrorism Authority
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NISP	National Internal Security Policy
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
NSS	National Security Strategy
NYT	New York Times
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OBL	Osama Bin Laden
OBOR	One Belt, One Road
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
PATA	Provincially Administered Tribal Areas
PHD	Doctor of Philosophy
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization

PPII	Pakistan Private Investment Initiative
QCG	Quadrilateral Coordination Group
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
SEAL	Sea, Air and Land Teams
SSS&NP	Security Strategic Stability and Nonproliferation
STEM	Science Technology Engineering and Mathematics
TAPI	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India
TIFA	Trade and Investment Framework Agreement
TNSM	Tehrik-e-NifazeShariat-e-Mohammadi
TTP	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
TV	Television
UN	United Nation
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
USINPAC	US and India Political Action Committee
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VOA	Voice of America
WMDs	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WoT	War on Terror
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WW II	World War II

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Terrorism news remains part of the media after 9/11. Experts consider media as powerful entities because they can shape public views about any issue. This research examines Pakistan's framing role in the war on terror provided by "The New York Times, Washington Post, and the Daily Telegraph" from 2011 to 2015 on editorial pages. Primarily, it examines Portrayal of Pakistan's role in terms of favorable, unfavorable, neutral treatment. The study also examines the emerging themes from the editorials of three newspapers.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

Four coordinated attacks on the U.S. on 9/11 jolted the world's political system, and it witnessed a dramatic change and a new dimension of affairs. On 20th September 2001, addressing Congress the then United States, "President George Bush said Tonight, we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom." "Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution". He said America has no more loyal friend than Great Britain. He held Al-Qaeda responsible for these attacks and pledged to wage war on terror. He also promised that it would be a lengthy one (Ali, 2011). The United States formed a strong coalition against terrorism. Al-Qaeda and the Taliban were the primary focus to destroy. On 7th October 2001, the U.S. and NATO launched a massive invasion against Afghanistan's Taliban government; it took a new momentum (Atiya & Shahzad, 2015). Pakistan got importance because of its geographical location under the circumstances. Pakistan is also sharing a long border with a landlocked country Afghanistan. It linked the success of the war with Islamabad's support, including the capturing of Al-Qaeda fugitives. The U.S. pressurized Pakistan for all kinds of support. The then Pakistan President Musharraf readily agreed to

provide all types of support, and Islamabad joined the US-led coalition. Pakistan heavily suffered in this war (Noshina et al, 2013).

Pakistan's support shifted the U.S. policy, and it lifted all sanctions on Islamabad. The U.S. economic and military aid continuously flowed toward Islamabad. Pakistan received about 11 billion U.S. dollars aid but unfortunately could not spend 1/10 of its on development. Afghanistan became the center of the war on terror, but it poses a significant threat to Pakistan's sovereignty. It is also a big question to answer the nature of the relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. after the Afghan episode and war on terror. Pakistan's strategic significance keeps it under the constant scrutiny of international power players, especially the US. Because of its geographic contiguity with Afghanistan, Al-Qaeda and growing Talibanization also augment its status in the region. The continuity of good relationships flourished and was more robust during the era of Barack Obama. Both Pakistan and the United States decided to curb the menace of terrorism. India is inspecting the escalating situation. India is a growing threat to peace in the region. Relations between New Delhi and Kabul posed a threat to Islamabad. To have a powerful ally at hand, Pakistan has been supporting the U.S. in war on terror. Pakistan provided them routes for NATO goods transportation and a basis for the U.S. to guard its interest. Pakistan also provided America with air space for its drone strikes elsewhere, despite a massive civil society condemnation (Zafar & Zareen, 2014).

Drone or pilotless planes strikes were aimed to hunt Al- Qaida and Taliban members in the tribal belt of Afghanistan and Pakistan. A bitter debate began by Pakistani media, Parliament and academics whether these drone strikes were initiated with the approval of Islamabad or not. Pakistan government denied its approval and latter described them its action was to be wrong. Subsequently, the Pakistan army launched a full scale 'Zarb-e-Azb' operation against terrorists in North Waziristan Agency on 15 June 2014. It aimed to

eliminate the menace of terrorism. As Major General Waseem Bajwa termed: "Zarb-e-Azb operation as a big war of survival. He said it was the beginning of an end to terrorism in Pakistan (Atiya & Shahzad, 2015).

The relevant scholarship on the media-foreign policy interaction highlights that media usually follow their own country's foreign policy interests while reporting on important international issues. While researchers in the West have extensively analyzed this interaction, there is a dearth of literature from the context of Pakistan. So there is a need to investigate how the elite international media reported on Pakistan for its role in the war on terror. Most importantly, the researcher investigates how to what extent the love and hate relations between Pakistan and the West are reflected in the global media. Did, the Western media follow an independent stance or they simply indexed coverage to the elitist interests.

1.3 Media and the 9/11 Incident

War on terror is a sensitive phenomenon felt and realized throughout the world. The coverage of mass media on "war on terror" has been relatively far-reaching. Hardly, there has been any matter in the region which attracted the world's attention in such a manner. Mainstream media provided coverage to growing extremism in Pakistan, Taliban, Afghan insurgents and to the efforts of the allied forces to capture bin, Laden. The mainstream painted terrorism-related issue with headlines and remained on the top of the list of media. Massive media coverage to war and painted an ugly role of Islam whenever a mishap took place. The Western media portrayal of Muslims revealed that it remained hostile towards Islam (Poole & Richardson, 2006). Western media shaped their discourses, providing distorted pictures and views on Pakistan tarnished the role of its people. But on the contrary, Pakistanis were modern, liberal and had an open opinion. This process continues as the media

has a profound impact. It was in contrast to that reality happening around the world. (McQuail, 1994)

Communications indispensable element of scientific life and press is its essential instrument. However, mass media reflects any civilization. The fundamental usage of media is to provide unbiased facts and information to its readers. With complimentary usage, mass media manipulate individuals and society. Major media houses adopted their strategy or plan in selecting or rejecting stories or articles suitable to their audience. Selection and editing news items process is called "Gate keeping". Mainly gatekeepers are reporters, editors, anchors or producers and frame any news story following their requirement. At the back of framing, there is another motivating force of agenda-setter which put the agenda of media that what to be presented to listener and audience. Media houses contain the power to manipulate the public views. On the editorial pages, print media move forward with the policy of their bosses. The impact of modern technology is not deniable. This new technology has made the world "Global Village". It has provided a way for people to know that what has been exposed to them by media. Public shape their opinion on media information. In U.S war on terrorism, news media remained an important battlefield if recent information around the globe. As an Islamic democratic state, Pakistan is facing terrorism. These adverse effects on Pakistan, created by "U.S and its ally war on terror", left Pakistanis in a state of shock (Zafar, Mirza & Noshina, 2013).

1.4 International Media Reporting of 9/11 Tragedy

The 9/11 attacks have worse effects on U.S history after the Japanese air attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, which resulted in the killing of his marines. It thus leads the war on terror. "Later on .media seems to be a major player in national and international system contending and competing for authority. Pakistan has been the subject of headlines in global

media for its key part in an international war against terrorists”. Although the entire world community commonly shared grief, anger and fear. The media in the East and West reported 9/11 event according to their policies and to be a significant authority. The Western media portrayed clearly who the bombers were and what was the motive they had. It involved Islamic world media in conspiracy theories. However, reporting of the event might still be with the same requirement (Ali, 2011).

The 9/11 got special coverage in the media reporting images, human tragedy and prominent personalities involved in the game. Within a short period, the news channel put on stories of the terrorist attacks. “The entire world was watching the events in proper time or shortly after the event occurred” (Debating, 2002). Unfolding, “thousands of hours of television and radio programming and an immeasurable amount of print-based reportage and commentary in newspapers and magazines and on the internet were devoted to 9/11 attacks” (Monahan, 2010). Electronic media televised different slides and pictures of the event. Response to the 9/11 events remained varies. It was from “unprecedented responses of sympathy and empathetic support” and “elation and celebration” (Hacten & Scotton, 2002). Soon after the 9/11 tragedy public moved towards mainstream media to have the latest news about the incident. French newspaper Le Monde announced on 12th September 2001, “We are all Americans.” Some images of front pages of the “Melbourne’s Herald Sun and Canada’s the Globe and Mail” about 9/11 attacks day after the incident (Mond, 2001).



Herald Sun

PM EDITION

Towers collapse New York people jump from the World Trade Center (right) after two airlines hijacked by terrorists, rained the 110-story landmark. Both towers collapsed.

AMERICA ATTACKED

SPECIAL EDITION
 Circulation and
 Distribution
 2001
 1st 11 12
 2nd 11 12
 3rd 11 12
 4th 11 12
 5th 11 12

AMERICA has gone on to a war footing in the wake of the world's worst terrorist outrage.
 The attack has struck the highest point ever and has been used as a catalyst to respond to for almost 10,000.
 The Department of Foreign Affairs and Department of Agriculture worked at the World Trade Center in New York.

By GREG KENNEDY, GABRIEL RODRIGUEZ
AND MICHAEL BROWN
 It is not known how many are about.
 Some Australians are thought to have been on the aircraft used to strike the Trade Center towers, part of the investigation in Washington and another plane which crashed in Pennsylvania.

President George W. Bush vowed to build a new and better America.
 And House Speaker James Howard promised to launch the United States in pursuing the terrorists responsible for the tragedy.
 Now it is the time for a calm but total response, his advisers said.
 Around the world US Embassy servers are on high alert, the US Air Force is searching

the skies over American cities, and other National Guards units have been alerted.
 "I have no doubt about the possibility that someone will try to strike the White House," said Richard E. Cheney, Chief of Staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Pentagon.

CONTINUED Page 2

Figure 1: Front Page Image of *Herald Sun* September, 12, 2001

THE GLOBE AND MAIL

CANADA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER • FOUNDED 1859 • GLOBEANDMAIL.COM • WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2001

Bush promises swift revenge as hijackers strike the world's financial heart, killing thousands and ushering in a chilling new age of terror

A day of infamy

INSIDE

48 PAGES OF COVERAGE



THIS SECTION

A historic moment as the world's financial heart is struck by a deadly attack. The hijackers' actions have shocked the world and set off a global wave of grief and outrage.

SPECIAL SECTION

Special coverage of the September 11 attacks, including eyewitness accounts and expert analysis.

R.O.B.

Special coverage of the September 11 attacks, including eyewitness accounts and expert analysis.

REVIEW

Special coverage of the September 11 attacks, including eyewitness accounts and expert analysis.



Struck planes explode as they hit the World Trade Center in New York, sending a deadly plume of smoke and debris into the sky.

The World Trade Center towers in New York City were struck by two hijacked commercial airliners on Wednesday, Sept. 11, 2001. The attacks killed nearly 3,000 people and caused billions of dollars in damage. The towers were destroyed, and the surrounding area was covered in a thick layer of dust and debris. The attacks shocked the world and set off a global wave of grief and outrage.

U.S. will never be the same



COMMENTARY

The September 11 attacks have changed the world forever. The United States will never be the same. The attacks have shown that the world is a much more dangerous place than we thought. We must take steps to protect ourselves and our loved ones.

The September 11 attacks have changed the world forever. The United States will never be the same. The attacks have shown that the world is a much more dangerous place than we thought. We must take steps to protect ourselves and our loved ones.

Markets are paralyzed, banks try to ease jitters

The global financial markets were paralyzed on Wednesday, Sept. 11, 2001, as investors reacted to the news of the September 11 attacks. Many banks and financial institutions were closed, and the stock market was down significantly.

Markets are paralyzed, banks try to ease jitters

The global financial markets were paralyzed on Wednesday, Sept. 11, 2001, as investors reacted to the news of the September 11 attacks. Many banks and financial institutions were closed, and the stock market was down significantly.

Know how to be early?

THE NEW CANON G400 DOUBLE WITH FRONT-FIRE SPEED AND QUALITY THAT PUTS YOU AHEAD

Canon G400

Figure 2: Front Page Image of *The Globe And Mail* September 12, 2001

1.4.1 September 11 Attacks and the US Media

Western Media, with its biased reports, painted Pakistan's negative role around the globe. A leading U.S. newspaper gave particular space for 4-months. U.S. media termed Pakistan as "a failed economy." "It also portrayed it to be a short-term ally and a long-term problem." In 2002, Leon and Armstrong framed negative aspects of the Muslim world,

including Pakistan. A study reveals that six U.S. dailies portrayed the negative role of Pakistan even before 9/11 (Zafar & Zareen, 2014). There are a few observations that the treatment provided by media to 9/11 remained different around the globe. There were differences and similarities between the pictures unearthed in the U.S versus international press. After 9/11, the images found on the front page in the U.S newspapers were highly based on a single reflection of the World Trade Center Building. The front pages of the U.S press had an image of the 9/11 attack when the tower's building was still standing. It seems you are in New York City and watching the incident as it was happening. The papers did not show any different viewpoints.

According to a study of 405 US papers, 57 percent of photographs were found on main pages of the press "are close-up shots of the World Trade Center either still standing at the moment of impact or just soon after, when it was burning." The website www.september11news.com conducted the study. By comparing it with international newspapers, the picture is different by counting 255-international papers, 58 to 38 percent framed close-up pictures of standing towers. It shows international newspapers did not use the same "moment of impact" pictures because of the time difference. The foreign media presented and produced a different narrative from the U.S. media. It indicates the extent to which the U.S. media was in distress. Another difference between the U.S. and the rest of the world press is that the latter has taken more human beings into shock. In the book "Media Reports on 9/11 and its Aftermath," "none of the U.S. media had images of bodies falling from the buildings, but for one, it had a picture of a man falling to his death" (Johnson & Tas, 2005).

Another point that is very notable on the front pages of the U.S. and international press is that there were no framed photos of the "Pentagon being attacked." All the publications on the front pages painted the "World Trade Center" threat. There are also

conspiracy theories about why "Pentagon" was targeted. Several reports have revealed a "cruise missile struck the "Pentagon." "The original hole of the strike was too small to be attacked by a Boeing-757". The book "News Content: Four Information Biases that Matter" states:

"There is often a tension between not reporting essential stories hard to picture. Perhaps part of the reason that the Pentagon attack was not a more extensive story was not only that it was less of a human loss, but there weren't the same dramatic visual images available to the media" (Johnson & Tas, 2005).

Dan Rather, a CBS television station, was a visionary in establishing the content of fighting, naming it the new face of war." Jeff Greenfield framed Pearl Harbor's (2,400 killed) and Civil War's Antietam's (20,000 killed) death of future victims in New York City."

1.4.2 Narrative of some of the US Newspapers day after 9/11

The universal concept was found in all U.S. papers on September 11 and 12, 2001. The majority of news reports and editorials have described the state in crisis. There was also no elucidation for the causes behind the events. What is significant concerning the unique NEWS report is that they are likely to be mostly checked and read editorials on the 9/11 attacks due to their timing. These reports are papers that influenced the narrative of the attack by making and establishing history. Headlines in "*New York Post* and the *Daily News*" published "Act of War," "It's War". When US President Bush announced "war on terror" that "either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists" the media supported it. "Finnegan points out that when Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (Dem-SD) raised legitimate questions concerning the nature and scope of the war on terror, he was undermined as unpatriotic by Republican senators (Douglas, 2007).

1.4.3 Narrative of *New York Times*

“On 12th September, 2001”, of 9/11 attacks, “The New York Times” published flowing main lead and supper lead stories; “Hijacked Jets Destroy Twin Towers and Hit Pentagon in Day of Terror” “President Vows to Exact Punishment for 'Evil” (*The New York Times*, 2001)

“But Mr. Bush alone must decide how to retaliate and against whom, and he will be operating in a murky area. Some strategists suggested that Mr. Bush might mount a ground attack on bin Laden's headquarters, which are believed to be somewhere in Afghanistan, much as Woodrow Wilson sent American troops into Mexico before World War I to capture Pancho Villa dead or alive. If the United States develops solid evidence that any country aided the perpetrators of today's attacks, said Richard C. Holbrooke, ambassador to the United Nations “Under the Clinton administration, a declaration of war against that country might be appropriate and retaliation against it should certainly be undertaken in short order” (*The New York Times*, 2001).

The article “*The New York Times*” asked how to respond to terrorists to stop further violence. It is recommended to use deadly weapons against a terrorist to destroy their camps. Is the article also proposes that cruise missiles be most efficient against terrorist hideouts? It urges the U.S to ask everyone “that terrorism is a threat to world peace.” The primary focus of the article remained on the revenge back to terrorists. The report questioned, “Why the date 9/11 but nowhere do they ask.” “What could have been the motivation of the hijackers?” In another article by *The NYT*, “Hijacked Jets Destroy Twin Towers and Hit Pentagon.”

“President Bush, facing his first major crisis in office, vowed that the United States would hunt down and punish those responsible for the evil, despicable acts of terror which, he said, took thousands of American lives. He said the United States would make no distinction between those who carried out the hijackings and those who harbored and supported them. Apart from the major question of who was responsible, a host of other questions were certain to be

at the forefront in coming days and weeks. One was the timing why Sept. 11".
(*The New York Times*, 2001).

On September 12, 2001, the paper published an article, and it is interesting to analyze from the standpoint "who attacked and why on September 11". However, the report did not mention and ignored political reasons (Johnson & Tas, 2005).



Figure 3: *The New York Times*, September, 2001

1.4.4 Washington Post Narrative of 9/11 Attacks

“Terrorists Hijack 4 Airliners, Destroy World Trade Center, Hit Pentagon; Hundreds Dead, Bush Promises Retribution; Military Put on Highest Alert” (Washington Post, 2001). Addressing the nation after 9/11, “President Bush denounced and termed the attacks as a failed one attempt to terrify U.S. He pledged in string words to hunt down those responsible”.

He said;

"We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them." But amid all the sadness and all the outrage, there were questions about lax security and inadequate intelligence, as Americans tried to fathom how such a catastrophe could happen with no apparent warning. America's battle against terrorism, it seemed clear last night, will never be the same. Many members of both parties declared that for all practical purposes, the nation is at war. At a briefing last night in the battered Pentagon, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld warned that America's enemies should not rest easy. In his speech last night, Bush emphasized the nation's harmony, noting that “a great people have been moved to defend a great nation. After reading from the 23rd Psalm, he proclaimed that even amid suffering and death, Americans will remain committed to their freedom-loving way of life. “America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time” (*Washington Post*, 2001).

He said that U.S must prepare to fight the new century first war against terror. Overall all U.S media including Washington Post called for retaliation. The media painted bin Laden as a prime culprit. Like other dailies, “Washington Post does not ask themselves what could have been the purpose” (Johnson & Tas, 2005). Similarly the other press also provided immense coverage to the 9/11 attack. Some others newspapers images published day after the 9/11 attacks are following after the Washington Post image.

Terrorists Hijack 4 Airliners, Destroy World Trade Center, Hit Pentagon; Hundreds Dead

Bodies Pulled From Pentagon; Troops Patrol District Streets

By Steve Treisman and Andrew Ross
Special to The Post

Rescue teams dug through rubble at a scene of carnage at the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, but they were preparing to recover many more, and survivors were in the days and hours following the attack, as people they believed might be trapped were rescued.

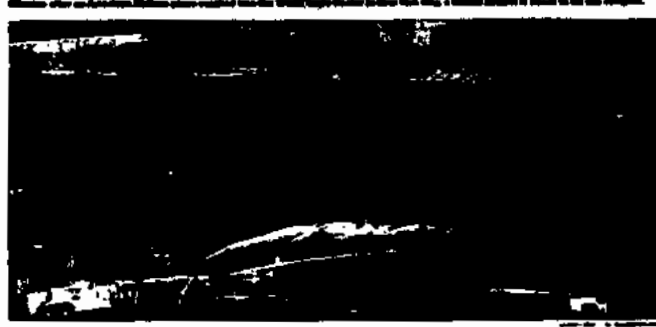
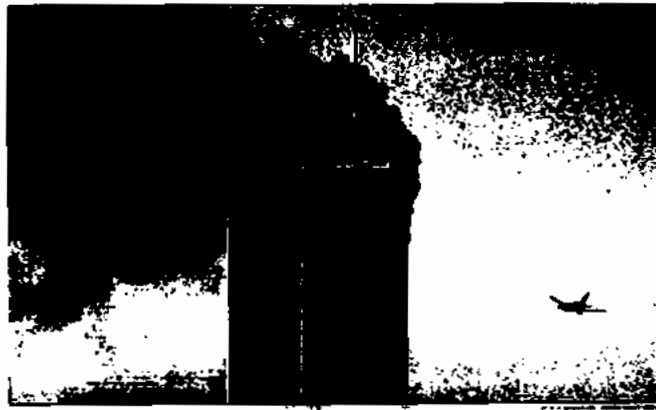
It appeared to some that the rescue work was over, but they were preparing to recover many more, and survivors were in the days and hours following the attack, as people they believed might be trapped were rescued.

Rescue teams dug through rubble at a scene of carnage at the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, but they were preparing to recover many more, and survivors were in the days and hours following the attack, as people they believed might be trapped were rescued.

Rescue teams dug through rubble at a scene of carnage at the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, but they were preparing to recover many more, and survivors were in the days and hours following the attack, as people they believed might be trapped were rescued.

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Rescue teams dug through rubble at a scene of carnage at the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, but they were preparing to recover many more, and survivors were in the days and hours following the attack, as people they believed might be trapped were rescued.



Rescue workers search for survivors in the rubble of the World Trade Center on Sept. 11, 2001.

Bush Promises Retribution; Military Put on Highest Alert

By Michael Crowley
Special to The Post

Terrorists attacked an assembly of... Bush promised retribution...

Terrorists attacked an assembly of... Bush promised retribution...

Terrorists attacked an assembly of... Bush promised retribution...

Terrorists attacked an assembly of... Bush promised retribution...

Terrorists attacked an assembly of... Bush promised retribution...

Terrorists attacked an assembly of... Bush promised retribution...

Washington

On Flight 77: 'Our Plane Is Being Hijacked'

By Matt Frazee
Special to The Post

There was not even the grace of... Flight 77 was hijacked...

There was not even the grace of... Flight 77 was hijacked...

There was not even the grace of... Flight 77 was hijacked...

There was not even the grace of... Flight 77 was hijacked...

There was not even the grace of... Flight 77 was hijacked...

There was not even the grace of... Flight 77 was hijacked...

U.S. Intelligence Points To Bin Laden Network

By Dan Fuchs
Special to The Post

The U.S. government has... Bin Laden network...

The U.S. government has... Bin Laden network...

The U.S. government has... Bin Laden network...

The U.S. government has... Bin Laden network...

The U.S. government has... Bin Laden network...

The U.S. government has... Bin Laden network...

The U.S. government has... Bin Laden network...

New York

'I Saw Bodies Falling Out—Oh, God, Jumping, Falling'

By Andrew Ross
Special to The Post

New York, Sept. 11... I saw bodies falling out...

New York, Sept. 11... I saw bodies falling out...

New York, Sept. 11... I saw bodies falling out...

New York, Sept. 11... I saw bodies falling out...

New York, Sept. 11... I saw bodies falling out...

New York, Sept. 11... I saw bodies falling out...

Attack on America

By Dan Fuchs
Special to The Post

The U.S. government has... Attack on America...

The U.S. government has... Attack on America...

The U.S. government has... Attack on America...

The U.S. government has... Attack on America...

The U.S. government has... Attack on America...

The U.S. government has... Attack on America...

The U.S. government has... Attack on America...

The U.S. government has... Attack on America...

Washington Post 12th September

2011

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50¢

METRO EDITION

Wednesday, September 12, 2001 / 6 pages, 69¢ / What's Hot Page 76

www.nypost.com

• • 50¢



Figure 5: *The New York Posts* 12th September 2001

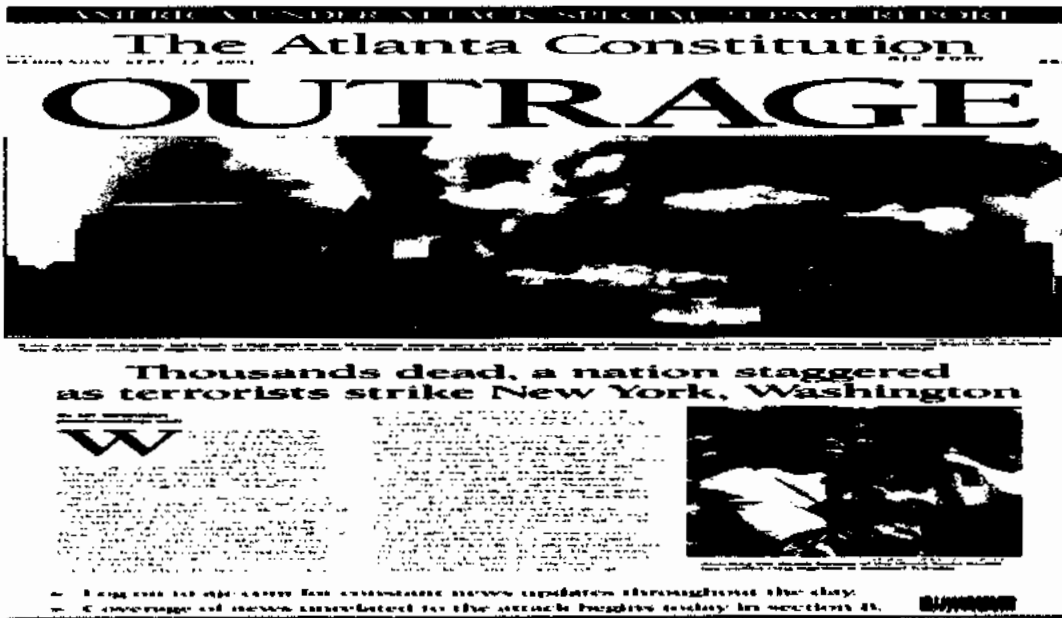


Figure 6: The Atlanta Constitution 12th September, 2001

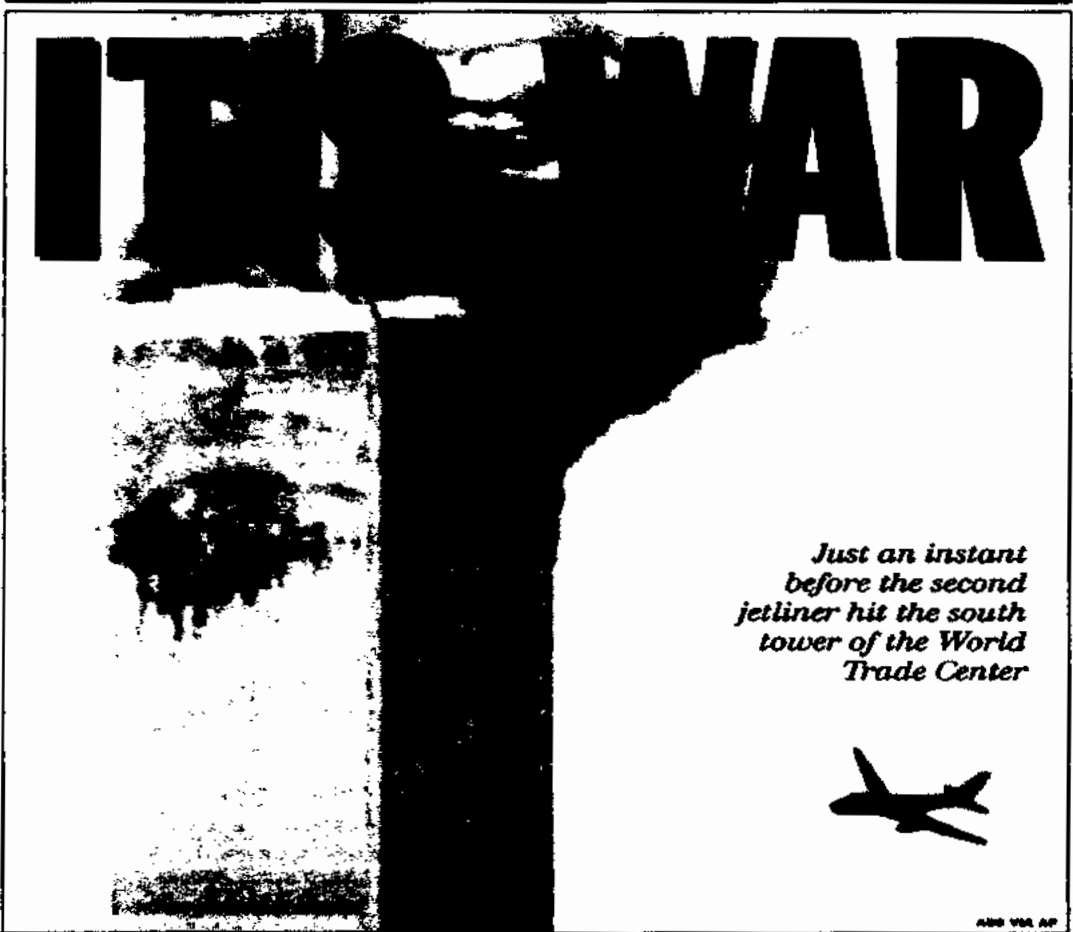
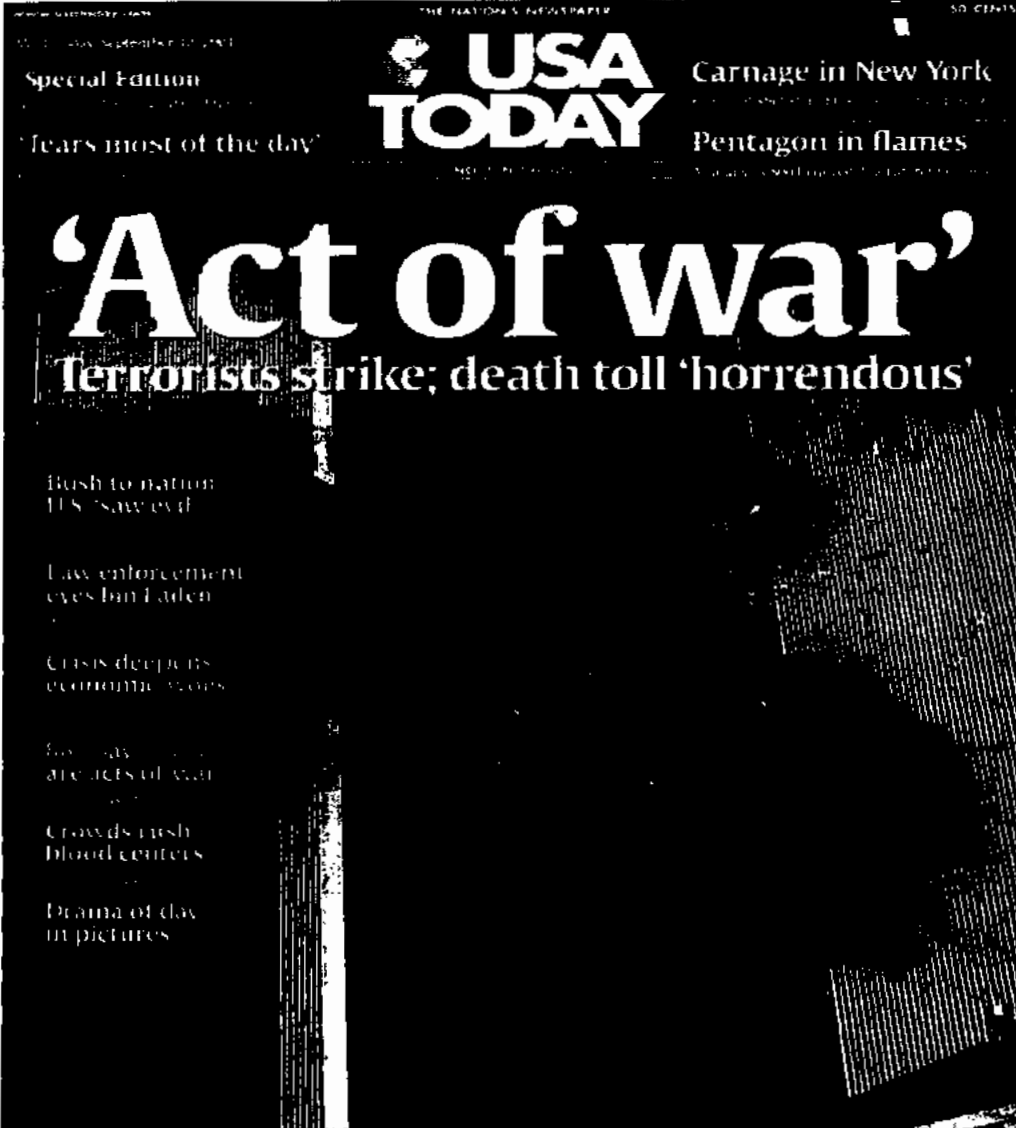


Figure 7: *Daily News* 12th September, 2001



Minute by minute, fear envelops the country
As jetliners strike U.S. landmarks, America's sense of security is shattered

It may have been the bloodiest day in U.S. history, when our two biggest office towers were obliterated and the Pentagon, symbol of our military authority, was ripped open like an egg carton.

Our commercial jetliners were turned into weapons of mass murder, and we had to stop doing things we always do, from trading stocks to going to Disney World.

People ran through the ash-covered streets of Lower Manhattan like zombies in a desperate search for safety, their faces lit with a mixture of fear and hope. Some were crying, some were shouting, some were simply trying to survive. The air was thick with a heavy, suffocating silence.

The shock waves rippled across the country, jolting people from their beds, from their cars, from their lives. The world seemed to have stopped for a moment, as if time itself had been obliterated. The only sound was the wailing sirens and the distant rumble of falling planes.

The towers had stood for decades, their steel and glass facades a symbol of human achievement. But now, they lay in ruins, their remains a stark reminder of the power of terrorism. The world had changed forever, and the question of how to prevent such a disaster from happening again was a question that would haunt the minds of generations to come.

The Pentagon was a target of war, a symbol of our military might. Its destruction was a blow to our national pride, a reminder that we were not invulnerable. The attack on the Pentagon was a clear message: we were not safe, and we were not alone.

The death toll was "horrendous," a word that carried the weight of the tragedy. The lives of thousands of innocent people had been lost, their families left in a state of grief and despair. The scale of the destruction was unprecedented, a testament to the power of terrorism to inflict unimaginable suffering on a world that had grown complacent in its sense of security.

The crisis deepened economic woes, as markets plummeted and businesses closed. The towers were not just symbols of commerce; they were the heart of the global financial system. Their destruction dealt a catastrophic blow to the world economy, casting a long shadow over the future of the United States and the rest of the world.

The drama of the day was captured in pictures, a visual record of a day that would be remembered for generations. The images showed the towers falling, the planes crashing, the chaos and confusion that reigned. They were a stark reminder of the horrors that had unfolded, a warning that such a disaster could happen again.

The world was in a state of shock and disbelief. People were trying to make sense of what had happened, wondering how it could have happened. The attack had shattered the illusion of safety and security that had once defined the American way of life. It was a day that would change the course of history, a day that would leave a lasting legacy of fear and uncertainty.

The United States and the rest of the world were united in a common purpose: to bring the perpetrators to justice and to prevent such a disaster from happening again. The world had changed forever, and the question of how to prevent such a disaster from happening again was a question that would haunt the minds of generations to come.

Figure 8: USA Today September 12, 2001

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2001

TERRORISTS ATTACK NEW YORK, PENTAGON

Thousands Dead, Injured as Hijacked U.S. Airlines Ram Targets; World Trade Center Is Destroyed



Tragedy: Assault leaves Manhattan in chaos. Thousands of flights were on route to L.A., one to San Francisco. President Bush puts military on highest alert, closes borders and vows to 'find those responsible.'

By GREGG DEGUARDIA and MARGARET PERLEY

NEW YORK — The world's stock markets plunged in shock and confusion Tuesday after hijacked airplanes struck the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, killing and injuring thousands of people.

As a hijacked plane crashed into the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan, dozens of people were killed and thousands injured. The plane struck the tower's main structure, causing a massive fire and explosion that destroyed the building's upper floors.

NEWS ANALYSIS President Shoulders Historic Weight

WASHINGTON — The greatest challenge any leader has ever faced is to lead a nation through a crisis of this magnitude. President Bush, who won the presidency in a narrow victory last year, is now faced with a crisis of a different kind. The September 11 attacks on New York and Washington have shocked the world and left a trail of death and destruction. The president's task is to lead the nation through this crisis with courage and resolve.

A Struggle to Escape Fiery Chaos

Thousands of people who got out of the building towers, it was a day of fear and heroism.

NEW YORK — People showed a will to survive in a burning hell, Sunday, when the World Trade Center towers were struck by hijacked planes. The struggle to escape the fiery chaos was a day of fear and heroism.

People who got out of the towers, it was a day of fear and heroism. The struggle to escape the fiery chaos was a day of fear and heroism. The World Trade Center towers were struck by hijacked planes, causing a massive fire and explosion that destroyed the building's upper floors.

People who got out of the towers, it was a day of fear and heroism. The struggle to escape the fiery chaos was a day of fear and heroism. The World Trade Center towers were struck by hijacked planes, causing a massive fire and explosion that destroyed the building's upper floors.

People who got out of the towers, it was a day of fear and heroism. The struggle to escape the fiery chaos was a day of fear and heroism. The World Trade Center towers were struck by hijacked planes, causing a massive fire and explosion that destroyed the building's upper floors.



The Choreography of Carnage Was Precisely Timed, FBI Says

Terrorists: The hijackers penetrated susceptible security systems before the planes could reach their targets.

WASHINGTON — The hijackers who struck the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon on Tuesday were the work of a conspiracy that was meticulously planned and executed.

The hijackers who struck the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon on Tuesday were the work of a conspiracy that was meticulously planned and executed. The FBI has identified several key individuals involved in the attacks.

The hijackers who struck the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon on Tuesday were the work of a conspiracy that was meticulously planned and executed. The FBI has identified several key individuals involved in the attacks.

Figure 9: Los Angeles Times, September 12, 2001

1.4.5 British Media Response to 9/11 Attacks

The British media highlighted the 9/11 attacks with great stories and called it an "act of war on terror." Newspapers in the U.K. Painted words about the destroyed towers with a "fending gesture" (Kennedy, 2001). BBC News called it "Attack on America" (McNair, 2010). British electronic media has provided extensive coverage of the tragedy, Al-Qaeda, and Afghanistan. The news channels provided little room for neutral opinion (McQueen, 2010). Media in the United Kingdom Set up a feeling of fear and displeasure. British Prime Minister Tony Blair has expressed solidarity and sympathy with U.S. citizens. He pointed out that several people had been killed in these attacks. He asked the press to treat the event as an attack on the British by them." Later, the U.S. invasion of the Taliban government in Afghanistan was framed as an appropriate response to the devastating 9/11 incident. British newspaper Times provided space to coverage by expressing sympathy with the U.S. It also condemned the act as global terrorism. The *Daily Guardian* also published a few analyses criticizing U.S. policy. Other "Elite British newspapers presented the Ideology in framing the 9/11 Catastrophe" (Douglas, 2007).

According to a study, Britain press published several articles, news stories, and editorials during November and December 2001. The press hailed US-led early victories in Afghanistan that the Taliban easily surrendered. This was an unexpected development. The soil of Afghanistan welcomed the new U.N backing government. The Britain press termed the surrendering of the Taliban at the earliest as a successful strategy by U.S. Later, on Taliban had to be engaged with more dangerous ground actions. A prolonged threat of guerilla war fair was also there. Britain's press suggested political initiatives must accompany invasion against the Taliban in Afghanistan (Aasima, Budiman and Norsiah, 2014). On 12th September 2001, in the UK, the mainly noticeable effects occurred in newspapers' sale. For

the day after the attacks, newspapers sale remained the highest in the history of the UK. According to a data 10-UK national daily "*Daily Telegraph the Times, Financial Times, Independent, Guardian, Daily Mail, Daily Express, Daily Star, Mirror and Sun*" have published over near three million extra copies to their usual publications. Interesting many were sold out during 20-hour of 9/11 attacks (Zelizer and Stuart, 2002).

1.4.6 Narrative of the Daily Telegraph of 9/11

The Telegraph's Europe Editor Peter Foster describes his memories of the day, "It was apparent that the world had changed, even then." On the 12th September 2001, *The Daily Telegraph* reported the 9/11 event and published the main page with the image;



Figure 10: *The Daily Telegraph* on 12th September, 2001

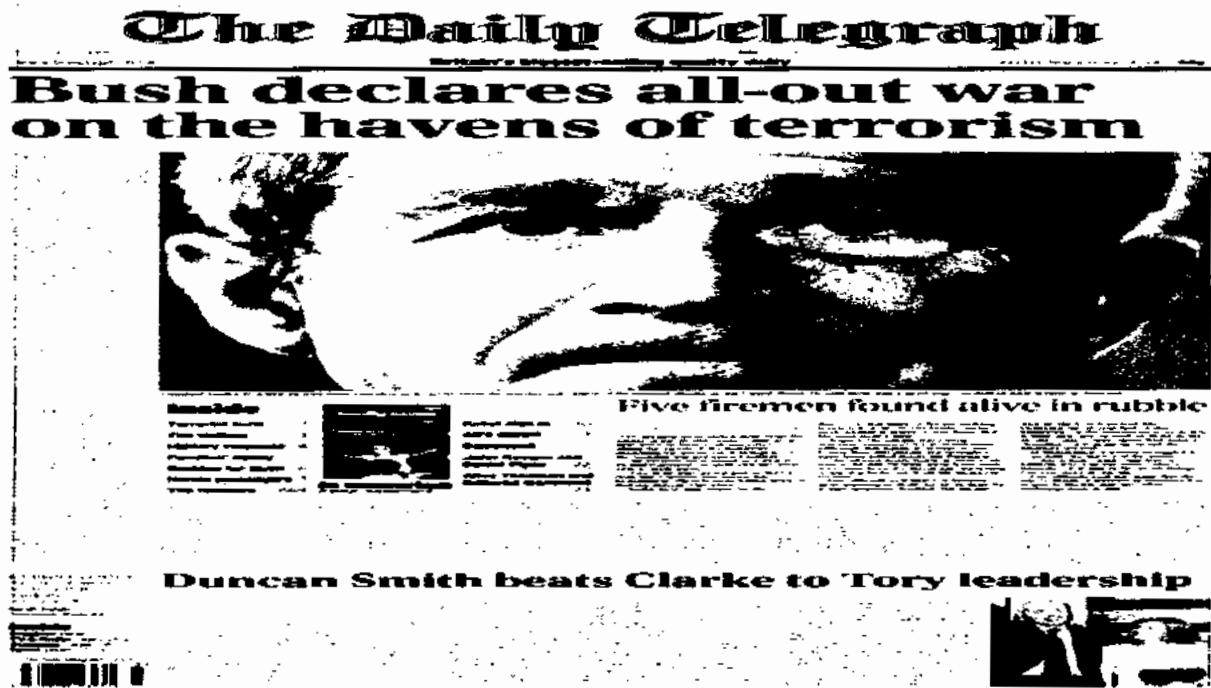


Figure 11: *The Daily Telegraph* on 14th September, 2001



Figure 12: *The London Times* Front Page Image 12th September, 2001

1.4.7 Pakistani Media Treatment of 9/11 Event:

Before 9/11, Pakistani media remained more concerned regarding political, social, and domestic matters. After the event, it got an international issue to be covered at its doorsteps. The 9/11 coverage and the launch of the war on terror remained big event media in Pakistan.

Electronic channels and newspapers provided immense range to the event and the campaign against terror. Pakistan's government statement on war received more space than the U.S., NATO, Taliban, and Afghanistan. Pakistani media did not favor U.S. policies on terrorism. (Aasima, Adrian & Norsiah, 2014).

The U.S. has announced a war on terror and invaded against al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. On October 7, 2001, the U.S. military attacked Afghanistan with its allies. In the meantime, Pakistan provided logistic and political support to U.S. Media in Pakistan provided huge space for breaking news, articles, and editorials. Talk shows on the war on terror were yet another feature. However, the media did not welcome Pakistan's involvement in this war against terror. Media criticized Musharraf government policies against terrorism. It remained skeptical of the impact of American policies on the future of Pakistan and as well as on people (Singh, 2003). This unwanted war was widely criticized in the local language and then in the national press of Pakistan. Pakistani columnist termed the U.S. as the 'biggest evil' 'the real terrorist' (Shah, 2010 cited in Aasma, Adrian and Norsiah, 2014).

1.4 Statement of Problem

As a major non-NATO ally, Pakistan has been engaged in a war on terrorism. Pakistan played a key role in curbing the menace of terrorism. Pakistan has rendered huge sacrifices in fighting the war on terror. The two-decades-long war against terror has brought some constructive and mostly negative blows to Islamabad. The likeliness and differences of Pakistan's interest with world powers have raised its position and changed world politics. After 9/11, the U.S. and British launched actions against the Taliban government and al-Qaeda on Afghan soil. The British government also provided military, logistic, and political support to the U.S. in the war on terror. After 9/11, terrorism news is still part of the news media landscape. After 9/11, its significance reached a new level as international media

responded to such incidents carried out by terrorists. This research examines the story to which terrorism reporting prompts the reader and listener to adopt a sense of connection, curiosity, and belief that terrorism-related news is realistic in its exposure. It is significant to the lives of people and how people react to such information. The media is a powerful entity and can shape public views about the issue. This study is designed to examine the reporting of international media about Pakistan's role in the war on terror, how the international press framed terrorism, and Pakistan's key role as a frontline ally of the U.S. against terrorism. The United States and British media treatment was pro, anti, or neutral towards terrorism. Newspapers' policies are correlated with the U.S and British government policies over terrorism. It tests the international media coverage treatment and its impact on global politics in this study. In capitalist countries, particularly the U.S, media have been manipulative, monolithic, and ad-vocative. The dissertation examines the coverage nature and portrayal of the dailies "*The New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *The Daily Telegraph*" from 2011 to 2015.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

Key objectives of this study are:

- To examine the impact of U.S. and Britain's mainstream media in framing the foreign policy-making process.
- To investigate the international media's framing techniques towards Pakistan's key role in fighting terrorism.
- To explore the coverage pattern of the United States and British newspaper editorials on the war against terror.
- To analyze the construction of war on terror in the international press.
- To assess how the U.S. and Britain media reflecting the directions of their war policy.

1.7 Research Questions

1. How did "*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Telegraph*" portray the role of Pakistan in the war on terror?
2. What were the key thematic areas that characterize the coverage Pakistan of in the war on terror in the selected press *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Telegraph*?
3. Did the U.S. and British press followed their countries' foreign policy while reporting on the role of Pakistan in the war on terror?

