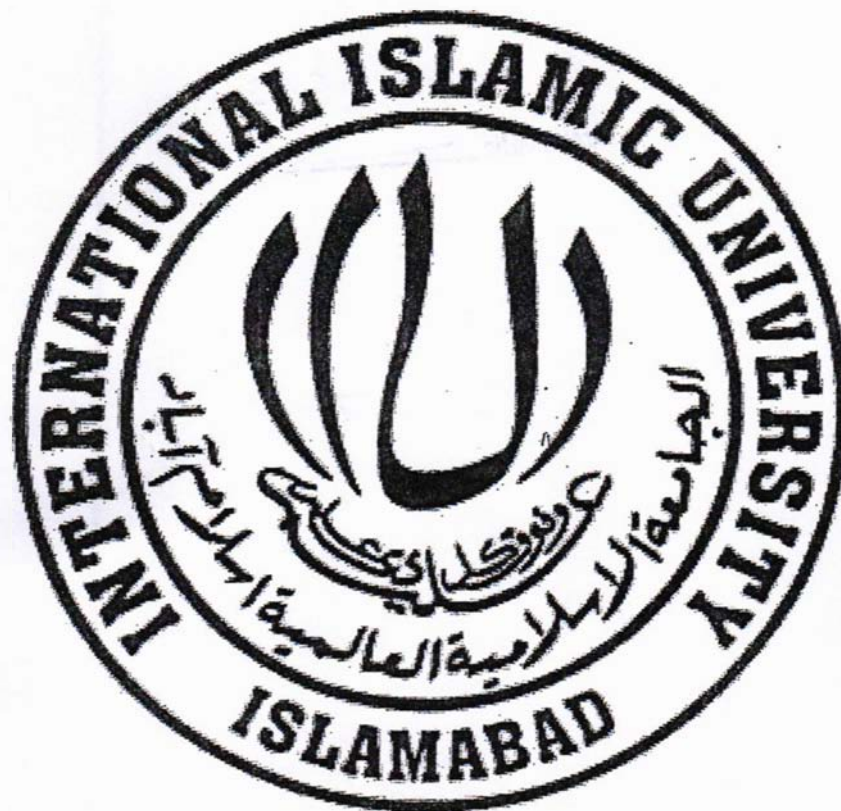


**UK AND U.S. PRINT MEDIA AND PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR
PROGRAM
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF LEADING NEWSPAPERS**



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FINAL APPROVAL

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

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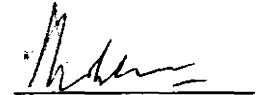
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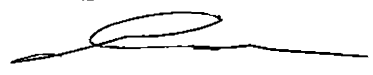
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Dedication

This thesis was made possible because of prayers of my family and friends; for this, I will be forever in their debt.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research study is to investigate as to how image of Pakistan's Nuclear Program is being constructed in leading US and UK print media discourse. The objectives of the study are to investigate nature of the discourse in editorial's concerning the Pakistan's Nuclear Program in leading US and UK, news papers to determine how media portrays Pakistan's Nuclear Program. For this inquiry, the researcher conducted the discourse analysis of the newspapers editorials. Two leading dailies, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* of US and *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* of UK from May 1998 to May 2010 taken as sample for research study. Editorials of the above mentioned newspapers are the sample size of the study. The researcher focused and analyzes the editorial in six domains which are nuclear proliferation, nuclear energy, nuclear terrorism, nuclear scientist, nuclear rivals and nuclear politics. While doing the discourse analysis, corpus-modus operandi was used to study the 'stances' in the editorials. The study found that elite newspapers portrayed Pakistan nuclear program negatively and in condemning manner. UK newspapers discussed the nuclear program epistemologically while US newspaper were heavy on attitudinal stance.

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CHAPTER 01

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION:

Pakistan is among the world's major Muslim country and the only Muslim Nuclear Power. After its independence in 1947 diplomatic relations were established with U.S. .The extensive and checkered U.S.-Pakistan relations have its roots in the Cold War and South Asia regional politics of the 1950s. U.S. concerns about Soviet extension and Pakistan's need for security assistance against apparent threat from India motivated the two countries to negotiate a mutual defence assistance agreement in May 1954. In 1955, Pakistan had aligned itself with the West by signing two regional defence agreements , the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact (later Central Treaty Organization, CENTO) (Bahadur, 1981).