1.8 Significance of the Study

The study's significance can be recognized by highlighting the important role Islamabad played in terrorism. In the historical perspective, prolonged and undecided wars have become unpopular, but the fed-up public has begun to blame their leadership and hold them to account for their hardship. Even the most powerful President George Bush's popularity rate has dropped from 70 percent to 28 percent. When the U.S. launched an operation in Iraq, the approval rating of former President Bush was 70%. At the end of his presidency, however, the approval rate fell to 28 percent. It remained the lowest rating of any president in the U.S. It has been shown that such long wars have brought down the status of leadership, including Pakistan.

As a result, the media's importance remained important as an information tool for the common man, mostly reporting on the war's misery. Pakistan was confronted with many discomforts, including destruction, bloodshed, IDPs, law and order situation, and negative economic growth while fighting the war on terror. In their editorials, "*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Telegraph*" painted these sacrifices of Pakistan. Mass media, through its hegemonic power, shapes opinion on any issue in society. The role of Western

media in the painting of world politics is acknowledged. Press is the fourth pillar in the state. The instability caused by this war in Pakistan has had a significant negative impact on the rest of the world. Therefore, this P.H.D dissertation is of great importance from the point of view of security and regional peace.

1.9 Research Method

The method applied in this thesis is the content analysis method. It is an empirical investigation of a social phenomenon. Walizer and Wiemer (1978) defined it as a systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information while Krippendorff (1980) described it as a research technique for making valid references from data" (Javid, 2014). In this study, the researcher tests key frames in the war coverage on terror in three leading Western newspapers. These include editorials of the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Telegraph*. A time frame of five years period from January 2011 to December 2015 has opted. All editorials about "WoT" are units of analysis. From January 01, 2011, the three newspapers were analyzed to December 31, 2015, which yielded 170 editorials related to the war on terror. All these editorials were analyzed, and the major themes and slants were identified. Also, every editorial reflects conflict, sensationalism, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), military, the role of Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Pakistan image, militancy, U.S. drone attacks, NATO role, solution of conflict were thoroughly studied and analyzed. The rationale for selecting the leading international newspapers is that their readership is public opinion leaders in various aspects of life. The readership includes political figures, journalists, lawyers, judges, lawmakers, business people, scholars, and the military. Such editorials were viewed, which influence people's views and in framing foreign policy. "The Newspapers were retrieved from Lexis Nexuses database and newspapers web sites."

1.10 Themes

170 editorials have been reprinted four times on the war on terror to identify key themes on Pakistan's role in the war on terror and to address the issues of research.

1.11 Unit of Analysis

"The unit of analysis is the item that was sincerely attempted. It was the smallest amount of a content examination. However it remained an important part of the research. In published content, this unit may be referred to as a symbol, a subject, or complete" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2013). Paragraph of all editorials has been measured and reviewed, published on Pakistan's issues and the war on terrorism. The study considered these editorials to be a unit of analysis.

1.11.1 Universe

Editorials published in *"The New York Times, Washington Post and The Telegraph"* on "War on Terror" started from January 01, 2011, till December 30, 2015, was reviewed as the essence of this research work.

1.11.2 Sample

It is mostly referred to as a section of the population characterized by occupation that may represent the whole population. Sometimes it may illustrate the sampling of the population. The sample saves time and energy or resources (Yousaf, 2012). *"The New York Times, Washington Post, and The Telegraph"* were selected to represent the powerful nation. Their editorials and notes affect the lives and views on international levels. A sampling of the study is in containing all editorials of these newspapers.

1.11.3 Sampling Technique

A preliminary sampling technique was used to study and analyze nature's topic in editorials as a sample if the word war on terror or related was used at once in the editorial.

1.11.4 Time Duration

Five years from 1st January 2011 to 30th December 2015 was selected to have a depth review of editorials painted in "*Washington Post, The New York Times and Daily Telegraph.*" This duration is important phase in the war on terror because there was realization that Taliban cannot be defeated completely. While the military offensive continued, the political and military elites were considering diplomatic means to find a solution to this problem. In this context, it would be interesting to investigate how the shift in policy is reflected in the elite press of US and UK. The key incidents of war on terror also occurred during this period like killing of Osama bin Laden, Salala Attack, increasing drone attacks, IDPs issue etc.

1.11.5 Slants and Frames

The study adopted three slant categories to observe the editorials content of "*The New York Times, Washington Post and The Daily Telegraph.*"

1.11.6 Favorable

News stories are considered Favorable if these favorably report on the role of Pakistan's US-led war on terror. It includes news stories that appreciate the sacrifices of Pakistan.

1.11.7 Unfavorable

News stories are considered unfavorable if these unfavorably report on the role of Pakistan's US-led war on terror. It includes news stories that criticize the role of Pakistan for its support to Taliban and playing a dubious role.

1.11.8 Neutral

The impartial editorial is considered if it reveals a balanced portrayal and not being specific nor against Pakistan's role in the war on terror. Also, news stories were considered neutral if the amount of favorable and unfavorable paragraphs was equal in a news story.

Similarly, for frames, all the news stories were carefully read to identify key themes in the content. These frames vary across the three selected newspapers and discussed in more details in the subsequent chapters. These slants and frames are inspired by the framing theory. While slants are more generic and offer more evaluative criteria to analyze text, frames are context specific can be identified through careful readings.

1.12 Organization of the Study

Chapter-1. This chapter comprises an overview of the dissertation, the rationale of the study, and international media coverage about the 9/11 tragedy. The images of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *The Daily Telegraph* in response to the 9/11 attacks were published on their front pages on 12th September 2001, the day after the attack. The narrative of Pakistani media also included a statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study, research methodology, and analysis unit.

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Chapter-2. The chapter includes a literature review of the survey about the portrayal of Pakistan's role in the war on terror in international media, Pak-US relations in media, US role in Pakistani media, and description of the war on terror in global media. The chapter also includes war on terror, waves of terrorism, early stages of terrorism, the modern terrorism origin, terrorism in the interwar era, 20th-century terrorism, terrorism impact on social sectors in Pakistan including education, displacement, and losses in the war on terror, impact on foreign direct investment, impact on agriculture and tourism industry, repercussions for Pakistan including security and political, economic, socio and cultural. Pakistan Counterterrorism Policies and Strategies, National Internal Security Policy 2014-2018, National Action Plan (NAP), military operations 2001-2019, military operations implications on society, history of Pakistan-Afghanistan border and the border management among Pak-Afghan.

Chapter-3: It introduces theory, definition of framing theory, framing approaches, media package approach, communicating as a multidimensional concept and the list of frames approach.

Chapter-4 This chapter contains, Pakistan relations with US and UK in the Post 9/11 Era and fighting together "War on Terror". The renewed ties in post 9/11 scenario, military relations, cooperation on Afghanistan, the Indian factor, nuclear issue, Pakistan's worries related to strategic security dialogue with the US, a new opening between Islamabad and Washington in 2013, cooperation in economic growth and energy sector, defense cooperation, counter-terrorism, non-proliferation, nuclear security and strategic stability, regional cooperation, dialogues in 2014, 2015, 2015, and 2016 in diverse fields. The dilemma of drone attacks, the 2011 bin Laden operation, the Salala episode, policy shift under the Trump administration, distrust lessening, and the way forward are included in the chapter. Pak-UK relation is also part of the study considering the war on terror. Pakistan and UK ties in Trade and Investment, Pakistan and UK Defence and Security Co-operation, Counter-terrorism, Development Cooperation, Economic Growth, Education and Health, Friends of Democratic Pakistan, September 2009 Summit.

Chapter-5: Framing analysis of *The New York Times*. Discussion and data analysis, frequency of the editorials published about the war on terror, editorials slant, themes, and result of the research are the chapter's parts.

Chapter-6: Framing analysis of *Washington Post* editorials about Pakistan's role in the war on terror. Data analysis, themes, preparation, and findings of the study are also included in the chapter.

Chapter-7: The chapter Includes editorials analysis of *The Daily Telegraph* about Pakistan's role in the war on terror, framing, slant, themes, and result.

Chapter 8: Conclusion, Result, and Recommendations

CHAPTER-2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Portrayal of Pakistan's in International Media

It is a fact that Western Media is negatively propagating against its foes and even friends to protect its vested interests. Several researches proved it biases the western media's role towards Muslims. As we are familiar with, press and electronic media play a key role in framing public opinion. It makes a ground for policymakers. Wanta, Golan, and Lee (2003) say any country, which is being largely covered by U.S. media, favors Washington (Wanta, Golan, & Lee, 2004). A study conducted by Ali (2012) found two leading magazines Newsweek and Times, negatively reported that dozens of Muslim countries and positive coverage were less than negative (Ali, 2012). Schwalbe (2006) states photo journalists showing such pictures to support the U.S government and its troops are rescued forces, particularly in Iraq (Schwalbe, 2006).

U.S. media shapes content with a particular angle to mold public opinion and perception toward different problems, as Abrahamian (2003) finds that U.S mainstream media covered affairs with a focus on Islam, civilization, and culture. It ignored core conflicts, including Palestine, following September 11 (Abrahamian, 2003). Media is to build and cultivate the image of a nation on an international level. Reporting foreign culture is a very sensitive job because people are interested in watching or reading and rely on media outfits as they have no direct experience of the issue. Any misleading news has a deeply negative impact, so unbiased reporters should be given the task of reporting about other countries and cultures (Saleem, 2007). Two leading U.S. media houses, Newsweek and The Economist presented a negative role of Pakistan. They termed its ally in the war against terrorism as a rival of their country following the Salala episode. Even the content of the media was

framing Pakistan to its readers as a threat to Washington (Khan, 2014). It is observed that the media portray situations to support U.S. policy in conflict zones. News magazines published pictures of war in Iraq and Afghanistan in the U.S. to back Washington's official tone (Griffin, 2004).

Developed country's media has more impact while comparing it to less-developed nations. It cultivates its narrative with style to convince the international audience in favor of its governments' decisions. Indeed, framing is not a unilateral process, but countries with more media resources have more impacts. Media in the west negatively show third-world countries to prove the superiority of their culture and society (Tarasheva, 2014). Investment is interlinked with a better image of a country. Nation matters a lot because soft roles and investments are intertwined with each other. The better role can attract more and more investment. Portrayal formation is a complex process through media, and several countries attempt to enhance and improve their image in the world. This is why countries portray peace through media to enhance their appearance (Kunczik, 2001). The U.S. Time tarnished the portrayal of Pakistan's role in the war on terror and The Economist newspapers in their articles over "War on Terror". It established that the American strategies were detectable in all the press articles. Further, the daily Economist not only highlighted the "War on Terror" created room for other matters linked with the military of Pakistan. The issues include battling with Haqqani Network, Judicial Crisis, and Memogate Scandal. The other problems highlighted by the paper conclude failure to handle the war on terror successfully (Zafar & Zareen, 2014).

Western media's opposing attitude towards developing countries is fatal and can damage the effort of reforms. It covered Uzbekistan from its angle and ignored that country's complete picture for twenty hours. Media in Europe and the U.S. shows a lack of objectivity in their reports and articles. However, Asian media reported positive events in Uzbekistan

(Alimov, 2016). Adversarial perception creates hurdles to resolve conflicts between developed and less developed regions because actions on a global level are being taken on mass media input. News channels are important stakeholders to create a positive portrayal of the international level (Mohammadi, Robert & Ugboajah, 1985).

A research article explores Pakistan's role in the United States and Chinese news media in light of Islamabad's latest security forces operations against terrorists. It is repeatedly said that the news media serves as a dominant regulator in shaping people's views. Mainly in cases that are far away from viewers' personal understanding. The events occur in other countries where the most public do not have previous knowledge like foreign affairs. It is also known that the doubt factor about the controllability of events prevails in the network of news by lobbyists and government by promulgating the interest of the public. For example, the U.S. media provided favorable coverage to Israel, although Jerusalem remained regularly in the news owing to violence and unrest in the Middle East. Israel's image is projected positively and sympathetically by U.S. media. On the other hand, the European Union sympathies are linked with Palestinians (Salman, 2015).

Yasmeen (2004) in her writing *Global Responses to Terrorism*, narrates that the 9/11 event brought Islamabad into the hub of international geopolitics. Pakistan appeared as a center of force to the US-led coalition in the war. As a result, Pakistan got some international economic and political help, which ended Pakistan's isolation instead of a failed state. The book described that Pakistan's government faced internal resistance to joining the coalition in the war against terrorism. President Pervez Musharraf's government finished support to the Taliban regime and joined the US-led team. The Pakistan government readjusted its foreign policy based on changed realities in Afghanistan. However, simmering anger by the Islamists developed some risks undermining Pakistan's stability (Yasmeen, 2004).

Western media's grudging remained provocative and portrayed Islam and Muslims' distorted image. The media used strong words and superlative degrees of language against Islam. It used words liked terrorist, extremist, radicalism, extremism, militants, fanaticism, and violence for Muslims and Islam. The study investigated the portrayal of the "Muslim World in the light of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model." It explored framing and slating. The study established built-up content factor played an important role in U.S. media direction. The result confirmed that U.S. elite media followed the objectives of foreign policy. In simple words, the Pentagon, White House, or Foreign Office guided the U.S. mass media's act. The research suggested the Western media adopt a fair policy in their coverage towards Muslim Ummah. The media must play a positive and constructive role in cross-cultural understanding between Western and Muslim countries. The study also recommended that Muslims steadily use media power to disseminate accurate Islam information in the West. The research claimed that U.S. and West mainstream media have been publicizing false information about Islam for decades. Because of this, now Islam is a brand name of negativity around the West. The Wet media manipulated and developed a distorted image of Islam. We normally recognize that the U.S. and Western media often misrepresent Islam and Islamic world manifestation. The U.S. elite media including *"New York Times* and *Washington Post Magazine* like *Time* and *Newsweek*, electronic media *ABC*, *CBS*, *NBC* & *CNN*" portrayed "Muslim World" in a hostile, negative way. Media reported that with the collapse of communism and the Cold War, the anti-Islam campaign peaked in Western Media. In her article, *Trinka James* reveals that the Islamic world thinks that its negative role is primarily a method of U.S. state department conspiracy to fill up the space produced with the demise of communism "Former Soviet Union USSR" (Ali, 2008).

Western and U.S. media do not frame the clear role of the underdeveloped and third world. It provided limited coverage, mostly dealing with violence. This low media coverage

has an impact on the reputation of third world countries. It has also affected their progress and development (Wilfred, 1993). A report World at Risk 2008 states that Pakistan is involved in the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). It is said that Pakistan is the only country where all kinds of terrorism are flourished. The study did not mention Pakistan's engagement of "front line state in the war on terror. U.S-led allies achieved success in the war on terror due to Pakistan's collaboration and sacrifices. However, paradoxically, the West leveled allegations against Pakistan of having links with Al-Qaeda and Taliban groups in Afghanistan. The West also accused Pakistan of providing support to the Taliban in Afghanistan (Saima, 2011).

The U.S. and Pakistan are passing through an important phase. After the 9/11 attacks, both states have established collaboration. Both sides agreed to commence assaults against the Taliban government in Afghanistan. Pakistan joined the coalition to keep itself from the U.S. anger and receive aid and military equipment. The collaboration between the U.S. and Pakistan remained shaky and captive to their particular goals in the war on terror. Therefore, the goal which was set remained far away and has been achieved so far. The ties between the two states reached a low point when the war on terror was launched. This worsening relation between the two sides will hurt the war on terror, which aimed to eliminate terrorists and the "infrastructure of Al-Qaeda and Taliban groups." Both U.S and Pakistan are required to work wisely and examine their relations to gain success against terrorism. It needs to work jointly with the utmost responsibility to bring lasting peace in the region (Ali, 2015).

Post Salala, relations between Pak-US gone through stress and strain. The attack created a security crisis in U.S. Pakistan ties. The relations were severely damaged for about seven months. The incident also forced Pakistan to end cooperation with U.S. Pakistan termed it the gravest blunder by the U.S. after the bin Laden event in Abbottabad. The delayed U.S apology placed the ties at the lowest ebb. This incident has exposed the lack of

communication and trust gap between the two sides to start joint counter-terrorism endeavors. The unilateral probe of the U.S. into the event further eroded the mutual trust between Pakistan and U.S. The probe created a dilemma for US-Pak. The U.S., in the probe, accused Pakistani soldiers of the gruesome act of violence at Salala. Pakistan has been confronted with a harsh public reaction. Pakistan's action to stop supplies of NATO further damaged the relations. The official leasing of the Shamsi airbase has dishonored Pakistan for drone attacks in FATA. Pakistan's participation at the Chicago Conference did not yield any positive result. Both countries' relations must be reconstructed on the Pakistani parliament's guidelines to restore equal footing and dignity. Failure to that could continuously harm their efforts in the war on terror (Ahmed, 2012).

2.2 Portrayal of Pak-US Relations in Media

Image building is two-way traffic because either side of media focuses on bilateral ties and the nature of understanding. Press in Pakistan also plays a significant role in molding public opinion about its foes and friends and foes. A study conducted by Rafique (2013) stated that four leading Urdu and English newspapers of Pakistan told readers that the US is an enemy instead of Islamabad's friend (Muhammad, 2013). U.S media work to follow the administration's views to view other countries as allies and foes. A study that analyzes *Washington Post* and *New York Times* content found that these two key outfits of U.S. media present a positive role of Pakistan and are justified that the U.S. media supported officials' views to shape views (Shabir, Hussain, & Iqbal, 2014).

Research in 2012 revealed that Pakistan and the United States' relationship drastically changed after 9/11. Washington and Islamabad developed close relations. "U.S declared Pakistan non-NATO ally." The U.S. is still engaged against terrorism in Afghanistan. Pakistan is playing a very significant role. We explain that Islamabad has an important

position in future policies and an honorable US exit from that country. The bin Laden killing brought coldness in the relation between Pakistan and U.S Islamabad had severe reservations over drone strikes on its soil. Both countries need to revisit their old friendly ties by bringing peace and a safe exit from Afghanistan (Waqas & Ishtiaq 2012).

Brig. Rtd Rizwan Akthar, in his article, says Pakistan provided extraordinary support following 9/11 to the United States on "War on Terror." Pakistan pledged to prevent terrorists from using its territory against anyone. Before 9/11, Pakistan took aggressive actions against extremism and terrorism. U.S. restored aid to Pakistan, which was stopped at the end of 2000. The aid was increased, and Pakistan exports capability to the United States. Islamabad upgraded its military hardware. U.S. began various training programs for military and civilian education. The security assistance program was aimed to enhance counter-terrorism and border security capabilities. The article states that the war on terror provided an opportunity to develop the relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. on a new pattern to benefit both states (Rizwan, 2014). The majority study on the feeling of Pakistan about U.S. reveals that there is long resentment in history. This long resentment derives from the U.S.'s proxy war against the U.S.S.R. invasion in Afghanistan in 1980. After the demise of the U.S.S.R., the Afghan forces took control of their country. The U.S. pulled out without proper support to reconstruct the war torn Afghanistan (Tunstall, 1977).

America's mainstream mass media are reporting grips enormous significance around the globe. U.S. News media is creating awareness by shaping public opinion and decision-makers on the state level. The U.S media is also involved by influencing foreign policy and on international platform platforms (Shoemaker, 1996). A research was conducted on Pak-America relations during the era of Raja Pervaiz Ashraf from June 2012 to December 2012. It examined the national press of both countries. Pakistan Premier was changed in June 2012, and Obama was elected again for a second term. The study selected two English newspapers

from *Washington Post* from the U.S. and the *Dawn*. The study concludes that both newspapers covered a greater percentage of unsatisfied style. The research reveals that the media of both Pakistan and the U.S. has portrayed the issues by covering the people's concerns. Pakistani newspaper *Daily Dawn* highly criticized the government's policies towards the U.S. while addressing drone attacks and terrorism issues. America's invasion of Pakistani territories and Blasphemous the U.S. movie has greater concerns. Meanwhile, *Washington Post* disparaged the U.S. government strategy towards Islamabad on several issues included aid to Pakistan and blockage of NATO Supply by Islamabad. The paper was critical of the attack on Malala Yousafzai in Swat. The study shows that the media of both Pakistan and the U.S. do not show their respective governments' adequate coverage. Media on both sides freely criticized their governments regarding Pak-US ties (Sultan, 2013).

Post 9/11, Pakistan's foreign policy witnesses' change by participation in the U.S led "War on Terror." In the new international security environment, Pakistan could not remain isolated as a rouge country. Islamabad cooperated with information of a new government in Afghanistan. Pakistan adopted measures to overcome militancy in the region. Islamabad supported the US-led military operation in Afghanistan. Terrorism has been viewed as the main challenge to US-Pakistan relations. In the 20th century, global changes were witnessed. This process slows down its pace during the current millennium (Mussarat, Mazhar & Naheed, 2010).

In his article, "Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi Hating Taliban, Hating the United States: Trajectories of Pakistan's Anti-Americanism," he elaborates on Pakistani mistrust of the U.S. and explains the cause for this history of distrust. It reveals that only 27% of Pakistanis think that Islamabad and Washington's strategic alliance was beneficial. 64% mistrusted the United States to act positively. The Author pointed out the U.S. only reached out to Pakistan's bureaucracy. The widespread disapproval lies with the masses. Because of this breach

between the Pakistani people and the U.S. reached a point of distrust. The United States developed its theories of conspiracy. The research discussed the double standard of U.S. state department policy that Pakistan detested. That the U.S. supported democracy in Pakistan; in fact, it only supported dictators. Former President Musharraf era of the Presidency was an example. The U.S thought former President Musharraf backed the contentious world war to achieve support in favor of his government after he dismissed the then Chief Justice against the people's will and declared an emergency. The public blamed the U.S. and Musharraf (Zaidi, 2010). Zaidi terms that the gap of mistrust between U.S. and Pakistani people resulted from conspiracy theories. It is revealed that 86% of Pakistanis believe America adopted policies such as dividing and weakening Muslims Ummah (Zaidi, 2010). Such kind of conspiracy theories exists in Pakistan society. "Top Villain in Pakistan's Conspiracy Talk Sabrina Tavernier reviews to discover conspiracy theories about an alliance of US, India and Israel to denuclearize and dismantle Pakistan." To what extent this is existing in the Pakistani society, including media, elite class, and other social communities? (Sabrina, 2010).

Following 9/11, Pak-US relations drastically transformed. The study further stated that Islamabad completely supported this war on terror and remained a closer ally of US-Asian allies. America is still fighting a war in Afghanistan. Islamabad's role is pivotal in bringing lasting peace and providing an exit strategy to the United States. The article explains that Pak-US relations remained cold following the killing of Osama Bin Laden. Pakistan has severe reservations over drone attacks on its soil. The Author suggests that there is a need of the hour that both sides should join hands together to resolve issues. They should talk about the U.S. exit strategy. If the U.S does not withdraw from Afghanistan, the situation to remain in turmoil (Waqas & Ishtiaq, 2012).

An in-depth analysis concludes that the drone strikes issue was a bottom ground that created damages in Pak-US relations. Relations between the two states are worsening with

time. All segments of society, including the intelligentsia, media, public opinion, and civil society, assumed a harsh stance on drone strikes inside Pakistan. This pressure enforces the elite in Pakistan to issue anger statements and condemnation of the drone strikes policy of the U.S. The killing of civilians in the drone attacks aggravated the situation. Anti United States feelings prevailed in Pakistan. U.S drone strikes system adversely affected peace and stability in Pakistan. The public has openly demanded the government reshape the system over its key role in the war on terror as a front-line state. The Author investigates the U.S. government, and military leadership is continuously asking Islamabad to do more against the war on terror (Atiya & Shahzad, 2015).

Research proves Pakistan is passing through a long-drawn-out internal crisis and facing unusual relations with its neighbors and coalition-allies. Pakistan faces rampant inflation, terrorism, and the energy crisis. The article says Islamabad is having concern over New Delhi's increasing penetration in Afghanistan. The United States is a strategic collaborator of Pakistan must have taken steps to limit India's Afghanistan involvement. The Author asks for dialogue between the U.S. and Pakistan on political, diplomatic, economic, and strategic levels. It says that fruitful openings should be shaped to improve relations and the U.S figure as a trustworthy ally. The United States needs Pakistan to defeat terrorism. However, Islamabad received heavy losses in this war, being a front-line state. After 9/11, America launched a war against terror in and around Afghanistan under the pretext of anti-western terrorism and Islamist extremism. The U.S. badly failed to judge the prevalence of regional dynamics' situation to adopt a proper reply. The situation remained deteriorated because of corrupt governments and an uprising in Afghanistan. The research reveals that al-Qaeda and Taliban network was the U.S. and West's common product to counter the USSR invasion of Afghanistan in the 1990s. The way forward should have been a multi prolong task

to tackle these challenges. It was imperative to dig out such a policy that suits both Pakistan and the U.S. to defeat terrorism (Mahrukh, 2010).

Under the title "Why the US-Pakistan Alliance is over," S.B.S. News explains that the damage to relationships between Pakistan and the U.S. is deep and durable. Pakistanis are finding it hard to swallow that Washington has been using their soil as a pawn in its global game" The ten-year-long alliance between Pakistan and the U.S. remained shaky. This left Pakistan with no option but to search for new friends (S.B.S.N.E.W.S, 2013). Khalid Hussain Chandio, in his article "Trump in South Asia: Politics of Pakistan-US Relations in Respective," states that U.S. overall current policy on South Asia is placed to make more sharp regional splits instead of bringing them closer. This policy was harmful to Islamabad's national interests and peace in Afghanistan. It also affected Pakistan's relation with China and its economic uplift through regional connectivity. Pakistan and U.S. having differences on the operational side to bring peace in Afghanistan, The U.S. pro-Indian policy reflects that Washington has no interest in resolving long-awaited Kashmir's core issue between India and Pakistan. A worried and damaged U.S. and Pakistan relation is neither good for the South Asia region in general nor Afghanistan in particular (Khalid, 2018). Dr. Maleeha Lodhi in a special report elucidates that regardless of sharing of mutual objectives, the US-Pakistan relationship is portrayed today by joint aggravation and increasing the trust gap. Both sides acknowledge the damage in the fall of a relationship. Legislatures do not share these perceptions as they are an unreliable partner. The report mentions a recent poll that most Pakistanis did not consider that Islamabad and Washington security collaboration benefited Pakistan. Gallup poll reveals that the U.S. believes Pakistan among its 5-least favorite countries along-with North Korea and Iran. She presented the report at Institute for "National Strategic Studies National Defense University Washington in 2009" (Lodhi, 2009).

2.3 Portrayal of US in Pakistani Media

A study conducted by Faizullah Jan explains that media in Pakistan evoked a pessimistic role of the U.S., blaming it for frequently violating Pakistan's sovereignty and fomenting terrorism. Media represents Pakistan as a victim of United States excesses. Print media brought forward a string of editorials when U.S. forces hit two military check posts in FATA on November 26, 2011. Many Pakistani troops were killed in the attack. The aim of the US-Pak remained the same in the war on terror. Newspapers construe the Salala attack as something horrible that maligned the relations between the two countries. Media urged junior partner Pakistan to be careful in dealing with the only superpower (Jan, 2014). A study shows that in pre and post bin Laden even, the Pakistani press painted the United States' role as a foe to Islamabad. The part of Washington was tarnished unfavorable. Media in Pakistan regularly highlighted the public opinion about Washington's involvement in the internal affairs of Islamabad. Pakistan Being US-ally in the war on terror, Washington acted more as foe than friend. It was noted in the study that the overall United States role was portrayed antagonistically. A marginal difference was observed among key Pakistan Urdu and English newspapers while commenting on U.S. image (Rafique, 2013).

A study conducted post 9/11 examines media theory of conformity regarding the U.S. role in Pakistan elite dailies editorials. It found that media generally pursue and conform to the foreign policy of a state. It is hinted that Pakistan adopted a pro-US stance after acquiring the status of the non-NATO ally. The research fundamentally examined the U.S.'s portrayal of Pakistan's influential dailies in the post 9/11 scenario. The study examines Pakistan's collaboration with the U.S. against terror and how Pakistani media responded. In the post 9/11 circumstances, the study's findings show that Pakistani newspapers framed America's negative role. Here, the result does not support the theory of media conformity (Ashraf & Aasma, 2010).

In their research article "Mirza Jan, Zafar Ali, Muhammad Siddiq & Noshina Counter Terrorism Activities in Pakistan: Comparative Study of the editorials of elite newspapers," they discuss coverage of terrorism activities. It is said that for decades Pakistan is facing violence in different shapes. In response to 9/11, the Bush government launched a war on terror. Pakistan has a significant role as a U.S. ally in war on terror. Media can maneuver on reshaping policies and public views about common issues. The media framing regarding terror was tested whether it shaped pro U.S. or pro-Taliban stance by newspapers. The study concludes the newspapers show a soft tone towards the Taliban when the U.S. invasion Afghanistan. It further states that, however, after some time, the newspapers changed its soft corner towards U.S. policies. The article reveals that after a year of the invasion, several voices of people and media persons turned in support of U.S. policies on the war on terror (Mirza, Zafar, Siddiq & Noshina, 2013).

A study over "Operation Zarb-e-Azb: An Analysis of Media Coverage" explains that news media's role has quite created a debate throughout the world. Pakistani media is facing the same issue on the country was engulfed in the flames of terrorism. In June 2104, Pakistan launched the much-awaited Operation Zarb-e-Azb. It was argued that coverage of the operation became counterproductive. Media diverge from their limit provided by the law of Pakistan. This process produced an enabling atmosphere for the propaganda of terrorists. Media in Pakistan faces a serious challenge of integrity. The media was blamed for distributing sensationalism among society. Prolong reporting, and the "Breaking News" trend about issues added disorder to the situation. Though, media has been targeted. It seems to be left at the midpoint to adopt any clear-cut stance over national security and terrorism (Shehryar & Naheed, 2016). According to a study theory of media conformity, the press usually follows the Overseas Strategy of Administrations. A post 9/11 research was conducted about U.S. representation in Pakistan's leading papers. The study finding is based

on how Pakistan follows a pro-U.S. stance, then how its media react to it. The research examined editorial content of daily Dawn and "Nawa-i-Waqt" from 11th September 2011 to 10th September 2004. Overall, 394 editorials were questioned of both the newspapers. Two hundred eight editorials of Nawa-i-Waqt and similarly 186 of daily Dawn were readout. The result shows the adverse role of the U.S. in these dailies. On this occasion, the finding of the study does not support the media conformity theory (Khan & Safdar, 2010).

2.4 Portrayal of War on Terror in International Media

According to Lipschultz (2007), three U.S leading television channels, CBS, NBS, and ABC, heavily covered the war on terror following 9//11. The study concluded that the U.S. had created a war on terror to gain more public support to implement its policies on terrorism worldwide (Lipschultz, 2007). Western media has been treating the Muslim world unfairly. A study conducted by Ibrahim in 2010 confirmed that western media, especially the U.S. TVs, ignored their objectivity while reporting Muslims and Islam following 9/11. The researcher recommends the media to accept their flaws and focus more to present conflicts (Ibrahim, 2010). It was observed that U.S. media portrays conflicts to support government policies and openly ignored violations of human rights worldwide. U.S media avoids showing civilian casualties in drone attacks in Pakistan and Afghanistan. It dubbed episodes as per international law. Independent media opposed the U.S. media narrative (Jones, Sheets & Rowling, 2011). A study conducted by Reese & Buckalew (1995) examines the anti-war frame roots from news media. According to their investigation, including U.S. local electronic media treated Gulf War coverage as routine news work. They used controlled conflict and consensus frames to develop "a coherent body of media coverage." The study's analysis, "conflict frame portrayed anti war protest in opposition to loyalty for the pro U.S. troops." The controlled frame placed anti-war oppose as a direct threat to world peace. "Dissenters were placed in the same category as terrorists and other criminal." In the

consensus frame, the reporters emphasize community solidarity. They conclude that these frames weakened anti-war voices and favored U.S. administration policy (Reese & Buckalew, 1995).

Western media has its list on the promotion of diplomatic relations. Media is a part of society and is a must for image building. It keeps several things into consideration, especially diplomatic relations and global politics, to give foreign countries coverage (Peng, 2004). In many cases, the researchers have observed that U.S. media reports foreign countries events as per Washington's official policy. U.S. media adopted two different paradigms before and past 9/11 towards Pakistan. Two U.S. leading newspapers, New York Times and Washington Post, have termed Islamabad as an enemy of Washington before the World Trade Center attacks. However, it portrayed Islamabad as a friend following Pakistan's announcement to join the US-led war against terrorism. (Siraj, 2007) Some other studies reject this notion and conclude that the media has a huge influence on policymakers. News channels matter, and most of the time, the press forces the government to act in the direction of television, especially while framing foreign policy. CNN effect has also been seen to influence the U.S administration (Robinson, 1999).

No country globally is ready to compromise its role to win support in the outer world. People absorb knowledge through the media. Viewers and readers have no direct experience of any event. Studies suggest that U.S. media is responsible for its bad role among audiences (SEO, 2013). Explored in the research that military operation, government commentary, and military officials grasped half of their themes from 5 newspapers' reporting the Gulf War. *The London Times, The Washington Post, "Le Monde, The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and the Asahi.*" The study found that protest against war, civilian casualties caused by military invasion received low space than 10 % on newspapers pages (Kaid, 1993). Research exposes two pro-and anti-war administrative sets; the dedicated check of arguments portrays the

armed actions' reasoning and unlawful stance. It reveals those foremost sets of society having compassionate treatment as match up to the depiction of marches that dislike the leading inclination in mass media (Luther and Miller, 2005). The finding highlights that analysts are regularly slanted to use positive prompts to illuminate the pro-war protest. At the same time, mass media marginalized the anti-war march. Media coverage of any event influences and shapes public perception. Kiouisis noticed that range of media is linked to American people's behavior towards other countries. The study echoes how media treatment changes the perception of U.S.U.S. people. It affected her lifestyle (Kiouisis, 2008). Wanta endorses that U.S.U.S. media treats any occurrence by its interests (Wanta, 2004 & Shahghasemi, 2011).

A study by Ali and Iqbal conducted over Afghanistan's portrayal by U.S. media finds out two leading outfits Newsweek and Times negatively reported about Afghanistan. It termed the country a hub of militants and extremists, where there is no place for women in that country (Ali & Iqbal, 2011). It is the media to inform people abroad about different regions. Several studies suggest that media persons establish perception to construct good and wrong portrayal in an international audience's mind. Shabbir (2012) stated that Pakistan rendered numerous sacrifices in the war on terror, but the West usually portrayed its negative picture to distort its international image (Shabbir, 2012). A study delineating war on terror about military invasion action in Afghanistan discloses that an editorial board for ten immensely circulated news-papers of United States described 9/11 touches of melancholy. It marked Arabs as crooks seriously dependent on the United States government for all the relevant data. These scholars did not dig out different views from groups. They did not provide any dialogue but legitimized that military action was imperative against terrorists (Ryan, 2004).

The West and the United States do not promote a healthier picture of third world countries. Media always served limited coverage to the developing nations on crime and

violence. This limited coverage makes an impact on their international status and affects their progress towards a healthy country (Wilfred, 1993). Tunstall (1977) explain that U.S media coverage is considered important throughout the world. It has the power to manipulate and reshape U.S. policies at the international level. Cohen (1963) stated that the U.S. media role is very significant. It is shaping, framing, molding, and creating their public views about the respective issue. Another study illustrates that the American press portrays images through coverage and especially framing Muslim World negatively (Khalid, 2001). Many types of research unfold that U.S. media during war clashes do not illustrate the entire picture of reality. It supports U.S. policies and overlooks discussion and peace progression with arguments and evidence. "During the World War I and II," the basic focus of media analysis concerned how the government uses its media for surveillance, monitoring information, and propaganda for their specific national interest. Different media scholars on war, conflict, and military operations vowed from time to time that media work under government pressures, especially when the military operation is going on (Gilboa, 2000, Nye, 2008, Entman, 2008).

Safdar (2015) cites that the U.S. and the rest of the world media covered the war on terror. Studies have shown that Western media painted the WoT in favor of U.S. policy. They highlighted the U.S. government's point of view, planned a military campaign, and justified the war. Simultaneously, a small amount of coverage was given to the consequences of the war and the critical arguments against WoT. On the other hand, the media in Japan and the Middle East have not politically supported U.S. war policies. They highlighted human suffering, property damage, and opposition. The British media supports and maintains a neutral stance on its government's policies on the war on terror. Pakistani media were totally against the war and criticized the government's support for it. Pakistani Press has expressed its aggression and opposition to Western newspapers.

In his book "Mass Media, Mass Propaganda," Anthony Dimaggio examined the U.S. press in "War on Terror," which states that mainstream media reporting emphasized Afghanistan's humanitarian issues. The media asked critical questions about the potential human consequences of war in Afghanistan after the 9//11 attacks. Jack Kelley Quoting an example of "USA Today," said that after 9//11, an alarming invasion of Afghanistan carried an enormous threat to that country's public. "The stakes are clear. Those left starving will presumably blame the nation whose bombs made them refugees, as will Muslims around the world that see their plight on T.V." "More often, the negative effects of the war on Afghans were ignored in a rush to war." After the horrible 9/11 attacks, media outlets remained concerned with "fighting terror". It is stated that negligence in coverage on the deteriorated situation in Afghanistan continued long after the end of "Operation Enduring Freedom Through 2004 Presidential and 2005 Parliamentary Elections as news pundits applauded a "landmark election for representatives to the Afghan national parliament and local legislators." The liability for the worsening of social order was placed on militants trying to derail Afghanistan's voting process. The U.S and NATO forces were softly portrayed to provide security for the voters at the polling station. The portrayal in the media that Afghanistan is on the road to democracy is an unrealistic whitewash of the repressive reality the Afghan people have endured in terms of the growth of state terror and coercion, escalating warlord violence, social deterioration, and increasing attacks on women." The author also discusses the imbalanced media coverage of Afghanistan's turmoil. There was a heavy tilt in the media coverage. Editorial has written in support of official claims that the United States is reducing civilian casualties and rebuilding Afghanistan. The ally's forces were targeting terrorist hiding places in their operations.

Graham Sencer, in his book "The Media and Peace from Vietnam war to War on Terror," Addresses questions such as how the news media emphasizes conflict's

possessiveness between the prevailing trends to highlight their agenda. Marginalizing non-confrontational discussion and seeking to de-escalate violent disputes. Thus there are difficulties "not only for the thought of journalistic objectivity but also for society itself. The consequences for society are very clear." "Peace depends primarily on tolerance and understanding, which depends on information." The positive reporting objective is to deliver an accurate message to society and the public. "It contributes to a deeper understanding of these societies, and judgments can be drawn based on detailed information and interpretation rather than sensational positions." Unfortunately, it is revealed that reporting is all too often concerned with drama and entertainment at the cost of comprehensive deconstruction and analysis. As a result, it has negative implications for the common mass understanding of how others are perceived. It gives a key design to focus on the book. Chapter 4 of the book illustrates the media coverage of Vietnam. It looked at "news media reported peace movements in the U.S. that opposed the war." The author also considered the negative image symbol of peace, carried out by news media. The book explains that these representations depicted peace organizations as a potential threat to social order, concerning left-wing elements, and constructed the motivations of peace groups as an antagonistic to authority." Such representations created panic among the public about peace and added to make them even more displeased where the U.S. is. Vietnam's policy lacked credibility and cohesion. In its 'independent Task Force report no-65, the U.S. based Council on Foreign Relations' criticizes tens of thousands U.S. troops engaged in exhausting and bloody wars. Thousands of U.S. civilians in the region labor under unfamiliar and difficult situations. Billions of U.S dollars of taxpayer flow into the region every month. The report says the aspect of U victory in the war is slim. If Obama's policy review shows that progress was not being made, the U.S. must recalculate its forces in Afghanistan. It said that America faces a real threat in Pakistan and Afghanistan that requires significant attention. Prevailing instability in

Afghanistan would pull the entire region into a proxy war. It will further weaken the fragile and energy-rich Central Asian states as well as put stresses on Pakistan. It can also aggravate the tense situation between Pakistan and India. While taking it seriously, The Task Force expresses the possibility that a fast exit from volatile Afghanistan could recreate safe shelters for terrorism. The report hints that the U.S. should lead by enabling and encouraging its Pakistan and Afghan allies to construct a more secure future. And even America can't afford to carry on this expensive policy if not, the potential for lasting progress remains in sight (Council on Foreign Relations, 2010).

Research quotes Welch (2005) that "past 1991 Gulf War, the nature of international crises changed from inter-state to intra-state, including conflicts in Bosnia, Serbia, Rwanda, Kosovo and East Timor". These crises "saw 'Perception Management and Psychological Operations (PSYOPS)' in support of deployed military operations." A study explains that "The terrorist attack on the twin towers in New York on 9/11, 2001 further pushed national governments to escalate activities in the so-called PSYOPS". This provided a boost for the latest word "information warfare." This introduced and "refers to persuasion campaigns, propaganda and deception by government and military" (Bui, 2012).

The study explains that in the Propaganda Model, the media is controlled by the elite class. As a whole, it is a profit-seeking industry. World elites are retaining the information flow. "The elite refer to the state, non-media organizations, agencies etc. These forces elite have the potential to put pressure on media threatening to cut their advertisement." The money makers made bound the media to pursue the rules placed by market forces. "Researchers advocated on the notion that the objective of the media is to forward information with support of government leads the audience to favor elite's decision" (Shabbir & Iqbal, 2010). Bui 2012, exposes that media has immense power in shaping up people's opinion about any happening and event on Local, regional, or international levels. Sometimes

power involves the public and media in a conflict like situation. Media productively gives treatment topics like politics and social for common people. It can bring progressive and constructive modification in people's thinking by providing significant data on the clash, strife, and emergency. Many researchers indicate that the media correspondents of war, crisis, and conflict are intertwined with foreign policy and diplomacy (Bui, 2012).

"Wanta and Lee" explain "that the terrorist attacks of 9/11, 2001 demonstrated to policymakers, mass media, and the public, the need for a more global perspective in coverage of international news" (p. 365). Herman (1994) composes that media holders are rich individuals. They control and circulate those substances to their enthusiasm. Media networking reliant on world-class wellsprings while collecting information on the war, clash, and conflict (Nasim, Noshina, Hanan & Salma, 2017). Gigantic companies are spending trillions of US \$ in the media industry. In his latest approach over the above idea, Chomsky explains that "media works on doctrinal system." The message of the elite is transmitted in this system. World elites like "Pentagon is controlling this system." A message is to be brought forward by these elites upon their choices in print and electronic media (Chomsky, 2012). In 1996, Herman and Chomsky developed a propaganda model. They suggested, "the dominant media is bound to serve the elite institutions, uncompromisingly" (Herman & Chomsky, 1997).

Media is dealing with a corporation and as well as with elite institutions to achieve maximum profits. These elites deal with various information that pours to people through successful propaganda to fulfill the desire outcomes (Chomsky, 1996). Philip and Janbek, in their book 'Global Terrorism and New Media: Post-Al-Qaeda Generation,' depict that at the beginning of the 21st century, terrorism was widespread in terms of the incidence of terrorist acts. It's got a long history. It has always been developed to maintain and survive its horrible strength. It is well said that there is no terrorism without good communication. The new

media has cleverly put this part to success. Various tools are provided via the Internet in particular. The link between the media and terrorism is significant for many of the electoral districts that deal with terrorism in various ways. On the other hand, the government is seeking to stop terrorism and punish those involved in such nefarious attacks. New media plays a key role by offering a collective transformational tool that provides continuous opportunities for communication. This book portrays the media that can spread information around the globe. The advent of the Internet to media services has changed the landscape of communication.

In his book, M. Taylor "Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945" describes that increasing commercialized media outlets play a significant role in contemporary communications flow. According to research, the news media's impact and relation to the international system have hardly begun to be appreciated. Philip Taylor sketches the increased participation of the media in peace and war. The book analyzes the role, nature, and influence of communications in the modern world's international system and dealings with their foreign policies. Economy, politics, foreign affairs, culture, and society are all now indivisible forms of information created and swapped over on an international level. Media and mass communication are somewhat new phenomena but provide a platform where political leaders, politicians, and soldiers have been increasingly pushed to operate. In this regard, the author pointed to Vietnam and the Gulf Wars as a case study to find media influence (Taylor, 2003).

Media makes possible mobilization of public opinion, influences waging war, peace-making, and affects policymaking. The book states that communications products "range from public diplomacy designed to help avoid or win support for conflict, to the real time journalism that brings the battlefield vividly to the masses." It is revealed that media communications, non-state actors, and conflict alter the communications field, including the

latest terrifying proportions to battle. Terrorists, on the other hand, are constraint themselves on unusual communication methods. However, terrorists are rapidly adopting the latest media tools to achieve their nefarious designs (Philip, 2005). An article entitled "Islam and the British Press" reveals that increased coverage was provided to Islam after September 11, 2001. A study examined content by British media prior and post 9/11, which told the increase in Muslim coverage references, was 250-280 percent (Whitaker, 2002). Research upholds that media is completely involved in formulating foreign policy process. Politicians take media into deliberations. It argues that this double-edged media atmosphere is considered mostly on the media management stage or in the publications. This media involvement in the decision-making process is multifaceted. When an important event occurs, politicians learn it from the media.

The information is routed through different frames, and then the process of policy formulating is set in motion. State media experts participate in this process. Officials discuss recommendations. Finally, they take media in-to account after defining their decision and match it to suitable media tools. The media always created environment reflects foreign policy through agenda-setting perspective by influencing decision-makers. They convinced them to react through media with their precise characteristics (Naveh, 2002). A study (Examined selective newspapers from Pakistan, India, and the U.S.) applying Galtung's concept of war/peace journalism on the Kashmir dispute concludes that print media not only highlighted the Kashmir issue positively but it was also portrayed negatively or neutral. Reporting on the Kashmir issue, each country's print media has framed the Kashmir issue according to its socio-political context. The print media highlighted militancy, patriotism, nationalism, violence, and biases towards some parties. It is said that the role of media was proficient in the rising intensity of the dispute and finally to anticipate proposals for peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue (Anjum & Hajrah, 2015).

Arab newspapers, *The Middle East Times*, *The Arab News*, and *The New York Times* show diverge opinions on the U.S war with Iraq because both reflect contrasting public views and national interests. *New York Times* stressed the legality of action aimed to destroy Weapons of Mass Destruction and free Iraq's people from the Saddam Hussain dictatorship. The newspaper portrayed U.S. soldiers as hero liberators to the people of Iraq. On the other hand, *The Middle East Times* and *The Arab News* used more space describing the Middle East people who were afraid of America's control over the Gulf region. And the increasing influence of Israel in the Middle East. The Arab media portrayed the U.S. war as a military invasion that ignored International laws. U.S forces were described as occupants of Arab lands. It is said that these findings support the result of earlier studies that news media are rarely free from their state interests (Lee, 2004).

Following and conducting a review of about 100 researches relevant to media, war on terror, and Pakistan's relation with the International Community, including the U.S., used content analysis techniques thoroughly. This method was used in various researches to examine Pakistan's role in the war on terror on world level media. The results of several earlier studies unearthed that media followed conspiracy theory. In post 9/11 reviews, the press assumed a "manufacturing consent approach" about the Muslim world's international media role. The U.S. mass media including "*The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, NBC, CBS and CNN" framed the defaming shape of Muslim Ummah. Also, these studies discovered that such phrases and words have been associated and applied for Muslim Ummah. Examples, "Pakistan backed Muslim rebels," "Islamic Terrorists Training Camp," "Islamic fundamentalist theme," "rogue state," "Taliban are the pawn of Pakistan Intelligence Agencies," "Pakistan maintained links with terrorists in the region," "Libya's terrorism," and words "Militant Muslims" were frequently used and termed them enemies of United States.

"Similarly positive and favorable words and phrases have also been used for U.S. friendly countries like Jordan, Turkey, Egypt and Saudi Arabia" (Shahzad, 2012).

The literature is limited on the portrayal of "Pakistan's role" in fighting against terrorism in international media. Though, the researcher examined and discussed the available related literature on the subject. The research about "Pakistan's role in the war on terror" revolves around how the International press frames Islamabad's role in its editorials and how it is preparing Pakistan as a US friend or foe. At the same time, the sovereignty of Pakistan, Osama bin laden killing, US drone attacks, Haqqani, and TTP fractions have been largely explained in an explanatory way one by one by choosing to select a particular issue. The visible gap is there as research on Pakistan's significant engagement against terrorism in the light of Islamabad's new policy has largely not been studied as a combined topic of how the international community sees the vital role of Islamabad in this war. Most researchers concentrated and discussed the US and Pakistan collaboration following 9/11. This study attempts to examine the important point that how the international press is painting the portrayal and association of Islamabad in the war on terror. Researchers always preferred Islamabad's relationship with the West as a topic for their research. Pakistan remained in global politics due to its geographical location. This Ph.D. dissertation is a discussion to unearth Pakistan's sacrifices in the war on terror for two decades. The sacrifices included military, civilian, economic losses, and its sovereignty in international media. This thesis has filled the gap compactly to discuss these sacrifices. Media shapes people's views and is the mirror of what the public thinks and feels around the globe. This dissertation illustrated how media are instrumental in perpetuating, creating by modifying international leaders and foreign nations' images. Media affects international politics from different dimensions. This dissertation examined the importance of understanding the framing analysis of Washington

Post, The New York time and Daily Telegraph about Pakistan's key position as a non-NATO ally in the war on terror for two decades as terrorism was made a global issue.

2.5 Terrorism and its Stages

Terrorism aims to spread fear in society by getting political designs. Terrorism brings destruction, suicide attack, killing, and unlawful act of violence. Terrorism means harassment of innocents. It causes a decline in economic well being. It damages buildings and communication systems. It disturbs people's lives and bringing instability in politics: Terrorism lowers investment and increases risk perception. It lowers direct investment in the country. From a historical perspective, war always affected countries, whether in Asia or Europe. All are badly suffered alike. (Jeffrey Record, 2003) The majority of terrorist attacks on people, transport, airport, and property are related to low GDP per capita growth and lower capital formation. Since 9/11, Pakistan, as a front line state, has been fighting against terrorism. As a result, this war has brought enormous destruction to Pakistan. It has directly turned down the country's economic growth. It devastated social as well as political structures. "War on Terror" has cost the country lives over 65,000, including over 5000 personnel of security forces since 9/11. Besides this, Pakistan has sustained over \$120 billion and the destruction of infrastructure during the last 18 years on terrorism-related incidents. Pakistan is also facing the worst kind of terrorism. It included suicide bombing, attacks that have severely disturbed the country's peace. Due to terrorism, investors are unwilling to invest. Terrorism displaced thousands of innocent. Military operations disturbed people's daily routine. The operations were carried out in the "Swat and Federal Administrative Tribal areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa." The soft role of Pakistan has defamed Pakistan at international for a (Javaid, 2011).

The act of terrorism has jeopardized by threatening stability, peace, and well being of Pakistan. The chapter will also examine the social, political, and economic effects of this war in Pakistani society. This war's intensity reached into other parts of the country following Pakistan joining the coalition in the war on terror. The Tribal districts (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have suffered the most from this war". This intensity shows the flame of war that engulfed Pakistan since "9/11 terrorist attacks on World Trade Centers and Pentagon" as well. Pakistan's relations with the international community at this time remained worse.

2.6 Terrorism Acumen

In 2002, Charles Townshend explained terrorism as "the calculated use or threat of violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies." Another one "terrorism means to impose ones owns interpretation of religious doctrines, political culture, social values and economic system upon the society through violence and fear." "Michael 2007" explains it "public harassment, wave of agitation, protest against the government, and damage to public and private property in order to draw the attention of the authorities." Terrorism destroys the peaceful political setup of social society within no time. Terrorism blocks the growth of the economy. According to a study, over 20,000 terrorist incidents occurred from 1970 to 2005. The study further revealed that over 90,000 people were killed or injured in these incidents. "It ranged from the hostage takeover during the 1972 Munich Olympics to the 2002 and 2005 tourist bombings in Bali. It is found that terrorism is indeed associated with adverse economic affects". In 1937, the "League of Nations Convention" explained and termed "terrorism as all criminal acts directed against a state and intended to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the public" (Michael, 2007).

According to the Pentagon definition, it is "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in persuading goals that are political, religious, or ideological." "In 1974, the government of British defined terrorism as the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear". In 1992, defined by United Nations "an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby in contrast to assassination the direct targets of violence are not the main targets" "It is believed that one man's terrorist, is another man's freedom fighter. A fighter in Palestine is a terrorist for United States and Israel but he is a freedom fighter for the Palestinians and Arab world". Finally, terrorism aims to spread violence, killing innocent, destroy infrastructures, and spread fear among people through coercive ways (Greenbaum et al., 2007).

2.7 Waves of Terrorism

Historical sketches of Terrorism and its several sources of manifestations. They are

1. "Beginnings of terrorism, identified with Jewish and Islamic terrorism."
2. "Birth of modern Terrorism, initiated during the French Revolution; continued from the second half of the 19th century till the end of World War-I, mainly on the revolutionary and anti state and anti monarchical basis, used for national and social liberation. Only in a few cases, the results were of a different nature".
3. "Terrorism of interwar period, dominated by the activities of the extreme right and fascist organizations, terrorism of nationalist and nationalist separatist character remained popular in this period; the 1930s is the dominance of state terror observed in authoritarian states".

4. "Terrorism of the second half of the 20th century, with a particularly diversified character, including national, liberation and separatist movements and far left and far right. From 1960 to 1970 it began to spread on international level. From 1980 to late 1990 it was sponsored by states and it saw the rise of the role of religious background".
5. "Contemporary (post-modern) terrorism, the turn of the 20th and initial years of 21st centuries, its characterization saw rapid growth on international level having wide use of religious grounds, used especially by fundamentalists, with the capacity of suicide attacks" (Góra, 1984).

The above-cited stages of Terrorism quick incidents have their mention objective. In the later years, it remained stagnant. "For this reason, terrorism should not be treated in its historical perspective terms as an evolving process." The development stages of Terrorism are different. With time, Terrorism does not lose its form and manifestation (Afridi, 2015).

2.7.1 Early Stages of Terrorism

"Different writers of publications on terrorism referring to this phenomenon's beginnings link it with different historical examples. It raises the levels of anxiety and fear using violence to achieve goals. It is believed that the oldest example of terrorism was the activity of one of the radical segments of Judaism. It is called Sicarii by their opponents. The main purpose of Sicarii was to liberate Jews from Roman Rule. It happened in the 60s of the first century and led to the Jewish Uprising outbreak in 1967. Sicarii also took part in it. The term Sicarii derived from Latin for a short sica dagger. Its members used for secretive killings "(people using a dagger)" "Surprisingly most of Sicarii attacks were directed against their own Jews (members of Judaism) who either accepted Roman Rule or took benefits". The Sicarii tactics contained secretive killings by using Sica dagger hidden under their

clothing. They used this method openly against innocent people, e.g., in the city center, in temples, and at a huge public gathering. The assailant penetrated in crowds, inflicting fatal pushes on the selected Jew sons further remained unidentified. They were so prepared that they were beyond recognition. As a result, such attacks developed fear among society and in fellow worshipers (Meridian Magazine, 2004).

“Sicarii attacked Jewish notables and priestly elites considered being Roman collaborators. It left them different from Zealots, who inflicted violence only against the Romans. A landmarks victory for Sicarii was the murder of a High Priest Jonathan. The Sicarii activists included attacks on the villages and burning them to evoke fear among fellow Jews as they had accepted the Roman occupation. They also used other tactics like kidnapping well-known figures to enforce the release of imprisoned fellows. Sicarii became defenders of Masada, where they took refuge during conflict with Zealots. In 72 and 73, Masada was besieged by Romans as the last centre of Jewish resistance” as they were helpless to defend their soil. About 1000 Masada’s defenders made collective suicide. Earlier, they had destroyed buildings and food supplies (Mason, 2009).

Masada now reflects a symbol of heroism for the Jewish nation. While studying religion history, Sicarii were a classic example of “religious movements in the process of radicalization.” It ruthlessly rejected “the existing legal, political and social framework. Such movements, although usually quite small, can be found in major religions. Al-Qaeda movement is based on a radical interpretation of Islam” used violence to achieve their motives. Islamic Shia sect of Nizaris used such activists in the 11th and 12th century in Syria and Persia (modern Iran) (Brighton, 2009). In old Iran, "Nizaris opposed the power of Seljuks." They challenged the authority of elites in Syria. Nizaris continued to fight against the overwhelming opponent. They purged representatives, scholars, junior officials, and spiritual and political leaders. They included lower rank officials and scholars. The Crusaders

used to call Nizaryts "assassins". In the eyes of Sunnis, it symbolizes their immorality and irreligion. In the 14th century, the term for Bernard Lewis "asasyn aimed a professional killer." Renowned "Nizarite leaders was Rashid ad Din as Sinan, called an old man from the mountains, which lived in the second half of the 12th century" (Daftary, 2008).

2.7.2 The Modern Terrorism Origin

Modern terrorism's origin is linked with the word terror. The word "Reign of Terror" was used for terror in 1795. This word emerged during "French Revolution to characterize the fear-based, dictatorial style of governance of Jacobins. Leaders of revolution adopted such actions to justify the transformative on of monarchy into a liberal democracy". The revolution itself rejected the word' reign of terror. "Its propagator Maximilien Robespierre was beheaded" as he used to deal with his opponents. In 1795, the Oxford Dictionary of English described these activated in the term "terrorism" (Hengel, 1989).

Terrorism took a negative turn as it was associated with the abuse of power. The "awakening of anti-monarchy feelings by the French Revolution caused by its industrial revolution contributed to forming a new trend in terrorism. Its precursor was an Italian Republican extremist Carlo Pisacane 1818 to 1857" who thought that the idea is best spread through deeds" and justified inculcating violence. In 1978, the organization of Pisacane embodied the ideas was Narodna Wola, founded in Russia (Holyst, 2009). In 1881, this organization got popular for its attack on Tsar Alexander II Romanow. "It contributed to the downfall of the organization Narodna Wola and their propaganda strategy through action." In the 19th century, terrorists killed the last two decades. In 1884, "President of France M. Carnot, the Prime Minister of Spain C. de Castillo in 1897, the Empress of Austria Elizabeth in 1898, the King of Italy Humbert I in 1900, President of the USA W. McKinley in 1901, yet another Prime Minister of Spain J. Canalejas in 1912, the successor to the Austrian throne

Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in 1914". King Alexander-I remained a major victim of terrorism in Yugoslavia. Foreign Minister of French L. Barthou. In 1992, the first president, Gabriel Narutowicz, was killed in a terrorist act in Poland (Marshall, 1980).

2.7.3 Terrorism in the Interwar Era

During the war, terrorism is connected with militarization in politics, aimed at subdues and physically influence opponents. (Hołyst, 2009) In such circumstances, terrorism was a supplement of the militancy and had street powers. "This type of activity became the trademark of fascist organizations in Spain," Germany and Italy. Leftist terrorism remained weakened during the interwar period. "National separatist sources of terrorism were strong. They were the foundation for the activities of national liberation movements in Ukraine, Ireland, Macedonia and Croatia" (Tomasiewicz, 2014). Citizens remained repressed during authoritarian and totalitarian states. "These practices were also used primarily in fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and the Stalinist Russia." Terror remained the order of the day in these states. Throughout this era of dictatorship, the state killed millions of people (Pawłowski, 2001).

2.7.4 20th Century Terrorism

Terrorism was linked with the growth of anti-colonial movements in the post World War-II. In Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, Terrorism remained active from 1940 to 1950. Terrorists launched attacks with the aim 'at the centers of power of excellence'. In this period, Terrorism gained success. It provided an easier way to recruit fresh fighters to gain help from society as essential in gradient in "guerrilla war." They launched attacks with such a method to avoid collateral damage to lose the support of local people in the ongoing war (Hołyst, 2009). In Colonial societies, this method was supported for independence using the term "fighters for freedom." In 1960 and 1970, new categories of Terrorism emerged by giving this phenomenon a very different character. Terrorism was dominated in the U.K (Northern

Ireland), Netherlands (Molukowo), France (Breton & Corsican), Spain (Basques), Italy (Upper Adige), Turkey (Kurds), Cyprus (Cypriot Terrorists), and Middle East (Palestine, Kurds, Eritreans). It was based on opposition to social, economic disparity. They also opposed the American intervention in Vietnam. They also opposed the production of nuclear plants in the U.K., Japan, Germany, the U.S, Italy, and France (Terrorizm, 1986).

The beginning of the internationalization of Terrorism was started in 1960. On July 22, 1968, the hijacking of an Israeli airline was its first manifestation. It was hijacked by "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine." "This front was one of the six groups that make up the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)." This act changed the nature of Terrorism. It spread to other nearby states where volunteers joined their agenda. Terrorists went out of their state and launched attacks on people to gain publicity. These changes were possible following the usage of the latest communication and technology. The cheap and quick travel and media made easy the advancement of terrorism activities around the globe. PLO, a leader on the international terrorism level, adopted the latest developed techniques. The front began training or their members of different groups at their camps in Libya, Jordan, and Yemen. It provided logistic support to them. For this purpose, they accumulate significant funds to achieve further financial and political to gain more and more political power. The terrorist acts increased in the mid-80s. In the Middle, East PLO targeted military and U.S. diplomatic objects in particular. Some country's governments also supported these acts of Terrorism. States sponsored Terrorism, remained their tool against another state to fight bigger and stronger enemies. The state used this tool against other states (Hoffman, 2001).

This style reduced the cost of terrorism as some countries "did not admit to this activity. Special state services were also involved in conducting such activities". Libya was using its special forces. On December 21, 1988, Libyan Special Forces exploded Pan

American airplane "over the Scottish town of Lockerbie." For this attack, Libyan operatives' intelligence was termed accountable. "A new phenomena related to terrorism emerged as narco-terrorism and the shadow economy." This act produced a "new criminal type of terrorism" (Molendowski, 2000). The term "narco-terrorism" came from during cartels. The aims of narco-terrorist acts use to destabilize and disorganize the country. Secondly, it aims to secretly take over control of the economy and politics by making corrupt government officials. They also threatened rival criminal groups, high officials in the country. During the presidential campaign in Colombia in 1990, three candidates were killed. Narco-terrorists targeted representatives of law enforcement agencies, including security personnel and journalists as well (Durani & Khan, 2009).

Drug dealing is linked with up negative phenomena like violence, money laundering, and selling drugs. Criminal groups spread across the country by terrorizing the residents and destabilizing the state. After WW II largest increase witnessed in drug production and linked with CIA secret operations launched in different parts of the world. They used a worldwide network to promote US influence in the cold war. A CIA supported the smuggling of Afghan opium. The anti-Soviet mujahedin is financed from profit receiving from drug dealing to fight against the occupant (Molendowski, 2000). Black money of "narco-terrorism added to the emergence of so called grey economies" at various global areas. It was away from the control of the country. Drug dealers supported each other to control territories or regions to gain their objectives. The "shadow economies" got root in parts of "Central Asia including Afghanistan, northwest Pakistan, former Muslim republics of USSR, Kashmir. It also flourished in Latin America, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. It is very difficult to fight against drug cartels due to massive involvement of the army, highest level corruption of state power, among members of the government, parliament and the judiciary" (Irshad, 2011). In 1986, in her publication, Maria Tomczak wrote, "Without too much exaggeration, it can be stated that

in the second half of the 20th century terrorism became one of the most frequently used methods of solving political and social conflicts". Terrorism shaped a new sense of security. At the moment, the scale of this phenomenon is many folds. The phrase "contemporary terrorism or post modern terrorism to be referred to the characteristics of this phenomenon at the turn of last century or the beginning of this century" (Terroryzm, 1987).

2.8 Pak-US Collaboration in Post /9/11 Era

Four passenger airplanes were hijacked and collided with the World Trade Centre and Pentagon on September 9, 2001, in the U.S. According to reports, nineteen hijackers were involved in this act of terrorism. Around 2992 to 3117 people were killed in these attacks. The victims were from about 80 countries. Arab hijackers were responsible for 9/11. They had links to Osama bin Laden of the al-Qaeda network. Since 1996, this militant group was operating from Afghanistan. The al-Qaeda group began "Holy War against U.S. policies in the Muslim world." (Markham & Abu-Rabi, 2002) Soon after the attacks, the then United States President Bush has announced a top policy of the Pentagon to fight terrorism. Following 9/11, the United States has rapidly changed its national strategy and foreign policy. The U.S. put a condition to "the world including Pakistan to stand with" her or face America wrath. After World War-II, U.S has made a strong international coalition against terrorism. The coalition aimed to overcome the menace of terror and to crack down on al Qaeda. It was also aimed to get rid of terror and to stop other countries from helping this menace (Woodward, 2002). 9/11 was taken as a god-sent opportunity by Bush Administration. In October 2001, the U.S. launched an invasion in Afghanistan. The U.S. demanded support from Pakistan due to Islamabad's geostrategic position. Its coalition was required for five obvious reasons (Hilali, 2005).

1. Earlier, Pak-US jointly collaborated closely during the Cold War. Both jointly worked to defeat "Soviet Socialist Republics" (USSR) in Afghanistan. Washington was familiar with Pakistan "to support in war on terror."
2. The United States wanted the Taliban should not to gain support from Pakistan.
3. Pakistan is approximately sharing a 2460 km long border with Afghanistan and should watch that Taliban and Al-Qaeda's militant cross it.
4. To avoid collaboration with the Taliban, Pakistan was asked we have to defeat the Taliban.
5. Pakistan's geopolitical and geostrategic location made its position to promote U.S. interests.

Pakistan and U.S. relations remained estranged before 9/11. Pakistan faced various sanctions. These sanctions included democracy and nuclear-related. Pakistan membership from "Commonwealth" had cancelled. Despite chilly ties, America "was able to achieve Pakistan's support in war on terror through a combination of credible threats and incentives" (Sattar, 2005). "On September 13, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage handed over a list of demands to former President Musharraf". These seven points are "not negotiable and you must accept all seven parts" (Woodward, 2002). These demands were:

1. Check Al-Qaeda militants "at Pak-Afghan border. To stop all logistical support to Osama".
2. Provide "U.S. blanket over flight and landing rights for all necessary military operations."
3. "Provide territorial access to allied military operations."
4. Provide U.S. intelligence information sharing.

5. Terrorist acts to be condemned publicly.
6. Recruitments of Taliban to be stopped in Pakistan. "Cut off all shipments to Taliban."
7. Powell told Musharraf to support the U.S. or be ready for consequences.

On 7th October 2001, Pakistan allowed U.S. It has started attacks with missiles against al-Qaeda and Taliban militants in Afghanistan. Pakistan also provided logistic and intelligence sharing information to allied forces. On November 13, 2001, the Taliban government reached an end following US-ally ground attacks and bombing. The majority of Taliban and al-Qaeda entities were killed. Some militants took shelter in the mountains of Afghanistan. Many managed to escape to Tribal districts (FATA) and some to Iran (Durani & Khan, 2009). Terrorists launched attacks, including suicide bombing all over Pakistan. It developed a law and order situation. On the other hand, the Pakistan government launched "military operations" to overcome militancy. Millions of people were displaced due to military operations from Tribal districts and Swat valley in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Pakistan's role was shattered due to terrorist attacks. Terrorism threatened the peace and stability of Pakistani society (Javaid, 2011). The war on terror severely damaged Pakistan's economy. Pakistan is a low-income country, "Foreign Borrowings were increased. Pakistani exports, capital formation and private investment decreased as well". The writing of the government was challenged. The newly emerged situation defamed Pakistan's soft role at the international level. Frequent curfews have disrupted daily life. In Swat Valley, a fire severely destroyed agriculture and fruit commodities and shelling from 2009 to 2011. It caused unemployment. It also had a downtrend effect on the local economy. Foreign direct investment decreased during that period. Foreigners were reluctant to invest in Pakistan. Terrorism is spreading fear in society. "Stock market suffered because of high-profile killings

of Benazir Bhutto the Ex Premier." Military operations increased defence expenditure and reduced the development budget. The police's annual budget has increased. Terrorism has affected the tourism and manufacturing sectors (Javaid, 2011).

2.9 Terrorism Impact on Social Sector in Pakistan

In this eternal war, Pakistan lost more than sixty-five thousand people, including security personnel. Terrorism related acts badly damaged various schools and other institutions in Tribal districts as well as in KP. It teaches “fear among the school going children.” Private property also came under the views of terrorism and violence. It resulted in an increase in unemployment in the country. Millions of citizens were displaced due to terrorism-related incidents in the Tribal belt and KPK. It also resonated with “social-economic and psychological sufferings.” It is hard to examine exact economic losses that occurred in terrorist activities across the country. Pakistan’s Finance Ministry proclaimed the economic loss as to the tune of over \$ 120 billion (*The News*, 2018). However, the method of calculation is not available.

Table 1: Impact of Terrorism

Sectors	Impact of Terrorism
Economy	Negative impact on earnings, consumption, tourism, foreign direct investment, security expenditures etc.
Impact on Politics	Negative impact on the country’s image at local and International levels.
Impact on Social Sector	Negative impact on poverty, infrastructure and unemployment.
Psychological well-being	Causes stress, trauma and headaches. Negative impact on human health.

(Barth et al, 2006, Michael, 2007 Bari, 2009 & Ali, 2010)

Other factors that badly affected Pakistan's economy are included in the international financial crisis in 2008, high flood, and energy crisis. War effects war and other factors could not be separated. Moreover, insufficient research has been done on this subject.

2.10 War Impact of Social Sector

The impact of war or conflict includes the vast destruction of cities and lasting effects on any state's economy. It has significant "indirect negative consequences on public health provision, social order, and on infrastructure." The war on terror indirect consequences is human suffering, disruption of trade as much as capital, displacement of people, disruption of education, destruction of infrastructure, etc., on Pakistani Society.

2.10.1 Terrorism Incidence and Human Cost

With the dawn of the 21st Century, the incidents of terrorism brought social disorder in Pakistani Society. After joining the coalition, terrorism remained a key phenomenon in the country. Terrorism during the two decades has taken a huge toll on Pakistan as more than 69 399 people lost their lives. The number of casualties in terrorist attacks remained 62,096, while 5,303 people were killed on a sectarian basis from 2003 to 2019 (*Pakistan Today*, 2017). The northwest of the country witnessed severe instability due to insurgency and political turmoil in Afghanistan. Military operations were carried out in Tribal belt and "Khyber Pakhtunkhwa." These operations aimed to overcome militancy. As a result, massive displacement from the region took place (EASO Report, 2017). According to The Center for Research and Security Studies Report 2019, the 1st quarter of 2019 witnessed a 12 % increase in terrorism-related fatalities than in 2018. Baluchistan witnessed a rise of over 158 percent while tribal districts (FATA) Khyber Pakhtunkhwa saw a 75 percent drop. The Center for Research and Security Studies released its first Quarterly Security Report in the first week of April 2019. It revealed that Baluchistan remained stood at the top with 194

casualties, while tribal districts appeared with only 30 casualties. The report said 228 people were killed while 189 injuries during the first quarter of 2019 in terrorists related incidents. Sectarian-related violence declined in this quarter of 2019 compared to the last quarter of 2018 and was only limited in Punjab and Sindh with six fatalities (*Pakistan Today*, 2019).

In 2018, 262 terrorists related incidents took place in Pakistan. It shows a 29 % decline as compared to 2017. In all attacks in 2018, 595 people lost their lives, and 1,030 injured. The killed included 371 civilians, 173 personnel of security forces, and 51 militants. Those injured in terrorist attacks included 724 civilians, 302 security personnel, and four militants. On the other hand, sectarian killing also remained a big issue in Pakistan. In total, in 3,045 sectarian incidents, 5,303 people were killed and injured 9,974 (Pakistan Security report, 2018). A big terrorist attack took place from 2009 to 2012 in Pakistan. Terrorists attacked "General Headquarters of Pakistan Army." Similarly, terrorists also targeted the "Sri Lankan cricket team in Lahore and Manawa Police Training Centre, Lahore. Fifty four political leaders were killed in FATA and KPK. In FATA, 559 terrorist attacks took place killing 644 people and injured 1046. In KPK, 1438 people were killed in 1137 attacks. In 2010, 836 people killed in 459 attacks only in KPK. In FATA, 904 people were killed and army convoys check posts and pro government elders were frequently attacked. In 2012, 1577 terrorist attacks killed 2050 people. In KPK, 456 attacks killed 401 people while in FATA, 388 terrorist attacks killed 631 people" (Pakistan Security Report, 2010). The continuous terrorism-related incidents badly disturbed political and social activities in Pakistan. Economic growth also decreased. It also brought psychological consequences for Pakistan by destroying property, infrastructure, and sluggish economic growth. "Military operations against the insurgents in Swat valley displaced people which ultimately dislocated the economic activity of the local residents." Khyber Pakhtunkhwa economic activities remained down due to terrorism (Pasha, 2011).

2.10.2 Terrorism Impact over Education

For any nation progress, education is imperative. In Tribal belt and KPK, several education institutions came under terrorist attacks. The attacks were used as a tactic to imbue the youth with militant values. “Terrorist attacks on schools are having a devastating impact on education in Pakistan. Human Rights Watch revealed that terrorism related has disrupted the education of hundreds of thousands of children, particularly girls”. In 2007, a violent campaign of the Taliban began against education for girls. About 900 were forcefully closed. Over 120,000 girls were stopped from attending schools. “Over 8,000 female teachers left their job”. Global Terrorism Database in its report stated that from 2000 to 2015 “there were 867 attacks on educational institutions in Pakistan. From 2009 to 2012, The Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack estimated about 838 terrorist attacks on schools in Pakistan. Hundreds of schools were damaged during the same years. According Ministry for States and Frontier Regions report in 2015, 360-school was destroyed in three of the seven regions of tribal”. On October 9, 2012, Terrorists targeted Malala Yousafzai in Swat. Similarly, Army Public School also came under terrorist attack on December 16, 2014, in Peshawar. (Human Rights Watch Report, 2017)

“In 2008, 119 schools were attacked, in 2009, 188, 129 in 2010 and 142 in 2011. In 2011, there were 79 attacks in KPK and 56 in FATA, Almost 1,000 schools, mostly girls' schools, at FATA and KPK. In 2010-11, 401 schools were destroyed only in the Swat Valley. According to the KPK Education Department, a total of 758 schools, including 640 schools in Malakand Division, were destroyed by militants. They even forbade listening to music and recreational activities.” (*The Express Tribune*, 2012)

2.10.3 Displacement and its Impact

After 9/11, over 5 million were forced to flee due to the fragile security situation in Pakistan. At the end of 2014, 5.3 million people were reported to be displaced. On the other

hand, the return process is taking place in the areas that had been de-notified. According to the report, “majority of internally displaced persons (IDPs) had returned to their areas of origin” (Saad & Radha, 2017). In Tribal districts (FATA), about 2.8 million were forced to flee due to military operations against terrorists in between 2008 to 2014. At presently the returns of most IDPs are being completed after the improved level of the security situation. Due to this uncertain situation, Pakistan was ranked at ten countries of most affected by disasters from 1996 to 2015. (Multi-Cluster Assessment, 2016) “This displaced is considered as the largest displacement in the history of Pakistan”. In South Waziristan Agency, the largest displacement took place. “Local residents of the conflict zones suffered from physically and psychologically. The fear of death and helplessness traumatized their lives. Political Impact of the War High incidents of terrorism led to increased political instability”. Terrorists in Malakand and Tribal Districts have destroyed the social, local political and judicial system (FATA) (Bari, 2010).

“Taliban Commanders assumed the power of the jirga and political agents. This reduced the influence of political parties in Malakand division and Tribal districts. Women politicians were harassed. In Dir, an active women councilor was killed. (Bari, 2010) Pakistan’s decision to join the US coalition in the war on terror weakened the federation. It created a gap between the masses and the Pakistan military. Pro Taliban section of the people opined Pakistan army was fighting a US war. On the other hand, the pro-US section says Pakistan military was the main hurdle to overcome terrorism and supporting militants in Afghanistan” (Irshad, 2011).

After 9/11, Pakistan suffered politically at regional and international level in this war. In 2001, after the fall of Taliban, "Northern Alliance dominated government was installed in Kabul". This was an anti-Pakistan alliance and pro-India. Availing the opportunity, India opened over 30 mission and consulates along with Pakistani border in Afghanistan. New Delhi gained three major advantages from the newly emerged situation. "It declared Kashmiri freedom fighters as terrorists. Second, it obtained access to civil nuclear energy from various

countries, including United States. Third, India increased her role in Afghanistan by supporting Northern Alliance government". Pakistani citizens were denied U.S. visas. Pakistanis faced humiliating behavior at the airports on the name of a special search. International lobby ranked Pakistan as a failed state. The regularly anti-Pakistan session was held with New Delhi collaboration in the U.S. Congress (Javaid, 2011).

2.10.4 Pakistan losses in War on Terror

The Global Terrorism Index Report 2017 has acknowledged Pakistan casualties in countering terrorism efforts. The report was "published by a Sydney based Institute for Economic and Peace". Pakistan was ranked at number 5 out of 163 states. Out of 10 on the index, Pakistan secured 8.4 scores. It shows "a marked improvement as it ranked 4th in 2007". Pakistan gained improvement. The decline is witnessed in terrorism incidents as per global terrorism index ranking. The deaths ratio in terrorist activities also decreased. "This is the third consecutive year that Pakistan has witnessed fewer terrorist attacks and deaths". Also, the index in its report ranked India at 8th, Turkey at 9th, "Bangladesh at 21, Saudi Arabia at 26, China 31, United States 32, and Russia 33 and United Kingdom" at 35. The index marked these states at top 10 affected by terrorism (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2018).

Pakistan is playing benchmarks role in fighting a war on terror. Pakistan, this role and development are not in the interest of the International Community. The interest of the regional countries is also safeguarded. Pakistan is also expecting and demanding the same role from Afghan forces and from U.S. and "NATO" and Afghan forces to do in fighting the war on terror. . Pakistan suffered allot from militancy. The state-sponsored terrorism is also suffering Pakistan. Pakistan's immediate neighbors launch this state-sponsored, however, conflict and instability still is a barrier to the development of Afghanistan. Peace is the pre-requisite for progress and development of the region. The Pakistan economy remained under

stress due sheltering to millions of Afghan refugees. The economy faced severe consequences. Because of Pakistan's proximity and historical connection, its internal security situation remained under additional pressure. Islamabad is continually is facing terrorist attacks from terrorist inside Afghanistan (ibid).

Following achievement in counter-terrorism by Pakistan, the favorable economic environment has been created. The economy has witnessed growth in different sectors of the country. "Due to success in war on terror, the total losses incurred in both fiscal as well as human have declined. From 2016, 2017, the losses declined by 15.7 % over the corresponding period of last year. It further declined from July 2017 to February 2018 by 62.2 %. It demonstrates the effectiveness of the Government's measures to overcome terrorism and extremism. In order to assess the impact of the incidents of terrorism on the economy of Pakistan during the past several years, the estimates for FY2018 and summary of losses from F.Y. 2017 to F.Y. 2018 is presented in below Table-1".

Table 2: Summary of Losses due to War on Terror

S. #	Organizations	Years		Total US\$ million
		2016-17	2017-18	
1	Compensation to Affecters	90.64	39.25	129.89
2	Physical Infrastructure	272.32	111.61	383.93
3	Foreign Investment	1105.30	129.10	1234.40
4	Privatization	251.19	0.00	251.19
5	Industrial Output	594.300	449.600	1043.90
6	Tax Collection	2483.29	976.38	3459.67
7	Cost of Liability	71.060	14.180	85.24
8	Expenditure Over run	593.72	345.65	939.37
9	Others	7.07	8.66	15.73
Total Losses		5,468.89	2,074.43	7543.32

After 9/11, over US\$126.79 billion equivalent to 10,762.63 billion rupees cost incurred by Pakistan because of the terrorism-related incident in the country. The details of direct and indirect cost are mentioned in Table-2 (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2018).

Table 3: Summary of Year Wise Loses Cost of War on Terror 2001 to 2018

Years	Billion \$	Billion Rs	% Change
2001-02	2.67	163.90	-
2002-03	2.75	160.80	3.0
2003-04	2.93	168.80	6.7
2004-05	3.41	202.40	16.3
2005-06	3.99	238.60	16.9
2006-07	4.67	283.20	17.2
2007-08	6.94	434.10	48.6
2008-09	9.18	720.60	32.3
2009-10	13.56	1136.40	47.7
2010-11	23.77	2037.33	75.3
2011-12	11.98	1052.77	-49.6
2012-13	9.97	964.24	-16.8
2013-14	7.70	791.52	-22.8
2014-15	9.24	936.30	20.0
2015-16	6.49	675.76	-29.8
2016-17	5.47	572.60	-15.7
201-18	2.07	223.32	-62.2
Total	126.79	10,762.64	-

Pakistan has suffered the most in terms of men and material. She took decisive and indiscriminate action against all terrorist. It launched military operations, including the key Radd-ul-Fasaad against terrorists in North Waziristan. Through the National Action Plan, Pakistan is also engaged in eliminating the scourge. Pakistan made strenuous efforts at all forums to promote reconciliation in Afghanistan. It also helped in facilitating talks between the Taliban and the USA. “It has been doing what it has done in her own interest and the realization that tackling terrorism and promoting peace in Afghanistan was in her own interest. How could a country which has suffered the most in term because of terrorism, think of harboring terrorist organizations on its soil”? Pakistan always condemned terrorism in all

its manifestations. Islamabad also condemned the attack on Pulwama as an act of terrorism. It offered India assistance to investigate the attack.

2.11 Causes of Terrorism in Pakistan

Terrorism is a severe threat to Pakistan. It has damaged not only Pakistan economy but also national security, political stability and social sectors in the country. Several causes of terrorism are there in Pakistan. They are injustice, illiteracy, lack of basic health facilities, elite's supremacy, people suffering from various social injustices, restricted access to quality education, and poverty. In Pakistan, key reasons for terrorism in Pakistan are below in the table (Yousufi & Fakhr, 2017).

Table-4: Key Reasons of Terrorism in Pakistan

S. No	Political Factors	Economic Factors	Socio Political Factors
1	<p>Ignorance & Lack of Security:</p> <p>Drone attacks, aggressive and unproductive internal and external policies. Govt. hard approach towards people. Some unnecessary military operations.</p>	<p>Illiteracy:</p> <p>No sufficient knowledge about Islam, Illegal local Radio evolution by Taliban, No proper check and balance of government over social activities in society.</p>	<p>Unemployment:</p> <p>Unemployment forces Youth to join Taliban.</p>
2	<p>Govt. Ineffective Negotiations and Peace agreements:</p> <p>“Not fulfilling of peace agreement, absence of Taliban & public trust on government, killing of Taliban after signing peace accords”.</p>	<p>Past Policies Legacy:</p> <p>Pak-US support to Mujahedeen during Afghan war, Invited Arabs and freedom fighter from to join the war, people behavior were developed towards Jihad and Shariah, Afghan Taliban appreciation.</p>	<p>Poor Economic Conditions:</p> <p>“Bad economic condition forced people by join Taliban, illegal business protection, easy access of people towards arms and drugs etc businesses”.</p>
3	<p>Religious and Ideological Rational:</p> <p>Supporting Non-Islamic regimes against Islamic Country Afghanistan, arresting of Taliban, al-Qaeda leaders & those who struggling for the</p> <p>Implementation of Shariah actions like Lal Masjid action, US-drone attacks on religious institutions)</p>	<p>Lack of Public Support to Govt :</p> <p>Wrong policies adopted by Govt. Sudden u-turns in past policies. Own people were suffered and disturbed due of U.S policies.</p>	<p>Class Discrimination:</p> <p>Class discrimination on economic bases, Malikis, Khans and landlords had immunities in the system, poor had nothing, unequal distribution of resources & wealth, People fanning Taliban because lack of class differences, achieve power, wealth and position by joining Taliban group,</p>
4	<p>Legal and Political Flaws. Poor Administration:</p> <p>Injustice in FATA, KP, FCR and lack of effective judicial and administrative system, some key figures involvement with Taliban and making of Mujahedeen for</p>		<p>Underdevelopment:</p> <p>Government no proper check and balance on the improvement of economic condition of people.</p>

2.11.1 Impact on Foreign Direct Investment

Following joining the “US-led War on Terror”, Pakistan remained a direct target of terrorists. The rapid growing terrorist incidents have forced local and foreign investors to stay away from Pakistan. They drained out their capital from Pakistan. Further political instability has also changed the behavior of foreign investors. Pakistan has depended upon direct foreign investment. Terrorism related incidents have created a significant impact on foreign-held capitals and growth. Overall terrorism badly disturbs economy and business environment in Pakistan. This resulted in insecurity for investors and made slow down the business activities (Alam et.al, 2017). In Pakistan, FDI witnessed a sharp rising from 2003 to 2007. However, it started declining from 2008 onwards. “The foreign direct investment decreased from \$ 3719.1 to \$ 3205.4 in the same year”. In 2010 and 2011, it further witnessed a decline. Total investment also dropped from 22.5 % of GDP in 2006-07 to 13.4 % in 2010-11 (Irshad, 2011). A study conducted by Abadie & Gardeazbal (2007) examined the terrorism impact on direct foreign investment. “The result shows that one standard deviation increase in terrorism leads to a decrease in the ratio of net FDI to GDP of between 4.16 and 6.54 percentage points. Enders and Sandler studied the impact of terrorism on FDI in Greece and Spain and found a higher adverse impact of terrorism on FDI” (Abadie & Gardeazabal, 2007).

2.11.2 Impact on Agriculture

In Pakistan, the agriculture sector employing the 44.7 % labor force. It contributes 21.8 % to the GDP of the country. In the terrorism hit areas, including Tribal belt and KP, agriculture is the key income source for people. Agriculture has a huge impact on the balance of payment. The loss to agriculture sector amounted 35 billion rupees in Swat. From 2007 to 2009, 55 to 70 % loss amounted to fruit in Swat. It was due to frequent imposition of curfews, shelling, blowing of bridges, bomb attacks and hostilities (Amba, 2011). From 2004

to 2005, the growth of the agriculture sector remained at 6.5 %. In 2005 to 2006, to decrease to 6.3 %, “This declined in agriculture sector was not only due to terrorism but other factors including devastating floods in 2010 were responsible”.

2.11.3 Impact of Terrorism on the Tourism Industry

Tourism is the biggest industry in the world. The rich history of Pakistan along with geographical variety and as well as a culture make its international tourism appeal. It is a foundation of employment, foreign exchange, ultimately economic development and revenue generation of any country. In 1991, Enders, from 1970 to 1988, Sandler and Parise have examined terrorism impact on tourism sector through using monthly data. “The study found that in Spain a single terrorist attack lowered the number of tourists by 140,000. Between 1974 and 1988 Austria suffered \$4.5 billion. Italy lost \$1.1 and Greece \$0.8 billion revenue”. (Enders, Sandler & Parise, 1992) “Europe as a whole suffered losses of \$16.1 billion”. The decline of tourism is linked up with terrorism (Ashraf, Kayani & Rafiq, 2012).

Terrorism also decreased the number of tourists in different parts of Pakistan. In 2008, “Pakistan Hotels Association” pointed “a sharp decline in hotel occupancy rates” following the attack on Marriot hotel in Islamabad. On the other hand, security threat also led to decline events like marriages and conventions. From 2007 to 2008, the occupancy rates dropped from 60 % to 40. “The indirect cost of less travel to Pakistan” remained Rs10 billion. Only in the Swat valley suffered a loss of 60 billion rupees from 2007 to 2009. This loss occurred due to frequent incidents of terrorism. Out of 130 nations, Pakistan was ranked at number 113. In 2010, Swat was cleared from militancy following the successful military operation. “The Hotel Association offered the tourists ten-day free stay in hotels in Swat” (Azam, 2011). Terrorism Tribal districts and KP badly hit the tourism industry. Pakistan needed to have the confidence of regional countries to address terrorism. The government should reconstruct the

destroyed infrastructure of schools and roads in Tribal districts and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. “Government may establish opportunity zones in the militancy-hit areas” (Ashraf et al, 2012).

In 2017, according to Bloomberg report, tourism in Pakistan again flourishing as terrorist attack decreased. The report revealed that annual tourists’ arrivals to the country have reached to over triple as compared to 2013. “The domestic travelers rose 30 % to 38.3 million”. In December 2014, following the attack on “Army Public School in Peshawar” government has overcome militancy. Once again Tourists started returning to Swat Valley and other parts of the country. In 2007, “The World Travel and Tourism Council placed a total contribution of tourism to Pakistan’s economy at \$19.4 billion”. The “WTTC” also predicts that to rise to over 36 billion dollars in a decade. Security challenges are there; however, casualties from attacks dropped to 43 % (*Pakistan Today*, 2017).

“The Managing Director of Wild Frontiers Adventure Travel Ltd Jonny Bealby, a London-based operator, stated said his tours to the South Asian nation are up 60 percent from last year. Bealby said the major improvement in Pakistan had been infrastructure. The roads have improved immeasurably, reducing journey times. Hotel bookings also increased by 80 percent” (*Pakistan Today*, 2017).

2.12 War on Terror Repercussions for Pakistan

In the post 9/11 era, Pak-US bilateral ties improved. The U.S. removed sanctions related to democracy and nuclear on Pakistan. “It extended immediate support of \$19 billion of Coalition Support Funds”. Pakistan economic health improved following receiving financial aid from U.S (Hague, 2007).

2.12.1 Security and Political Repercussions

Pakistan’s isolation has ended following joining the coalition in the war on terror. “The U.S. gave Pakistan status of Major non-NATO Ally”. Its membership in the Commonwealth was restored. However, in 2008, drone attacks of the United States increased

on Pakistani territory. It fuelled anti-U.S feeling among people. (Cronin, 2004) Missile strikes were counter-productive, violated the sovereignty and detrimental to cooperation with the U.S (Wadhams et al., 2008). This U.S attitude energized the feelings that America was combating a war against Islam under cover of terrorism. People analyzed America's help for Musharraf an impediment and not a facilitator towards flourishing democracy (Ballen, 2008). "Congressional Research Center in its report concluded that the Bush Administration showed signs of a shift in its long-standing Pakistan policies, particularly on democratization. By saying unconditional yes to the U.S. demands, Musharraf government dragged Pakistan into the war" (Hathaway, 2008).

"India jumped to this opportunity from the global situation when militants attacked its Parliament on December 13, 2001. It forced Musharraf to give up its country's stance on Kashmir. India shifted its forces to Pakistan border. Pakistan and India forces on borders produced a serious and devastating threat of nuclear war. (Kronstadt, 2008) "U.S. played an "important role to control this threat and succeed when both India and Pakistan withdraw their troops on the border. In October 2002, under U.S. pressure Musharraf banned eight extremist groups. The government also arrested 2,000 activists. Over 624 Jihadi offices were sealed" (Musharraf, 2006).

Pakistan and India resumed composite dialogue to resolve all issues, including the core of Kashmir. Kashmir issue was projected on world media with proactive diplomacy of Pakistan. This war has brought serious security repercussions. Pakistan has launched many military operations in Tribal districts (FATA) to overcome the Taliban and al-Qaeda network. The government faced serious security problems, including suicide bombings and the terrorist attack in the country. It killed thousands of innocent people and destruction of property (Lunn, et al., 2007). In Pakistan, religious militant groups, Taliban and their followers highly condemned former President Musharraf policy towards Afghanistan. They began militancy (Ahmed, 2010) Security forces have killed or arrested most of the militants in various operations. However, terrorist started attacks by targeting public property and institutions.

“They also targeted officials including the President and the Prime Minister”. Thousands of security personnel also lost their lives during military operations against militants (Musharraf, 2006).

Pakistan and US collaboration witnessed a new height. It entered into military cooperation. America sanctioned “a \$1.2 billion arms sale package” for Pakistan. In March 2005, the former US “President Bush authorized the sale of F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan”. We also reinstated a military training program with Pakistan. (Hussain, 2005) In 2006, Islamabad remained one of the largest recipients of America military aid. Between the two sides, the arms sale reached 3.5 billion US dollars. However, Pakistan suffered heavily from terrorism. (Bruno & Bajoria, 2008)

Thousands of soldiers sacrificed their lives. These figures were more in number than the total allied soldiers killed in Afghanistan. “This is besides collateral damage to human life. The US and India nuclear agreement is also a serious repercussion for Pakistan as India tried to manipulate the American doctrine of pre-emption to pressurize Pakistan.” Earlier, Islamabad secured its Western border through the presence of a friendly regime in Afghanistan. Afghan government remained is pro-Indian and extremely antagonistic to Pakistan. Pakistan influence on Afghanistan has decreased in the post-9/11. Indian influence increased. It has added to the regional instability. The Indian influence has made Pakistan Western border highly troubled (Musarrat, 2007). Indian influence was a “setback for Pakistan’s foreign policy”. The Indian involvement in Afghanistan caused serious implications for Pakistan. Afghan-Indo nexus also disturbed the peace of the region. Indian opened 4-consulates in “Jalalabad, Kandahar, Herat, and Mazar-e-Sharif”. The new Indo-Kabul engagements remained bone of contention between Islamabad and New Delhi (Zaman, 2003). The misplaced “of a friendly government in Afghanistan, makes Pakistan’s western border vulnerable to attacks and interference”. Subsequently, Pakistan failed to stop a pro-

Indian regime in Afghanistan and New Delhi involvement “in Afghanistan and Central Asian Republicans (CARs)”. New Delhi gets benefit more than Islamabad from US-alliance in War on Terror (Kumari, 2008).