Pakistan's geostrategic position, neighbouring to Communist China, close proximity to the Soviet Union and West Asia, combined with its anticommunist military, made it a natural ally for the United States in its approach of encircling the Soviet Union in the 1950s. When Pakistan joined a number of U.S. sponsored alliances, than United States became a dependable source of conventional arms which supported the military's idea that coalition with the West would provide Pakistan the defence it needed against apparent Indian threats(Ahmed, 1999).

Lodhi (2009) stated in her report that Pakistan and U.S., both recognize the significance of each other for the achievement of their particular national objectives. Pakistan is important for the accomplishment of the key U.S. security goals for defeating terrorism and stabilizing Afghanistan. It has a vital role to play in many of the extreme issues of the time, such as encouraging nuclear non-proliferation, countering extremism, strengthening democratic system and development, addressing issues of global peacekeeping (as the major contributor to United Nations troops), and improving relations between the West and the Islamic world.

The danger of nuclear terrorism is among the factors for U.S. interest's revival in South Asia (Anderson, 2004). In the last decade, a key and extreme challenge to global defence has been the rise of the non-state actors and the risk that the Pakistan nuclear arms may fall into Taliban hands. The presence of fundamental elements in a nuclear South Asia made this threat highly believable (Musarrat, 2008).

Since joining the U.S.' war on terror Pakistan has sacrificed thousands of lives in the form of both military and civilians. The occurrence of Suicide bombings is now ordinary and heavily practiced in Pakistan whereas this term was unfamiliar to the citizens of Pakistan before 9/11. The Taliban has been re-organized in recent years in both Afghanistan and Pakistan (BBC, October 2010). Pakistan's Military operation in Swat (Rah e Nijat) resulted in hundreds of thousands of internally displaced person (IDPs) and they were forced to vacate their houses because of fighting between Pakistani military and the Taliban. Military action (Rah e Haq) produce the same result in the Taliban stronghold in the North and South Waziristan (Haroon, 2011).

Pakistani and U.S. officials have held talks on improving defence and installing new safeguards on Pakistan's nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants after September 2001 terrorist attack on the United States. Doubts that Pakistan could become destabilized by the anti-terrorism war efforts of U.S. in Afghanistan have increased U.S. nuclear proliferation concern in South Asia (Blood, 2002). In the light of above mentioned facts aim of this study to analyze the image of the Pakistan's Nuclear Program portrayed in leading western newspapers and to find out to what extent print media gives coverage in their editorials regarding the nuclear Program. It also aims

to provide significant evidence that how print media can be used to develop specific thinking and create concerns in the minds of public.

BACKGROUND OF PAKISTAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM

Pakistan's government consolidated its defence links with the West and build up its conventional forces in 1950. At that time there was no or little evidence of a nuclear weapons program, although interest in the civil uses of nuclear energy did exist. Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) was established in 1957 to train nuclear scientists and to build a nuclear research reactor. That was the beginnings of a growing indigenous nuclear scientific institution.

Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission's history goes back to 1956, when the Atomic Energy Research Council was established. Reorganization took place in 1964, 1965 and 1973 and the Atomic Energy Commission was raised as a statutory body with considerable autonomy (PAEC, 2011). Commission was later transferred from the Science and Technology Research Division to the President's Secretariat in 1972.

Ahmed (1999) argues that Pakistan's nuclear program was started to develop civil use of nuclear energy. Under comprehensive International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards first reactor, Karachi Nuclear Power Plant began operations in 1965.

Turning point that sets Pakistan irrevocably along the nuclear arsenal path was testing of India's nuclear device in May 1974. After Indian explosion, Pakistan started a nuclear weapons program which was apart from the PAEC. Head of new program was metallurgical engineer, Abdul

Qadeer Khan. The task of enriching uranium for weapons was assigned to Khan by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

First nuclear test explosion by a country outside the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council was India, with the help of Canadian nuclear reactors and expertise. India again conducted a total of five underground nuclear tests on May 11 and 13, 1998. Pakistan also conducted five tests on May 28, 1998, and an additional test on May 30 for strategic balance in the region and to counter the potential threat from rival India.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The study aimed at analyzing the image of Pakistan's Nuclear Program portrayed by the editorials of leading U.S. and UK dailies. It also attempts to find out the discourses which provided the bases to form the negative, positive or neutral image of the Pakistan's Nuclear Program in the editorials by leading U.S. and UK dailies of two different outlooks (liberal and conservative). This study also aims to provide the conclusion that how these discourses had affected the opinion of western public and how they developed a unique mentality about Pakistan's Nuclear Program.

Objectives of the study:

The objectives of the study are:

- To find out how editorials framed the Pakistan's Nuclear Program?
- To find out what discourses newspapers made about the Pakistan's Nuclear Program?