“Besides that, growing extremism in Pakistan is also a drawback of the alliance and number of other social and economic problems, including foreign interference in internal affairs, especially in FATA and Baluchistan. Under the US pressure, Pakistan conducted various military operations in WANA (Waziristan), FATA and Baluchistan to capture Taliban and Al-Qaeda members and to curb extremism from the society. Suicide attacks, bombing, blasting, killing of common masses, security forces and political leaders, damaging public and private property and law and order situation, especially in FATA and Baluchistan and clashes between the security forces and extremists, became daily routine activities. Thus militancy and terrorism increased in Pakistan, which contributed to political instability with serious security complications for Pakistan” (Kronstadt, 2012).

Even Pakistan was forced not to support the freedom struggle in Kashmir. It banned several Jihadi groups. Pakistan's nuclear and strategic safety also came under discussion following 9/11. World major powers, including the United States, questioned concerning Pakistan's nuclear assets. According to "Cooperative Monitoring Centre report, The most dreaded scenarios envisioned control of Pakistan's nuclear weapons or fissile material slipping into the hands of a pro-Taliban militant Islamic group or sympathizers in the military or intelligence agencies" (Basrur & Rizvi, 2003). Musharraf Government has taken strong notice of these speculative media reports. Pakistan has assured the international community, including the U.S. that its nuclear weapons were safe. Further, additional security measures were enforced for the safety of these nuclear arsenals after 9/11. U.S. military in Pakistan also has external regional repercussions. Despite this, Islamabad supported Washington in this costly war against terrorism (Alcorta & Nixon, 2011).

2.12.2 Economic Repercussions

Pakistan engagement in "War on Terror" has had inconceivable economic impacts on its economy. Militancy badly disrupted investment in the country. It jeopardized social life in society. War brought destruction for underdeveloped countries more than a developed one. For the last 3-decades, Pakistan remained the victim of terrorism. Besides terrorism, ethnic and sectarian conflicts also badly damaged the economy of Pakistan. Economic growth decreased sharply due to terror. Terrorism severely affected all fields of the economy. Along with the immeasurable loss to humans, "economic costs of terrorism include poverty, capital flight, destruction of infrastructure, reduction in FDI and exports, low public revenues and diversion of the development expenditure to the expenditure on law and order maintenance and so forth". Overall economic growth remained low. In 2010, overall GDP growth decreased due to terrorism-related violence in Pakistan. It dropped to 1.6 % (Naeem et.al, 2015). "Congressional Research Service November 2008 Report, through the renewal of large U.S. assistance packages and reimbursements for militarized counterterrorism efforts, Pakistan by the end of FY 2008 had received about \$12 billion. Majority of this in the form of coalition support reimbursements, with another \$3.1 billion for economic purposes and nearly \$2.2 billion for security-related programs" However, this aid to Pakistan could not benefit its people. Most of the aid was used by the military. Thus Pakistan faced political instability. (Hathaway, 2008) Following joining the coalition in this war, the economy of Pakistan received huge losses. Society faced instability due to militancy. Due to fear, investors were reluctant to invest. Stock Market received shocked. Consequently, economic growth remained poor and low. The desired improvement in the economy remained far away. It decreased (Abbas, 2005). The continued war on terror and uncertain conditions put Pakistan on severe repercussions on its annual budgets since 9/11. Pakistan's economy

suffered to the tune of \$126 Billion. The war on terror also hit Pakistan exports and foreign investments. Pakistan also faced political instability (*The News*, 2009)

2.12.3 Socio and Cultural Repercussions for Pakistan

In early 1980, Pakistan's pro-US relations developed hostility with Russia. This policy suffered from Pakistan. This was the most sacrificial alliance of any nation in history. The second alliance in the war on terror, have forced millions of refugees to Pakistan. This issue has disturbed social structure in Pakistan. Peace remained disturbed. The menace of small arms, drugs, sectarianism and extremism was introduced in the society. The Pak-US partnership alliance in the war on terror produced many issues Islamabad. Violence and extremism witnessed in society. US diplomacy has compelled Musharraf Government to take steps by restricting radical group's activities. Jihadi organizations were banned. "Their assets were frozen of having links with terrorists". The Government launched various operations against terrorists. Several terrorists were arrested (Tellis, 2008). Drugs and small arms penetration increased into the country. "The non-state actors got new momentum". The new phenomenon of suicide bombing introduced in society. This resulted in the killing of thousands of innocent. In Pakistan, the extreme dislike towards the US increased. The society suffered from many types of militancy, "ranging from foreign inspired and assisted attacks against innocent civilians, to sectarian violence". Pakistan intensified anti-terrorist steps by joining international efforts against the terror network. Musharraf Government extended full cooperation with the US against terrorism. However, the issues, including crack-down on terrorists in Swat and "Lal Masjid operation" in Islamabad as well in Tribal districts created serious social problems (Abbas, 2005).

After 9/11, terrorism remained a key issue for Pakistan. Terrorism created several social issues. Operations in various parts of the country against terrorists introduced suicide

attacks. Terrorists also hit check posts, training units, and forces convoys. They targeted "public places including schools, polling stations, meetings/Jirga, hotels and restaurants, public rallies, mosques and various other places". Militants attacked government installations including "gas pipelines, railway tracks, power transmission lines, bridges, and communications infrastructure. The extremists group also closed down girls' schools, barbershops, and video stores". It challenged the government writ. Uncertainty extended across the whole country. The incidents of robbery, kidnapping, murdering, killing, and other terrorism-related violence increased. All these terrorism-related incidents produced insecurity in the country which badly disturbs social life (Curtis, 2007).

2.13 Pakistan Counterterrorism Policies and Strategies

Pakistan took various counter-terrorism measures under the framework of the National Action Plan (NAP), and as a result, major decline witnessed in the number of terrorist attacks. Pakistan provided full cooperation against terrorism to the international community and the United States. It provided air base for use and intelligence sharing and logistic support. Islamabad brought tremendous change to its foreign policy towards Afghanistan. Pakistan also discarded its relations with the Taliban Government and joined coalition forces in the war on terror. In response, the Pakistani Government faced criticism from political parties and citizen. Taliban also threatened Pakistan over the decision. Many suicides attacks have been witnessed inside the country that killed thousands of innocents. Pakistan is at a key juncture and has links with main regional players. Because of this location, Washington needed Islamabad cooperation and in the war. The United States used Pakistan air bases for an operation against militants in Afghanistan. Pakistan also extended logistic support and intelligence sharing to the US. Cooperation sought by America was such as, "over flight rights, access to Pakistani air, naval and land bases, crush the domestic elements that are to support terrorism, end every logistic and diplomatic support to Taliban." (Ahmed, 2008) The

diplomatic relation between the Taliban government and Pakistan ended over the demand of the Pentagon. Islamabad accepted all demands of Washington. The demand came following growing militancy and in instability in Afghanistan (Hafeez, 2008).

Pakistan contributions in the "war on terror" were imperative. It was established that "without the active and sincere participation of Pakistan, the desired results to break the al Qaeda network could not have been achieved" (Rehman, 2003). The U.S also realized this fact, and it developed intensive cooperative relationships. Because of Pakistan's collaboration in this war, the U.S. was able to dismantle the militants, including Al-Qaeda network. The US-led forces' "expenditure would have been doubled if Pakistan had not cooperated in the war on terror". With-out Pakistan contributions, it was not possible to complete the attack of Afghanistan easily. U.S. media also acknowledged Pakistan this role. Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell also acknowledged Pakistan's role by telling Bush that "whatever action he took, it could not be done without Pakistan's support. So the Pakistani had to be put on notice" (Munawar, 2005). On many occasion, U.S. leadership lauded Pakistan contributions against terrorism. In June 2004, "Commander of the U.S. Central Command, Gen. Abizaid, said that Pakistan had done more for U.S. in the war against al-Qaeda than any other country". In June 2004, Washington termed Islamabad as a vital ally. It also upgraded the status of Pakistan it by U.S. as a "major non-NATO ally" (Alan, 2004).

After 9/11, Pakistan remained a key player in preventing terrorism. United Nations adopted many resolutions to prevent terrorism. Pakistan supported all these resolutions. "Pakistan was a signatory to ten out of twelve U.N. anti-terrorist conventions on the suppression of terrorism bombings. It also signed the O.I.C. Convention on combating international terrorism". Islamabad adopted various measures to overcome militancy. The steps included cooperation with "coalition to curb terrorism, immigration control measures to keep a check on the movement of extremists, action against fanatical and extremist groups,

detention of Jihadi leaders, banning Jihadi organizations and reformation and regulation of madrasahs" (Hidayat, 2013). Since 9/11, Islamabad has sacrificed more than any other state in the "War on Terror". Pakistan sacrificed thousands of civilians and security men. The country witnessed a huge destruction of this war. The growth of the economy remained down because of terrorism. The social and political structure also badly affected in the country. Despite the above facts and ally in the war on terror, America provided some aid, including military to Pakistan that was not according to expectations.

2.13.1 Policies and Strategies

Pakistan adopted many defensive and proactive anti-terror steps to overcome terrorist groups. It launched various counterinsurgency operations against militants to dislodge transnational militants. In 2014, Pakistan launched first-ever "National Internal Security Policy". In 2018, the policy was again launched for the second time aimed to overcome militancy.

2.13.2 National Internal Security Policy 2014-2018

Pakistan's internal security remained under constant threat due to terrorism and extremism. Various measures were adopted to deal with terrorism and extremism. Major designs of the policy included, "negotiation with all shareholders, separation of terrorist from their funding system and deterrence augmentation by capacity structure of the security gear to deactivate threats of inside security of Pakistan." Under the policy, it is recommended that all law enforcement agencies will work together under the umbrella of "Counter-Terrorism Departments (CTDs)" (Sana & Mariuam, 2018).

“The National Internal Security Policy (NISP) provides a comprehensive framework for dealing with internal security challenges. It proposes a way forward based on the current situation in Pakistan. NISP envisions a peaceful, democratic and inclusive society forged by the promotion of the rule of law, inclusive growth, political stability, and respect for diversity. It sets forth establishing the rule of law, the

creation of a shared vision, providing social justice and ensuring political stability as its strategic goals and objectives. NISP draws inspiration from the teachings of Islam, Quaid-e-Azam’s policy statements, Constitution of The Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Pakistan Vision 2025 to promote the values above and goals” (NISP, 2018).

The framework of NISP has been prepared with the consultative of all stakeholders. It is an integrated federal framework. Its framework is based on accumulated judgments and thoughts within several institutions of the state. The assessments of civil society are also included in eloquent a security vision based on the collective wisdom of the nation (NISP, 2018). Several important developments were made under this policy framework. It included a reduction in terrorism-related incidents in the country. The following figure 13 illustrates the achievements. A very considerable decline witnessed by reducing sectarian violence in the country. The following Figure 13 illustrates:

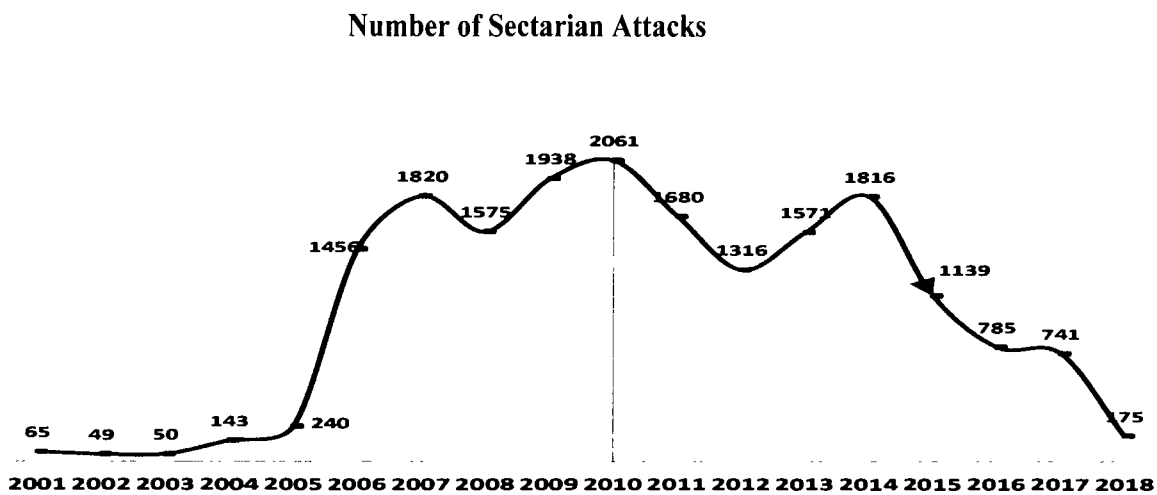
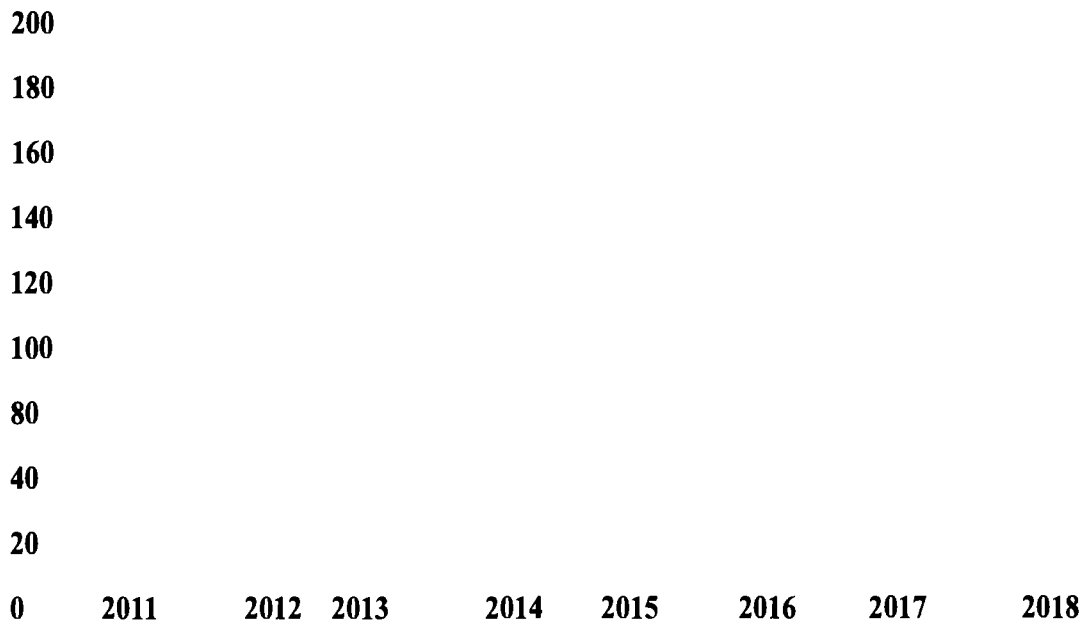


Figure 13: Reduction of Terrorism incidents in Pakistan: NACTA

Source-NACTA



Number of Sectarian Attacks

Figure14: Reduction in Sectarian Attacks: Source NACTA

2.13.3 National Action Plan (NAP)

Pakistan's Government has unearthed 20-point National Action Plan to hunt down terrorists in the country. The plan was revealed in January 2015, following terrorists' attack on Army Public School in Peshawar in December, 2014. Both political and military leadership have prepared the plan with consensus to overcome militancy. "They leadership learned from previous counterinsurgency strategies that undertaking the control of one region does not reduce the terrorist attacks and provide deterrence". Following military operations under counterinsurgency strategy the well established terrorists shifted from one place to another. This strategy successfully destroyed the militants' network in the country. The Government implemented the new counterinsurgency strategy "National Action Plan". This strategy remained a hallmark one for "Zarb-e-Azb" operation against terrorists in "North

Waziristan Agency". Consequently, under this strategy terrorism, related incidents have been reduced to a significant level (Sana & Mariuam, 2018).

2.14 Military Operations 2001-2019

Pakistan has chalked out a comprehensive approach against militancy. Pakistan Army has carried out several operations in Tribal areas near the border with Afghanistan. Based on these military operations, Pakistan made key "contribution in restraining and marginalizing al-Qaeda network". Security forces have killed many Al-Qaeda leaders during targeted raids. After 9/11, Pakistan security forces have fought a war against insurgency and militancy. Forces remained to engage to ensure security and stability. Security forces adopted various techniques by bringing various in both thinking and strategy to overcome the challenges. The Pakistan Army conducted seven major Operations. Smaller operations were also conducted against militants. Brief analyses of these operations are below:

2.14.1 Operation Enduring Freedom 2001-2002

Following 9/11, the U.S. launched an invasion against the Taliban's government in Afghanistan. The invasion aimed to eliminate al-Qaeda and other militant groups from Afghanistan. Al-Qaeda and Taliban were alleged for horrific attacks on the Pentagon and World. On October 7, 2001, U.S. formally launched operation "Enduring Freedom" against the Taliban government. Pakistan remained a key player in this war. Pakistan received non-NATO ally status from U.S (Hafeez, 2008). Islamabad extended full cooperation to the U.S. It provided logistic support and information sharing to ally forces. Islamabad suspended political and logistic assistance to the Taliban over America demand. Islamabad permitted U.S. forces to use its bases against Taliban including Al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan. The bases used by the U.S. included Jacobabad, Shamsi and Dalbadin. On the other hand,

Pakistan also deployed troops alongside Afghanistan border to infiltration roots into Pakistan. Military operations were also conducted (Umbreen, 2013).

In December 2001, Pakistan also positioned troops in Khurram and Khyber agencies. The deployment aimed to hunt down militants. Pakistan forces also provided support to US-military in searching Al-Qaeda rebels. The rebels moved they're after an operation in Tora Bora. Taliban and Al-Qaeda dissidents were dislocated due to OEF in the mountains of Afghanistan (Naheed, 2013). Pakistan's Government further increased troop's deployment in southern and northern Waziristan. In March 2002, Pakistan extended cooperation to America in "Operation Anaconda". U.S. forces started this operation "in Shah-i-kot Valley of Paktia and Khost provinces of Afghanistan". The operation "Anaconda and OEF" was launched to eliminate Taliban regime. In March 2002, during a joint operation of Pak-US troops "a senior al-Qaeda commander Abu Zubaidah" were apprehended in Faisalabad. "Ramzi bin Al-Shibh and other key suspects of 9/11 attacks were also detained. The OEF was partly successful in its objectives as it could not capture the prime figures of al-Qaeda include Osama bin Laden and Aimen-al-Zawahari" (Iram & Iqbal, 2016).

2.14.2 Operation Al-Mizaan 2002-2006

After the fall of the Taliban government in Afghanistan, Taliban and al-Qaeda fugitives and other network began moving to the tribal belt to take shelter there. On the other hand, local people provided shelter to them. They launched attacks over security forces in various parts of Tribal districts. (FATA) In June 2002, terrorists killed 12 security personnel in Azam Warsak area (Ahmad, 2014). Thus, in June 2002, Pakistan's Government initiated military operation al-Mizan aimed to hunt down militants in Tribal belt (FATA). The key design of the action was to eliminate jihadists and terrorists. They threatened Pakistan's security. Another objective was to kill or detain foreign militants. Around 80,000 security

personnel took part in this operation. The Pakistani military also established various check posts along the border in Waziristan. The forces conducted regular operations. Many minor action operations like “Operation Kalosha-II in Waziristan” were also conducted under al-Mizan (Jones & Fair, 2010).

2.14.3 Operation Zalzala (Earthquake) 2008

On 18th January 2008, Pakistan security forces launched Operation Zalzala (Earthquake) against terrorists who had captured the Sararogha Fort. Baitullah Mehsud took control of the Sararogha fort in South Waziristan agency. Militants killed army troops. Therefore, Pakistan army started operation against TTP militants. The operation was launched when the Sararogha peace deal failed. Most of the area was cleared by forces under this operation Zalazala in South Waziristan. “The forces also interrupted some strategic suicide attacks”. The operation remained successful. The security forces vacated most of the area during the operation (Sana & Mariuam, 2018).

2.14.4 Operation Sirat e Mustaqeem-2008

On 29th June 2008, Pakistan security forces launched another operation “Sirat-e-Mustaqeem (right path)” in Khyber Agency.” Sectarian conflict emerged between two groups “Barelvi Ansar-ul-Islam and Deobandi Lashkar-e-Islam” in Khyber Agency. The operation was launched following the emergence of sectarian conflict in the area. Consequently, this area remained the centre of terrorist activities (Adnan, 2012).

2.14.5 Operation Rah-e-Rast and Rah-e-Haq from 2007-to 2009

In November 2007, the first phase of Operation “Rah-e-Haq” was launched in Swat. It was comprised of three phases. It was started with the support of local people to wipe out terrorists from the valley. The second phase of the operation was carried out in July 2008. This was continued for one year. It was conducted over the demand of the provincial

government. In January 2009, Pakistan military launched its third phase by “imposing shoot-on-sight curfews in major cities in Swat”. Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi forces started attacking troops and destroying schools. In February, the operation ended due to agreement between government and TNSM. The agreement is also known as the Malakand Accord. Terrorists once again took control of government buildings and shops in Mingora in April 2009. They also extended their activities to nearby districts of Buner and Shangla. They started attacks over schools, NGO offices, police stations and security personnel. In May 2009, Pakistan Army again started operation under the name of “Rah-e-Rast”. The objective of the operation was to clear the area from militants. Forces killed or captured important Pakistani Taliban leaders along with other militant groups.” A major offensive took place in the Mingora. Security forces successfully regained control of entire Mingora. Forces destroyed hidden explosives, ammunition, confiscated arms and concrete bunkers of militants” (Zahid, 2014).

2.14.6 Operation Sherdil 2008-2009

In September 2008, “Operation Sher Dil’ (lion heart)” was launched by Pakistan Army in Bajaur. It was aimed to overcome various terrorist groups which had challenged the writ of the government. “The operation was conducted in the areas of Loesam, Nawagai, Alizai and Khar”. Troops have unearthed wide tunnel system in the area of Loam. Security forces have demolished every house that was connected to the tunnel. This tunnel was used as a sanctuary of terrorist ammunition storage. The area was successfully cleared from the militants (Iram & Iqbal, 2016). “It’s known as Battle-of- Bajour”. During this operation, 63 army troops were killed, and over 100 militants also killed in the fight (PIPS7, 2016).

2.14.7 Operation Rah-e-Nijat-2009

In 2009, Rah-e-Nijaat (Path of Salvation) operation was started in South Waziristan. Pakistan military launched this operation with the support of the Air Force. It was to wipe out “Mehsud led Taliban bases in South Waziristan”. Forces carried out “search and clearance” raids. Along with these various important operations were also conducted in “South Waziristan”. Under the operation command and control system of TTP were dismantled in the major area of “Mehsud in South Waziristan”. The basic design of the action was to eliminate the stronghold of TTP Tribal belt. “The operation was conclusive victory of Pakistan military against militants” (Iram & Iqbal, 2016).

2.14.8 Operation Brekhna-2009

The “Operation Brekhna (meaning Thunder)” was launched by Pakistan Army against “Tehriki-Taliban Pakistan in Momand Agency”. In 2009, this operation was launched. Later it was converted in continuing operation “Zarb-e-Azb” in 2014.

2.14.9 Operation Khwakh Ba De Sham from 2009 to 2010

Security forces conducted counterinsurgency raid against “TTP in Orakzai agency and Kurram”. It was named “Operation Khwakh Ba Da Sham (will teach you a lesson)”. Military forces attempted to clear areas from terrorists around Orakzai’s main town of Kalaya. In March 2010, the operation was launched, In June 2010, it was denigrated. Security forces again launched this operation in Kurram Agency in September 2009. It was aimed to hunt down militants in the area (Khan, 2012 & Rehman et al., 2017)

2.14.10 Zarb-e-Azb Operation from 2014 to 2017

The security forces launched operation Zarb-e-Azb against terrorists on June, 15-2014 in North Waziristan. It was started against militants without any discrimination and distinction. Pakistan military forces jointly launched it. Before launching the operation, negotiations were held between the government and “Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)”. However, these negotiations were failed to honor the ceasefire agreement. TTP continued attacks on forces as well on civilians during the ceasefire agreement. On June, 8-2014, a terrorists attack Jinnah International Airport in Karachi was a major blow to the peace talks. As a result, 36 people were killed and 18 wounded in the attack. Consequently, Zarb-e-Azb operation was launched against “TTP, East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM), Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)” and other militants groups operating from North Waziristan (Saman, 2017). Before this initiative “ISPR Spokesperson Maj Gen Asim Saleem Bajwa” said:

“The country was plagued with terrorism, bombings, IEDs² explosions, target killings and kidnappings. North Waziristan had become a hub of all kinds of terrorists, with recruitment and training centers and hosted factories making suicide vests, IEDs and vehicles for suicide missions”(The Friday Times, 2016).

In response, militants increased retaliatory suicide attacks. On November 2 2014, terrorists attacked border crossing of Pakistan and India at Wagah. The attack claimed 55 lives, leaving 200 injured. On December 16, 2014, Mullah Fazlullah led TTP group targeted Army Public School in Peshawar. At least 132 children were killed in the attack (Farhan, 2015). In January 2015, political leadership and military prepared 20 points counterinsurgency plan under “National Action Plan (NAP)”. The NAP aimed was to overcome the menace of terrorism from the country. “The 20-piont plan contributed in boosting Operation Zarb-e-Azb by amplifying counter terrorism efforts. Former Army Chief Gen. Raheel Sharif said that the Operation was meant to”

“Root out terrorists from tribal areas, to get rid of terrorism from the country and to ensure the rebuilding of affected areas and rehabilitation of the TDPs” (*The Nation*, 2014).

In February 2016, militant hideouts were destroyed in Shawal Valley. The valley was cleared from terrorists. The writ of the state was successfully restored following the operation in April 2016. A total 4,304-kilometre area was cleared from militants by security forces. Huge explosive materials were seized. About 7500 bomb-making factories were sealed in Shawal. Forces have killed about 3500 militants, and 992 sanctuaries of terrorists were demolished. Around 490 troops of Pakistan Army lost their lives in the operation (Saman, 2017). The forces effectively destroyed the command-and-control system of TTP and another terrorist network in Waziristan Agencies. The repatriation process of the Temporarily Displaced Persons (TDPs) was held before the operation in March 2015. This operation successfully reduced the number of terrorist attacks to a minimum level in the country. The operation also upgraded the role of Pakistan on an international level. “It played a crucial role in reinforcing the bilateral ties between China and Pakistan. It also bolstered the strategic ties in both states and deepened economic collaboration in the form of China-Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC)” (Sana and Mariuam, 2018).

Manifestation of Success

Situation reversed from hopelessness to hope - signs of stability visible
 From over 13 incidents per month, the number has reduced considerably

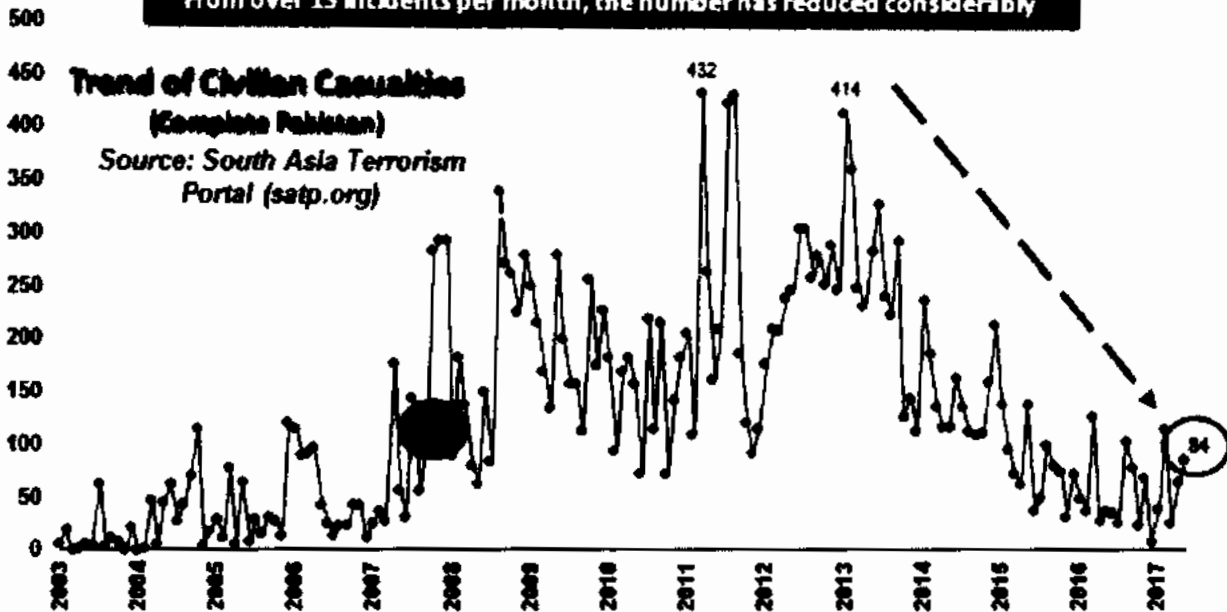


Figure 15: Decreasing Trend in Civilian Casualties

2.14.11 Combing Operations 2016

On May 02, 2016, Pakistan military top brass approved combing operation at Corps Commanders Conference held in Rawalpindi, against terrorists and militant groups. In a statement, Inter-Services Public Relations revealed that “a comprehensive plan for carrying out Combing Operations was approved. The main objective of combing operations was to locate the terrorists, their facilitators and sleeper cells”. It was also aimed to expand the reach of civilian law enforcement agencies to maintain the writ of the government. The military was deployed in potentially troubled areas and the troops to hunt down terrorists, their sleeper cells and facilitators. Pakistan army leads the combing operations with the support of other security forces, including civilian law enforcement agencies (*Dawn*, 2016).

2.14.12 Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad 2017-2019

“Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad” was launched by Pakistan Army across the country on February, 22-2017. It was aimed to eliminate the residual threat of violence in the country. It was also intended to ensure border security. “Pakistan Army, Law Enforcing Agencies (LEAs) and Civil Armed Forces (CAF)” jointly launched the operation. They participate actively to contribute to the efforts to wipe out the menace of militancy and violence. Punjab Ranger also conducted counterinsurgency operations in Punjab. The counterinsurgency raids are continued against militancy across the country. Moe focus is on operative border security supervision. “Countrywide explosive control and de-weaponisation are further cardinals of the efforts under National Action Plan” (*Dawn*, 2017). The government, for the first time, allowed armed forces to conduct raids against terrorists and their sleeper cells in Pakistan under operation Radd-ul-Fasaad. The operation was announced to deal with terrorists with an iron hand. Following the announcement, “Punjab had requested the federal government to deploy over 2,000 Para-military personnel of the Rangers in the province, who would be given policing powers to conduct intelligence-based operations (IBOs) against militants, wherever required, with full authority” (Asad, 2017).

On January 02 2019, in an interview, “Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) DG Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor” said cooperation between political and military leadership made nationwide anti-terror Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad successful. He said “35,000 units of illegal weapons were recovered and 75,000 covert operations were carried out during the past two years,” The spokesperson said that 345 terrorists were sentenced to death through military courts. He said the end goal of the operation is to maintain the writ of the state (*Pakistan Today*, 2019). The following table illustrates fatalities in terrorist-related violence in Pakistan from 2001-2019:

Table 5: Pakistan's Security Profile from 2001 to 2019

Years	Civilians	Security Personnel	Terrorists/Insurgents	Total
2001	29	9	0	38
2002	88	7	44	139
2003	140	24	25	189
2004	435	184	244	863
2005	430	81	137	648
2006	608	325	538	1471
2007	1522	597	1479	3598
2008	2155	654	3906	6715
2009	2324	991	8389	11704
2010	1796	469	5170	7435
2011	2738	765	2800	6303
2012	3007	732	2472	6211
2013	3001	676	1702	5379
2014	1781	533	3182	5496
2015	940	339	2403	3682
2016	612	293	898	1803
2017	540	208	512	1260
2018	369	165	157	691
2019 till April	67	45	27	139
Total*	22627	7097	34085	63809

2.15 Military Operations Implications on Society

Military operations have destroyed the social, economic and political structure in terrorism hit areas, especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Tribal people assumed these “Operations as a threat to their ethnic values”. Tribal people saw these operations as a threat to their conventional values and power. “The ascent of Maulvi Fazlullah is one of such examples of the prevailing mindset”. About three million people were dislocated due to militancy in Pakistan. People left their home due to the danger of an encounter between security forces and militants. This extreme emergency also faced by Pakistan. The country economy was badly suffered due to the displacement (*The Express Tribune*, 2013). Social sector badly suffered due to military operation against terrorists in Swat and Tribal belt. It caused the denial of education. The environment of uncertainty and horror was there terrorists targeted around 120 girls and 80 other different schools only in Swat valley. The war on

terror engaged rivals increased the ratio proportion of school leaving children among young girls. The education system was halted to continue. It ultimately decreased the literacy rate of the nation. Especially, female were no allowed by militants to go to schools and colleges (*Dawn*, 2012).

“The military expeditions profoundly bothered the psychological approach of the society. The savagery has directly affected mental condition of populace in the country generally and the individuals living in the war prone zones in specific. The consistent introduction brutality incited numerous mental issues such as genuine mental sickness. Abundant youngsters in Swat saw brutality and savagery of the activists that included the demolition of schools and homicides of their crew individuals and educators. These incidents created sadness, affected mental conditions that required advising. Overall Pakistan faced social, economic and political deteriorating situation in its territory” (Umbreen, 2013).

Numerous scandalous factions have mushroomed in these areas including robbery, plundering, burglarizing, looting, seizing and slaughtering of honest individuals. Social and political rights of the locals of the tribal region have been compromised. This sense of deprivation of political rights has frustrated the people of FATA and PATA. Such predominant circumstance in northern areas favors Taliban who endeavors intrinsic auxiliary shortcomings in the tribal political and managerial framework in request to make divisions in the tribal society where a few individuals have begun seeing them as their guardian angels (Thakur, 2012). “This represents an immediate test to the writ of the government. The civilian government no more practiced power more than 24% of FATA and some unpredictable, ineffectively represented locale of the region, where the Taliban practiced immediate and roundabout control. Government holds its control on 38% area whereas Taliban controlled different shops schools and police headquarters along with other government institutions. Destitution, treachery, a crumbling lawfulness circumstance and

broad unemployment the nation over, especially, in FATA and PATA, have enormously added to the ascent of militancy in Pakistan” (Ahmad, 2010).

Pakistan has endured an aggregate loss of billions \$ because of these operations from September 2001 to 2019. That has had an unfavorable effect on the general economy as it resulted in huge deprivation of outside speculation, a flight of capital, the conclusion of commercial enterprises in clash regions, misfortune in the tourism area and horticultural field, in industry decrease in fares and ascended in swelling. Pakistan has endured a heartbreaking death toll because of brutality and turbulence the nation over. The period from 2001 to 2019 has observed developing numerous setbacks. After joining the war on terror as a non-NATO ally in 2001, it has to bear multiple complications, uncertain situation of decision making, socio-economic instability, drone warfare and its domestic effects. The backtracking of Pakistan’s economy especially poverty, inflation, unemployment, power and energy shortage and insufficient security measures, making of Durand Line as a volatile border, infiltration of militants and Jihadi culture into China, Iran and India have victimized regional and international role of Pakistan. The regional neighbors of Pakistan and the international community got serious concerns towards the expansion of TTP, al-Qaeda and other associated faction of militants which have sanctuaries and sympathy inside Pakistan (Umbreen and Ali, 2014).

2.16 History of Pakistan Afghanistan Border

The history of Pakistan and Afghanistan relations can be attributed to disagreement over the Durand Line. It can help to understand the troubled nature and shaky foundation of relations on which areas now rests between the two sides. British civil Servant, Sir Henry Mortimer Durand and Afghan ruler Amir Abdul Rehman khan demarcated boundaries between Afghanistan and British India that was named as "Durand Line" in 1893. "The aim

of this demarcation was by British ruler to make Afghanistan as a buffer state to protect India's Northwest frontier against Russia. The 1500 miles long Durand line was a political and military expediency. It served as a corridor through which armies marched. Ethnic composition of these areas was totally neglected while drawing the line of border. Tribes and villages were divided without considering their humanitarian bounds and links. Native Pakhtun tribes on both sides ignored the border. The conservative Pakhtun wanted their own cherished traditions and customs to govern their region" (Saeeda and Alqama, 2012).

After Pakistan's independence, the tribal region witnessed negligence from successive Pakistan governments. They failed to improve the basic amenities and standard of living in the areas. Lack of education and widespread unemployment created unrest. It promoted conservatism and bigotry. The per-capita income of \$ 500, some 60% of the population lives below the national poverty line in the tribal belt (Government of NWFP, 2005). The overall literacy rate is 28.4 % as compared to 57% nationally (*Daily Times*, 2017). Madrassas' system also monopolized the educational system in tribal regions. The jihadists recruited unemployed youth. The regions deep ravines and isolated valleys became a breeding ground for drug traffickers and smugglers. The mountainous tribal belt became a land of rebels. They misused religion and challenged the writ of the government. Pakistan and Afghanistan ties have not always been good since the beginning. Afghanistan cast the only dissenting vote when Pakistan sought admission in the UN (Ziring, 1997). "The major factor was a dispute over the Pakhtun tribal areas of both countries. Pakhtun is Afghanistan's largest ethnic group, about 45%, 25% are Tajik, 10% Hazara and Uzbek. Despite being a minority in Pakistan, Pakhtun prefers to live in Pakistan than in Afghanistan. Many Afghan leaders refused to recognize the Durand Line and wanted to annex Pakistan's Pakhtun-dominated Tribal regions, forming a separate independent Pakhtunistan" (Saeeda and Alqama, 2012).

The waging of Jihad against USSR has provided the fruitful base for establishing soldiers in Tribal belt in 1980 in the region. Following the 9/11 episode, the menace of terrorism increased in Pakistan. Afghan-crisis put tremendous impact in breadth and width on economy, politics, culture, history, the outlook of Tribal people and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In 2007, suicide attacks increased rapidly. Other terrorism-related incidents also increased. The percentage remained high from previous years. It has brought Pakistan at number 2, after Iraq. Only two suicides attack occurred in 2002. The number jumped to 80 in 2009.

2.16.1 The Border Management among Pak-Afghan

The issue of border management among Pakistan and Afghanistan remained from decades. Following 9/11, Islamabad repeatedly called for the fence at various parts of the border. It also proposed by Pakistan to install the biometric system at crossing points of the border between the two sides. However, the Kabul's government is unwilling to accept Islamabad proposal. Both sides are sharing about "2,430 km long border". It has formal eight crossing points among the two sides. "Pakistan intends to build proper border crossings with Afghanistan to regulate cross-border movement. Pakistan wants to sustain the successes of Zarb-e-Azb through border management mechanism" (Saman, 2017).

In the early of 2017, Pakistan's started fencing and construction of new observation posts at 2,611-kilometer border with Afghanistan. The border fencing aim is to stop terrorists' attacks inside from Afghanistan against Pakistan. The fencing is progressing despite deadly clashes and terrorist attacks on Pakistani forces (VOA, 2018). So "Khyber Agency, Bajaur and Mohmand" districts (old Agencies) are being fenced in the first phase. While, work "on the second phase of remaining border areas, including Baluchistan", is in progress. Pakistan Army and "Frontier Corps" are constructing new posts and forts at the border. It will improve surveillance and 'defensibility'. "The aerial surveillance and special

radar systems have also been installed on the Pakistani side” so far, 700 check posts have been established. Modern technological-based cameras were installed to check cross border movement. According to the Pakistan Army, 70 to 80 per cent of fencing work has been completed. The remaining work is to be completed by 2020. Around 1400 kilometer border areas with Afghanistan are to be fenced (*Daily Jang*, 2109).

The above extensive amount of scholarship reveals that role of media in conflicts has extensively been discussed. The scholars have identified that nationalistic feelings, patriotism, pressures from political and military elites and endogenous factors contribute to subjective role of media in conflicts. From political communication perspective, media support their own country’s agenda and ignore objective ethos of journalism. However, the available literature is mainly produced by the Western scholars. Since Pakistan played a key role in the global war on terror, it is important to fill the gap in the scholarship from the context of Pakistan that how and to what extent, the international media reported on its role. This study aims to contribute to the media and policy interaction in this respect.

2.17 Conclusion

The menace of terrorism is not new to society. The society is familiar long before it was given a name. The aim of actors and method of fight replaced with the passage of time and evolution of societies. It is, therefore, difficult to talk about the growth of terrorism. “It is more adequate to use the term waves of terrorism”. Terrorism stages may be differentiated. The beginning of terrorism is linked with activities of the Sicarii in the ancient world. The birth of modern terrorism occurred in the 18th century. Another stage is the interwar period of terrorism. It is linked with the second half of the twentieth century. The current wave of terrorism is called the escalation of the phenomenon. Every stage has its specificity. This specificity is distinguishing terrorism stage from one another. However, terrorism essence

remained the same. Terrorism aims to spread fear through violence in society by achieving achieve political goals.

In the 21st century, terrorism remained a hot issue. Due to terrorism everywhere bomb blasts, suicide attacks, randomly gunfire, killings of innocent people, frightening environment, damaged the public and private property and so on. This to happen any time in terror hit areas. This act has made people frightened, and the environment remained uncertain. Terrible news remained the main headlines of media in every morning and every evening. Brutal killings of innocent people, damaging and destruction of public property are painted in these headlines. People live in constant fear due to terrorist threats at any time. Fear and panic are all around in the society due to the incidents of murder, kidnapping, arson and extortion. Life is uncertain. Terrorist activities by unknown persons create social disharmony. Terrorism is the action of terrorists, which destabilize the strong government and gradually disintegrates civil society and produce threaten the environment. The act of terrorism affects the development, economically and socially. The government has to manage considerable expenditure to meet the challenges of terrorism.

In the present era, terrorism is one of the key challenges to Pakistan. Its impact is not limited to anyone dimension, and it has so many impacts on all occupations. Terrorism badly affected the Pakistan economy. At the international level, terrorism has vilified Pakistan goodwill role. Security forces operations affected "socio-psychological fabric of society". The atmosphere remained tense. Terrorism related incidents put direct mental stress over citizen across society. "Depression, anxiety, nightmares, and suicidal tendencies have been some common indicators. Defame". Pakistan is still paying a heavy price in security and economic front. Forces operations against terrorists hurt the country's economy. This impact included the destruction of infrastructure, low revenue, decrease in foreign investment, losses of livelihood, capital flight and overall worsening economic system. The military operations

have cost thousands of troops and common people. "Spreading terror, attacking military convoys, destroying public properties, especially schools, and kidnapping and looting has been regular features". After 9/11, each year the number of casualties increased due to militancy in Pakistan.

War on terror has also affected Pakistan internal and external politics. The collaboration with America assisted Islamabad to end isolation and sanction at an international level. This partnership with the US also revived Pakistan economic and military help. Pakistan also gained from the start of the composite dialogue process with New Delhi. The dialogue was started over Washington pressure. Pakistan got non-NATO ally as a "Front Line State in War on Terror". Islamabad also managed to reinstate suspended "Commonwealth Membership". In October, 1999, after the military take over Pakistan membership were suspended. Pakistan revised the traditional Afghan policy. Islamabad faced challenges in diplomacy by supporting the liberty movement in Kashmir. The anti-war alliance brought militancy in Pakistani society. Anti America sentiments increased. Pakistan also faced challenges on its Western border with Afghanistan. A serious threat was faced by its national security and as well as domestic politics. Islamabad requires remaining vigilant and careful while keeping national interests in mind. Pakistan needs to understand the most persuasive security problems facing the region. Pakistan should develop a plan to control the prevailing situation. Pakistan should not allow any other state to achieve the tactical advantage of the current situation.

CHAPTER-3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The theory is a proper statement of rules on which subject is based on ideas and fact to explain. The theory is a collection of linked ideas intended to explain something. The theory provides a complete framework for explaining observations based on facts and assumptions. From the assumptions pursues several possible hypotheses. The hypothesis can be experienced to provide support for, or challenge, the theory. Theoretical framework main design is to provide a safe foundation for any study. Another aim of this foundation is to place the outcome of the research “that it is not strayed in the enormous frame of knowledge”. Media theory endeavors to increase the understanding of readers and audience of how mass communication work in society. Human being has theorized just about every conceivable issue under the sun since the dawn of time. Theories in the fields of politics, media, social and economic developed combined thoughts that stood on research study. All these theories remained suitable for the period in which they were developed. The theories of Mass Communication build upon one another. They are always evolving because of improved research techniques, as well as technological advances. The technologies that brought a revolution in the industry of media are Television, Telegraph, Printing Press, Motion Pictures, Radio, Penny Press and the last one Internet.

Public Relations can be examined from a diversity of frameworks, including critical and rhetorical perspective as well as system. “Rhetorical approach focuses on how public relation is linked in the construction of messages and meanings that are intended to influence public’s attention towards organization”. This approach includes a broad range of approaches. These approaches are corporate communication, argumentation, advocacy,

information, persuasion, storytelling, organizing, reputation management and public opinion. Thousands of listeners and readers are getting the latest information through news media around the globe. The flourishing of our democratic norms is linked with the media. It is a recognized fact that mass media always shape perceptions. It frames issues in the desired ways to attract people. The framing idea has achieved momentum in the discipline of media. It gives guidance to examine the relationship between people views and media. It also provides a method to investigate the content of the media. "The following theory is relevant to the PHD dissertation as a rationale of this study".

3.2 Framing Theory

Framing theory explains how to present an issue in editorial, article and news story. Framing means information is organized, constructed and presented by media. Media always draws the attention of the public by portraying certain aspects of the event and then presents those characteristics particularly. "Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters." Framing is explaining communication phenomena. "It helps to identify the ideology of media domination. The media framing has powerful effects on the audience. Much of the strength of framing comes from its ability to define the issues. Framing has been useful in understanding the media's role in political life". Gitlin-1980 and Entman-1993 say "that framing tech agenda-settings used an in agenda setting where a certain portion, of an issue, is selected. Then its features are highlighted by the media in such a way to promote a particular aspect, of it. Through this way the audience attention is diverted towards a specific point by media" (Noshina, 2007).

Majority of the researchers were stressing that the agenda-setting does not quote "Ervin Goffman", who is believed founder of this theory. Ervin explains this theory as

"cognitive stleadsure which unconsciously lead the individual to whadefineso be noticed and what define that situation for that individual" (Goffman, 1974). Lippmann (1922) argues the press is always portraying the role of various events. However, this role is flawed. He illustrates that most of the time media portraying only some glimpses instead of reality itself. These glances reflect public opinion (Lippmann, 1922).

Shaw and McComb (1972) maintain that public view regarding "the world is motivated by the way the news media present the event to them". They examined either people's opinion about the events "depends on the topics cover bethinks". "Both are of ever-changing that setting the agenda is an ever-changing or dynamic process, in which changes in media coverage lead to or to cause subsequent changes in problem awareness of the issues," (Lang & Lang, 1981). This is the agenda-setting theory, a vital role. It not only frames event to think but tells a diverse method to the audience to perceive (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). According to Bernard Cohen-1963 majority of the time "the press may not be successful in telling people what to think, but it is successful in telling it think about. The scholars are of the other pinion that if media proves more space to event, then the people give worth to that news story and are more informed about that. (Entman 1993) illustrate that framing can be found in four areas, the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. So the structures of meaning that journalists draw on when presenting news may reflect culture as much as individual schemata or "persistent patterns of cognition and interpretation" (Gitlin, 1980).

Entman (1991) reveals that "the essence of framing is shrinking elements of the depicted reality to make them more or less salient News frames exist as mentally stored principles for information processing and as attributes of the news text". "They can be detected by examining particular words and visual images that appear consistently in a narrative and thematically convey meanings" (Entman, 1991). Reese explains "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to

meaningfully structure the social world” He argues “framing is concerned with the way interests, communicators, sources, and culture combine to yield coherent ways of understanding the world, which are developed using all of the available verbal and visual symbolic resources,” He says “framing” is planned culturally and cognitively. “Cognitively organizing frames make us consider social phenomena by appealing to basic psychological biases. Cultural frames appeal to a cultural understanding of social reality” (Reese, 2001).

3.3 Framing Approaches

There are three approaches which explain media frames. "Media package approach, framing as a multidimensional concept and list of frames approach".

3.3.1 Media Package Approach

Modigliani and Gamson (1989) developed this approach. They suppose: "media discourse can be conceived of as a set of interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue. It offers many different condensing symbols that imply the core frame. The packages succeed in media discourse through a combination of cultural resonance, sponsor activities, and a fit with media routines and practices". Gamson & Modigliani used cultural resonance to connect symbols on a specific issue with cultural system. The idea is that certain packages have an advantage because their ideas and language resonate with larger cultural themes. Packages are often sponsored by agents interested in promoting their interests or collective agenda (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

3.3.2 Framing as a Multidimensional Concept

The second concept to examine Framing is to unearth the devices of framing linking several dimensions or elements of stories. These dimensions are such as placement of article, the gender of the writer; terms use to pass on to a particular frame, and so on (Tankard, 2001).

3.3.3 The "List of Frames" Approach

Tankard has developed this approach. This approach indicates frames by conducting a content analysis of categories listed as frames. It focuses remained on how the event is explained through the exclusion and inclusion of frames, including certain keywords and symbols. Tankard identified 11 framing mechanism for recognizing frames. They include leads, sources of selection, headlines, and photographs. Careful examination and the choices of languages of vocabulary or words are significant framing mechanism.

“Frames are found in the choice of terms or words that provide the context in which issues are interpreted and discussed. Bantimaroudis & Ban 2001 examined the extent of word frequency to explore how *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* framed the Somalia crisis. The words peacekeeper(s) and humanitarian represented the humanitarian nature of the operation while military and intervention addressed the military aspect of the operation. The results showed that two newspapers mentioned the latter more than the former. Thus, Operation Restore Hope, they concluded, was framed “more as a military operation than as a mercy mission No striking difference was found between two newspapers in framing the crisis” (Bantimaroudis & Ban, 2001; Miller & Riechert, 2001).

3.4 Conclusion

The theory is used to understand the research question. The theory provides a guideline in choosing appropriate data. The basic objective of the theory is to interpret and analyze the selected data. It explains the primary causes of observed occurrence. Theory portrays how we think and what we look at. Theory gives essential knowledge. It draws out attention towards important questions. It provides a method to researcher to chalk out sagacity of study. “Theory enables us to connect a single study to the immense base of knowledge to which other researchers contribute”. Theory enhances a researcher’s knowledge “of interconnections and broader significance of data”. The long-lasting transformation of mass communication is converting media discipline and especially framing

study. The journalists' role is also transforming. The technological advancement replaced the old actors with a new one. "New forms of news have established their beachheads". The system witnessed new theories. "In this environment framing research can exert a centripetal force to pull together the expanding universe of texts and analyses".

Communication is an essential fraction of society. Through communication, message is disseminated. It links various concurrent functions in society with communication. These functions are included ideological, normative and informational. "Communication also propagates what a society considers to be normal or normative behavior". Communication strengthens and reinforces the main ideologies of society. It provides space for new ideas. "We can see these ideological debates being played out as people challenge and critique existing stories and narratives that permeate and propagate through our communicative culture. We can break communication down to the level of the individual sign". Media theories are explaining these ideas emerged in mass communication. Theory must explain ideas for researchers. The theory is made easy the complicated phenomenon about a particular event. Thus theoretical framework is linked with any research to gain the desired result.

CHAPTER-4

PAKISTAN RELATIONS WITH US AND UK IN THE POST 9/11 ERA

4.1 Introduction

Bilateral relations between Pak-US have seen many up and downs. Pakistan is a country that has had enjoyed most-allied status with the U.S. at a time. Now it faces hostility. The U.S. continued to see Pakistan as a double-dealing ally. Unfortunately, it remained a need-based partnership and frustration. Although, Pakistan and the U.S. enjoyed strategic and diplomatic partnership after 1947, the partnership is based on military and economic relation. Occasionally, mistrust and fear overwhelmed the partnership between the two sides. The U.S. remained one of the important allies in providing funds. Pakistan seemed that the partnership with the U.S. would provide safety against New Delhi. Islamabad also expected the large scale of military aid from the U.S. to maintain power equilibrium power in South Asia. Islamabad desired to get enhanced technical aid to upgrade its military equipment. It was also desired to enhance economic aid for the county economy uplift. A democratic and stable Pakistan is in the interest of the United States. Both Pak-US came closer to each other following the 9/11 incident. It changed the Pak-US partnership drastically. They began joint efforts to eliminate terrorism. Islamabad got applauded for its cooperation to eliminate terrorism. In the light of history, Pak-US partnership witnessed many up and downs. Despite severe public protest, Pakistan joined the coalition against terrorism. All segment of society has criticized this decision.

The strategic position of Pakistan is not deniable. Pakistan is far away from the U.S. but Washington desperately needed Islamabad's support following the 9/11 episode. The success of the war on terror is linked with the support of Pakistan. Without Pakistan support the military operation against Al-Qaeda and other militant groups were not achievable. "The

U.S. concern in Pakistan is to stabilize Afghanistan, to eliminate terrorists whether it is domestic or an international level". It was to prevent nuclear proliferation, democratization and Human rights protection. It also aimed at to normalize Islamabad and New Delhi relations to bring stability in the region. Pakistan launched a military operation against terrorists with U.S. assistance. However, Islamabad received loss instead of gain like in 1979. In 1979, Pakistan helped the U.S. to restrain USSR from expansion in Afghanistan.

The partnership between Pakistan and the U.S. remained normal till 2011. However, there was a steady demand for "Washington to do more" in the war on terror. In 2011, a breach in relations occurred because of "Raymond Davis" incident at Lahore and killing of "Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad". Secondly US-led forces attack on "Salala Check Post" and then vacation of Shamsi by the United States has deteriorated the ties. Despite splits in the partnership, they could not be separated because of war against terrorism. The U.S. couldn't launch a war against militant groups in Afghanistan without the mutual collaboration of Pakistan. This war has made closer the two countries and will continue till its logical conclusion.

The 9/11 attacks and "US-led War on Terror" altered Washington and Islamabad's relationship. General Musharraf decision to support the U.S. campaign in Afghanistan dramatically increased military and economic assistance to Pakistan. Three billion U.S. dollar package began in 2005. The U.S. granted Pakistan the status of "a major non-NATO ally". Further, the U.S. provided about \$510 million relief and reconstruction package to Pakistan following the October 2005 devastating earthquake. In 2009, the Kerry-Lugar-Berman (KLB) bill was passed. Under the bill, \$ 1.5 billion was provided in non-military aid. It should be provided to Pakistan for five years. Despite these pledges, actual disbursement to Pakistan remained low.

The “War on Terror” remained dubious and unpopular in Pakistan. It deepened insecurity in Pakistan, militancy, increased extremism, and the economic problems worsened. In 2007, the U.S. carried out drone strikes in a tribal belt near Pak-Afghan border targeting insurgents in Afghanistan. The U.S. claimed that her strategy remained successful. This drone policy tarnished U.S. role in Pakistan. In the past, it violated Pakistan’s sovereignty. The alleged activities of U.S. undercover security personnel in Pakistan were questioned? “One such example, Raymond Davis, was involved in an incident of shooting in Lahore. Later, he was released on the payment of blood money to the relatives of victims”. Following various unpleasant, the mistrust increased in the relations of both sides. In May 2011, the bin Laden killing in Abbottabad further intensified the mistrust. Pentagon continually blamed Islamabad the issue of bin Laden. It is said that Pakistani authorities were either complicit in Osama’s hideout or incompetent as they were unaware. “No official agency seemed to be aware of the fact that the most wanted man in the world was in Abbottabad”. Presently, Pakistan has detained ‘a doctor Shakil Afridi who is accused of orchestrating a fake’ anti-polio drive in Abbottabad. The campaign purportedly assisted America to reach the whereabouts of bin-Laden. Mr Shakil Aridi was charged for providing intelligence services to a foreign power. Washington has called for release and his repatriation to the U.S. This new development has further raised tension between the two countries. However, despite close strategic cooperation, Pakistan’s partnership with the U.S. continues to struggle under a “do more” shadow. In 2017, with a new President in the White House, this shadow has been growing darker. The message, coming through U.S. President Donald Trump’s tweets, takes the relationship to push back instead of moving forward (Khalid, 2018).

In a tweet, Trump said “The United States has foolishly given Pakistan more than 33 billion dollars in aid over the last 15 years, and they have given us nothing but lies & deceit, thinking of our leaders as fools. They give safe haven to the terrorists we hunt in Afghanistan,

with little help” (Mangaldas 2018). “U.S Vice President Mike Pence has also reiterated President Trump’s desire that Pakistan should be doing more on fighting terrorism, especially taking action against the Taliban, the Haqqani Network, and other outfits” (Khalid, 2018).

4.2 Renewed Ties Post 9/11 Scenario between Pakistan and US

In 2011, the partnership between Pak-US went down following a series of ugly affairs. They included the bin Laden killing in Abbottabad, the arrest and release of CIA agent Raymond Davis and U.S forces’ attack on the Pakistani check-post at Salala. This link witnessed a chill during decades of interaction between the two states. The faceoff between the Pak-US led many officials, policymakers, analysts and commentators to view these norms with alarm, mixed with expressions of betrayal, mistrust, and accusations. In July 2012, after months of the allegation, both realized that it would be beneficial for them to work together. They agreed to bring their bilateral relationship back on track to pursue their familiar interests included counter-terrorism, peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan as well as cooperation in ensuring regional peace (Najam, 2011).

4.3 Military Ties

Pakistan and U.S. have now begun a “wary cooperation” in the military and counter-terrorism areas, including the resumption of U.S. drone strikes against the Taliban militants on the Pak-Afghan border. There has also been an acknowledgement by the U.S. military and State Department that Pakistan army’s military operation “Zarb-e-Azb” against militants in its North Waziristan tribal agency has been successful in eliminating Taliban groups including the “Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and the Haqqani network” (*Washington Times*, 2014). After the resumption of the Strategic Dialogue, the Pak-US “Defense Consultative Group (DCG), a working group under the Strategic Dialogue framework”, met four times intending to strengthen cooperation to support security interests. In December

2015, the 24th meeting of DCG was held in Washington to discuss strategic defense policy issues. The meeting also exchanged views on common security concerns. The continuity of the DCG meetings and the visits in December 2014 and December 2015 by Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif to Washington reflect the renewed pledge of Pakistan and U.S. to continue working together to implement a framework for defense cooperation.

Obama administration agreed to restore transfer of military equipment under its "Excessive Defense Article," from Afghanistan and Iraq, including a new block of F-16 combat aircraft and air-to-air missiles and naval guns to Pakistan. "In April 2015, the U.S State Department approved a possible \$952 million Foreign Military Sales (F.M.S.) deal with Pakistan for 15 AH-1Z Viper helicopters and 1,000 Hellfire II missiles, along with helicopter engines, avionics and training" (Rediff News, 2015). In February 2016, the Pentagon Defense Security Cooperation Agency notified lawmakers on approval of the sale of eight F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan. The U.S. acknowledged that defense cooperation with Pakistan is in its best interest. It contributed to counter-terrorism in the region (News International, 2016).

4.4 Cooperation on Afghanistan

The restoration of improved ties between Pak-US had a positive impact on Islamabad's relations with Kabul. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani has shown willingness to expand bilateral relations with Pakistan. Nawaz Sharif government reciprocated. Several visits took place by civilian and military leaders from both countries to recalibrate ties towards military and economic relation (*Express Tribune*, 2015). They reviewed solutions for the safe return of over three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan to Afghanistan. In May 2015, both agreed to expand intelligence sharing cooperation. Efforts to improve the bilateral relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan are expected to make a positive deal to U.S efforts to stabilize and post-transition reconstruction in Afghanistan (Najam, 2011).

As a part of Washington and Islamabad's renewed cooperation for peace in Afghanistan, in May 2015 Pakistan agreed, during President Ashraf Ghani's visit to Islamabad, to facilitate dialogue between the Afghan government and Taliban for national reconciliation and a durable political settlement. Pakistan facilitated a new round of talks between the Afghan government and Taliban in July 2015 at Murree, in a move to end civil conflict in Afghanistan. The talks remained inconclusive following the announcement by the Afghan government about the death of Taliban leader Mullah Omer. Later, the U.S. government itself favored such dialogue between the Afghan government and Taliban. In December 2015, it was agreed at the sidelines of the fifth "Heart of Asia Ministerial Conference" in Islamabad, that U.S. and Pakistan, along with Afghanistan and China, would facilitate an Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace and reconciliation process. It would be a Quadrilateral Coordination Group (Q.C.G.) to achieve lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan. This is another area in which the U.S. and Pakistan are cooperating to their shared goals of durable peace in Afghanistan (*Washington DC, 2015*).

The growing Indian role in Afghanistan and emerging of Afghan insurgents who are part of a syndicate of sectarian, regional and transnational Jihadi groups in Pakistan have increased attacks on targets in Pakistan. They are harming the ties between Islamabad and Kabul. These calls for increased counter-terrorism cooperation between Pak-US to avoid misunderstanding that might affect the future course of the partnership. Some argue that solutions to the Afghan problem need to be "Afghan-owned and Afghan-led". The power vacuum created by U.S. withdrawal, which given the dynamics of competing entities and the power struggle in Afghanistan. The formula for any long-term solution would need to be devised by the Quadrilateral Coordination Group. The Group has come up with a roadmap and is now trying to arrange direct talks between the representatives of the Taliban and Afghan government (*Najam, 2011*).

Recently, on March 10, 2019, in Multan, Pakistan, Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi said that the relations between Pakistan and the U.S. are going to take a new shape because of Islamabad's role in US-Taliban peace dialogue. The US-Taliban peace dialogues are underway to restore peace and stability in Afghanistan (*Dawn*, 2019).

4.5 Renewed Pak-US Relations: The Indian Factor

The U.S.'s inclination toward India has long been annoying Pakistan. The growing cooperation between the U.S. and India is due to renewed Washington focus on great a power competition in the Indo-Pacific. Pakistan is becoming worried about the level of Indo-U.S. military cooperation. The United States pursues a policy of strategic engagement with India, with challenges of counter-terrorism. There are indications that Washington has little choice but to widen the lens of its bilateral relationship and pursue a broader engagement that recognizes Pakistan's key role as a key strategic and economic player in South Asia. There is an understanding within policymaking circles in Washington that while Pakistan-India peace talks may not be close at hand, Pakistan has been reaching out to India for the benefit of regional peace and development (Ali, 2019). The Consideration by Pakistan to reach out to India in terms of granting the Most-Favored Nation (MFN) trade status is a case in point. The United States termed this a "very, very big deal" that could bring new progress and prosperity to the region. Lower tariffs and fewer visa restrictions could boost the value of bilateral trade between Islamabad and New Delhi, as well as build "peace constituencies" in both states. Pakistan and India also signed pacts with Turkmenistan to build a pipeline through Afghanistan that would carry up to 90 million cubic meters of natural gas per day. The 1,100-mile-long pipeline projected to cost at least 7.6 billion dollars and enjoying the support of Washington as a perfect example of regional energy integration (Najam, 2011).

At the end of 2015, positive developments occurred when meetings took place between “Prime Ministers Nawaz Sharif and Narendra Modi”. The Indian External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj announced and pledged for renewed “Comprehensive Dialogue” with Pakistan. The U.S. has welcomed this announcement by emphasizing that the pace and scope of negotiations rest with the two nations. A troubled relationship between Islamabad and New Delhi may have serious consequences that could lead to a potential conflict, a possibility that must not be ignored by the U.S. On January 9, 2019, the “Indian Ministry of External Affairs and the Observer Research Foundation” organized the naval commanders’ panel Raisina Dialogue in New Delhi, reflected the current strategic reality of a mounting anti-China coalition in the Indo-Pacific. In the panel, the five naval commanders present often alluded to China’s expansionist designs in the Indo-Pacific region to strengthen cooperation in the maritime domain to counter Beijing. The Commander U.S. Indo-Pacific Command (INDOPACOM) Admiral Davidson, in response to a question on maintaining the balance of power in the region, hinted at the formation of anti-China alliances by saying: “the capability set that I think must be displayed and put in the battle space is the set of alliances and partnerships that we are all capable of.” Admiral Davidson and Indian Naval Chief Sunil Lanba agreed that relation between U.S. and India are strategic. They are committed to enhancing interoperability and overall cooperation. Especially, Admiral Davidson termed “China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)” an exclusive and predatory project (Ali, 2019).

The Indian Diaspora is continuously lobbying in the U.S. to stop economic and security assistance to Pakistan. In this regard, the U.S. and India Political Action Committee (USINPAC) has been lobbying for a long time that Washington should reconsider military aid to Pakistan. Trump’s policy is set to fuel regional tensions and to bring India into the equation. This policy will add to the complexity of the Afghan issue. U.S. lawmakers need to understand the sensitivity of the Indo-Pakistan equation while formulating any new South

Asia policy as the region has already witnessed several wars in 1947-48, 1965, 1971 and in 1999 in Kargil, Similarly the countless and continuous border skirmishes between India and Pakistan (Najam, 2011). Recently on February 26 2019, India launched airstrikes near Balakot in Pakistan. It reported no casualty. In response on February 27, "Pakistan Air Force shot down two Indian aircraft violating Pakistani airspace. One of the aircraft fell inside Azad Jammu and Kashmir while the other fell inside Indian occupied Kashmir". One Indian pilot arrested by on ground by Pakistani forces. Later he was released by the Pakistani government as a goodwill gesture (*Dawn*, 2019).

Movement on the economic front could reinforce already significant motives for both governments to eschew open conflict. Given the importance of the relationship between Pakistan and U.S. in different areas and the need of changing geo politico strategic scenario in the world, it is an obvious fact that U.S. and Pakistan will continue to cooperate in future despite Washington tilt towards India. According to Deputy National Security Adviser at the White House Ben Rhodes, "The United States does not view its relationships with India and Pakistan at the expense of each other. The U.S. always encouraged India and Pakistan to resolve their bilateral issues by pursuing a peace dialogue, and has been very supportive of that process" (*Dawn*, 2015).

4.5.1 Nuclear Issue

The U.S. rewarded India's for its nuclear ambitions. It resulted in the provision of a civil nuclear deal for Pakistan. The reward for a stringent export control on nuclear technologies and a transparent nuclear command-and-control structure has not been as forthcoming. Pakistan has taken several steps and initiatives to improve its nuclear security and to prevent its proliferation of any kind. In January 2015, in a positive development at a meeting between Pakistan's Adviser "on National Security Sartaj Aziz and U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry" in Islamabad, Washington welcomed Islamabad's ongoing efforts to

harmonize its strategic trade controls with those of the multilateral export control regimes. The U.S. expressed its full confidence in nuclear security in Pakistan. It also appreciated Pakistan's proactive engagement with the international community. It included through its hosting of I.A.E.A. training activities at its Nuclear Security Center of Excellence and its active participation in the Nuclear Security Summits. In a renewed recognition of their shared interest in strategic stability and commitment to meaningful progress, both countries now look forward to continuing bilateral dialogue on Security, Strategic Stability and Nonproliferation of nuclear weapons (Najam, 2011).

Pakistan has made its nuclear command-and-control structure explicit. Islamabad constructively engages with the international community on these issues. While American strategic compulsions might require building India as a counter-weight to China, it will be at the cost of undermining regional nonproliferation and global nuclear nonproliferation norms. Being conventionally behind India and constrained by the economy, Pakistan, perforce, has to rely on maintaining a full-spectrum strategic deterrence vis-à-vis India. While the U.S. has complained about Pakistan's evolving "tactical nuclear weapons" doctrine and the risks of an "incident" associated with the growing nuclear arsenal, Pakistan has ruled out any rollback of its program or any restrictions on it. However, Pakistan has shown its willingness to engage the U.S. on civil nuclear cooperation and its entry into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (N.S.G.). Pakistan has raised the question of nuclear disparity with the U.S. Pakistan's Adviser on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz vowed that "Pakistan is opposed to yet another country-specific exemption from N.S.G. rules to grant membership to India, as this would further compound the already fragile strategic stability environment in South Asia." It is essential, therefore, that discussions on granting membership of the N.S.G. to Pakistan form the basis of future discussions between Pakistan and the United States (*Express Tribune*, 2015).

Pakistan's relationship with the United States remains an enduring factor of its foreign policy. Pak-US ties always are based on the convergences and divergences driven by the two states' respective national interests. Pak-US relation could be said that the beginning of the renewed Strategic Dialogue process has led more towards a convergence of interests. Future development of relations seeks to build a long term sustainable relationship based on shared common interests rather than constraints of diverging regional geopolitics. One can only hope that Washington will show the same amount of understanding that it has in other non-traditional fields regarding the concerns by Pakistan of its security needs in the face of Indian aggressive hegemonic designs in the region.

4.6 Pakistan's Worries Related to Security

Pakistan's security-related concern, particularly with India, is the main obstruction inefficiently compressing armed groups. Pakistan was reckoned as tactical features to provide its tactical benefits related to Afghanistan's region and the region of Indian Occupied Kashmir. In case Pakistan is being isolated, the way it happened post removal of USSR troops from Afghanistan in the year 1988. It would make Pakistan more fortify its binds with the armed groups (Zulfiqar, 2013). The main complaint by Pakistan from the United States is that she did address her long period regional safety worries. Islamabad thinks that being closed ally to Washington during the Cold War and occurrence of 9/11 incidents, U.S. handled Pakistan with discrimination. India is responsible for promoting South Asian nuclearization. India tested nuclear weapons in 1974. On the other hand, the U.S. has been frightening of the nuclear program of Pakistan.

The U.S. is also unwilling to contribute as an intermediary between Pakistan and India to resolve the Kashmir issue. Kashmir issue has come up as a nuclear flashpoint in South Asia. In addition to the main cause for regional terrorism as it supplies a validation to

the armed groups for giving the wages to the Jihad to confront the killing of India on Kashmiris. The U.S. needs attaining benefit of its influence over India by putting pressure to resolve the core issue of Kashmir. The U.S. should also reduce the worries of Pakistan related to security in the region. It will pave the way to conclude the war against the terror in a successful manner (Ali, 2015).

4.7 Strategic Dialogue between US and Pakistan: A New Opening

In November 2012, "Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Hina Rabbani Khar", announced that Islamabad and Washington had restored full military ties. She said that the relations between the two sides moved from a difficult patch into a positive trajectory. We are moving towards a resumption of Strategic Dialogue, including a move towards developing common positions on a responsible transition in Afghanistan (*Tribune*, 2012). In December 2012, Pakistan and the United States resumed Strategic Dialogue, with different working groups. However, under the dialogue, a ministerial-level meeting could not take place. It was perhaps not so much as "reaching out" to the people and government of Pakistan, but the intentions of securing a peaceful withdrawal from Afghanistan that led Washington to move towards restoring its relations with Islamabad. In June 2013, "Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif "moved to improve the turbulent partnership with the U.S. following the crises that had marred the bilateral ties. The collaboration between Pak-US was unstable since 2011. Nawaz Sharif asked the United States to focus attention on Pakistan internal challenges included drone attacks and the war on terror. Many Pak-US experts have expressed optimism that the "dynamics of the Washington and Islamabad relationship will change under Sharif's administration" (*Friday Times*, 2013).

In the U.S., experts were of the view that Nawaz government "has experience in the business of governing, which will provide greater stability to the Pak-US relations." Both

announced the reinvigoration of their Strategic Dialogue to improve the comprehensive partnership. This was announced during "U.S. Secretary of State, John Kerry's" visit to Pakistan on July 31, 2013. The dialogue process was considered as the main vehicle that would provide the future course of direction for cooperation between the U.S. and Pakistan (Friday Times, 2013).

4.8 Pak-US dialogue in 2013

2103, dialogue between Pakistan and the U.S. was held in Washington in October. The fresh dialogue held following a turbulent relationship between the two sides. The Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif visited Washington over the invitation of U.S. President Obama. They held wide-ranging talks at the White House. They agreed to intensify contribution to international peace efforts further. They pledged that the partnership between the two sides is based on mutual respect for sovereignty. Both sides termed that Pak-US partnership is vital for economic growth and regional stability. The salient features of the dialogue and area of cooperation are below.

4.8.1 Cooperation in Economic Growth and Energy Sector

The U.S. agreed to provide support to Pakistan in the construction and rehabilitation of "Gomal Zam, Satpara, Mangla, and Tarbela. Modernization of Guddu, Jamshoro, and Muzaffargarh power plants". The U.S. will provide loan for Overseas Private Investment Corporation and private sector wind development in Sindh. Further, Washington will also provide support for "Diامر-Bhasha and Dasu dams" along with funding for the "Kaitu Weir Hydroelectric and Irrigation Project in North Waziristan". The U.S. also agrees for a technical support program to meet out the development requirement of Pakistan's domestic natural gas reserves. Both sides agreed for "US-Pakistan Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA)" to an important tool to enhance America's investments in Pakistan.

Extension of the 2003 Agreement on Science and Technology Cooperation through 2018, USAID Reading Initiative aimed at helping over 3.2 million Pakistani school children learn to read (U.S State Department, 2013).

4.8.2 Defense Cooperation

Under the cooperation, the U.S. will extend “security assistance in support of Pakistan’s counter-terrorism, counterinsurgency, counter-narcotics, and maritime security operations”. Similarly, Washington will continue support in the fields of training and equipment to Pakistan’s military and security services. Both sides pledged to enhance collaboration in regional maritime security (Ibid).

4.8.3 Counter-Terrorism

During the dialogue, PAK-US pledged for effective counter-terrorism cooperation to defeat terrorism. They reaffirmed their commitment to lasting peace in Afghanistan (Pak-US joint Statement, 2013)

4.8.4 Non-proliferation, Nuclear Security and Strategic Stability

Both sides reaffirmed the commitments of the “2012 Nuclear Security Summit by strengthening nuclear security to reduce the threat of nuclear terrorism to prevent terrorists/criminals, or other un-authorized actors from acquiring nuclear materials”. Follow increased transparency and uninterrupted dialogue in support of peaceful resolution of all outstanding issues (Ibid).

4.8.5 Regional Cooperation

They called for the early progress over “Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline. Energy Working Group to explore possible further U.S. support for the Central Asia-South Asia electricity line, CASA-1000 with close collaboration of World

Bank”. Through the partnership the development and rehabilitation of roads to be carried out by America in Pakistan’s with border areas of Afghanistan. Under the cooperation, four major transit routes are included between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Agreement held between USAID and Pakistan’s National Highway Authority to rehabilitate 247 kilometres of Kalat-Chaman road.

4.9 Pak-US Strategic Dialogues 2014

The 2014 strategic dialogue between Pakistan and U.S. were held on 27th January in Washington. Secretary of State John Kerry led the U.S. delegation while Advisor to Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz led the Pakistani delegation. Both sides marked the commitment to strengthen bilateral ties. They expressed the confidence that an enduring partnership between the two states is vital for international and as well as for regional security. The leaderships of both sides revived the progress of the “Strategic Dialogue’s five working groups. The working groups are included, energy, security, strategic stability and nonproliferation, the dense consultative group, law enforcement and counter-terrorism and economics and finance”. The meetings details of the groups are following,

4.9.1 Energy

Both sides discussed progress on developing a U.S. technical assistance program to help out the development of domestic natural gas reserves in Pakistan. Under the program 1,000 megawatts electricity to be added to the national grid of Pakistan. U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) will provide aid to finance up to 300 MWs of wind power generation projects. They agreed over the escalating efforts to facilitate regional energy connectivity including the upgrade Pakistan’s transmission infrastructure. Washington committed to provide 15 million dollars for the Central Asia-South Asia electricity transmission project (CASA-1000) aimed to link the whole region. “It is agreed to extend

cooperation in power generation capacity, promoting the efficient use of energy resources, fostering development of Pakistan's gas resources and their efficient utilization". "They also expressed support for increasing utilization of hydroelectric and renewable resources and continuing reforms to the energy sector to ensure its financial sustainability to attract private sector investment. US financing support of Dasu Hydropower Project, and feasibility study of the Diamer-Bhasha Project" (US-Pakistan Dialogue, 2014).

4.9.2 Security, Strategic, Stability and Non-proliferation

"U.S Secretary of State John Kerry and Advisor to Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz" noted to fortify cooperation and contribution to regional maritime security. "A follow-on Defense Resourcing Conference (D.R.C.)" focusing on security assistance issues. Participation in Nuclear Security Summit, They vowed to continue "the bilateral dialogue on security, strategic stability, and nonproliferation (SSSNP)". The U.S. has expressed confidence over Pakistan's measures for the safety and security of nuclear weapons. The U.S. appreciated Pakistan's steps to improve its strategic trade controls. Washington also acknowledged Islamabad's commitment to the international community for the safety and security of nuclear.

4.9.3 Defense Consultative Group

Both sides expressed the desire to pursue a forward-looking, transparent and politically sustainable defense ties in fields of mutual interest.

4.9.4 Law Enforcement and Counterterrorism

U.S and Pakistan agreed for joint efforts to counter improvised explosive devices (IED). It was expressed to dislodge terrorists' financing network and border management system to be improved. They agreed to strengthen Pakistan measures against anti-money

laundering and counterterrorism financing framework with the support of "Financial Action Task Force (FATF)".

4.9.5 Economics and Finance

During the talks, the U.S. would assist in the private sector-led growth in Pakistan. It was agreed to take steps to "link Pakistani and Central Asian businesses to encourage increased regional trade and connectivity. Announcement of a third fund of the Pakistan Private Investment Initiative (PPII) to leverage private equity for small and medium enterprises". They called for the "effective execution of the Joint Action Plan launched at the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) Council meeting held in May 2014". Pakistan to seek partnership based on investment and trade, not solely aid. Pakistan will seek greater market access for its products (US-Pakistan Dialogue, 2014).

Both sides agreed for the "support for the third U.S. and Pakistan Business Opportunities Conference and commenced Women's Entrepreneurship Center in Islamabad. Focus on women's issues to expand the participation of women in the economy under the Memorandum of Understanding on Joint Efforts to Empower Women and Promote Women's Entrepreneurship. Further, Pak-US pledged for cooperation to be extended to launch of four new partnerships with the support of private bank sectors in Pakistan. This was aimed to improve access to finance for small businesses with the USAID support" (Ibid).

4.9.6 Education, Science and Technology

A meeting of this Working Group was not held. This meeting is yet to be summoned to facilitate greater academic linkages and promote scientific and technological research collaboration between educational and research institutions of Pakistan and the U.S. To strengthen U.S. and Pakistan, it includes university partnerships along with educational exchange programs on the agenda. The Fulbright Program to further promote educational and

research opportunities for Pakistani students. To enlarge access and improve the quality of basic education in Pakistan (US-PAK Dialogue, 2014).

4.10 Nawaz-Obama Meeting 2015

Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif paid an official visit to the U.S. in October 2015. U.S. President Obama invited him. The visit aimed to strengthen the Pak-US partnership. Both leaders held wide-ranging talks at the White House. They noted that Pak-US cooperation is significant to Regional Security. The leaderships expressed the resolve to address the looming threat in South Asia.

4.10.1 Economic Growth, Trade and Investment

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif vowed to combine economic gains through the reauthorization of the "General System of Preferences (GSP) program and the U.S. Pakistan Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) process". Augment the Joint Action Plan to expand trade and investment. It was agreed to advance economic connectivity between Pakistan and its neighbors through the Transit Trade Agreement. Obama reaffirmed U.S. support for "The Central Asia South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project (CASA-1000) electricity corridor, the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) natural gas pipeline project. And the other measures to enhance regional economic growth and connectivity" (White House, 2015).

4.10.2 Education and Civil Society Cooperation

Both sides agreed to re-institute an "Education, Science and Technology Working Group". Intensify cooperation under the framework of "Pak-US Knowledge Corridor established in June 2015. Double joint funding for a new round of research grants under US-Pakistan Science and Technology Cooperation Agreement. They agreed to launch three

university centers for advance studies in energy, water and agriculture research". Both leaders welcomed "U.S.-Pakistan Knowledge Corridor" establishment in June 2015 (Ibid).

4.10.3 Climate Change and Energy

The U.S. President reaffirmed the Washington strong cooperation in the energy sector. They announced the formation of a new US-Pakistan Clean Energy cooperation, based on the initial work of the April 2015 Energy Working Group. "It was agreed to make easy private sector investment in Pakistan's energy sector, including the generation, transmission, and distribution". Under the partnership, Pak-US "will cooperate to attract local and international investment. Develop an investment plan for expanding the role of clean energy systems. Expand transmission capacity through selected infrastructure projects and mobilize development financing to help attract private sector investments in hydropower, wind, solar, and natural gas projects. The U.S. will assist in the development of Pakistan's domestic oil and gas resources and liquefied natural gas sectors". The U.S. will support Pakistan's steps to secure funding for the Diamer Bhasha and Dasu dams to meet out the required need for energy and water of Pakistan. The United States will continue nonstop support to Pakistan to build infrastructure and organizational capacity to counter natural disasters and provide relief to the affected people (White House, 2015).

4.10.4 Promoting Global Health

Obama and Nawaz discussed to strengthen Pakistan's capability "to prevent, detect, and respond to infectious diseases by fully implement the Global Health Security Agenda (GHSA) under commonly developed five-year plan to achieve the targets". The U.S. will extend assistance to advance the "World Health Organization's International Health Regulations, with a view to enhance global cooperation to counter biological threats". The efforts to improve the mothers and children's health in Pakistan also came under discussion.

4.10.5 Regional Security and Counterterrorism

They discussed the continued support against terrorists and violent extremist organizations. Both sides announced the strong resolve to support an Afghan-owned and led-peace and reconciliation process between the Afghan government and the Afghan Taliban with the aim to the dugout a sustainable peace settlement. They pledged to reduce tension in "Pakistan-India bilateral relations and to enhance efforts for durable peace, stability, and prosperity in South Asia. They noted their support for confidence building steps and effective mechanisms that are acceptable to both sides. They desired a sustained and resilient dialogue process between India and Pakistan to resolve all outstanding issues, including the core issue of Kashmir. They expressed support for peaceful means and working together to address mutual concerns of India and Pakistan related to terrorism. Pakistan to take valuable action against U.N. nominated terrorist, individuals, entities and its affiliates. The action should be as per its international commitments and obligations under U.N. Security Council resolutions and the Financial Action Task Force. They announced to work jointly to counter emerging terrorist organizations like Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)/Da'esh in the region" (Joint Statement of Obama and Nawaz Meeting, 2015).

4.10.6 Defense Collaboration

Both leaders underscored the need to widen bilateral defense partnership in areas that serve the two-nation common interest. They resolved to work together to disrupt the threat posed by improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The two sides reaffirmed to explore new avenues of enhancing defense cooperation through defense consultative group mechanism.

4.10.7 Cyber Security

Both sides agreed "over the consensus report of the 2015 United Nations Group of Governmental Experts in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in International

Security. The two leaders looked forward to further multilateral engagement and discussion of cyber issues under US-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue” (White House, 2015).

4.10.8 Strategic Stability, Nuclear Security and Nonproliferation

Both leadership recognized the common interest in strategic stability in South Asia by pursuing increased transparency and uninterrupted dialogue for the peaceful resolution of all outstanding issues. They expressed the commitment to jointly work together to make successful the 2016 Nuclear Security Summit. Pakistan’s efforts to improve its strategic trade controls and enhance its engagement with multilateral export control regimes were noted. Two sides agreed to continue to build on the ongoing discussions “in the working group on Security, Strategic Stability and Non-Proliferation”.

4.11 Pak-US Strategic Dialogue 2015

Pak-US Strategic Dialogue was held in Islamabad on January 13, 2015. “US Secretary of State John Kerry and Pakistan Advisor to Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz” met along with delegations. They reviewed the progress made in partnership in the past years. Both sides held a discussion and wide-ranging talks to strengthen the collaboration further. It was reaffirmed the significant of Pak-US Strategic Dialogue for providing a base for strong cooperation between the two sides. The US Secretary lauded the sacrifices of Pakistan’s military personnel and civilian in the war against terrorism. The US also pledged to support and assist in the return and rehabilitation of the displaced person (IDPs). Both sides expressed satisfaction from the progress made under working groups. The working groups’ progress was also reviewed. They included, “Economic and Finance, Defense, Law Enforcement and Counterterrorism, Security, Strategic Stability and Nonproliferation and Energy” (Press Release, 2015).

4.11.1 Fostering Economic Growth

Secretary Kerry and Advisor Aziz agreed to expand partnership in economic, trade, and investment. The US acknowledged the achievement made by Pakistan in the economy and its reform agenda in various fields. John Kerry also welcomed Pakistan measures ‘to improve its anti-money laundering and counterterrorism financing framework in collaboration of Financial Action Task Force (FATF)’. Pak-US also renewed their pledge “the third U.S.-Pakistan Business Opportunities Conference and the Pakistan-U.S. Economic Partnership Week to be organized in Islamabad to encourage increased bilateral trade and investment”. The two sides also expressed pleasure over the doings “the U.S.-Pakistan Women’s Council. They welcomed the forthcoming launch of the Women’s Entrepreneurship Center in Islamabad”. The US Secretary also resolved to continue support to private sector-led growth in Pakistan. “Both leaders also welcomed the completion of the cooperative agreements of the Pakistan Private Investment Initiative (PPII) to leverage private equity for small and medium enterprises, and expressed hope that the financial closure of the projects will begin in 2015. The two leaders also welcomed the launch by USAID of four new partnerships with private-sector banks in Pakistan to improve access to finance for small businesses” (Ibid).

4.11.2 Energy Sector

During the group meeting, progress over energy working was reviewed. The U.S pledged to continue its support to resolve the energy crisis in Pakistan. Pakistan lauded the U.S. support for “financing of Dasu Hydropower Project by the World Bank and for funding renewable energy projects through USAID and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). The United States reaffirmed its support for exploring the potential of the Diamer Bhasha Project to meet Pakistan’s critical energy and water needs. Pakistan looked forward to

the completion of the feasibility study of the Diamer Bhasha Project being conducted by USAID”. Both sides also discussed the CASA-1000 electricity project. They underscored the significance to double the efforts to facilitate regional connectivity through energy. It was also agreed to upgrade Pakistan transmission infrastructure. They resolved to intensify collaboration in expanding power generation capacity of Pakistan. It also included “hydroelectric and renewable resources to bring additional capacity to the grid while minimizing the energy sector’s contribution to global climate change; promoting the efficient use of energy resources; fostering development of Pakistan’s gas resources and their efficient utilization; and continuing reforms to the energy sector to ensure its financial sustainability and to attract private sector investment” (Press Release, 2015).

4.11.3 Cooperation in Education Sector

Pakistan and the U.S. expressed the resolve to promote educational and research opportunities further. They welcomed the creation of the “Working Group on Education, Science and Technology. They noted that the Working Group is intended to facilitate greater academic linkages and promote scientific and technological research collaboration between educational and research institutions of the two countries to foster economic growth. They looked forward to the early convening of the Working Group meeting”. They noted satisfaction over the increased cooperation in an educational exchange program among the two sides. The exchange programs are included, “Fulbright Program, to further promote educational and research opportunities for Pakistani students, especially women and girls. Both sides committed to continue working together to increase access and improve the quality of basic education throughout Pakistan” (Pak-US Dialogue, 2015).

4.11.4 Cooperation in Defense and Security

Both the delegations agreed over the ongoing measures against terror. “Secretary Kerry expressed support for the Pakistan military’s ongoing operations in the tribal areas and the progress achieved so far”. They condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Sartaj Aziz clarified that there is a distinction between good or bad terrorists. Pakistan has adopted effective counterterrorism measures and cooperating with the international community. John Kerry called for valuable steps against militancy to overcome the threat faced by the World. They agreed that no country’s territory should destabilize its neighbours. Washington and Islamabad expressed the resolve to promote stability, transparency, and peace in South Asia. It aimed to wipe out the threat posed by extremism and terrorism. Both sides pledged to coordinate and cooperate on U.N. designations for terrorists.

“Pakistan and the United States attach high importance to preventing the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery to states and non-state actors. The United States welcomes Pakistan’s ongoing efforts to harmonize its strategic trade controls with those of the multilateral export control regimes. The United States has full confidence in nuclear security in Pakistan and appreciates Pakistan’s proactive engagement with the “international community including through its hosting of IAEA training activities at its Nuclear Security Center of Excellence and its active participation in the Nuclear Security Summits” (Press Release, 2015).

4.11.5 Regional Cooperation

Both sides agreed “that a peaceful, stable, independent, united and prosperous Afghanistan is vital for peace and stability in the region. Secretary Kerry welcomed the renewed and intensified engagement between Pakistan and Afghanistan, including President Ashraf Ghani’s visit to Pakistan. Secretary Kerry encouraged continued dialogue and cooperation between both sides, recognizing the importance of cooperation to the stability of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the broader region”. The two leaders accepted the notion that

terrorism is a common challenge to the region. It requires joint endures. They noted that peaceful and well managed Pak-Afghan border is significant to made counterinsurgency and counter IED efforts. The mechanisms and steps being taken by Islamabad and Kabul for enhanced security cooperation have been welcomed. “Both delegations recognized that an inclusive Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace and reconciliation process is vital for achieving long-term peace, stability and progress in Afghanistan and the region. They welcomed the call by the new Afghan government to the Afghan Taliban and all armed opposition groups to resolve differences through political means. The Foreign Affairs Adviser reaffirmed that Pakistan would continue to facilitate the efforts of the Afghan government for peace and reconciliation”.

4.11.6 Enduring Cooperation

The two leaders affirmed their support to long time collaboration between Washington and Islamabad. This partnership is significant for durable peace and stability of South Asia. It is also vital for the interest of both sides cooperation. Pakistan and the U.S. agreed to extend commitment “to democracy, human rights, freedom, and respect for international law. The two leaders reiterated their commitment to deepen and enhance the relationship between the peoples of the United States and Pakistan” (Pak-US Dialogue, 2015).

4.12 U.S Pakistan Strategic Dialogue 2016

2016, Pak-US strategic dialogue was held in Washington on February, 29.2016. Secretary of State John Kerry led the U.S. delegation while Advisor to Prime Minister Sartaj Aziz led Pakistani delegation during the dialogue sessions. Both sides reiterated their committeemen to intensify the partnership further. They noted that strong and robust long term ties are critical to the security and prosperity of the region. The U.S. acknowledged that a strong, democratic and prosperous Pakistan is in the interest of America. Both sides

reviewed the progress made in its 6-working groups are included, “energy, security, strategic stability, and nonproliferation, the defense consultative group, law enforcement and counterterrorism, economics and finance, and Education, science, and technology” (U.S-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue, 2016).

4.12.1 Expanding Trade and Accelerating Economic Growth

Pakistan and the United States recognized that “modernization of Pakistan’s economy through better technology, improved business climate, entrepreneurship, enhanced worker rights, and opportunities for women will take the Pakistan economy towards growth. The recent visit of a U.S. Chamber of Commerce trade delegation to Pakistan reflected the great potential of their economic relation to benefit the private sectors of both sides. The U.S. has reiterated that it sees Pakistan’s prosperity as both good for the region and as good for Washington” (Ibid).

4.12.2 Education, Science and Technology

During the dialogue session, both sides pledged to expand U.S.-Pakistan education cooperation and strengthening Pakistan's education system, which serves as engines of economic growth and prosperity. Both leaders have noted to create new opportunities for Pakistani students in the U.S. It is noted that the numbers of PhDs students at American institutions to be increased. Washington also expressed the commitment to facilitate the legitimate travel of Pakistani students who want to study at American academic institutions. They resolved to set up a sub-working group for following and monitoring implementation. They recognized "the 23 existing partnerships between Pakistani and U.S. universities, their critical contributions to cultural and intellectual exchange, and the importance of sustaining them long-term. U.S. also agreed to consider additional academic cooperation on Climate Change. Both states have recognized the importance of civil society to the fundamental health

and stability of all democratic societies. Both sides reaffirmed that International Nongovernmental Organizations (INGOs) and civil society organizations can contribute to Pakistan's national development goals and complement the work of the government" (Press Release, 2016).

4.12.3 Continued Cooperation on Energy

Both sides also reviewed the progress over energy collaboration under the Energy Working Group. "They recognized the new chapter in U.S.-Pakistan energy collaboration, building on substantial cooperation to date that has already helped Pakistan add over 1,750 MWs to its national grid. It is agreed to facilitate private investment in the energy sector and begin imports of liquefied natural gas (LNG). Earlier, Pak-US Clean Energy Partnership was launched by President Obama and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in October 2015. It will facilitate new private sector investment in clean energy, particularly in hydroelectric, natural gas, wind, solar, and biomass energy sectors. Through these investments in power generation, transmission, and distribution, the Partnership aims to add 3,000 MWs to Pakistan's electricity supply by 2020". They agreed to prepare a roadmap for achieving this target in each of the areas mentioned above. Both states have acknowledged the success of the first initiative under the Partnership, the U.S.-Pakistan Clean Energy Conference, hosted in Washington in December 2015. The conference attended by leading energy firms and financiers.