- Are there any differences between approaches followed by liberal and conservative newspapers?

Significance of the Study

Past researches on international mass communication has revealed that the media is very powerful in setting the public agenda with regard to foreign nations and have significant impact on what issues the public thinks about and how they think about them. This research has been designed to investigate that how U.S. and UK press made discourses about Pakistan's Nuclear Program, especially in the present scenario when Pakistan is a frontline state in the war on terror. The study will also provide the coverage differences between U.S. and UK media on Pakistan nuclear program.

CHAPTER 02

LITERATURE REVIEW

LITERATURE REVIEW

The World's second most populous Muslim State (Kronstadt, 2008), Pakistan have 2430 kilometre long border with Afghanistan, due to this reason most of the people in the world today, consider Pakistan as the nursery for Al-Qaeda recruits and a hideout of its top leadership. One of the root causes of this scrutiny is the ongoing intensive cleanup operation in Afghanistan by the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) along with American Forces against terrorism, which makes it almost impossible for any miscreants to stay in there. The 44th and Current American President Mr. Barak Hussein Obama has shown his concerns on the war against terrorism extending to Pakistan which can be interpreted easily from his frequent statements to the media that "war would be extended into Pakistan". In fact, world today generally perceives that Pakistan has failed to fight against religious extremism and anti-western militants (Kronstadt, 2008).

Western media's general portrayal of Islam and Muslims has clearly been damaging which can be concluded easily from the research of Mescher (2008), Ahmed (1993), Saeed (2007), Field (2007), Poole (2002), Said (1997). Due to geographical location and Pakistan's negative representation in the media is much more than the other Muslim world. This negative image conceals the fact of being politically moderate, which can be dug out easily by the support for secularism and true democracy by Pakistan's majority including its dominated feudal elite. Western media keep their tradition of negatively portraying Muslim countries with hostile and unfair tone in the press (IJC, 2007, pp. 127-132 cited in Shabbir & Iqbal, 2010). Media statements of prominent and influential political figures asking Pakistan, to take a more

aggressive approach against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda operatives on its soil, deepen the negative image already portrayed by the western media (Rahman, 2007).

Dual standards and the hypocrisy of western media made them change their point of view towards autocracy, by General (Retired) Pervaiz Musharraf's anti-extremist tone, eventually approving his unlawful rule for more than nine years in a 'politically moderate' country. The combination of Military rule and growing religious fanaticism in Pakistan eliminated almost all the opportunities for its positive representation in the media of West.

The western writers kept on publishing biased and poisonous opinions about Pakistan along with declaring it as the hub of Islamic extremists regardless of knowing the stance of the people and government of Pakistan (Fair, 2005). War actions, terrorism and biased negative reporting clearly tailored totally different perception among the public of the United States of America about Pakistan (Vendor, 2004). This negative portrayal of Pakistan by western media, led western politicians demanding in public proceedings to disarm Pakistan from weapons of mass destruction and roll back its nuclear program.

To achieve their targets of portraying a negative image of Pakistan by using terms of 'failed nation' with failed economy with an anathema of dictatorship, insecure nuclear arsenals, a reluctant supporter of U.S. goals and a potential long term problem, The New York Times, allocated special space under the slug "A Nation Challenged" (Leon, 2002 cited in Shabbir & Iqbal 2010). Armstrong (2002) systematically discusses the creation of negative image of Muslims and Pakistan in her work. Pakistan and Muslims were negatively portrayed by the six influential newspapers of the United States (The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, The Los Angeles Times) even prior to tragic events of 9/11 (Khalid, 2001,

pp.109-124). Khalid (2001) analyzed that a total of 1829 news stories were published in these six elite newspapers during the three year period from 1995 to 1997 which concluded that print media in the west showed a false image of Islam in their contents. Findings of Khalid (2001) are well supported by others (Mirza, 1995, p.31; Sheikh, 1994; Zaidi, 1991, pp.25-26; Al-Zahrani, 1988).

In the work of Said (1997, pp. 12-15) it is proven that western media portrays a self created an unavoidable bond between fundamentalism, militarism and Islam leading them to represent it 'as a threat to the west and western civilization', which has resulted in 'chauvinistic and false impression of Islam' in the west. The more than ever need for Mutual Understanding between Islam and West seems more relevant today as Yamani (1997, pp.87-98) said in Islam and West:

'the misrepresentation of Islam, which was limited in the past to the printed word, has now mushroomed to all forms of mass communication....The entertainment industry, news telecast, radio shows, the movie industry children's TV programs, and even commercials on billboards all have become vehicles for propagating the misrepresentation of Islam in the West.....Literary fictions and nonfiction remain among the most insidious vehicles for permanently damaging the image and concept of Islam in the minds of non Muslims audience'.