They noted the significance of the "U.S. Department of Energy national laboratories' visit to Islamabad in February 2016 to foster lasting technical collaboration with the aim to help Pakistan design its own integrated energy plan and to improve its grid and energy efficiency. This will be followed by an integrated energy planning conference in April 2016, co-sponsored by USAID, the National University of Science and Technology, Arizona State

University, and the University of Engineering and Technology Peshawar". (Ibid, 2016) The two sides have expressed appreciation for the fact that, by partnering on cleaner energy technologies. U.S. and Pakistan agreed to curb greenhouse gas emissions. Both sides also recognized the significance of following up on the Paris climate commitment. More, the two countries reaffirmed their resolve to work together to amend the Montreal Protocol this year to curb the production and consumption of hydrofluoric carbons, acknowledging that the impact on Pakistan's economy and industry would be taken into account.

4.12.4 Fostering Strategic Stability

Pakistan and the U.S. have reaffirmed the great importance that both the nation attaches to preventing the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery to states as well as non-state actors. They resolved to continue to work together to achieve the objectives of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1540. And noted that both have supported and implemented relevant UNSC Resolutions in this regard. They highlighted the constructive discussion "at the 2015 meeting of the Security, Strategic Stability and Nonproliferation (SSS&NP) working group. America acknowledged Pakistan's ongoing efforts to harmonize its strategic trade controls with those of the multilateral export control regimes. Washington appreciated Pakistan's proactive engagement with the international community, including through its hosting of IAEA training activities at its Nuclear Security Center of Excellence and its active participation in the Nuclear Security Summits". Pakistan affirmed that it remains committed to pursuing steps aimed at building confidence and lessening the risk of armed conflict. They recognized the shared interest in strategic stability in South Asia and in pursuing increased transparency.

4.12.5 Continued Cooperation on Law Enforcement and Countering Terrorism

At the meeting, both sides called for tough action against the militia. Extremist violence is a threat to world peace. None of the territory of the country to be used against neighbours. Washington praised the sacrifices made by Pakistan's security forces and civilians in the fight against the military. They pleaded to continue their efforts by targeting militants without discrimination. "Pakistan has pledged to take tough action against UN-appointed terrorist individuals, entities and Al-Qaeda, the Haqqani Network and Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and their affiliates." They have vowed to continue to promote peace, stability and transparency in the region and to eliminate the threats posed by violent extremism and terrorism. They looked forward "to the upcoming Law Enforcement and Counterterrorism working group meeting where the U.S. and Pakistan will work together to further strengthen the capacity of Pakistan's judicial and law enforcement authorities to enforce the rule of law and combat terrorism and the financing of terrorism. They agreed to further enhance collaboration between their respective counter terrorism authorities. Both states emphasized the need to enhance bilateral cooperation and information-sharing between Afghanistan and Pakistan through joint training, to better interdict the flow of illicit materials and narcotics".

4.12.6 Defense and Security Cooperation

Pak-US "stressed on the importance of U.S.-Pakistan defense cooperation. The cooperation supports shared strategic objectives relating to counterterrorism and regional stability. Both sides have expressed their desire for bilateral security relationship to continue on a mutually beneficial and sustainable trajectory. They noted their willingness to explore new avenues to refine defense relation. They noted the challenges of enabling the return of internally displaced persons to the FATA in the wake of operations. They underscored the need for stern action against all violent extremists that threaten regional security. The U.S.

expressed appreciation for the role Pakistan which played in helping to degrade al-Qaida and its affiliates”. Pakistan expressed the resolve to continue military action against militants under the National Action Plan. It was again committed that the Taliban will be not allowed to use Pakistani soil against anyone. Pakistan and the U.S. vowed to work jointly to counter the threat of mutual interest (Pak-US Dialogue Joint Statement, 2016).

4.12.7 Regional Cooperation

The U.S. and Pakistan underscored the imperative of quickly catalyzing direct peace talks between the Afghan government and Taliban to end the bloodshed. They pledged “to preserve Afghanistan’s unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Secretary Kerry welcomed Pakistan’s calls on the Taliban to seek a negotiated settlement to end the Afghan conflict. The constructive role of Pakistan in establishing and hosting the Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) an important regional initiative that brings together representatives from Afghanistan, Pakistan, China, and the United States to achieve the shared objective of initiating peace negotiations between the Afghan government and Taliban. It was agreed that all members of the QCG will intensify their efforts to forge broader regional consensus in support of the Afghan-led reconciliation process to bring peace and stability to the region”. They emphasized the meaningful dialogue in support of peaceful resolution of outstanding issues, including Kashmir. They reiterated their commitment to facilitate the orderly return and reintegration of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan. Both sides have agreed that international cooperation is essential to make cyberspace secure and stable. They pledged to move forward to continued engagement on cyber issues (Pakistan Embassy in the U.S., 2016).

4.12.8 Looking Ahead

The delegation of both sides expressed their commitment to promote and strengthen the partnership, built on robust collaboration across a wide range of issues and reflecting common goals and shared values. The two sides have reiterated their commitment to democracy, human rights, economic growth and respect for international law as essential for long term regional peace and prosperity.

4.13 The Dilemma of Drone Attacks

“Pakistan’s Federally Administrated Tribal Area (FATA)” received the first-ever U.S. drone attack in 2004. “Officially U.S. refused to uphold the fact that CIA is running the program. Pakistan revoked concurrence to it”. The secrecy of this issue testifies efforts to appraise the legality of drone attack and its impact on people Tribal districts (FATA) (Asia report, 2013). America has clarified that the drone program is in self-defense. Secondly, it was launched to eliminate who were hiding in the safe heavens in Tribal belt (FATA). It was disheartening that Pakistan is a strong ally of the US-led coalition in the war of terror. Islamabad was facing large destruction on her soil in the form of drone attacks. These attacks mainly killed poor civilians. On 23rd January 2008 twenty persons were killed in two drone strikes. “New American Foundation” in its report revealed that the number of drone attacks increased during the first nine and a half months. The report further said that were comparatively more than the last three years of Bush administration (Mayer, 2010). “New American Foundation, 2013 is evident for the statistical variation between Obama and Bush administration about drone program policy”. In the past decade, hundreds of drone attacks were launched in Tribal belt (FATA) by U.S. administration as a part of the war on terror following 9/11 incident. These attacks were used “to target in the Northwest of Pakistan”. The Taliban used this area to hide there. (Mohanty, 2013) These strikes were considered as

the potential weapons by Pentagon with a counter rejoinder to the war on terror. On the other hand, in Islamabad, these were taken as a counter-productive. In this regard, strong negativism prevailed about drones strikes. Critiques claimed that these strikes were responsible for killing the innocents. (Fair, Kaltenthaler, & Miller: 2012) This issue attracted the international debate in media. This debate did not only begin in Pakistan but also international media, including the U.S., started a discussion over the drone issue (Atiya & Shahzad, 2015).

The U.S. drone attack policy was a direct breach of Pakistan's sovereignty. Islamabad lodged a protest against this policy to U.S. Pentagon showed its intention that it was regarding the sovereignty of Pakistan. However, there was no sign to follow this commitment. Drone strikes got slight success while targeting militants, including the Taliban. On the other hand, it caused hundreds of innocent people. This act resulted in counterproductive, as Pakistan was losing public support to cooperate with U.S. The Public polls read that between 75-90% Pakistani bitterly opposed the drone strikes inside its territory. Pakistan government, Pakistani Press and Public strongly widely condemned drone strikes. Even the U.S. counterinsurgency experts condemned them and termed them as productive countermeasures because that has to bring instability in Pakistan. Despite all these facts, the Obama administration was perusing Bush policies. Even he allowed increasing these attacks inside Pakistan (Oakley and Hammes, 2010).

CIA launched scores of strikes inside Pakistani territory. As a result, a large number of innocents were killed. A very small number of terrorists were killed in these drone strikes. "A Pakistan based newspaper reported that CIA launched 60 strikes from 2006 to 2009". Fourteen Al- Qaeda leaders killed while 687 civilians were killed. It has raised anti-U.S. feeling in Pakistan. The study revealed that a very small figure of public favored that Islamabad has to cooperate with Washington. "International Republican Institute Poll

concluded that only 2%” were in favor of Pakistan good relations with U.S (Waqas and Ishtiaq, 2012). According to “The Bureau of Investigative Journalism”, from 2005 to 2018, the U.S. has launched a total of 333 drone strikes in which 2857 innocents killed and over 335 wounded. The year-wise details of these strikes inside Pakistan are below:

Table-6: US Drone Attacks inside Pakistan 2005 to 2018

Year	Incidents	Killed	Injured
2005	1	1	0
2006	0	0	0
2007	1	20	15
2008	19	156	17
2009	46	536	75
2010	90	831	85+
2011	59	548	52
2012	46	344	37
2013	24	158	29
2014	19	122	26
2015	14	85	17
2016	3	7	1
2017	8	43	0
2018	3	6	1
Total	333	2857	355+

These drone attacks remained one of the most salient issues among Pakistan’s general public just because of its anti-Pakistan dreadful consequences. Media provided huge space to the coverage of drone prone inside Pakistan. Debates on the framing of drone strikes could be judged in different framing perspectives. Print and electronic media gave an immense space cover the “killings of major Al Qaeda, Pakistani and Afghani Taliban entities”. However, on the other hand, Pakistan’s media outlets are also putting much emphasis on the collateral damage, and subsequent outrage resulted in drone strikes. In 2010, “Pew Global Attitudes Project Survey” investigated that these strikes were unpopular

among civilians. These were viewed as negative rather than to frame them positively (Atiya & Shahzad, 2015).

4.14 Osama bin Laden Operation

In May 2011, U.S. Navy SEAL team conducted an operation “Operation Geronimo” and killed the world’s most wanted person, “Osama bin Laden (OBL)” in Abbottabad Pakistan. According to reports, he was living in Abbottabad for the last five years. U.S. SEAL team took back his body. This operation was conducted without prior permission of the government of Pakistan. It developed the relations between the two countries to an all-time low. There were reports that U.S. troops will be deployed in Pakistan if its nuclear installations come under threat from terrorists. As a result, avenge of the killing of bin Laden (Daily Express, May 15, 2011). This further increased tension between Washington and Islamabad (Hussain and Shahid, 2011). Geronimo was an Apache tribal leader. He fought for his motherland for many years. Subsequently, he died on February 17, 1909, as a U.S. prisoner at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. The United States people insisted their government replace the name of the operation. The operation Geronimo was renamed as Neptune Spear Operation. The raid was expected to be completed within 40 minutes. Washington did not share any information before the raid on bin Laden compound. When the operation was over, the U.S. Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff General Michael Mullen, called Pakistan Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani at about 3 am local time. He informed General Kayani about the Abbottabad Operation. The US SEAL conducted the secret operation exclusively. After identification, the body of Osama bin Laden was deliberately drowned in the Arabian Sea after 24 hours of the operation. Majority of Western countries appreciated the U.S. operation. However, some condemned the U.S. raid. Especially Fidel Castro of Cuba, Hamas of Palestine and some Islamic states condemned the raid. Amnesty International criticized the U.S. act, terming it as illegal and unethical (Rafique, 2013).

The bin Laden operation has broken down the trust between Pakistan and the U.S. Both states were at the crossroad of annoyance. Obama Administration was coming hard on Pakistan following Osama's presence in Abbottabad. On the other side, Pakistani people and their leaders were irritable over the killing of Osama with no prior notice to political or military leadership. "Chairman US Foreign Affairs Committee Senator John Kerry" during his visit to Pakistan after the event attempted to reconstruct the relations. He expressed the desire to work jointly in future in any action against high-value targets likes al-Qaeda in Pakistan (*The News*, 2011). John Kerry underscored the worsening relation among the Pak-US. He said, "That 'it was important to press the reset button on US-Pakistan relations. He pledged to use this opportunity to put relations back on track". "He also dispelled the impression that the U.S. was interested in taking over Pakistan's nuclear installations". Senator Kerry said, "I can write with my blood that the U.S. has no interest in Pakistan's nuclear assets" (*The News*, 2011). John Kerry said it was the need of the hour to respect partnership among Pak-US. He said the sovereignty and national interests of Pakistan must be given due place and respect. Kerry warned the leadership of Pakistan indirectly that "the road ahead will not be defined by words but it will be defined by actions". (*The News*, May 17, 2011) Senator Kerry said these actions would be scrutinized first by Pak-US relations by U.S. Congress. Secondly, the U.S. Congress could stop the continued economic assistance to Pakistan because of the presence of OBL (Hussain & Shahid, 2011).

4.15 The Salala Episode

U.S. and NATO fighter jets carried out strike over two check pots named "Volcano and Boulder at Salala in Mohmand Agency" on November 26 2011. At least 24 -Pakistani troops were martyred, and thirteen other were seriously wounded. Pakistan immediately intimated NATO to stop such attack, but it continued. The striker was over a mile deep inside Pakistan and was lasted for two hours. It cannot be attributed to errors in judgment in

commutation between NATO and Pakistan. Till then, 'there had been a Border Coordination Center that enabled NATO and Pakistani troops to communicate with each other. There has been Mutually Agreed Mechanisms for Operations Close to Borders" between the two sides, which was completely ignored. Pakistan was not intimated about the operation. It was a blind operation at Salala check post (Ahmed, 2012). In the meantime, Pakistan convened an emergency meeting of the Cabinet's Defense Committee. "Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani chaired the meeting. Army Chief Gen Kayani". Gen. Kayani also summoned a meeting of the senior army officers. They decided to send a strong message to Washington and Brussels. The meeting declared the attack unacceptable. NATO supply routes to Afghanistan were blocked (Umbreen & Asim, 2011).

On December 12 2011, the U.S. government released the Report on Salala Attack. Brigadier-General Stephen Clark conducted the report. It contended that Pakistani troops provoked a U.S. response by opening fire first which resulted in a series of mistakes by both ISAF and Pakistani troops and led to the deadly firefight. In response, on January 23 2013, the Pakistani government released a detailed and comprehensive report on containing a point-to-point rejection of every excuse contained in the report. While ignoring some more technical points, the most important argument contained (Umbreen & Asim, 2011).

"The US and ISAF Investigation Report into the November 26, 2011, incident, apart from being factually incorrect, also brings to fore the larger issue of lack of trust of US, ISAF towards the Pakistani Military. Unfortunately, the impartiality and transparency of the investigation were adversely affected when senior US officials repeatedly stated that the incident was not intentional, without waiting for the completion of the Investigation. Pakistan believes that this stance may well have influenced the findings of the report. The unprovoked engagement of Pakistani Posts located inside Pakistan was a clear violation of US, ISAF mandate which is limited to Afghanistan alone. Pakistan was considered in an adversarial role and not part of the friendly force, The current incident was preceded by four others First on June 10, 2008, at Goraprai Post located in Mohmand Agency, an unprovoked US/ISAF

aerial strike killed 11 Pakistani soldiers and injured seven other, Second on September 30, 2010, at Kharlachi Post in Kurram Agency, an unprovoked US aerial strike killed three soldiers and injured three others. Third, on June 17, 2011, there was an incident at Ziarat Post in the same Mohmand Agency close to the area of the November 26 attack. Fourth on July 19, 2011, an unprovoked US, ISAF mortar and artillery fire in Angora Adda Sector of South Waziristan Agency killed four Pakistani soldiers, despite promises of thorough investigations, US and ISAF failed to hold anyone accountable after each of these incidents. The US Investigation Report is structured around the argument of self-defense and proportional use of force, “an argument which is contrary to facts and therefore self-serving, Sustained aggression which continued for as long as 90 minutes despite US and ISAF being informed about the incident at multiple levels by Pakistan Military within minutes of initiation of US, ISAF fire, belies the self-defense and proportional use of force contention, The fundamental cause of the incident of November 26, 2011, was the failure of US and ISAF to share its near-border operation, with Pakistan at any level. Failure to share information about a near-border operation with Pakistan at any level was a major US, ISA, NATO omission, as were several others, like the complicated chain of command, complex command and control structure and unimaginative/intricate Rules of Engagement as well as lack of unified military command in Afghanistan. Investigating an incident which involves a breach of Pakistan’s territorial integrity and sovereignty and putting in a recommendation of how to do it better next time is potentially troublesome for any future cooperation and border coordination” (ISPR Report, 2012).

Pakistan Foreign Ministry has also rejected the probe report describing it as just a cover-up exercise conducted by NATO and Pentagon. The fact remained absolutely clear that Pakistani troops did not engage the NATO, ISAF, U.S. or Afghan troop’s first and open fire on them at all. Pakistan categorically refused that it first opened up the fire and that the NATO side acted in self-defense. This remained the basic point of conflict between Pakistan and the United States (Ahmed, 2012). Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani termed the U.S. airstrikes on a check post at Salalah as an attack on Pakistan's sovereignty. The attack caused serious damage to Islamabad and Washington ties. Pakistan's Parliament made its proposition to review relation with the U.S. The Parliament asked the U.S. to stop

drone strikes in the tribal regions, which Washington repeatedly refused. In the meantime, Pakistan announced to boycott the Bonn Conference on the future of Afghanistan. It urged the U.S. to vacate the Shamsi airbase in northern Sindh near the border with Balochistan. However, Pakistan participated in the Chicago Conference destined to the future of Afghanistan (Ilyas, 2016).

The shutting of NATO supplies using Pakistan routes undermined the cooperation efforts to bring the relationship on the right track back. The stoppage of NATO supplies by Pakistan created a tremendous uproar in already troubled Washington and Islamabad relations. Pakistan exercised its genuine security concerns. Pakistan Army did not want to reopen NATO supplies until America offers an apology for the killing of its 24 soldiers. One has to see how such episodes would re-configure Washington and Islamabad relation, especially when NATO forces are planning of withdrawal from Afghanistan. It is most likely that the Salala attack would redesign bilateral ties between Pakistan and the United States as well as their future engagements in Afghanistan (Ahmed, 2012).

The Pakistan People's Party government finally took Parliament into confidence over its decision whether to reopen NATO supply routes. On 20th March 2012, Parliamentary Committee on National Security (PCNS) presented its first report in the joint session to revisit "terms of engagement" with the U.S. in the light of NATO attack on Salala check posts. On 12th April 2012, after almost three weeks' debates, the revised recommendations of the PCNS were presented and approved in joint session. The 14-point recommendations included:

“To seek an unconditional apology from the US over Salala attack; to forbid military equipment and ammunition in NATO supplies transiting through Pakistan; no verbal agreement with any foreign government regarding national security; no use of Pakistani bases and airspace by foreign forces; no hot pursuit or boots on the ground; no covert operations on Pakistan's soil; no foreign private

security contractors or intelligence operatives shall be allowed; cessation of drone attacks; to seek civilian nuclear agreement with the United States and not to succumb to US pressure but keep on pursuing gas pipeline project with Iran... The resumption or closure of NATO supply lines for non-lethal items has been left to the government” (Zulfqar, 2012).

NATO expressed regrets over the Salala episode. NATO admitted its mistake. The U.S. offered its “deepest condolence” over the incident. U.S. President Barack Obama called the attack a ‘tragedy’. However, Washington remained reluctant to tender its unconditional apology to Islamabad. The Pentagon preferred that its condolence and regret over the incident were enough to move on. The apology anger caused much havoc in the relations. On April 25 2012, the U.S. Special Envoy for Afghanistan and Pakistan Marc Grossman led the first high-level delegation after Salala incident. The delegation held a meeting with Pakistan Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar and Chief of Army Staff, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani in Islamabad. Marc Grossman expressed that the U.S. President showed his regrets over the Salala attack. The President also offered condolence to the families killed in it. On April 28 2012, *The New York Times* in its report revealed that the two days official visit of Marc Grossman to Islamabad, ultimately proved to be a failure mainly because President Obama refused to apologize on Salala episode, contending instead that the 15th April manifold attacks in Kabul and other Afghan cities were directed by Haqqani network. On the other hand, Pakistan refused to reopen NATO supply routes towards Afghanistan. The U.S. continued to withhold \$1.18 billion to \$3 billion of promised military aid to Pakistan. This has converted the ‘continuing deadlock’ into a ‘stalemate’ which could not be resolved quietly (Umbreen & Asim, 2011).

On June 6, 2012, Pakistan demanded the U.S. for an apology. Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar called on the U.S. to “live up to its democratic ideals by respecting the will of Pakistan’s elected parliament” (*Pakistan Today*, 2012). In addition to closing the Ground

Lines of Communications (GLOC), Pakistani leadership continued to seek apology from America to put the bilateral relationship back on track. Pakistan rejected the U.S. expressions of “deep regrets” and “sincere condolences”. Before this, Pakistan Ambassador to the US, Sherry Rehman, stressed upon U.S. officials that it was time for both Washington and Islamabad to move beyond the hyperbole towards mature and strategic ties (*Daily Beast*, 2012). In the meantime, Pakistan also demanded the reimbursement of the Coalition Support Fund, cessation of drone attacks, enhanced sharing of intelligence and a shift of policy to trade not aid. The U.S. categorically refused to meet any of these demands (Najam, 2011).

To facilitate the reopening of closed GLOCs, US State Department advised President Barak Obama to issue an apology. On the other hand, the Pentagon saw it as a sign of weakness and a virtual admission of fault. Senator John Kerry and U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Cameron Munter, advised their government in favor of an apology to move forward. The Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta suggested that regrets and condolences were enough. Despite the standoff, both sides did not entirely cut off their diplomatic and military channels of communication. Various officials in Pakistan and the U.S. continued to interact on various forums. They were trying to put the fractured relationship “back to business.” The best indication of both countries was willing to resume their relations. In an interview to Pakistan State Television by U.S. Ambassador in Pakistan, Cameron Munter said: “that both countries wanted to decide on what was the best way to move forward on a policy which addressed counterterrorism cooperation, reopening of NATO supplies and reconciliation according to the recommendations of Pakistani parliament” (*Express Tribune*, 2012). In July 2012, during a telephonic conversation with her Pakistan’s counterpart Hina Rabbani Khar, the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton acknowledged the mistakes that resulted in the loss of lives in the attack on Pakistani check-posts at Salala. She did not use the word apology. She said, “We are sorry for the losses suffered by the Pakistani military. We are

committed to working closely with Pakistan and Afghanistan to prevent this from ever happening again” (*Express Tribune*, 2012).

4.16 Policy Shift under Trump Administration

South Asia is changing. In this changing environment, Pakistan-US relationship matters. The U.S President Trump’s renewed pledge in resolving the looming Afghan issue has brought back South Asia in the limelight. This region is on the edge of becoming an economic and military power hub because of the rising economy of India and the potential of Pakistan. This will serve as a regional hub for integration through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) (Khalid, 2018).

“The contours of a new economic and political geography within South Asia are emerging on the map with enhanced connectivity among China, Pakistan, Russia, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia” (*Dawn*, 2018).

The U.S. opposition to CPEC is a major hurdle. The U.S. Defense Secretary James Mattis, while testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, said “that the One Belt, One Road (OBOR), now the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), passes through disputed territory. He said that President Trump is opposed to the idea of OBOR” (*Express Tribune*, 2017). “Trump’s allegations against Pakistan and his support of India as a strategically on both security and economic fronts prompted Islamabad to review its policy options toward Washington” (*Asia Times*, 2018). Whether it is part of a "global war on terror, or against radical Islamist terrorism," the Afghan conflict has been a very long one that appears far from over. Trump administration Afghan policy review was need of the hour due to the increasing realization in the Pentagon that America's "mission Afghanistan was on the brink of imminent collapse". A war that was started by former U.S. President George Bush in October 2001 to hunt down al-Qaeda attackers of 9/11 had turned into a fruitless military effort to keep Afghanistan's fragile democracy alive amidst Taliban increasing insurgencies.

Trump's inclination towards India (a country which is not in favor of OBOR and CPEC), and blaming Pakistan for the instability in Afghanistan has added more complexities in an already fragile balance of power in the region. Trump policy is heavily in favor of India. In Pakistan, policymakers have to understand that the U.S. priority now is "America" under Trump's administration. They are tired of helping other countries and want their economic problems tackled as indicated by their acceptance of his "America First" policy, which was his election slogan too. During his speech on National Security Strategy (NSS), Trump said, "At home, we are keeping our promises and liberating the American economy. We have created over two million jobs since the election. Unemployment is at a 17-year low. The stock market is at an all-time high" (Al Jazeera, 2017). Patience and resources for Pakistan are in short supply in Washington. So, the future course of this bilateral relationship augurs clumsy continuity with unrelenting mistrust and blame game, keeping in view the ever-changing dynamics of South Asia in particular, where the Afghan crisis does not appear to be going away for either of these two states.

When President-elect Donald Trump made an early telephonic call to Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, on which the Pakistani media reported that Trump had showered extravagant praise on Nawaz Sharif and the people of Pakistan. It showed that under Trump's administration, Washington would adopt a strategy heavy on "carrots." The effusive language of the conversation was confusing, as the relations between the US and Pakistan was tense. The major sticking talk points included the US demands the release of Shakil Afridi, the withholding of US\$300 million in reimbursements to the Pakistani Army and the holding up of a deal that would have allowed Pakistan to purchase F-16 fighter jets from the US (Viny, 2017). Before entering to Oval Office, Donald Trump did not figure prominently South Asia or Pakistan in the election campaign. However, soon after entering the Oval Office, Trump gave attention to Afghanistan and India. On August 21, 2017, during his speech he made

remarks about Pakistan on the Strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia. He used very harsh and tough language by blaming Pakistan for all the ills in Afghanistan and beyond. He alleged:

“Pakistan often gives haven to agents of chaos, violence, and terror. The Pakistani people have suffered greatly from terrorism and extremism. We recognize those contributions and those sacrifices. But Pakistan has also sheltered the same organizations that try every single day to kill our people. We have been paying Pakistan billions and billions of dollars at the same time they are housing the very terrorists that we are fighting” (*New York Times*, 2017).

There was hardly anything new in Donald Trump’s speech about Pakistan sentences and allegations have been used earlier too under the Bush administration, followed by Obama. There is a clear policy in the U.S. approach towards Pakistan. It has been finding one excuse after another to blame Pakistan since the 9/11 attacks. Pakistan categorically rejected the charges and maintained that their country is a scapegoat for Washington’s failures in the war on terror. In reality, this speech was more about the U.S. soldiers’ contributions in the “War on Terror” (WoT) than South Asia. Trump talked about the burden of foreign wars the U.S. has gotten itself engaged (Khalid, 2018). He said,

“Nearly 16 years after September 11th attacks, after the extraordinary sacrifice of blood and treasure...I share the American people’s frustration...over a foreign policy that has spent too much time, energy, money, and most importantly lives, trying to rebuild countries in our own image, instead of pursuing our security interests above all other considerations” (*New York Times*, 2017).

At the beginning of 2018, U.S. President Donald Trump suspended the Coalition Support Funds along with other aid to Pakistan. The Trump administration accused Islamabad with charges of harboring insurgents who are waging a 17 years-old war in Afghanistan. However, Pakistan denied the charge. Islamabad's ties with Washington steadily deteriorated since Donald Trump came to power. On May 11 2018, Pakistan placed

unspecified travel restrictions over U.S. diplomats and withdrew concessions it had granted to America missions as part of the war on terror. Analyzing the situation, ex-Pakistani diplomat described it as "strayed" bilateral relations. This was announced after the U.S. said that Pakistani diplomats would be required to seek permission five days prior before travelling over 40 kilometers from their place in the U.S.

4.17 Distrust Lessening

It is normally supposed that the increasing distrust between Pakistan and the U.S. is a major reason to sabotage the wanted objectives of the war on terror. The mistrust is established on both sides. The U.S. is seeing that Pakistan does not have any seriousness to uproot the terrorist infrastructure, including the Haqqani network based in North Waziristan. It is linked with Al-Qaida and Taliban in the region. In contrast, a prevalent view prevails in Pakistan that America is not a reliable partner. It precisely came about throughout the first coalition between the U.S. and Pakistan in opposition to Communism during the period of 1950s and 1960s (Ali, 2015). Despite Pakistan protest, the U.S. provided military support to India during Sino-Indian war in 1962. Similarly, during the 1965 war between Pakistan and India, the U.S. forced military-related sanctions that brutally left a bad impact over Pakistan as it turned out the main receiver of a weapon of the U.S. On the other hand, India received the weapons supply from the Soviet Union. After the Afghan war in 1988, the U.S. left Pakistan isolated and helpless when they removed Soviet forces out of Afghanistan despite Islamabad having the status of forefront partner of the 1980's war. Despite the contribution of Pakistan in this war, deterrents associated with nuclear propagation lying under the Pressler Amendment had forced to impose over Pakistan. Being globally cut off, there was no other option left for Pakistan than to do the arrangements with Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet (Ali, 2015).

In the mid-1990s, the formation and development of Taliban exemplify regional insecurities by Pakistan which even did not finish after Islamabad became a fore front ally of U.S. in the war against terror post 9/11 attacks. Pakistan is once again passing through the fear that after the end of the war on terror the U.S. would not just leaving Pakistan again but surrenders the liability of the safety of Afghanistan and handing over this to India. India is an arch opponent of Pakistan. In support of this point, there a case exists in the shape of India-Afghanistan security pact signed in the year 2011. The latest signing of an agreement between New Delhi and Washington on to hold regular tri lateral-discussions with Kabul has more enhanced Pakistan's doubts (ibid).

Reading the history of occurrence of difficult relations between Pakistan and the U.S. both are showing reluctance to believe on each other. As a result, the preferred goal of this war to eliminate terrorism from the region seems mainly to be useless. Both Pakistan and U.S. must reduce the maligned trust with each other paving the way for speedy elimination of terrorism.

4.18 The Way Forward

Benefits of good relations among countries must be gauged in terms of tangible gains. Post Salala, Washington and Islamabad ties had undergone a drastic negative change. The seriousness of U.S. cooperation and assertions of a “strong and stable partnership” with Pakistan could be measured from what 2014, 2015 and 2016 Strategic Dialogues had to be meaningful. Though, 2014, 2015 and 2016 joint statements offer a framework of improved bilateral ties. It covered the key parameters of future engagement between the two in the advancement of shared goals of socio-economic uplift, peace and security in South Asia. To take stock of the reset, the Strategic Dialogues process in 2014, 2015 and 2016 restored normalcy in bilateral ties. It also offered a multifaceted partnership in a range of non-traditional areas. The six working groups included on security, strategic stability, energy and

nonproliferation, the defense consultative group, law enforcement and counter-terrorism, economics and finance, and education, science and technology have already been laying the ground for cooperation.

Pakistan and the U.S. have agreed to promote cooperation against extremism and terrorism through their respective counter-terrorism mechanism. It is also agreed to enhance cooperation and information sharing particularly on Pakistan's western border with Afghanistan for interdiction of terrorists and flow of illicit materials and drugs. The U.S. lauded Pakistan's efforts to tackle the menace of terrorism and effective actions against entities including al-Qaeda, the Haqqani network and Lashkar-e-Tayyiba. Higher education is a new strength to the relationship. The growing partnership in the promotion of education through "Smart Universities" in collaboration with a U.S. based company CISCO. A memorandum of understanding between Pakistan's Higher Education Commission and the U.S. Educational Foundation in Pakistan has also signed to enhance ongoing advance cooperation in the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM). It was under Pakistan's Vision 2025 development plan and a new "US-Pakistan Knowledge Corridor" (Najam, 2011).

Under the renewed Strategic Dialogue process, Pakistan and the U.S. have also expanded cooperation for the role of women in Pakistan's economic development through the establishment of the Pak-US Women Council. A new chapter emerged in Pak-US cooperation to foster lasting technical cooperation. It will ease the energy crisis, but also to curb greenhouse gas emissions. Following Post-Salala incident, U.S. assistance and cooperation in this field has already helped Pakistan to add 1,750 megawatts to its electric grid system. With an agreement for the facilitation of private sector investment in clean energy in Pakistan's hydroelectric, natural gas, wind, solar and biomass sectors, the US-Pakistan joint venture now hopes to add more 3,000 megawatts to Pakistan's electric supply

grid by 2020. However, Washington concerns regarding strategic stability and Pakistan's pursuit of tactical nuclear weapons remained a soaring point. Pakistan's efforts to complement its strategic trade controls with the multilateral export control regimes and the safety of its nuclear weapons have, nevertheless, been acknowledged by the U.S. Appreciation has been witnessed on Pakistan's engagement with the international community by hosting of IAEA's training activities (Ibid).

Washington's military and economic assistance for Pakistan may subside gradually. However, Pakistan wants a functional relationship with the United States, so it would not be isolated diplomatically at U.S.-led global institutions. Likewise, Washington's disengagement from Islamabad is unlikely to serve its nonproliferation interests. U.S. interest is to maintain ties with national security establishment that guards Pakistan's nuclear program. Both need to engage even if minimally, to keep a common working bilateral relationship. Think Tanks and Strategic Experts on World level agree that the U.S. should show kindness towards Pakistan for having suffered extremely in the war on terror to enable it to restore lasting peace in the region. The U.S. should assist Pakistan economically and military so it can successfully fight this war in the region. The collaboration between Pakistan and U.S. must be focused on taking several steps in the areas of power generation, actionable intelligence sharing information and the creation of economic activity zone in Tribal districts (FATA). It would help in restoring the lost confidence and new trust between the two sides.

4.19 Pakistan and UK Relations and Fighting War on Terror

Pakistan and the UK not only share historical linkages from the time of British Raj but also remain politically and economically connected owing to a large Pakistani Diaspora community in the UK. After 9/11, Pakistan emerges as the major UK aid recipient, with bilateral aid increasing from £12.5 million in 2000-01 to £215 million in 2010-11, with a

projected rise to £446 million by 2014-15. This made Pakistan the largest aid recipient for the UK in 2015. The Department for International Development (DFID) 2011-2015 Operational Plan for Pakistan emphasizes investment in primary education, maternal health, microfinance and wealth creation, as well as governance and security. The focus is on coping with an education emergency “to increase literacy ratio in the country, through getting more than four million more children in to school; recruit and train an additional 90,000 new teachers and provide over six million text books by 2015” (Ishtiaq, 2013).

For the same reason, the Enhanced Strategic Dialogue between the two countries covers non-security objectives such as “people-to-people links and public diplomacy, business and trade, financial, macro-economic and political governance, service delivery, defense and security, and regional stability. It aims to utilize and build upon the existing bilateral institutional mechanisms like Pakistan Education Task Force, the Defense Cooperation Forum, Counter-Narcotics and Organized Crime, and the Joint Judicial Cooperation Working Group”. UK’s post-9/11 policy towards Pakistan arises of its special relationship with America. British-US strategic interests in Afghanistan and Pakistan are so closely intertwined that London, as America’s chief European ally, appears to follow the Washington lead in its dealings with Pakistan mostly. However, noticeable distinctions exist in their respective policies towards Pakistan, especially on issues of reconciliation in Afghanistan and combating terrorism in Pakistan.

Since 2001, the British government’s security strategy towards Pakistan has, in many respects, followed the lead of the US. Following 9/11, the Labor government under Prime Minister Tony Blair decided to partner with the neo-conservative US Republican Administration of President George Bush, with a major military contribution to the war in Afghanistan. It went along with the US in expanding the initially declared goal of defeating the Taliban and eliminating al-Qaeda-led terrorism into a wider humanitarian mission in

Afghanistan. With Pakistan assuming the role of a frontline state in the US-led counter-terrorism effort in the region, the British government, just as its American counterpart, expected it to offer unwavering counter-terrorism support (Ishtiaq, 2013).

4.20 Pakistan and Britain bilateral engagement

4.20.1 Strategic Dialogue

Both Pakistan and Britain have a long-term, productive partnership based on shared interests and mutual respect. The diversity of British connections to Pakistan through families and history gives Britain a particular role in supporting Pakistan's democratic future. Both sides are strengthening strategic and co-operative ties, including through an enhanced UK-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue. "The UK-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue was launched in May 2009 by then PM Gordon Brown and President Asif Ali Zardari to provide a framework for the UK's high-level engagement on a range of shared interests. UK priorities under the dialogue include closer co-operation on counter-terrorism and education. Pakistani priorities are greater trade access to the EU, migration and visas, and access to UK technology and funding". On 6, August 2010, Britain Prime Minister and Pakistan President publicly agreed to deepening and enhancing the UK-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue, during President Zardari's visit to London. It held the first substantive meeting under the enhanced dialogue during the visit of Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi to London in October 2010. The Britain Prime Minister has committed to visiting Pakistan for the first annual Summit under the enhanced dialogue to enhance collaboration further (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2010)

4.20.2 Pakistan and UK ties in Trade and Investment

The UK and Pakistan are business partners and are looking to build on the strong commercial links. Trade between the UK and Pakistan is worth £1 billion per year, and in

2009 the UK exported £458 million in goods and services, and the UK imported £646 million in goods and services from Pakistan. The UK is the second-largest bilateral overseas investor in Pakistan with over 100 UK companies now operating there. Major players include Unilever, Shell, BP, GlaxoSmithKline, Standard Chartered Bank, International Power, HSBC and Barclays. Six of the 16 foreign petroleum companies and two of the 16 private independent power producers are British. British pharmaceutical firms have a 31 per cent share of the market. There is a substantial and growing presence in the health, education and retail sectors.

Pakistan's exports were highest in 2014 and started decreasing in subsequent periods. In January 2014, Pakistan received GSP+ status and export peaked in the same year. Post GSP+ figures are still higher than pre-GSP+. Though exports are signaling a downward trend, the ranking of Pakistan as an exporter to the UK has improved over 2017. The share of Pakistan has been fluctuating around 0.25% over the last five years. Pakistan's import from the UK depicts a mixed trend. However, the share of UK in Pakistan's imports appears stagnant over the last three years. Bed Ware exports remain highest in the fiscal year 2016-17 with 29% of the total exports to the UK. It is followed by Knitwear (25%), Readymade garments (19%) and so on. Whereas surgical, leather and sports-related goods touch the bottom regarding overall export composition. Export of Pakistan's top export items to the UK plunged over 2016-17. The product titled 'Men's or boys' trousers, bib and brace overall' (HS-620342) faced the highest decline over 2016 and 2017. The current share of the same is around 10%. The condition is even worse with 'Printed bed linen of man-made fibers' in the sense that the product corresponded to 73% in terms of market share and faced a decline of nearly 17% (Usama, 2019).

4.20.3 Pakistan and UK Defense and Security Co-operation

There are strong historical and personal links between the UK and Pakistani Armed Forces. It maintains these links through regular liaison visits, bilateral meetings of senior officers, and a personnel exchange program. Routine defense relations activity with Pakistan also includes the provision of funded courses, including places at the Royal College of Defense Studies and the Advanced Command and Staff Course. As part of a wider program of defense engagement, the UK worked with Pakistan to build the capacity of the Pakistani Army to conduct effective operations in Pakistan's north-western border areas. The UK continues to support the development of border co-operation centers designed to promote co-ordinate operational planning between ISAF and the Afghan and Pakistani security forces. Pakistan remains a top priority for the MOD (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2010).

4.20.4 Counter-Terrorism.

In 2009, people of Pakistan bore a heavy burden of terrorism as a result of terrorist activity in the country. Terrorist activity emanating from within Pakistan also poses a substantial threat to UK national security, to UK troops and objectives in Afghanistan, and to the Pakistani state itself. Both sides worked together to reduce the threat emanating from within Pakistan. Britain engaged with Pakistan and consistently maintained that the presence of militant and terrorist groups poses a grave threat to the Pakistani state as well as to the stability and security of the region and beyond. The UK continues to urge Pakistan to dismantle all militant and terrorist groups operating on, and from, Pakistani soil and worked with Pakistan to enhance its capacity to focus on and tackle these threats.

The UK recognizes the sacrifices Pakistan has made in the fight against militancy and welcomed the increased responsibility that Pakistan is taking to tackle violent extremism within its borders. Both Pakistan and the UK have benefitted from action that Pakistan has taken against militants, including through the operations that Pakistan military has conducted

in the border areas. It is vital that both sides to continue to work closely to reduce the threat posed to peace by terrorist groups. Bilateral counter-terrorism co-operation between the UK and Pakistan is an important part of the UK-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue. Counter-terrorism was a central element in the recent Joint Statement delivered by the Prime Minister and President Zardari in August 2010.

4.20.5 Pakistan Military Offensive

Britain welcomed the Pakistan military's efforts to tackle militancy in tribal border areas. Pakistan has a vital interest in rooting out violent extremism. As well as threatening the Pakistani state and people, militant and terrorist groups threaten regional stability and the security of the UK. In May 2009, Pakistani military action pushed the Taliban back from areas including the Swat Valley in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Pakistan Army had also taken the fight to the militants in their traditional heartlands through a major ground offensive in FATA in October 2009. Military operations of varying scope began in South Waziristan and have continued across the FATA tribal agencies. This has helped reduce the Taliban's ability to operate in FATA. The UK welcomes this action but urged Pakistan to take care to minimize effects on the civilian population and meet its humanitarian obligations.

4.21 Development Cooperation

The priorities for the UK's development program in Pakistan, the Department administers which for International Development, are currently to support accountable and effective governance and support Pakistan to deliver macro-economic stability, growth, jobs and services. Key results to date include:

- Helping to increase the number of six to nine-year-olds in school from 42 per cent to 55 per cent since 2001.

- Supporting health services that have prevented 340,000 children and 19,000 maternal deaths since 2003.
- Supporting the creation of 300,000 new jobs in Punjab and helping to change the government budget process in Pakistan so that it now links budgets to outputs.

Through DFID UK pledged to provide £665 million (89 billion rupees) in development help to Pakistan (2009-13) as part of a ten-year Development Partnership Arrangement signed in 2006. The arrangement affirms the long-term development partnership between Government of Pakistan and the UK. It sets out shared and individual commitments and provides a transparent framework for mutual accountability for implementing the partnership.

4.22 Economic Growth

The UK remains committed to supporting Pakistan to deliver macro-economic stability, growth, jobs and services for its citizens. Pakistan's economic potential is vast. To encourage jobs and growth, DFID is working with the Ministry of Finance Pakistan to improve its budgeting systems, helping to promote economic stability and a greater focus on poverty reduction. Inflation declined from 25 per cent to 13 per cent since October 2008; foreign exchange reserves increased from two weeks to four months of import cover; social sector spending has doubled since 2006. DFID is also supporting the microfinance sector in Pakistan to increase its outreach from 1.2 million borrowers in 2008 to 3 million by 2013. The UK is also responding to a request from Pakistan to support forming a new economic growth strategy, which will focus on medium-term inclusive growth by prioritizing the investments in sectors with higher economic and social returns.

4.23 Education and Health

Department for International Development has helped Pakistan to increase the number of six to nine-year-olds in school from 42 per cent to 55 per cent since 2001. UK aid provided stipends that kept 300,000 poor girls in school and, with the World Bank and government of Punjab, recruited 34,000 new teachers, provided further training for 300,000 others, and provided free textbooks for 15 million students.

The UK welcomed the Government of Pakistan's support for education reform and provided £250 million to support education over five years. The focus is to increase enrolment, improve standards and provide young people with the skills they need to get jobs. By 2013, UK support will help 5 million more children attend primary school. At the federal level, the UK is supporting the Pakistan Prime Minister's Education Task Force, to help drive implementation of the new National Education Policy. It will focus on getting the basics of structure and accountability into the system - from teacher training to school management. Britain continues to support the national assessment of learning outcomes. It is working closely with the Government of Pakistan on a variety of community projects and through provincial-level support to Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In health, DFID helped increase the child immunization rate from 53 per cent in 2002 to 73 per cent in 2008 and helped ensure 340,000 fewer child deaths and 19,000 fewer maternal deaths since 2003. UK aid has trained and deployed 14,000 female health workers since 2003 and is currently training 5,700 community midwives. DFID is investing £182 million on the health sector support program, polio eradication HIV/AIDS and maternal and child health (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2010).

4.24 Friends of Democratic Pakistan

The Friends of Democratic Pakistan (FODP) was established in September 2008 following a UK/US initiative. It was designed to bring together Pakistan's traditional allies (such as China and Saudi Arabia) and Western supporters to provide political and practical support when the country faced the twin challenges of violent extremism and a collapsing economy. The group aims to galvanize international support to help Pakistan's government tackle the serious development, security and economic problems it faces. It is not a donor group, but works in strategic partnership with the Government of Pakistan, currently focusing on the following areas: security; development; energy; institution-building, trade and finance. The Government of Pakistan chairs FODP meetings. The members of the FODP included UK, US, Japan, China, Saudi Arabia, UAE Australia, Canada, Iran, France, Germany, Spain, Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Turkey and Republic of Korea. The following international institutions have observer status: EU (Presidency and Commission), ADB, Islamic Development Bank, UN; and the World Bank. Aside from the inaugural meeting, the FODP has met twice at Ministerial level (Tokyo and Istanbul) and once at Summit level on 24 September 2009 in the margins of UNGA in New York. Progress on commitments from New York, including on border areas stabilization, has been mixed (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2010).

4.24.1 September 2009 Summit

Key outcomes of the Friends of Democratic Pakistan Summit held on 24 September 2009 in New York, and co-chaired by then Prime Minister Gordon Brown, President Zardari and President Obama, were an endorsement of a comprehensive reconstruction and stabilization strategy for the Malakand district. This covers the Swat area in which much of

Pakistan's recent military actions against the Pakistani Taliban took place. A commitment from the Government of Pakistan, with FODP support, to quickly develop and implement an integrated and comprehensive approach to address issues of security and development in FATA. Establishment of a Multi-Donor Trust Fund for the border areas to provide a coordinated financing mechanism for donor support of areas affected by terrorism, militancy, and extremism. FODP members agreed to support Pakistan's efforts in formulating a sustainable, integrated energy plan (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2010).

4.25 Conclusion

“The damage to the relationship between Pakistan and the US is deep and durable. Pakistanis are finding it hard to swallow that Washington has been using their country as a pawn in its global game” (*SBS News*, 2013).

Currently, Pak-US collaboration is passing through an important stage. Following 9/11, they established a coalition in fighting on terror. It is a fact that Pakistan, U.S. and U.K. states jointly collaborated in a well-coordinated way. Due to some unpleasant incidents, the relation remained shaky. Islamabad and Washington launched attacks against militants in Afghanistan. The U.S. has termed Al-Qaida responsible for the 9/11 attack. The main reason for Pakistan to join the coalition was to keep itself safe from U.S. outrage and to get financial and military gains. "It is owing to that the cooperation in the war against the terror between the Pakistan and U.S. remained unstable and captive to their particular tactical gains in the region". Consequently, the war on terror has not yet achieved the desire goals and is still far away. Pak-US partnership reached to the lowest fade following 9/11. Cooperation witnessed many deadlocks. This worsening state of collaboration will put negative impacts over the war on terror. The war on terror was aimed to wipe out Taliban and al-Qaeda networks and the other militants actively engaged on the Pak-Afghan border. It is the need of the hour for both

Pak-US to think about their losing ties cleverly. They should work jointly in a better interest to secure the world from terrorism threat.

Regarding Pakistan's concern, it requires discarding its affiliation from these elements. The present era requires that Pakistan should revisit its foreign policy with India and Afghanistan. Afghanistan and India are important countries and round them Pakistan's foreign policy to function in the region. Such kind of policy will not only remove Pakistan doubts, but it will strengthen force to hit the armed and terrorist groups strictly. Being a superpower, the U.S. should value the autonomy and liberty of the states that are underdeveloped like Pakistan. In this regard, the U.S. and U.K. should be responsive to the complaints of Pakistan and honestly tackle its panics of sending it in the isolated. Pakistan is a nuclear power. The rising feelings of being insecure might force Pakistan to depend more on its nuclear arsenal. Therefore the region of South Asia will be facing a race of nuclear arms. Also, if Pakistan adopts the U.S. course of action, it would without restraint follow its tactical gains in the region, specifically in India and Afghanistan. To avoid this type of scenario, where Pakistan might board upon its customary policies versus Afghanistan and India in the wake of its timidities, the U.S. should play a dedicated part in two key segments that are to plan a method to resolve bilateral quarrels between Pakistan and India. Kashmir and other segment need to be addressed are helping to support in restoring. A powerful democratic system would be an instrument to battle the threat of terrorism in South Asia. World peace is linked with peace in South Asia.

On December 6 2018, in an interview with "Washington Post, Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan" pledged to have proper relations with the United States. However, he "stressed that he will not allow Pakistan to be a hired gun which is given money to fight someone else's war". "He moved Pakistan's relations with China on a positive example as

opposed to one-dimensional relationship with Washington". "It's a trade relationship between the two countries. We want a similar relationship with the U.S

CHAPTER 5

PORTRAYAL OF PAKISTAN'S ROLE IN WAR ON TERROR

FRAMING ANALYSIS OF NEW YORK TIMES 2011 TO 2015

In this chapter, the reportage of New Times is analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. For this purpose, content analysis and thematic analysis are used.

5.1 Quantitative Method

First, the researcher adopted a quantitative method to analyze the available data in the following table from 7 to explain the study found.

Table 7: Editorials of the “New York Times from 2011 to 2015”

Year	Number of Editorials	Slant			Total Words
		Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	
2011	12	00	08	04	6142
2012	07	00	05	02	4991
2013	08	01	07	00	4269
2014	06	01	04	01	2935
2015	08	01	04	03	3080
Total	41	03	28	10	21417

5.2 Frequency of the Editorials Published about War on Terror

The above table 7 illustrates that during the study time of 5 years from January 01, 2011, to December 31, 2015, daily The New York Times published 41 editorials about the war on terror. In 2011, the daily published 12 editorials, in 2012, 07, in 2013, 08, in 2014, 06 while in 2015, it donated 08 editorials on the war on terror or related issues. The disparity in framing and agenda-setting can be judged in all editorials published year wisely. The table shows different coverage approach towards the war on terror. Different coverage approach

was adopted by the daily from 2011 to 2015 toward war on terror. The above table elaborates that The New York Times provided space to 6,142 words in 2011, provided space to 4,991 words in 2012, printed stories containing 4,269 words in 2013, published 2,935 words based levels in 2014, and provided space to editorials having total words 3,080 in 2015. The daily printed 12 editorials the highest number in 2014 on “War on Terror”.

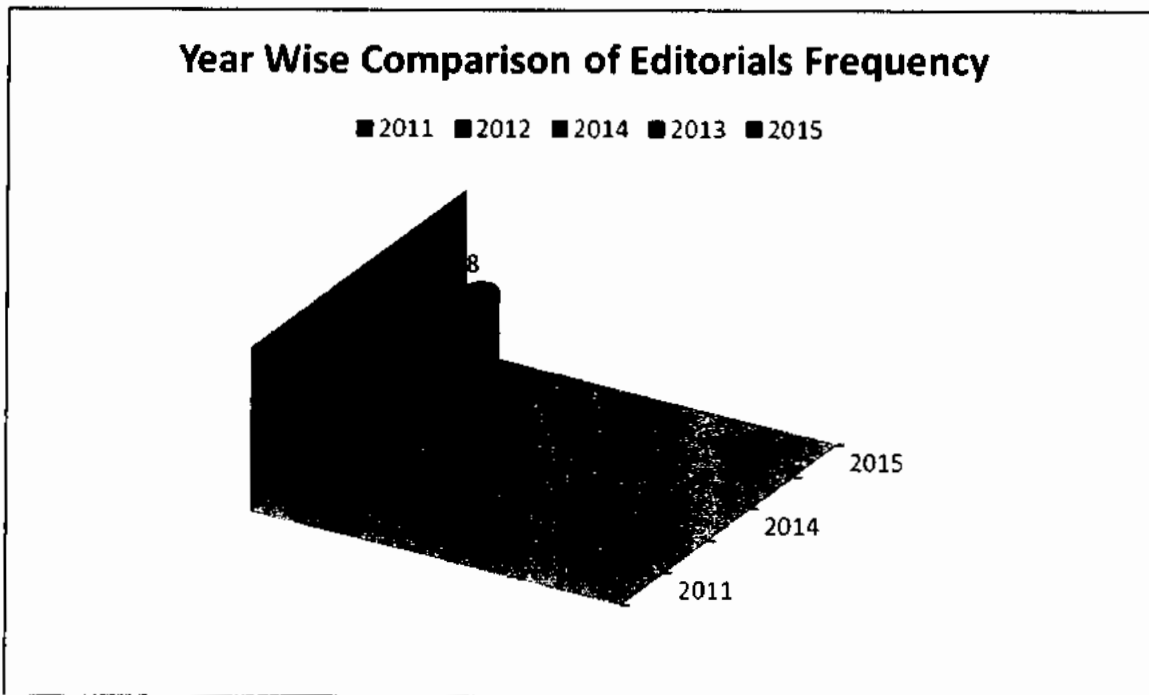


Figure 16: Comparison of Frequency of Editorials printed in “*The New York Times*”.

Figure 16 shows a comparison between the coverage nature of “War on Terror” provided by “*The New York Times*” from 2011-2015. According to the result, the daily gave huge space to issue of war on terror. Secondly daily “*The New York Times*” printed 41 editorials in five years study period. In 2011, the daily provided more space to editorials as compare to the years 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015—the daily published 12 editorials in 2011, the year, in which Osama Bin Laden was killed. The daily provided more space to the editorials toward the issue in 2011, 2014 and 2015. It shows that the case of war on terror remained at the top of the agenda of the international press.

5.2.1 Editorials Slant

All editorials printed regarding Pakistan’s position on “War on Terror” were treated in terms of neutral, favorable/positive and negative/unfavorable. The study treated the whole story of the editorial as a coding unit. The issue WoT received unique slant against Pakistan’s engagement in this war. The media criticized Pakistan soft approach toward some Taliban fractions.

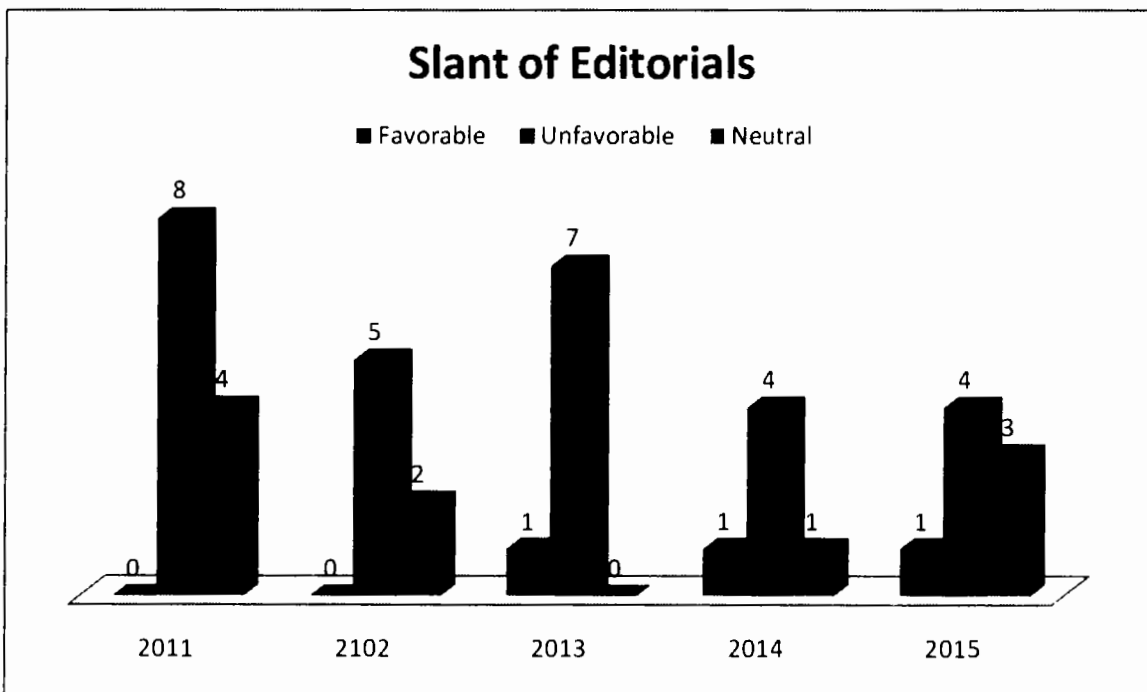


Figure 16.1: Slant of Editorials Regarding Pakistan’s Engagement in WoT

Figure 16.1 illustrates that “*The New York Times*” framed 28 negative/unfavorable editorials towards “Pakistan’s role in war on terror”. The daily donated space to 10 neutral editorials while it painted only 3 editorials in favor of Pakistan. It is mentioned that the daily in the favor editorials did not acknowledge Pakistan role and sacrifices. But it framed the words, Pakistan is “now seems to be supporting the peace process in Afghanistan” “The Pakistan government has tried broad countermeasures, including a mandate that departing

travelers be vaccinated at anti-polio stations along its borders” and “The recent talks, held in Pakistan, reportedly were positive” (Talks between US and Taliban).

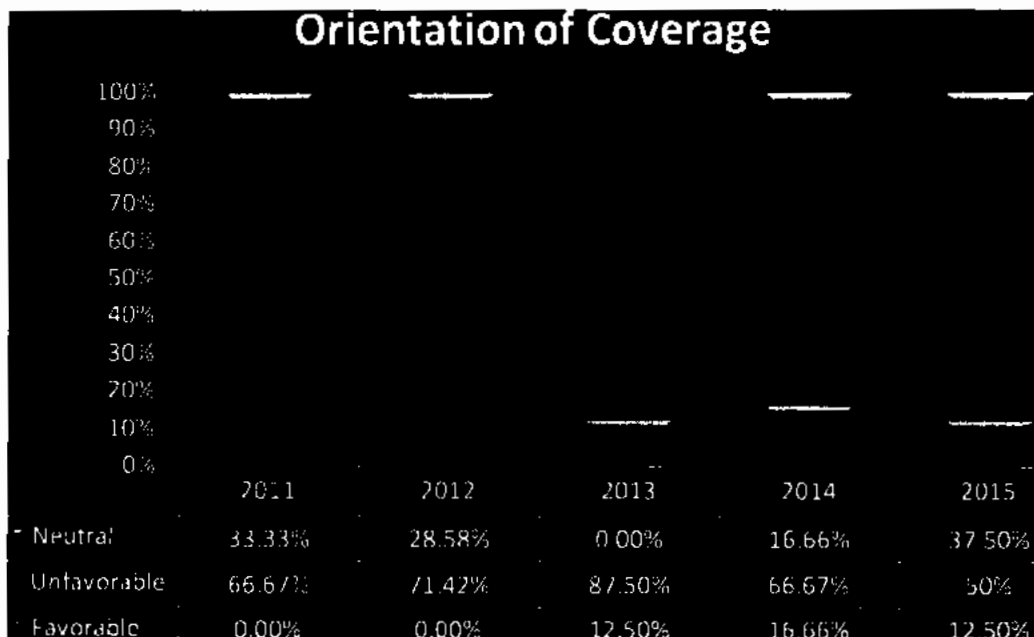


Figure 16.2 Percentage of Editorials Coverage on War on Terror from 2011 to 2015

Figure 16.2 explains that The New York Times published 33.33 % neutral editorials in 2011, 28.58 % in 2012, 0.00 % in 2013, 16.66 in 2014 and 37.5 % in 2015. It allocated space to 66.67 per cent unfavorable editorials regarding Pakistan’s role in “War on Terror” in 2011, 71.42 % in 2012, 87.50 % in 2013, 66.67 % 2014 and 50 % in 2015. It painted 0.00 % editorial stories in favor of Pakistan in 2011, 0.00% in 2012, 12.50 % in 2013, 16.66 % in 2014 and 12.50 % in 2015. The overall 68.30 per cent unfavorable editorials reflect The New York Times aggressive stance about Pakistan’s engagement in this war.

5.3 Framing Analysis

For the qualitative part, 41 editorials were thoroughly reeded out four times on war on terror to identify the key themes about Pakistan role in the war on terror. A valuable data set

to become available with the following major themes was identified by the researcher in addressing the research questions.

5.3.1 Pakistan Not a Trustworthy Ally

One of the key theme identified from the editorials during the study published by the *New York Times* framed “Pakistan a Faithless Ally”. The daily quoted some Congress members asking “why the United States should continue to provide billion of dollars to such a faithless ally (Pakistan)”. The daily criticized Pakistan that “instead of vowing to find out which officials were behind the scheme, (Bin Laden in Abbottabad). Pakistani’s leader’s military and civilian have tried to deflect all blame and stoke more anti-Americanism”. The daily reported that Pakistan is playing a double game with the United States. Pakistan accepted American “counterterrorist” aid while also “sheltering and enabling some of the worst anti-American extremists”.

The editorial categorically blamed that Pakistan has permitted Osama bin Laden on its soil. The daily reported that there are more terrorists in Pakistan while Pakistani leaders publically rail against US drone strikes. The editorial also quoted a Pakistani journalist story published by the *Daily Dawn* as an example. “Could the self-appointed custodians of the national interest themselves be the greatest threat to national security?” *The New York Times* also quoted television journalist Kamran Khan declared, “We have become the biggest haven of terrorism in the world. The editorial further urged Obama administration “to take a harder look at military aid to Pakistan. The daily also showed concern over resolution adopted by Pakistan parliament condemning “the unilateral attack on Bin Laden as a violation of sovereignty and threatened to close American military supply route to Afghanistan if drone strikes are not halted.”

5.3.2 Dubious Role in War on Terror

The daily directly blamed Pakistan that Osama bin Laden was sheltered in Abbottabad. The editorial reported that “Pakistan’s leaders, who accept American “counterterrorist” aid while also sheltering and enabling some of the worst anti-American extremists. But we never imagined that Osama bin Laden would be found hiding in plain sight, a stone’s throw from Pakistan’s leading military academy and an hour’s drive from Islamabad. Pakistan’s behavior since then has only added to the outrage.” It is said Bin Laden managed to hide in Pakistan for so long. The daily framed “Bin Laden’s death should be a warning to Taliban leaders and fighters that the United States is not giving up. The daily termed Bin Laden’s death is an extraordinary moment for Americans and all who have lost loved ones in horrifying, pointless acts of terrorism”. The daily in its editorial “The Latest Ugly Truth about Pakistan” claimed that Pakistan’s spy agency Inter-Services Intelligence played a direct role in supporting insurgents who attacked the American Embassy in Kabul, killing 16 people. The daily also reported that “with ISI support, the Haqqani network of terrorists planned and conducted an earlier truck bombing on a NATO outpost that killed 5 people and wounded 77 coalition troops, and other recent attacks.” The New York Times asked Washington to suspend military aid to Pakistan. The daily reported that Pakistan is playing a double with the United States in the war on terror.

In another editorial, it is said that “Pakistan has ignored the Obama administration’s pleas to crack down on militants who cross from Pakistan to attack American forces in Afghanistan.” The daily said that “General Allen demanded that Pakistan act against Afghan militants given safe haven by its security services, especially the Haqqani network, which is responsible for some of the worst attacks in Kabul”. In another editorial, The New York Times termed that “ending all military aid would be a severe mistake. This country tried that before with disastrous results. In the 1990s, Washington incensed about Pakistan’s illicit

nuclear program and no longer worried about a post-Soviet Afghanistan cut off nearly all support. Pakistan's military and the rest of the country are still bitter about it. The Newspaper categorically stated that Pakistan army continues the double game. The daily said that Pak-Army accepted money from America while enabling the Afghan Taliban and the politicians remain paralyzed. It is said Pakistan received billions of dollars aid from the US to defeat Al-Qaeda and Taliban in Afghanistan.

Another editorial has declared that "the Army has long played a double-game, taking American aid while supporting and exploiting various Taliban groups as a hedge against India and Afghanistan, and ignoring the peril that the militants have come to pose to Pakistan itself. The extent of cooperation among those groups in the tribal areas has made that game even riskier; the Pakistani military has long provided support for the Afghan-focused Taliban, even while trying to fight the Pakistani Taliban in recent years. Intelligence experts say the Army is still collaborating with the Afghan Taliban in fighting the government in Kabul". The daily acknowledged that Pakistan had deployed 1000,000 troops on the Afghan border to combat terrorism. They are battling militants in the FATA region and taking casualties. However, in the next line, the daily blamed that Pakistan troops are not targeting Haqqani network targeting American forces in Afghanistan. It is reported that "President Obama has offered Pakistan a broad relationship and its best chance to chart a new path. Mr. Obama needs to keep working with Islamabad."

In another editorial, the daily reported that "in its increasingly violent effort to destroy the Pakistani state, the Pakistani Taliban have attacked, among other targets, army headquarters in Rawalpindi, a naval base in Karachi, an air base in Karma and an airport in Peshawar. The brazen assault over the weekend on the international airport in Karachi takes the campaign to a new level, striking at the country's largest city and one of its most important commercial centers. Though militants and gangs operate freely there, Karachi is

home to Pakistan's central bank, a stock exchange and its hopes for desperately needed economic resurgence. It is reported that many Pakistanis are rightly wondering why it was not prevented". Publishing another story in editorial with slug "Pakistan's Baffling Response to Extremism". It is said "despite the grief and rage that followed the massacre of 148 students and their teachers by Taliban militants at an army-run school in Peshawar last week, Pakistan persists in its duplicitous and self-defeating response to the extremism that is threatening the country. Immediately after the attack, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif promised that Pakistan would no longer distinguish between the "bad" Pakistani Taliban, which is seeking to bring down the Pakistani state, and other "good" Taliban groups that for years have been supported or exploited by Pakistan's Army and intelligence service to attack India and wield influence in Afghanistan. What his words should mean is that Pakistan will no longer tolerate any extremists. But initial indications are not promising".

In the same editorial it is reported that "just two days after the massacre, for instance, a Pakistani court granted bail to a militant commander accused of orchestrating the 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India, that killed 166 people. The suspect, Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi, is a member of Lashkar-e-Taiba, one of the "good" Taliban groups that focuses on attacking India and has links to the Pakistani Army. Pakistan has failed to ensure justice for India, which it considers its chief enemy, and the victims and families of the Mumbai attacks. Experts say that even in detention Mr. Lakhvi has been given considerable freedom and has continued to direct militant operations. Pakistani authorities got tough with Lashkar after Mumbai but have since allowed the group to re-establish itself. Its leader, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, lives in the city of Lahore even though the United States has offered \$10 million for his arrest". The editorial suggested the country (Pakistan) also needs a stronger civilian government, a credible judicial system and an end to religious schools that promote intolerance.

The *New York Times* was categorically in framing “Pakistan Fans the Flames” over the issues of Salala attack by NATO that left 24 Pakistani soldiers dead. The newspaper stated that “Pakistan is refusing to help calm public fury or help figure out what led to a NATO attack”. The editorials blamed Pakistan that “it has rejected American requests to participate in a joint investigation. The daily also criticized Pakistan decision to boycott an International Conference in Bonn that laid plans to Afghanistan’s future. The daily framed the moves as “self-defeating”. In another story, it is reported that “it’s not clear what led to NATO strikes on two Pakistani border posts this weekend, but there can be no dispute that the loss of lives is tragic. At least 24 Pakistani troops were killed. We regret those deaths, as we do those of all American, NATO and Afghan troops and Pakistani and Afghan civilians killed by extremists. Washington and Islamabad need to work together, urgently, to ensure that this incident does not destroy their deeply troubled relationship. The United States needs Pakistan’s cooperation as grudging as it is to pursue the fight against the Taliban. And without American support, Pakistan’s fragile government will be even more vulnerable to extremist attacks”. The daily framed the “US drone strikes against insurgent targets in the border region remain a source of tension, and Mr. Sharif (Former Pakistan Prime Minister) made the obligatory request that Mr. Obama halt them. But Pakistani officials have acquiesced to the attacks in order to deal with their own virulent Pakistani Taliban insurgency. Concerns raised by international nongovernmental groups about civilians killed by drones should cause both governments to limit the program.” The daily reported that the CIA had carried out more drone strikes in Pakistan.

5.3.3 Authoritarian Regime

The daily framed Pakistan political system is growing ever more dysfunctional. In the editorial “Pakistan’s Besieged Government” claimed that “Pakistan’s civilian governments are typically short-lived and cast aside by military coups. This disastrous pattern could be

repeating itself as the current civilian government comes under increasing pressure from the army and the Supreme Court.” The daily quoted, “the standoff hardened when Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani fired his defense secretary, Naeem Khalid Lodhi a retired general and confidante of the army chief, Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani and replaced him with a civilian, Nargis Sethi. Infuriated military officials said they might refuse to work with the new secretary and warned vaguely of “serious ramifications with potentially grievous consequences” after Mr. Gilani publicly criticized them in an interview.”

The editorial further said that “this sort of byzantine infighting is hardly uncommon in Pakistan. But a stable Pakistan is critical to America’s interests in the region. The army should focus on what it can do best: fight the militants working to bring down the state and destabilize the region. For its part, the civilian government needs to deal with Pakistan’s severe economic troubles and repair a political culture in which voices of moderation are increasingly snuffed out.” It is reported that daily The Times in its claim, “many Pakistani officials suspect the military is using the judiciary to weaken even topple the government before the March election for the Senate, which Mr. Zardari’s party is expected to win.” It is categorically stated that “No civilian government in Pakistan has ever finished its term. This one has survived longer than the others and is up for re-election by 2013. Every effort must be made to have that vote go forward so another and, one hopes, more competent civilian government can succeed it. The editorial urged the United States to keep engaging the country’s civilian leaders and encouraging its civil society whenever possible”.

The daily portrayed that unusual situation in Pakistan “would further polarize society, weaken the fragile democratic institutions and strengthen a powerful military. Which says it wants to be out of politics but has regularly staged coups and otherwise sought to control civilian governments for three decades?”

5.3.4 Pak Nuke Status as Threat to Peace

In another editorial New York Times declared Pakistan Nuclear weapons as a threat to peace. The reported that “the ultimate nightmare, of course, is that the extremists will topple Pakistan’s government and get their hands on the nuclear weapons.” The editorial claimed that “American intelligence agencies believe Pakistan has between 95 and more than 110 deployed nuclear weapons, up from the mid-to-high 70s just two years ago.” The daily suggested that “Washington could threaten to suspend billions of dollars of American aid if Islamabad does not restrain its nuclear appetites. But that would hugely complicate efforts in Afghanistan and could destabilize Pakistan”. About Pakistan Army, the daily reported that “the army claims to need more nuclear weapons to deter India’s superior conventional arsenal. It seems incapable of understanding that the real threat comes from the Taliban and other extremists. The newspaper framed Pakistan as “a dangerous country in a region with the world’s fastest-growing nuclear weapons program. Over the past decade, the distrust between the United States and Pakistan has grown so deep that the Obama administration reportedly stepped up its surveillance of Pakistan’s nuclear program”.

CHAPTER 6

FRAMING ANALYSIS OF THE WASHINGTON POST 2011 TO 2015

The quantitative method to analysis the editorials of Washington Post from 01-01-2011 to 31-12-2015 published about Pakistan’s role in the war on terror. While for qualitative analysis coverage was analyzed in term of slant including favorable, unfavorable and neutral towards Pakistan’s role in the war on terror. For the qualitative part, the selective editorials were thoroughly reeded out four times to identify the key themes of the editorials.

6.1 Quantitative Method

First, the researcher adopted a quantitative method to analyze the available data in the following table from 8 to explain the study found.

Table 8: Editorials of *Washington Post* from 2011 to 2015

Year	Number of Editorials	Slant			Total Words
		Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	
2011	09	01	08	00	4588
2012	14	-	09	05	8,070
2013	11	01	06	04	6367
2014	06	00	04	02	3075
2015	06	01	03	02	3151
Total	46	03	30	13	25251

The *Washington Post* provided huge space to issue of terrorism following the 9/11 episode. The study examined the editorials treatment of “War on Terror” in *Washington Post*. The overall finding is based on framing analysis and agenda-setting of 46 editorials. Some disparity observed in the pattern of coverage among editorials about portraying the issue of terrorism. From 2011 to 2015, research is being presented of “Washington Post. The result of the finding is explained below.

6.2 Frequency of the Editorials Published about War on Terror

Table 8 illustrates that during the study time of 5 years from January 01, 2011, to December 31, 2015, *Daily Washington Post* published 46 editorials about the war on terror. In 2011, the daily published 09 editorials and 14 in 2012. In 2013, printed 11 and in 2014, gave space to 06 while in 2015, it donated 06 editorials on the war on terror or related issues. The table elaborates that The *Washington Post* provided space to 4588 words in 2011, provided space to 8,070 words in 2012, printed stories containing 6367 words in 2013, published 3075 comments based stories in 2014, and provided space to editorials having total words 3151 in 2015. The daily printed 14 editorials the highest number in 2014 on “War on Terror”. The disparity in framing and agenda-setting can be judged in table 8 by publishing a different number of stories. The table shows different coverage approach towards the war on terror. Different coverage approach was adopted by Washing Post during the study period from 2011 to 2015. The following figure 17 explains on yearly basis editorials published by these newspapers, and their approach also remained different.

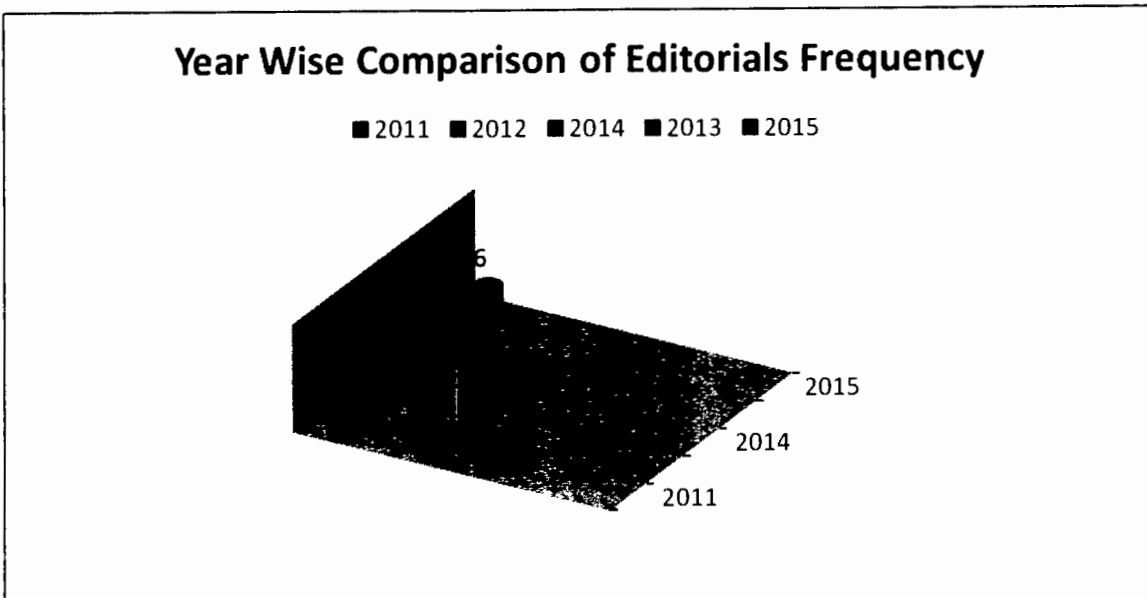


Figure 17 Comparison of Frequency of Editorials printed in “*Washington Post*”

Figure 17 shows a comparison between the coverage natures of “War on Terror” provided by “*Washington Post*” from 2011-2015. According to the result, the daily gave space to some extent more to editorials in 2013 in comparison to other years of the study. However, The *Washington Post* published 14 editorials in 2012 and 11 in 2013 in comparison to 2011, 2014 and 2015. It shows that the issue of war on terror remained on the top of the agenda of the international press. The newspaper provided more space for the war on terror from 2011 to 2013. The result shows that in 2014 and 2015, the coverage of these dailies remained slightly low.

6.2.1 Editorials Slant

All editorials printed regarding Pakistan’s position in “War on Terror” were treated in terms of neutral, favorable/positive and negative/unfavorable. The study treated the whole story of the editorial as a coding unit. The issue WoT (War on Terror) received unique slant against Pakistan’s engagement in this war. The media severely criticized Pakistan soft approach toward some Taliban fractions.

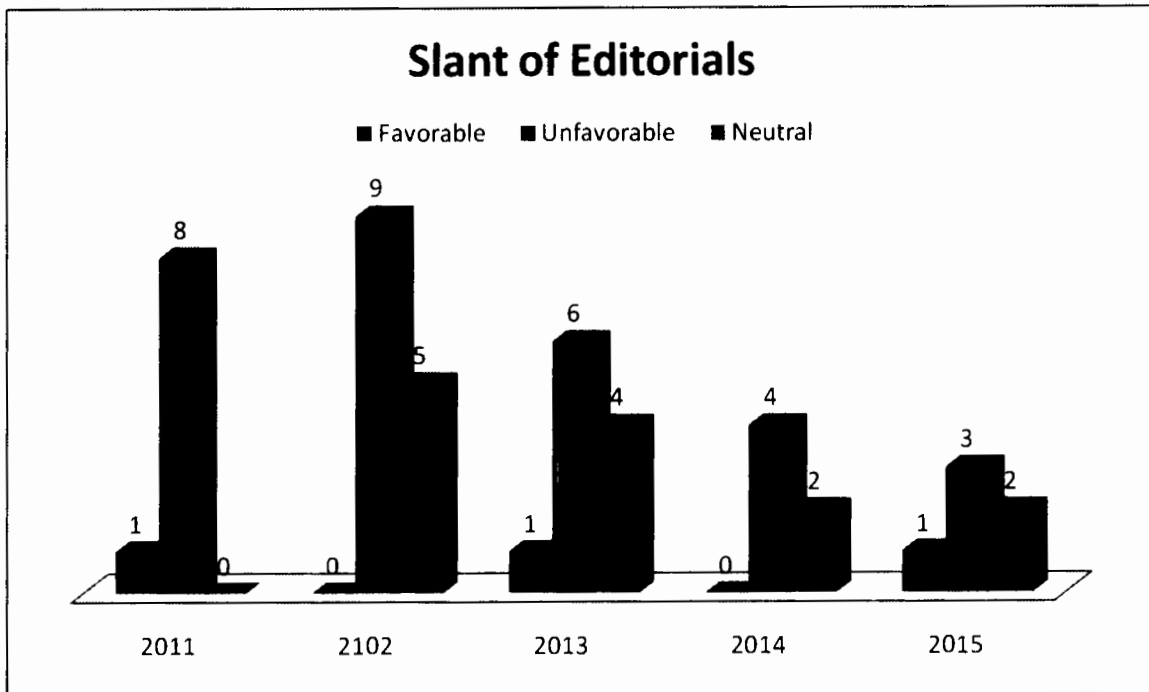


Figure 17.1 Slant of Editorials Regarding Pakistan’s Engagement in WoT

Figure 17.1 illustrates that “Washington Post” framed 30 negative/unfavorable editorials towards “Pakistan’s role in war on terror”. The daily donated space to 13 neutral editorials while it painted only 3 editorials in favor of Pakistan. In the favorable editorials the daily framed Pakistan as “In fact Pakistan provides vital cooperation, including a supply route to Afghanistan and bases for the drone strikes that have greatly weakened al-Qaeda” and “The gap between Pakistan and American ambitions for the country may be narrowing. Pakistan appears more ready to be solicitous of the Afghan government’s position on the Taliban and more aware of the danger the movement poses to its own political order”. In the same editorials, the daily also criticized Pakistan military for toppling Nawaz Sharif’s government in 1999.

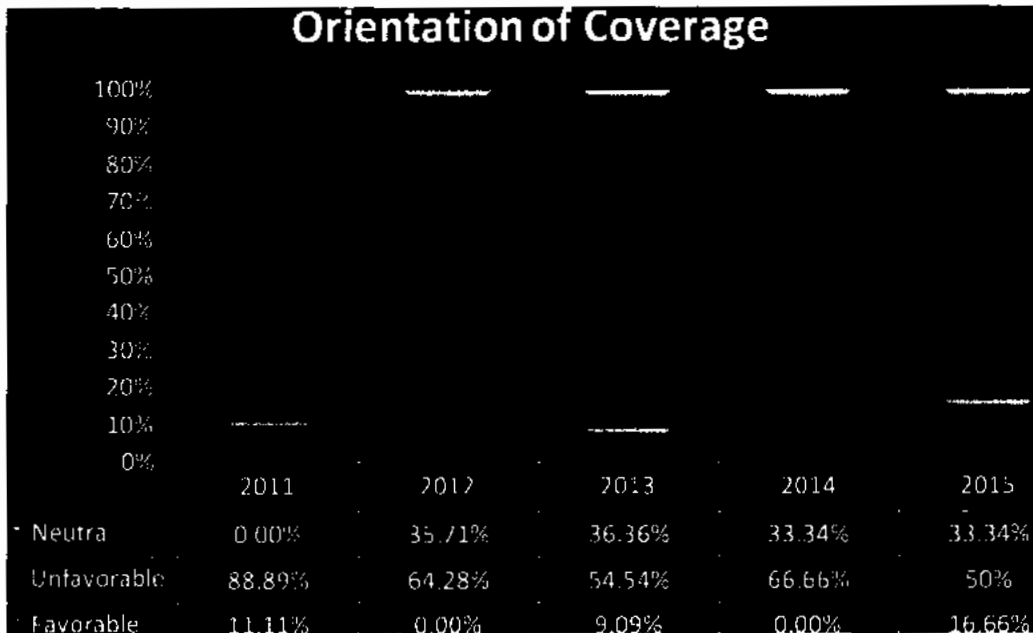


Figure 17.2 Percentage of Editorials Coverage on War on Terror from 2011 to 2015

Figure 17.2 explains that The *Washington Post* published 28.27 % neutral editorials. It allocated space to 65.21 per cent unfavorable editorials regarding Pakistan’s role in “War on Terror”. It painted 6.26 % editorial stories in favor of Pakistan. The overall 65.21 per cent unfavorable editorials reflect The *Washington Post* aggressive stance about Pakistan’s engagement in this war.

6.3 Framing Analysis

For the qualitative part, 46 editorials were thoroughly reeded out four times on war on terror to identify the key themes about Pakistan role in the war on terror. The researcher identified a valuable data set to become available with the following significant articles to address the research questions.

6.3.1 Pakistan Not a Trustworthy Ally

The central theme identified during the study, the daily framed Pakistan not a Trustworthy ally. The daily portrayed in the editorial “in the past several years, the Obama

administration has tried a variety of strategies for managing the complex and critical U.S. relationship with Pakistan: offers of strategic partnership; expanded support for economic development; cultivation of relationships with both military and civilian leaders. Now, in frustration, it seems to have adopted the risky course of publicly confronting the Pakistani leadership while withholding U.S. aid as leverage. While it might deliver some short-term results, the tactic reflects disarray in policy toward a country where instability or radicalization could pose a major threat to American security. It further said “confirming a report in the *New York Times*, White House Chief of Staff William M. Daley said in a television interview Sunday: “Until we get through these difficulties, we’ll hold back some of the money that the American taxpayers have committed to giving.” Some \$800 million out of \$4.5 billion in annual aid appears to be at stake, including reimbursements for Pakistani military operations against the Taliban and other insurgents in its tribal territories.”

In another story, the daily said “one month after the killing of Osama bin Laden, the danger of a rupture in relations between the United States and Pakistan appears to have passed, for now. No evidence has been found that senior Pakistani officials knew of the al-Qaeda leader’s presence in the town of Abbottabad, and the army and intelligence chiefs have pledged to find anyone who may have helped him. At a grim but frank meeting with those officials and Pakistan’s president and prime minister in Islamabad last Friday, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and the Joint Chiefs chairman, Adm. Michael Mullen, discussed specific steps the two countries could take together on counterterrorism. About bin Laden, the daily said “true, the full story of Osama bin Laden’s stay in the country is not yet known, and official Pakistani cooperation with elements of the Afghan Taliban, as well as other terrorist organizations, appears to be ongoing. Some in Pakistan are pushing for a cutback in cooperation; several joint intelligence centers are reportedly being shut down. But Pakistan and the United States continue to share powerful interests, including a desire to

defeat al-Qaeda which has waged unrelenting war on the Pakistani elite as well as Pakistan-based Taliban factions.”

In the same editorial, the newspaper lauded that “U.S. aid to Pakistan, which has exceeded \$20 billion since Sept. 11, 2001, is sometimes portrayed in *Washington Post* as a handout that Pakistan must earn. Pakistan provides vital cooperation, including a supply route to Afghanistan and bases for the drone strikes that have significantly weakened al-Qaeda. But more importantly, U.S. dollars support pro-Western forces in a fateful internal battle over the future of this nuclear-armed Muslim country. Further depicting the relations, the editorial said: “rather, the insurmountable obstacle is the political dysfunction of Pakistan, a country divided between a feuding, corrupt and insular civilian political elite and a military establishment dependent on terrorist allies and obsessed with unacceptable and unattainable geopolitical ambitions.”

The *Washington Post* in editorial slugged “Pakistani elections could cause complications or U.S. sated” depicted that “Pakistan’s Election Saturday is being celebrated as paving the way for the first transfer of power from one elected government to another in the country’s history. Forty million new voters are registered, and a third of all those on the rolls are under the age of 30. The balloting appears likely to produce a stronger set of civilian leaders who are more able to tackle the country’s deep economic problems and curb the overweening power of the military”. Further said “For all that, there’s not much reason for optimism that the multiple problems that bedevil U.S.-Pakistani relations will get any easier. In fact, some may get worse.” It framed front runners of the election “The two apparent front-runners in the voting for the national parliament, the Muslim League of former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and the Movement for Justice party of former cricket star Imran Khan, are both softer on the Pakistani Taliban and tougher on the United States than is either the military or the current civilian government. Mr. Sharif has promised to negotiate with the

jihadists, while Mr. Khan says he will end “America’s war” against them and shoot down U.S. drones.” The paper proposed “A more democratic Pakistan is in the United States’ interest in the long run. In the near term, more trouble is likely”.

6.3.2 Dubious Role in War on Terror

Another theme unearthed from the editorial the dubious role of Pakistan in the war on terror. The daily in the story described that “the facts emerging about the Osama bin Laden compound underline the complex challenge Pakistan poses. A formidable installation constructed in 2005, the mansion lies within what amounts to a military community, near Pakistan’s answer to West Point. Experts on Pakistan say it is difficult to know whether the military was aware of the hideout; White House counter terrorism adviser John Brennan said Monday that the “location there raises questions.” Pakistani authorities so far have publicly accommodated a raid staged by foreign forces in the heart of their country, which they knew nothing about beforehand. But the possibility of Pakistani complicity with the Osama bin Laden hideout cannot be ruled out or swept under a rug.”

The editorial said that “some are questioning the legality of the raid in Pakistan that resulted in the death of Osama bin Laden. Was it lawful for a team of Navy SEALs to launch a mission in Abbottabad without permission from Pakistani leaders? Did they comply with international strictures when they killed the al-Qaeda leader rather than capturing him and bringing him before a court of law?” “In a word: yes. International law recognizes a country’s inherent right to act in self-defense, and it makes no distinction between vindicating these rights through a drone strike or through a boots-on-the-ground operation. Administration officials have described the raid as a “kill or capture” mission and asserted that the SEALs would have taken Osama bin Laden alive had he surrendered and presented no threat to U.S.

personnel or the others in the compound that night. This, according to official accounts, did not happen.”

Justifying the killing of Osama bin Laden the daily revealed in the story that “after lengthy and intricate intelligence-gathering, the Barak Obama administration tracked him to a heavily secured mansion in a city outside Islamabad populated by military officers and the country’s elite military academy. With suspicions high that Osama bin Laden enjoyed some semblance of official protection, the Obama administration rightly decided to proceed without notifying Pakistan”. Another editorial framed that "There is also the critical priority of preventing Islamic extremist forces from taking power in Pakistan a remote prospect a decade ago but now a very real threat. That is why it is a vital U.S. interest to prevent the Taliban, which now operates on both sides of the border, from establishing a base in either country". The daily categorically framed "the presence of Osama bin Laden in a military town has reinforced the notion that Pakistan is playing a "double game," supporting some extremist groups even while it helps the United States fight them. In fact the Pakistani elite are themselves divided between those who favor alliance with the West and a secular democracy, and others who cling to the strategy of supporting terrorist groups as a way to exercise influence in Afghanistan, weaken India and hedge against a U.S. withdrawal from the region. The Obama administration may now be able to leverage Pakistani concessions such as help against other al-Qaeda leaders in its territory. But the "double game" is likely to continue, because Pakistan's own war over its identity is far from over." The daily asked Pakistan government that "the slaughtered children in Peshawar underline a truth that Pakistan's elite have been slow to fully accept: Islamic jihadism poses a mortal threat to the nation. The best response to the atrocity would be for the Army and government to join in an uncompromising war on terror".

Washington Post called for "to press Pakistani leaders to launch a military offensive against the group's (Haqqani Network) home base in North Waziristan. Yet officials in Washington worry that a bureaucratic decision by the State Department, as opposed to such military action, would derail peace talks or U.S.-Pakistani relations? As Pakistani officials frequently point out, the real problem is that the Obama administration can't decide whether it seeks to destroy or reconcile with the Haqqanis'. It is said that "in fact, reconciliation is not a serious option. The Haqqanis demand control over three of Afghanistan's eastern provinces, which would make a stable government in Kabul impossible and provide a ready haven for other terrorist groups. The network's alliance with Pakistan is a manifestation of Islamabad's unacceptable ambition to establish suzerainty over Afghanistan. If there is to be a stable Afghan peace, and a Pakistan that can be an ally of the United States, the Haqqani network must be defeated and dismantled. The paper demanded designation as a terrorist organization by the State Department would be one positive step in that direction".

6.3.3 Authoritarian Regime

Pakistan's deepening crisis on its feckless civilian government. President Asif Ali Zardari and his Pakistan People's Party have been ineffectual in managing the country's economy, slow in responding to disasters such as last summer's floods and unable to attack Taliban sanctuaries as the United States has been seeking for years. Having lost both its majority in Parliament and the support of the International Monetary Fund, the Zardari government looks as if it may be beyond rescue. Yet the assassination this week of one of Mr. Zardari's chief allies, Punjab governor Salman Taseer, was a reminder that Pakistan is engaged in a fateful civil war between democratic moderates and Muslim extremists. The editorial said "Mr. Zardari's government needs to implement economic reforms, sponsor development in areas where Islamic extremism breeds and push the Army to go after the Taliban. But for now, the priority should be its survival. Richard Holbrooke, the veteran

diplomat who served as a special policy coordinator in the region until his unexpected death last month, recognized this truth; not long before his death, he argued that the U.S.-Pakistan relationship was one of the most complex and difficult he had known in his long career - but that the United States had no choice but to keep working at it".

In another editorial, Pakistani leaders have long suspected that the United States aims only at a transactional relationship with their nuclear-armed state, rather than a true partnership. The administration's new tack will probably strengthen Islamabad's cynics while further undercutting what's left of the pro-American faction. The deteriorating relationship, meanwhile, offers further cause for doubt about President Obama's plan for an accelerated withdrawal from Afghanistan. Suppose Pakistan's government and army can't be counted on to cooperate against the extremist forces based in the country. In that case, the United States will need a presence in Afghanistan, and a stable Afghan government, more than ever. The daily stated that "at the center of the furor is Pakistan's former ambassador to Washington, Husain Haqqani, a highly capable representative of the government of President Asif Ali Zardari and a longtime advocate of democracy and civilian rule. Mr. Haqqani was forced to resign his post in November and now is under investigation by Pakistan's Supreme Court. A Pakistani businessman claimed that Mr. Haqqani helped craft an appeal to the Obama administration to protect the civilian government from a possible military coup; this is being treated as an act of treason. Mr. Haqqani, who denies the story, has taken refuge in the home of Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani. He has good reason to fear he will be targeted for assassination, like other liberal politicians slain in the last year".

The daily further said "besides the military and Mr. Zardari's government, the third party to the dispute is the court, which seems to have embraced the generals' cause of ousting the civilian government. Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry has had outside political ambitions ever since he helped depose former president Pervez Musharraf. He has sought

since 2009 to prosecute Mr. Zardari for corruption, even though he enjoys immunity as president. Besides investigating Mr. Haqqani, the court is threatening to hold Mr. Gilani in contempt for failing to ask Switzerland to reopen a financial investigation of Mr. Zardari”.

More likely, the extremist Islamic movement and an increasingly hostile Pakistani military establishment will conclude that the United States is desperate to get its troops out of Afghanistan, as quickly as possible whether the Afghan government and constitution survive. During his previous term as prime minister, a 1999 military coup ended which; Mr. Sharif had a relatively cooperative relationship with the Clinton administration even though he presided over the country’s first nuclear test. If his priorities are economical, he’ll have an incentive to keep U.S. aid flowing: \$1 billion annually has been promised, though some has been withheld in recent years. Mr. Sharif may also try to assert himself over the military, which has controlled Pakistani policy toward both the Taliban and Afghanistan under the present, elected government. Army Chief of Staff Ashfaq Kayani, who has taken a stricter line than Mr. Sharif against the Pakistani Taliban, is due to retire this year. But it’s unlikely a civilian leader will change Pakistan’s troublesome behavior in Afghanistan, which has involved peaceful cooperation with some Taliban leaders and the disruption of U.S. and Afghan government attempts to negotiate a peace”.