Falsification of Muslims in general and Pakistan in particular in western media is very significant as it builds imagination, a false one though, in the minds of people.

Almost all the gurus of Communication Sciences agree that the way of illustrating news assembles 'schemas' – collective sense of events, in the minds of people. Frames and stereotypes are the words generally used for these schemas, which are apparent and perceived coherently by the people (Ibid, p.43). Lippmann (1922, p.3) also mentioned 'schemata' as a significant area of study, which he believed to be as 'the picture inside our heads'. An influential work of Entman (1991, p. 7) describes it as 'information processing schemata' where decisions

are made by individuals based on their internal schemata about every important matter. But Scheufele (1999, p.103) has stated it as exact as that news provides 'a construct for the public to understand events and form a basis for reality'.

So the fact remains fact that whatever people have envisaged in their minds to process or build a reality from, seriously depends on what they have been showed and told by the media.

In the aftermath of Dr. A. Q. Khan scandal, western media openly targeted Pakistan's Nuclear program and portrayed it as a potential threat to world safety without considering the ground realities. This study aims to analyze how the four elite newspapers of the western world (*The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* of U.S., *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* of UK) have made discourses about Pakistan's Nuclear Program.

Theory of Framing

Mass media have essential part in the construction of social reality by framing (Tuchman, 1978).

Media have the power to form the meanings that the user assigns to an issue or happening because they "disseminate the information that people want, need, and should know" (p. 2).

Media promote the frames of reference that readers and viewers use to interpret and discuss public events and problems. Framing is the second-level of agenda setting, which is transferring the attributes of issue from the media to the public. McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997) argue that extension of agenda setting is framing in terms of media effects. The mass media have shown a powerful agenda setting influence on public where the priority assigned by the media to certain issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Frames in media have four locations – the culture, the communicator, the text and the audience on any given issue, frames from different locations might be different from each other (Entman, 1993). Journalists (the communicators) cover each event in certain way and these are influenced by news value, deadline pressure, and preferred use of certain types of sources over others, and organizational policy – and their own values (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991; Tuchman, 1978). These issues influence them by focusing events in a certain way and gets translated in the frames of text that they write intentionally or otherwise.(Gamson, 1989).

Framing can be explained as the selecting of some attribute of a specific event or matter and to present it as more prominent than other aspect or attribute of the issue or event in the media. According to Entman (1993, p.52), “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation”.

Gitlin (1980, p.4) stated that the origin of frames lies in the media’s selection of specific version of actuality over others. Organizational policy identifies and defines the story and suggest suitable attitude toward them.

Detection of frames presence in a text by researchers, does not assure that audience frames will be same to the frames in the text (Entman, 1989). Media frames the issue by highlighting some aspects of issue over others, trigger certain kinds of information in public, and this approach in turn affect their thinking and behaviour. According to Powers, Tewksbury, Prices (1997), applicability effects and accessibility effects are two main kind of media frames, effect on the audience. Applicability effects appears during processing of a media text, the prominent attribute of text activate in readers mind which effect their response to the message. When these activated

ideas and feelings remain in the readers mind s and are used in making subsequent evaluation are defined as accessibility effect.

Research Questions:

1. How the editorials of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* framed Pakistan's Nuclear Program and what discourses they made?
2. How the editorials of *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* framed Pakistan's Nuclear Program and what discourses they made?
3. Do newspapers with identical outlook like Guardian of UK and *The New York Times* as being liberal newspapers and *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* as being conservative differ in their slant towards the Pakistan's Nuclear Program?

CHAPTER 03

METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study is to analyze the discourses in the U.S. and UK newspapers.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The method selected to explore the discourses on the Pakistan nuclear program in *The Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *The Guardian* and *Daily Telegraph* is discourse analysis.

Fair Clough (1995, p.41) describe discourse analysis as a kind of language linked with a particular representation, from specific point of view of social practice. The main focus of discourse analysis is any form of spoken and written language such as conversation or newspaper article. The topic of interest is the underlying social structure, which may be played out or assumed within text or conversation. It concerns with sort of strategies and tools which people use when they engaged in communication, such as choice of particular words, slowing one's speech for emphasis, use of metaphors.

The researcher try to identify themes, ideas, views and so on to identify categories, themes, ideas, views, roles and so on , within the text. Aim behind this is to identify shared patterns of talking. The investigator tries to answer question like how the discourse helps U.S. to understand the issue under study, how people create their own version of an incident, and how people use discourse to construct and maintain their own identity. Discourse analysis enable researcher to reveal hidden motivation behind a text.