6.3.4 Pak Nuke Status as Threat to Peace

The daily in its stories framed Pakistan nuclear status as a threat to peace. The daily said “it’s true that al-Qaeda and its affiliates will need to be fought, though not always in the same way, wherever they appear. But if the Taliban returns to Afghanistan, al-Qaeda surely will come back, too. Throw in the instability of nuclear Pakistan and tensions with neighbors such as Iran and the risks of leaving a security vacuum to become intolerable. The sad fact is that a global leader doesn’t always get to choose its enemies, nor the regions of the world

where it must be engaged. Neither do its allies if they want to remain relevant. In another editorial slugged “The long slog toward a nuclear-free world” expressed concern that terrorist groups interested in illicitly acquiring nuclear materials and said before anyone heaves a sigh of relief, a lot still needs to be done. The four nations at the bottom of the NTI’s index present familiar and continuing concerns: North Korea is dead last, followed by Iran, India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan, both of which are increasing their stocks of nuclear materials, are still a particularly worrisome flashpoint. Despite its rank on the index, Pakistan was praised for improved laws and regulations that tighten on-site physical protection. However, the study pointed out the dangers of Pakistan’s instability, corruption and “the presence and capability on its territory of criminal or terrorist groups interested in illicitly acquiring nuclear materials.”

6.3.5 Peace Talks

The last but not least theme framed in the daily editorials “Peace Talks”. In one of its story, the daily said it’s becoming increasingly difficult to reconcile the Obama administration’s military and diplomatic initiatives on Afghanistan. Last month, the State Department unveiled a “fight and talk” strategy that could involve the transfer of senior Taliban commanders from Guantanamo Bay to Qatar. The aim, officials said, was to induce Taliban leaders to accept what they have repeatedly rejected: talks with the Afghan government and a peace settlement based on the current Afghan constitution, including its protections for women”. In another story “In peace talks are fragile steps in Afghanistan” said past attempts by the Obama administration to start peace talks with the Afghan Taliban foundered in part because the process was not, as U.S. officials frequently claimed, “Afghan-owned and Afghan-led.” The Taliban refused to negotiate with the government of Hamid Karzai, insisting its only purpose was to arrange the complete withdrawal from the country of all U.S. and allied forces. Mr. Karzai himself strenuously objected to a plan to open a Taliban

office in Qatar in late 2011, claiming he had been excluded from talks about it, and the initiative soon collapsed”.

Another editorial with slugged “Afghanistan’s path to stability” described Pakistan’s release this month of eight long-imprisoned Taliban commanders raised hopes that Afghanistan’s moribund peace talks could be restarted. The gesture, made at the request of Afghan President Hamid Karzai, said more about the attempt by Pakistan’s new government to improve relations with Afghanistan than it did about the prospects for peace. While there is a chance for a breakthrough toward stability in Kabul in the coming months, it relies on two entirely different matters: the presidential election process just getting underway and a pending bilateral security agreement between Afghanistan and the United States. Similarly the newspaper published story “ Afghanistan’s president’s outreach to Pakistan is a positive” coded that Afghan President Ashraf Ghani took a significant risk soon after taking office last year, betting that with Pakistan’s help he could draw the Taliban into peace talks. Many Afghans, including former president Hamid Karzai, opposed the initiative, seeing it as a sellout to Pakistan’s military and intelligence establishment, which has harbored and sponsored the Taliban for two decades. Others were merely skeptical: The Taliban, they pointed out, had long refused contact with the Afghan government and had said peace talks would be possible only after a full U.S. withdrawal.

CHAPTER 7

FRAMING ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY TELEGRAPH 2011 TO 2015

In this chapter, the reportage of New Times is analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. For this purpose, content analysis and thematic analysis are used.

7.1 Quantitative Method

First, the researcher adopted a quantitative method to analyze the available data to explain the treatment of Pakistan role in the war on terror. The overall finding is based on framing analysis setting of 43 editorials. Some disparity observed in the pattern of coverage among the editorials about portraying the issue of terrorism. From 2011 to 2015, analysis on an individual basis is being presented of “*Daily Telegraph*” due to its different framing techniques. The result of the finding is explained below.

Table 9: Editorials of the *Daily Telegraph* from 2011 to 2015

Year	Number of Editorials	Slant			Total Words
		Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	
2011	12	01	07	04	7362
2012	09	00	06	03	3677
2013	11	01	05	05	4748
2014	05	00	00	05	1947
2015	06	01	00	05	3425
Total	43	03	18	24	21,159

7.2 Frequency of the Editorials published about War on Terror

Table 9 illustrates that during the study time of 5 years from January 01, 2011, to December 31, 2015, the *Daily Telegraph* published 43 editorials about the war on terror. In 2011, the daily published 12 editorials, in 2012, 09, in 2013, 11, in 2014 printed 05, while in 2015, it donated 06 editorials on the war on terror or related issues. The table 9 elaborate that

Daily Telegraph provided space to 7,362 words in 2011, provided space to 3,677 words in 2012, printed stories containing 4,748 words in 2013, published 1,947 words based actions in 2014 and provided space to editorials having total words 3,425 in 2015. The daily printed 12 editorials the highest number in 2011 on “War on Terror”. The disparity in framing can be judged in the table. The table shows different coverage approach towards the war on terror. The newspaper adopted different coverage approach 9 explains the frequency of the daily *Telegraph* editorials. It published a total of 43 editorials. The following figure 18 explains on yearly basis editorials published by these newspapers, and their approach also remained different.

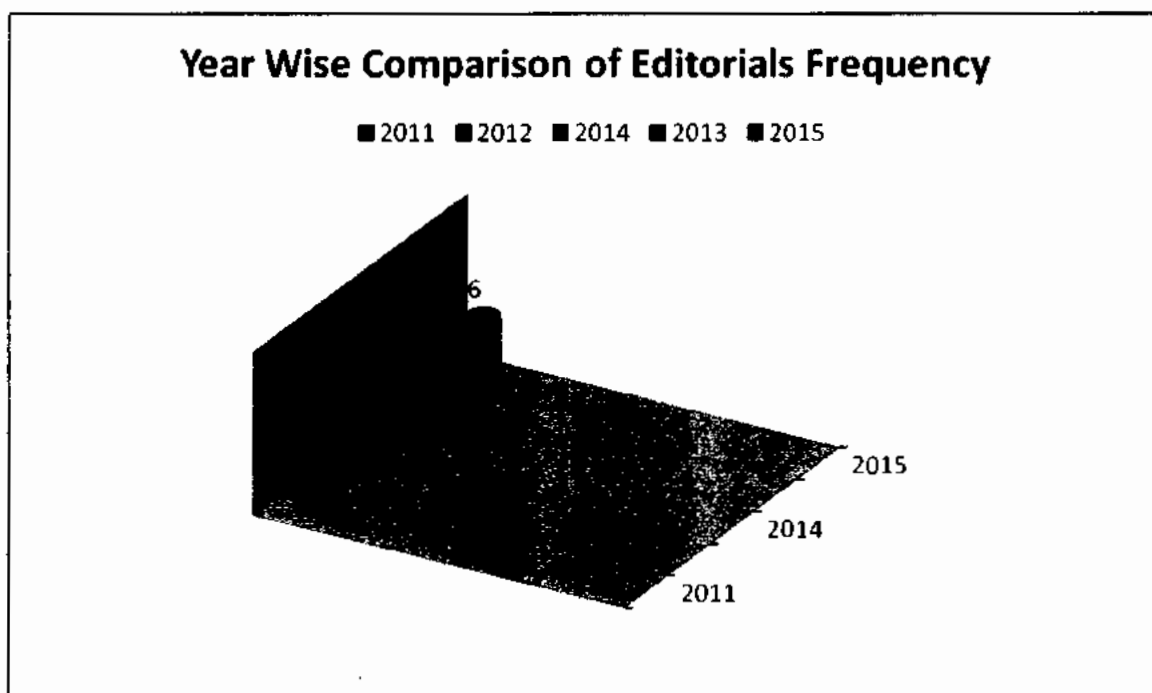


Figure 18 Comparison of Frequency of Editorials printed in *Daily Telegraph*

Figure 18 shows a comparison between the coverage natures of “War on Terror” provided by “*The Daily Telegraph*” from 2011-2015. According to the result, the *Daily Telegraph* gave space to some extent more opening in 2011 than other years. However, The *Daily Telegraph* painted 11 editorials in 2012 in comparison to 2013, 2014 and 2015. It shows that the issue of war on terror remained on the top of the agenda of the international

press. It shows that the case of war on terror remained on the top of the agenda of the international media. The newspaper provided more space for the war on terror from 2011 to 2013. The result shows that in 2014 and 2015, the coverage of the daily remained slightly low.

7.3 Editorials Slant

All editorials printed regarding Pakistan’s role in “War on Terror” were treated in terms of neutral, favorable/positive and negative/unfavorable. The study treated the whole story of the editorial as a coding unit. The issue WoT received unique slant against Pakistan’s engagement in this war. The media criticized Pakistan soft approach toward some Taliban fractions.

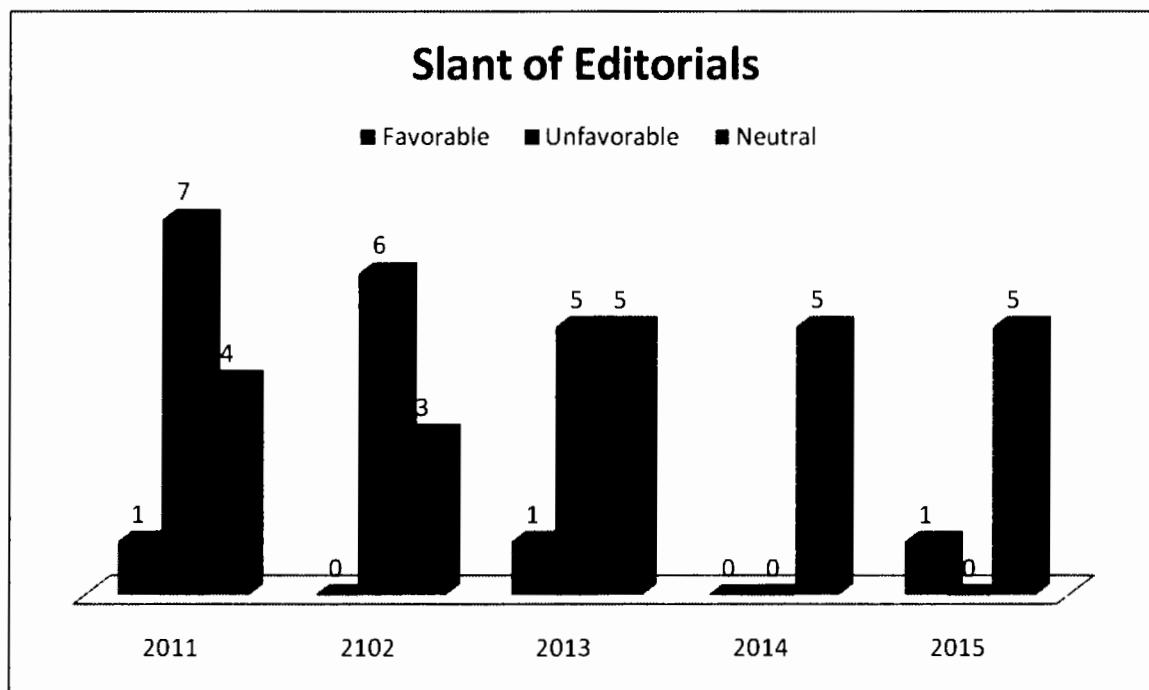


Figure 18.1 Slant of Editorials Regarding Pakistan’s Engagement in WoT

Figure 18.1 illustrates that “The Daily Telegraph” framed 18 negative/unfavorable editorials towards “Pakistan’s role in war on terror”. The daily donated space to 22 neutral editorials while it painted only 3 editorials in favor of Pakistan. Interestingly, The Daily

Telegraph published 18 unfavorable, 22 neutral and three favorable editorials during the study period 2011 to 2015. It shows different framing techniques of British daily as compared to the US newspapers. This disparity depicts the policy of a state towards any issue around the globe. The *Daily Telegraph* provided huge space to neutral editorials. Daily painted Pakistan in favorable editorials likes “to start withdrawing troops at this stage could seriously jeopardize the Afghan mission’s prospects at a critical juncture. It would also send the wrong message to Pakistan, whose support is deemed crucial to destroying the remnants of al-Qaeda’s terrorist cells on the Afghan-Pakistan border” and similarly “Hope for Pakistan” “Newly elected Nawaz Sharif has ambitious economic plans, which partly can be achieved by pursuing his most far-reaching and important goal a rapprochement with India”. In another editorial dated 28-06-2015, “the daily painted Dr Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri, a Pakistani theologian, recently issued a fatwa against suicide bombers, stating that they should be ostracized, not lauded as martyrs”.

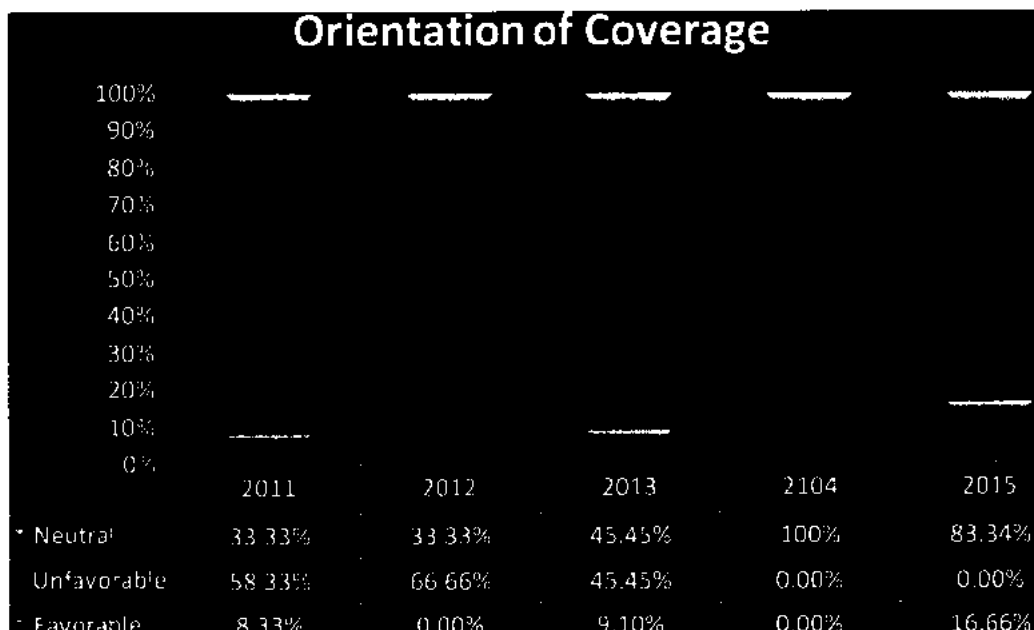


Figure 18.2 Percentage of Editorials Coverage on War on Terror from 2011 to 2015

Figure 18.2 explains that *The Daily Telegraph* published 51.17 % neutral editorials. It allocated space to 41.96 per cent unfavorable editorials regarding Pakistan's role in "War on Terror". It painted 6.97 % editorial stories in favor of Pakistan. The overall 51.17 per cent neutral editorials reflect balance stance about Pakistan's engagement in the war on terror. Interestingly, the daily published 41.87 % unfavorable editorials about Pakistan as comparing "to *The New York Times and Washington Post*". It shows that daily adopted a less aggressive stance towards Pakistan and published maximum neutral editorials. The result illustrates that *The Daily Telegraph* remained soft in presenting Pakistan at a global level.

7.4 Framing analysis

For the qualitative part, 43 editorials were thoroughly reeded out four times on war on terror to identify the key themes about Pakistan role in the war on terror. The researcher identified a valuable data set to become available with the following significant articles to address the research questions.

7.4.1 Pakistan Not a Trustworthy Ally

The telegraph in its editorial with slugged "Pakistan is looking both ways on terrorism. By hiding Osama bin Laden, Pakistan has tested our loyalty to the limit", framed Pakistan position in words "Asif Ali Zardari, the President of Pakistan sought yesterday to shield his country from international outrage over its (allegedly unwitting) harboring of Osama bin Laden by reminding the world that no country has suffered more at the hands of terrorists. More than 30,000 civilians and 2,000 police officers have been killed, he said; its army has lost more soldiers than the whole of NATO combined". The daily further said that "this is all true but it is not the whole truth. For Pakistan not only suffers from terrorism: elements within its ISI intelligence agency sponsor jihadists. The one begets the other. Such moral ambiguity makes Pakistan extremely hard for the rest of the world to deal with. How do we

respond to Mr. Zardari's incredible assertion that bin Laden was "not anywhere we had anticipated he would be", or the ISI's utterly unconvincing profession of embarrassment at being caught on the hop? It is all smoke and mirrors. Throw in the fact that the country has nuclear weapons and the scale of the diplomatic challenge becomes clear".

The daily quoted "David Cameron by saying that he was right last year to abandon the niceties and warn Pakistan it could no longer look both ways could notorism. The Prime Minister said that we cannot simply walk away from Pakistan but must continue to engage with it. He is surely right though its untrustworthy behavior is making such engagement increasingly difficult".

7.4.2 Dubious Role in War on Terror

In another editorial "Still looking both ways" "framed Pakistan by bin laden" for several years before his death, Osama bin Laden took refuge in Abbottabad, a Pakistani army garrison town. It was always fanciful to believe that no one in the country's military or intelligence service was aware of the al-Qaeda leader's presence there. But when American Special Forces eventually tracked him down, the Pakistani government was adamant that it had not harbored the world's most wanted man. President Asif Ali Zardari pointed out that no country had suffered more than Pakistan at the hands of terrorists". The daily said "it is harder to take seriously Pakistan's denial that bin Laden was not given some semi-official protection during his time in Abbottabad. US-Pakistan relations, who are already in a deep freeze because of drone strikes and a row over Afghan supply lines, will worsen significantly, which cannot be to anyone's advantage". The daily telegraph portrayed Pakistan in its story about the "death of Mohammed Merah, the terrorist shot by police in Toulouse is a salutary reminder of the continued threat posed by jihadis trained in Afghanistan and Pakistan". The daily further said, "It also illustrates the threat a single terrorist bent can pose that on causing

indiscriminate carnage (even though Merah is likely to have had a support network based in Pakistan's lawless Waziristan region)".

7.4.3 Dictatorial Government

"Pakistan's government, captivated by the mob Telegraph in its View by bowing to religious extremists over the blasphemy laws, is betraying the ideals on which the country was founded. Pakistani Christians' fate has grown increasingly grim in recent years, In 2011, Salman Taseer, governor of the Punjab province, and Shahbaz Bhatti, the Roman Catholic minority minister, Violation can mean the death penalty; even though this is done away with, crowds have killed those charged. As a result, the suspects are brought into pre-trial detention for their protection". The daily said "the latest case to draw international condemnation involves Rimsha Masih, a Christian minor said to have severe learning disabilities, who was arrested last month for allegedly burning the Koran. President Asif Ali Zardari has asked the interior ministry to report on the case; police arrested an imam on suspicion of planting evidence to frame her". Have the authorities at last plucked up the courage to confront the bigots? Sadly, it seems unlikely. President Zardari has spoken before of inquiring into the blasphemy law, but nothing has come of it. Notoriously, he failed to attend Mr. Bhatti's funeral. The arrest of the imam is a positive sign, but for the government, it may be a way out from a particularly embarrassing case".

The editorial further said "the chances of Pakistan repealing the section of the law that prescribes the death penalty, which was introduced during the dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq, are non-existent. Nor can one have much faith that the government will crack down on the Muslim extremists who will pose a mortal threat to poor Rimsha Masih even if the charges against her are dropped. In its fear of the mob, Pakistan's leadership is betraying the ideals on which the country was founded". In another story after general elections in 2013 "Hope for

Pakistan" framed that "newly elected Nawaz Sharif has ambitious economic plans, which partly can be achieved by pursuing his most far-reaching and important goal a rapprochement with India. The daily declared Nawaz Sharif's return to power in Pakistan is remarkable enough, coming nearly 15 years after he was toppled in a military coup. Mr. Sharif takes office at a critical time in Pakistan's relations with the West. Over the next 18 months, it will play a pivotal role in the disengagement of American, British and other NATO forces from Afghanistan. Not only will a good deal of kit and manpower leave via Pakistan, but the capacity of the Taliban to disrupt this process will need to be addressed".

7.4.4 Pak Nuke Status as Threat to Peace

The daily editorial "America's task does not end with Bin Laden's death," categorically stated, "An unreliable, nuclear-armed Pakistan poses a far greater potential threat to global security than Afghanistan ever did. Washington whose aid dollars help keep Pakistan's military afloat must demand greater commitment from Islamabad to the eradication of Islamist extremism inside its borders. For the key lesson of the decade of terrorism is that the jihadists use those safe havens to export their lethal ideology to the cities of the West. It is in Pakistan that they must be destroyed." In one story, the newspaper categorically framed "the poisoned relations between these two nuclear-armed neighbors, (Pakistan and India) caused largely by differences over Kashmir, have been responsible for many of the region's difficulties, including the rise of the Taliban. The geopolitical impact of ending this feud, which has triggered four wars since 1947, can hardly be overstated".

7.4.5 Troops Withdrawal from Afghanistan

In an editorial with slugged, "a common enemy," the daily stated, "with British forces likely to remain in Afghanistan long after combat operations conclude at the end of next year (2014), the importance of maintaining good relations with neighboring Pakistan is as great as

ever. During David Cameron's visit to the region over the weekend (2013), Army sources disclosed that may require a continued UK military presence red until at least 2020. Troops will be needed to support the Afghans' fledgling security forces in their fight against the Taliban, providing close air support, intelligence and logistics".

In another editorial, "by announcing a timetable to withdraw 33,000 troops from Afghanistan by next summer (2014), President Obama has taken a considerable gamble. Addressing a war-weary public, Mr. Obama claimed that the tide of war is receding and that the drawn-out conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan will come to a responsible end. So far as Afghanistan is concerned, this will mean the complete removal of the additional troops that he committed as part of the surge strategy to defeat the Taliban, and the transfer of security duties to Afghan forces". The story claimed, "The President's decision was welcomed, and echoed, by other NATO leaders, including David Cameron. They, too, seem eager to put Afghanistan behind them. Yet the decision to draw down US forces later this year has been taken in the face of opposition from senior officers such as General David Petraeus, the US commander of NATO forces, who argues that the current troop strength of about 100,000 must be sustained until the end of 2012 if the strategy is to succeed. They claim the extra forces are necessary if we are to clear the Taliban from its strongholds in the south and east, so that the task of rebuilding the country after decades of conflict can properly begin". In a story with the caption "The Afghan Mission" aid consequently, Mr. Cameron's insistence that hundreds of British troops be withdrawn from Afghanistan within weeks has, as we report today, met with strong resistance from our military chiefs. To start withdrawing troops at this stage could seriously jeopardize the Afghan mission's prospects at a critical juncture. It would also send the wrong message to Pakistan, whose support is deemed crucial to destroying al-Qaeda's terrorist cells' remnants on the Afghan-Pakistan border. Mr. Cameron would be well advised to pay heed to the military's advice before making a decision he may one day regret".

In another editorial, the daily framed that "Nato is moving towards the withdrawal of its combat troops from Afghanistan, without any sign of peace negotiations between Kabul and the Taliban. The daily further said David Cameron's initiative is bold, yet fraught with uncertainty. In particular, can the Pakistani president, Asif Ali Zardari, persuade elements within the military and intelligence services that have long been supportive of the Taliban to bring the rebels to the table? The Pakistani president's ratings are low, and there is concern among NATO allies lest the next Afghan election be as fraudulent as the last, in 2009. These are shaky foundations on which to build peace. Let us hope that continuing commitment is enough to persuade the Afghans and Pakistanis to create the conditions for peace. The daily categorically claimed that troop's withdrawal from Afghanistan risks undermining the gains of the past year".

CHAPTER 8

RESULT AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Result

In this dissertation, the researcher examined international media's framing techniques towards Pakistan's position in "War on Terror." For this purpose, all the relevant editorials in "*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Daily Telegraph*" were analyzed during the study period from January 2011 till the end of December 2015, which included 170 editorials. The result of the study found various themes during the period from 2011 to 2015. The main themes found from editorials about Portrayal of Pakistan's role in the war on terror are Pakistan Not a Trustworthy Ally, Dubious Role in War on Terror, Authoritarian Regime and Pak Nuke Status as Threat to Peace, Peace Talks and Troops Withdrawal from Afghanistan. Interestingly all three newspapers adopted the same approach towards Pakistan's role in the war on terror. However, The Washington Post and Daily Telegraph also concentrated on Peace Talks and Troops Withdrawal from Afghanistan. The Daily Telegraph always asked the British government to handle troop withdrawal from Afghanistan carefully. The daily published several editorials about troop's withdrawal from Afghanistan. The framing techniques and coverage style of the Daily Telegraph about the war on terror remained different. Considering these themes, the researcher answered the Ph.D. dissertation questions below.

The Ph.D. dissertation's first research question was; How did "*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Telegraph*" portray the role of Pakistan in the war on terror? The finding reveals that all three newspapers were massively involved in the "War on Terror." They gave massive space to an average of war on terror and related news. One hundred seventy editorial stories were published from 2011 to 2015. In 2011, following

Osama bin Laden's killing, the dailies gave excellent coverage and posted 33 editorials in the same year compared to other years of study. The disparity can be judged in the editorials. The dailies published 30 in 2012. In 2013, these dailies again provided space to 30 editorials, and then the number remained down to 19 in 2014. In 2015, they contributed only 20 editorials towards to "War on Terror." *The New York Times* provided space to total 21399 words, and Washington Post printed 21,029 words while *The Daily Telegraph* printed 21,159 words on its editorial pages. It shows that the issue of war on terror remained top in the agenda-setting of these newspapers. They contributed more during the peak time of war or hot, burning, and recent development. The result shows that immense coverage was provided to the "War on Terror."

The second query stated, "What were the key thematic areas that characterize the coverage Pakistan of in the war on terror in the selected press *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Telegraph*? In this regard, the study found that the stance of the newspapers remained aggressive towards Pakistan. The highly criticized Pakistan's role in the "War on Terror," They blamed "that Pakistan is playing" double game in war on terror. They framed Pakistan as "Not a Trustworthy Ally." They said that Islamabad is a Washington ally, but on the other hand, it supports Haqqani Network and TTP. The newspapers wrote that there are many more extremists hiding in Pakistan. All three newspapers portrayed Pakistan in specific words as follows: On December 5, 2011, the daily New York Times, in its editorial about the Salala attack by NATO, framed the story with the heading: "Pakistan Fans the Flames." In simple words Pakistan Dubious Role in War on Terror.

"Pakistan is refusing to help calm public fury or figure out what led to a NATO attack that left 24 Pakistani soldiers dead. It has rejected American requests to take part in a joint investigation. On Monday, it boycotted an

international conference in Bonn that laid plans for Afghanistan's future.

Both moves are self-defeating" (*The NYT*, 2011).

On 20th February 2011, the daily published editorial heading, "Pakistan's Nuclear Folly" Theme Pakistan Nuke Status as Threat to Peace. "The ultimate nightmare, of course, is that the extremists will topple Pakistan's government and get their hands on the nuclear weapons. We also don't rest easy contemplating the weakness of Pakistan's civilian leadership, the power of its army and the bitterness of the country's rivalry with nuclear-armed India" (*The NYT*, 2011).

On May, 2, 2011, the published editorial with the heading, "The Long-Awaited News". "The news that Osama bin Laden had been tracked and killed by American forces filled us, and all Americans, with a great sense of relief. The reports of how Osama Bin Laden's lair in Pakistan was discovered and breached, the years of intelligence-gathering and the intensive planning for this raid, are all a reminder of just how hard this work is and how much vigilance and persistence matter. On Sunday night, Mr. Obama gave Pakistan faint praise for some unspecified cooperation, but the facts are damning: The most hunted man in the world was living in a \$1 million compound, an hour's drive from Islamabad, Pakistan's capital, and close to both a military training academy and a large military base" (*The NYT*, 2011).

The daily in July, 01, 2012, framed Pakistan, "Islamabad refuse to cut ties with the Haqqani and other militants, who give Pakistan leverage in Afghanistan and are the biggest threat to American efforts to stabilize that country." In another editorial on October 24, 2013, the daily stated, "Pakistan needs to do more to improve regional stability. This should include cracking down on the Afghan Taliban, who have links to the Pakistani military and use the lawless border region to attack Afghanistan, and working with India to end cross-border skirmishes in Kashmir" (*NYT*, 2013). The result shows that the daily donated full unfavorable

editorials towards Pakistan. Thus it projected a negative role of Pakistan at the international level. On January 7, 2011, the daily *Washington Post* in its editorials framed the story with "Pakistan's Civil War." The daily crafted the theme Pakistan Authoritarian Regime. The daily further described "Pakistan's deepening crisis on its feckless civilian government. President Asif Ali Zardari and his Pakistan People's Party have been ineffectual in managing the country's economy" (*Washington Post*, 211). In another editorial the daily day after Osama Bin Laden's Killing called Pakistan's position, "the possibility of Pakistani complicity with the Osama bin Laden hideout cannot be ruled out." Moreover, on September 4, 2012, the daily criticized Islamabad saying, "Pakistan, who regard's the organization (Haqqani Network) as a vehicle for influence in Afghanistan and who only recently agreed to patch a fractured relationship with Washington. Perhaps most important, there is a concern that the designation might obstruct possible peace negotiations with the Taliban, of which the Haqqani network is a branch" (*Washington Post*, 2012).

Similarly, the daily over the issue of drone strikes supported the US government stance. They wrote that the drone strikes are still justified in Pakistan to hunt down terrorists. The daily in another editorial blamed that Taliban leadership has been based in Quetta and portrayed Pakistan as a supporter of Afghanistan's militants. The daily contributed 26 full unfavorable editorials about Pakistan's position in war on terror. The study proves that it portrayed the wrong role of Pakistan. The *Daily Telegraph* called Pakistan "an unreliable, nuclear-armed Pakistan poses a far greater potential threat to global security than Afghanistan ever did." Even the daily urged, "Washington whose aid dollars help keep Pakistan's military afloat – must demand greater commitment from Islamabad to the eradication of Islamist extremism inside its borders." It blamed "ISI intelligence agency sponsor's jihadists" (*The Telegraph*, 2011). The daily said that the untrustworthy behavior of Pakistan is making war on terror increasingly tricky. The daily termed that around half of the terror plots against

Britain have links to Pakistani-controlled territory. Fascinatingly, they daily donated 51.17 % neutral editorials regarding Islamabad's role against terrorism as compared to US newspapers. The daily published 41.87 unfavorable editorials about Pakistan. It shows the less concern of British media regarding the negative framing of Pakistan.

The third question of the thesis is, “did the U.S. and British press followed their countries’ foreign policy while reporting on the role of Pakistan in the war on terror?” The result indicates that the newspapers severely criticized Pakistan military rather than acknowledging its sacrifices. They blamed that Pakistan military is supporting and using Taliban as a vehicle for influence in Afghanistan. It is said that Pakistan's military is not sincerely cooperating with US in this war. *The New York Times* quoting a report stated that Pakistan's military is using the judiciary to weaken or even topple the Zardari's government before Senate election in 2012. In it's the daily published the editorial with title, "Pakistan's Besieged Government". It further said that civilian governments in Pakistan are typically short-lived due to military coups. They wrote, "America is fed up with duplicity of the Pakistan Army leaders by working with militant groups against US". These newspapers did not publish any story supporting Pakistan security forces' sacrifices in the war on terror, although Pakistan rendered over 70 thousand sacrifices, including security personnel.

The study found that all three newspapers remained highly critical towards Pakistan. They framed a gloomy picture of Pakistan. The daily "The New York Times" contributed 68.30 % unfavorable editorials while Washington Post published 65.21 percent adverse and negative stories about Pakistan's contribution to the war on terror. The Daily Telegraph donated 41.87 % hostile editorials about Pakistan. They also criticized Pakistan's government policies towards various problems, including Washington aid to Islamabad, "blockage of NATO Supply," "hiding of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad," drone strikes, Salala incident,

attack over Malala Yousafzai, relations with Afghanistan, the nuclear issue, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan and Haqqani Network. A comprehensive study shows that both the US and British press have not demonstrated satisfied behavior about Islamabad's role in fighting the war on terror. The fifth question of the research did the U.S. and British Newspapers follow their foreign policy? The study reveals that the British and the U.S. press provided immense coverage to the war on terror. They completely supported their government stance as official sources were relied upon heavily in the editorials. The joint percentage of favorable editorials by the newspapers towards Pakistan's portrayal in the war on terror remained 1.77 %. Even The Daily Telegraph lauded the Prime Minister David Cameron statement "when he warned Pakistan that it could no longer look both ways on terrorism." After Osama bin Laden's killing, *Daily Telegraph* wrote that the Afghan conflict had lost its attraction for the British public. The daily further said it is time to bring our home troops back home. *The Telegraph* urged the government to accept asylum of those who put their lives on the line and now find themselves in the gravest peril.

These newspapers remained supportive of every measure adopted by their government against terrorism. They never hesitated to write West conflict with Islamism. These dailies widely lauded the sacrifices of their own countries' soldiers in Afghanistan. They demanded from Western leaders to ensure that the sacrifices made in Afghanistan have not been in vain. The British daily expressed grave concern over the war consequences. The daily said it would bring casualties in the population. It will directly hit the world economy. Militants could give a tough time to allied-forces in a dangerous area of Afghanistan. The study concludes that the U.S. and British media freely supported their own country in fighting the war on terror. They remained toe and defended their countries foreign policy.

8.2 The Study Findings

The following are the study findings:

8.2.2 Challenges of Militancy

Pakistan is still facing the challenges of militancy despite fighting the war on terror for 18 years. The counter-terrorism policy of Pakistan requires more concentration to make it more comprehensive and flexible in dealing with challenges. The drone strikes produced anti-US feelings among people in Pakistan that have further flared up terrorism. Forces Operation is not the solution to the issue—other means to be adopted to counter militancy.

8.2.3 Reconciliation Process

The long-standing issue of Afghanistan needs to be resolved through the reconciliation process. The Dialogue between all stakeholders is the only viable solution to the problem. The Indian expansion in Afghanistan is a severe worry for Pakistan. The stability of the region lies in the peaceful settlement of the Afghan conflict. The political settlement is the prerequisite for the better future of the area. The region's prosperity is linked with the peace of Afghanistan.

8.2.4 US and British Media Stance

Media of both U.S. and British freely supported their own country in fighting the "War on Terror." They remained toe and defended their country's foreign policy. U.S. and British media remained supportive of every measure adopted by their government against terrorism. According to the finding of this study, the British and U.S. press provided immense coverage to the war on terror.

8.2.5 Portrayal of Pakistan in the U.S. and British Media 2011 to 2015

U.S. and British media portrayed the negative portrayal of Pakistan despite Islamabad's countless sacrifices. "The New York Times" contributed 68.30% unfavorable editorials, while Washington Post published 66.67 percent adverse and negative stories about Pakistan's contribution in the war on terror. The Daily Telegraph donated 41.87 % hostile editorials about Pakistan.

8.3 Study Key Result

The study's result indicates that international (U.S. and British) media condemned the Pakistani military rather than acknowledging its sacrifices. They blamed the Pakistan military is supporting and using the Taliban as a vehicle for influence in Afghanistan. The U.S. and British media did not publish any story supporting Pakistan's security forces' sacrifices in the war on terror even though Pakistan rendered over 70 thousand lives, including security personnel. The media called Pakistan "an unreliable, nuclear-armed Pakistan poses a far greater potential threat to global security."

8.4 Recommendations

The war on terror has received huge discussion over print and electronic media around the globe. War is not the solution to any issue. Scholars and political figures have delivered lectures on the war on terror. They recommended that the Dialogue solves any problem. They said thousands of persons had been killed, and this war has produced stronger militants. This environment is in favors terrorist groups to promote their nefarious designs. The international community, including Pakistan and the U.S., should adopt the following recommendations to overcome militancy and secure a permanent peace.

8.4.1 Political Dialogue

The international community requires initiating meaningful and coherent consultations among academia, political leaders, tribal leaders, civil society organizations, think tanks, and professionals to resolve this destructive menace. Special seminars should be arranged by asking all relevant stakeholders to take part. It should widen the doors of dialogue to include all. It is not to be restricted or to be specified. Broad range debates to be conducted on media with a particular focus on Youth to participate in it. The peace negotiations and dialogue should be used as a tool aimed to wipe out the causes of terrorism. To eliminate terrorism is not an easy job in the face of modern technological advancement. It is time to treat all with dignity, respect, and kindness. It is a general rule to make people your friends. When they are treated with arrogance and aggression, they turn-into enmity. The militancy needs to be wiped out from gross root level, with love, affection, and sympathy.

8.4.2 Human and Economic Resources

The resources wasted on fighting long wars should be spent on improving and uplifting people's living standards. The developed nation should support the underdeveloped states in upgrading healthcare, education, and poverty alleviation to provide better facilities to the public. Poverty and illiteracy are the main reasons for increasing terrorism in third world countries. The international community, including Pakistan, should review their planning on the actual utilization of economic resources. It is time to bring revolutionary changes to the system. The more poverty is the more threat to the peace of the world. More illiteracy means more instability. It also requires healthcare facilities for the low segment of society as they remained a simple task for terrorist groups to make them their friends.

8.4.3 Religion

No religion, including Islam, preaches for spreading fear and killing of innocents. Hence joint efforts are required to create awareness among people to understand that religion is not the cause of terrorism. But terrorists are using religion as an instrument to achieve their designs. A comprehensive policy is required to gain peace and security in the world, particularly in South Asia.

8.5 Policy Recommendations for Pakistan

The following recommendations would provide a suitable line of action for authorities to overcome terrorism's menace of terrorism. These recommendations certainly will benefit and reduce the effects of war.

8.5.1 Minimize Effects of War

Do questions arise on reducing the adverse effects of war over economic, political, and social sectors? To minimize violence's impacts on society, the government should double the current budget for social welfare. Technical skills should be provided to unemployed Youth, particularly in Tribal areas. The health sector needs more attention. Educational institutions to be reopened in war-hit zones. The budget of defense forces has been increased manifold. The act of terrorism witnessed an increase till 2017. Later in 2018 and 2019, the terrorism related incidents were reduced due to unprecedented security forces' methods. All leadership, including religious, political, military, civil society, and other associated stakeholders, should join hands to rehabilitate the country, particularly in the tribal belts. They should devise a common strategy to resolve the issue of militancy and ethnic problems permanently. The government of Pakistan should take the regional countries into confidence to resolve the issue of terrorism.

8.5.2 Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Schools

Military operations have undermined the social, political, and economic fabric in Tribal districts (FATA), Swat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Baluchistan. The government should reconstruct the damaged infrastructure of schools in the Tribal belt and other parts of KPK. Secondly, the internally displaced persons may be provided with financial support and technical skills to have their business establishment. The destroyed roads and bridges should also be reconstructed as communication plays a vital role in uplifting society. Militancy-hit areas need remarkable reforms. The reforms should be based on political empowerment, private property rights, economic and educational development. These initiatives will help in reducing the menace of terrorism. This will bring terrorism hit the Tribal belt into the economic and political mainstream flow of the country. Another possible way is the government should provide access to the country's exports to the international market, "especially textiles and agriculture products" The country's exports should be doubled to the markets of the U.S., E.U., and Japan. Positively, this act will boost the country's exports. Pakistan needs to eliminate terrorism as quickly as possible.

8.5.3 Reforms in Tribal Districts

Positive changes are a pre-requisite in Tribal districts. The people of the Tribal belt need to be protected under the constitution of Pakistan. If any, the missing sense of belongingness among tribal citizens should be resolved to make them honorable. If the honor of the tribal is determined, then there would not be a significant issue of enduring peace. The civil and military leadership should adopt concerted measures to bring stability to the country. Joint ventures and the financial arteries of terrorists should be dismantled. Further delaying actions will only allow terrorist expansion and unity.

8.5.4 Grand Strategy

A grand strategy should be devised and adopted to combat terrorism. The framework of the policy should be prepared with the consultation of all the stakeholders. Pakistan's foreign policy needs re-orientation in line with the war on terror and the region's merging situation. Pakistan has a central place in the region. International players are having a significant interest in the area. They are playing their cards to manipulate the politics of the site in their interests. It must ensure strict implementation of the policy against militants without any discrimination. Cross border infiltration of terrorists, drugs, arms mafia should be strictly checked on the Pak-Afghan border. The fencing of the fence should be completed at the earliest. The internal problems in Tribal and Baluchistan areas should be adequately addressed. Under the grand strategy, the ethnic issue should also be resolved with the consultation of concerned stakeholders. Pak-Afghan partnership should be widened on healthy norms. The Indian influence in Afghanistan should have been stopped as it is hampering peace in the region.

8.5.5 Recognition of Pakistan Sacrifices

The international community should acknowledge the sacrifices rendered by Pakistan in fighting the war on terror. This acknowledgment will boost the self-esteem of Pakistan. The U.S. must realize that it cannot resolve the Afghan issue without the support of Pakistan. Washington should review its policy towards Pakistan and stop blaming Pakistan. The Indian factor in Afghanistan is impeding the peace process in Afghanistan. The international community should accept the ground reality that peace in Afghanistan is in the interest of Pakistan. Therefore, the issue of terrorism is linked with peace in Afghanistan. Any tilt of the international community towards India will destabilize the region.

8.6 Conclusion

The menace of terrorism has engulfed most of the entire world following 9/11. The terror phenomenon sets severe challenges for security around the globe. These challenges are multi-dimensional, including security constraints, social disorder, and low economy. These challenges are the real outcomes of terrorism. The world has witnessed increased violence. The world's Terror wave includes suicide attacks, targeting security personnel and civilians, hitting infrastructure, and increased sectarian violence. America's attack on Afghanistan brought unimaginable destruction and misery to the South Asia region. Most of the terror attacks on people, transport systems, airports, and property were the outcomes of the war on Terror. Because of the terrorism, GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita growth and capital formation remained low. Since 9/11, Pakistan is a front-line state engaged against terrorism. As a result, this war inflicted enormous destruction on Pakistan. It has directly turned down the country's economic growth. It also devastated the social and political structure sectors. War on Terror has cost the country over 65,000 lives, including 5000 personnel of security forces. Besides this, Pakistan has sustained over \$120 billion and the destruction of infrastructure during the last 18 years. Fear of terrorism has distant investors. Terrorism displaced thousands of people. Military operations disturbed the daily life routine of peaceful people. Operations carried out in "Swat and Federal Administrative Tribal Areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa." It accused the soft role of Pakistan at the international level. Pakistan's relations with the international community remained worse because of militancy following the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Musharraf Government joined the coalition against the war on terror under U.S. pressure. A new wave of missive destruction began in Pakistan. In the wake of 9/11, addressing the nation, Musharraf said, "If we make wrong decisions, then our vital interests will be harmed, our critical concerns are of our sovereignty, the second our economy, the

third our strategic assets, (nuclear, missiles) and the fourth resolution of Kashmir. If we adopt these decisions, they will be in line of to the Islam. It is not a matter of bravery or cowardice. As we know bravery without thinking is a stupidity. We have to save our national interests. Pakistan comes first, everything else is secondary". Pakistan's main reason is to join the coalition, keep itself safe from the U.S. outrage, and get some financial and military gains. Since the beginning of the war on terror, Pakistan has suffered heavily and is still paying the price. The economy of the country remained under the pressure of low growth for years. GDP growth is declined. Defense expenditure increased. The tourism sector received a colossal setback. The social industry destabilized. Education institutions remained closed in the face of militancy, especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Communication system damaged. Unemployment remained at the peak. The stock exchange remained on low performance. Foreign direct investment decreased.

Similarly, the 2008 global financial crisis, the 2010 massive floods in Pakistan, and the energy shortage affected the economy. There were only a few offices, roads, education institutions, and streets in Pakistan without barricades for security reasons. The life of the common man remained crippled. Pakistan received irreparable losses. This war will keep hunting Pakistan in coming decades. "Pakistanis heave become victim of no fault of theirs." The "War on Terror" remained unpopular and dubious in Pakistan. It deepened insecurity and militancy. Economic problems worsened. In 2007, the U.S. carried out drone attacks in tribal belt near the Pak-Afghan border, targeting insurgents. The U.S. claimed that her strategy remained successful. This drone policy tarnished the U.S. role in Pakistan. The American undercover security personnel activities were questioned? "One such example is of Raymond Davis, who was involved in an incident of shooting and killing in Lahore. Later, he was released on the payment of blood money to the relatives of victims". In 2011, after the killing of "Osama Bin Laden," mistrust between US-Pakistan deepened. The relation between the

two witnessed deadlocks. Presently Pak-US relation is passing through a crucial time. U.S. aid to Pakistan is meager compared to its losses. Pakistan's military consumed most aid funds.

Today Pakistan seems to be reflecting on its participation in the "War on Terror." Pakistan is facing both internal and external challenges. Its western border with Afghanistan remained unsafe. The menace of terrorism is still a looming threat, although Islamabad has made serious efforts to curb militancy. However, the recent statistics show that a relative decline has been witnessed in terrorism-related incidents. The overall landscape of security noticed improvement due to comprehensive operations against terrorists. Though the issue still requires keen attention. The intensity of the problem demands an advanced and proactive approach. The policy towards anti-terrorism needs re-orient to gain the best outcomes. Looking behind the phenomenon of terrorism with its shades and manifestation, Pakistan is now emerging like a more prosperous and vibrant country. Pakistan learned lessons from this eternal and costly war. After thoroughly studying the history of wars, stable countries like the USA, Germany, France, and the U.K. rose to zenith after experiencing severe setbacks. Similarly, Pakistan experienced a lot and is now ready to meet any challenges.

8.7 Recommendations for Future Research

Presently media is playing the role of the non-state actor in the international system. Media develop global influence. Media can spread ideas throughout the world. This Ph.D. dissertation may be classified as analytical based on content analysis of Editorials of *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Daily Telegraph* on the war on terror. The study examined how the international media provided coverage of Pakistan's role in the war on terror. Future research may be conducted on content analysis of Russian and China media on the war on terror. It may perform a study based on comparative analysis of media to analyze the nature

of treatment and its editorial stance towards terrorism. It is also recommended that the government provide easy access to researchers to research international media content. Future research may also be conducted regarding comparing Pakistan's foreign policy towards the Yemen crisis and the war on Terror. The impacts of Yemen crisis on the whole region, especially Iran's involvement in the Middle East is critical of its nature.

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