Discourse analysis has been taken in various discipline of social science, such as communication studies, sociology linguistics, anthropology, social work, cognitive psychology, social

psychology, international relations, translation studies and human geography, and translation studies every subject has its own dimensions and analysis methodologies.

Discourse analysis become a popular qualitative approach for media and psychology in recent years(Giles,2002).This technique is used to analyze discourses of writers conscious and unconscious agendas and its main objective is to analyze text more than attending to whatever is in those texts(MacLure,2003:43).

According to Davis and Meyers (Meyers, 2004; Davis & French, 2008) 'discourse is not only a linguistic practice; it also construct knowledge about a particular topic'(p.100), where as critical discourse analysts focus on a range of rhetorical devices, structures, and semantic strategies to reveal 'not only how language and representation produce meaning, but also the relationship between representation, meaning and power, and the construction of identities and subjectivities' (Ibid, p. 101; Davis & French, 2008).

Population of the study

Four newspapers are selected, two from UK Guardian and Daily Telegraph and two from the U.S., The Washington Post, The New York Times.

1. British daily newspaper *The Guardian* (until 1959, *The Manchester Guardian*) was founded by John Edward Taylor and owned by Guardian Media Group. *The Guardian* was founded in 1821, it is unique among major British newspapers and having liberal outlook.

2. *The Daily Telegraph* is founded by Colonel ArthurB Sleigh in June 1855 and distributed throughout globe currently.*The Daily Telegraph* is ninth largest daily newspaper of UK and having conservative outlook.

3. *The Washington Post* was founded by Stilson Hutchins in 1877. It is Washington, D.C.'s oldest and largest newspaper. Located in U.S. capital. The Post goal is to produce a best newspaper and now it comes under the Washington post company and having conservative outlook.

4. *The New York Times* was founded in 1851 and published from New York City. *The New York Times* the largest newspaper in the United states. The New York Times Company owned it which also publishes eighteen other newspaper including The Boston Globe and International Herald Tribune. Newspapers motto is "All the News That,s Fit to Print".

Sample size

All the editorials related to Pakistan nuclear program appeared in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* , *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from 1st May 1998 to 30th May 2010.

Data collection

The Lexis Nexis search engine was used to identify the editorial on the Pakistan nuclear program from the newspapers: *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* , *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* .The period for the search was from May 1998 to May 2010. A total of 24 pieces of the editorial was found from *The Guardian*, 26 items from *The Daily Telegraph*, 49 items from *New York Times* and 50 items from *The Washington Post* . All pieces found were comments on the Pakistan nuclear program during that period and not the news items. As the items found between the selected periods were not big in number with comparison of the selected time period, all pieces were analyzed and no sampling method was applied.

Qualitative analysis

The qualitative method of research goes beyond dealing with the arithmetic of discourses in the media. One of such methodologies is the discourse analysis which is 'unobtrusive' in nature and explores the meaning, structure and function of media messages (Smith, 1999, p.260). The discourse analysis method helps to understand the 'description, inference, interpretation and criticism or evaluation' in the messages, which quantitative methodologies hardly offer (Ibid)

Techniques of Data Analysis and Interpretation

Qualitative and quantitative methods are used for data analysis and interpretation. Quantitative data has been put into SPSS software. The results have been interpreted and assessed. The research questions of the study had been then answered by the researcher.

Analysis and coding procedure

Every paragraph of the editorial regarding the Pakistan Nuclear program in elite newspapers has been analyzed for slant, stance and themes in six main domains which are nuclear proliferation, nuclear energy, nuclear terrorism, nuclear rivals and nuclear politics. On overall impression of the article the following rules are formulated for the assessment of article from slant perspective.

Coding Rules

Frame 1

Rule 1: Rule for assessment of Positive editorial

Editorial would be considered as positive if the ratio of positive paragraph is higher than the negative and neutral paragraph.

Frame 2

Rule 2: Rule for assessment of negative editorial.

If the ratio of negative paragraph is greater than positive and neutral paragraph then article would fall in negative category from contextual point of view.

Frame 3

Rule 3: Rule for Neutral editorial.

If the positive and negative paragraph are less than neutral paragraph the editorial would fall in neutral slant.

All the editorials were analyzed from contextual point of view with above mentioned rules.

Operationalization of key Variables

1. **Leading Newspapers:** Newspaper selected for analysis *The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The New York Times, The Washington post.*
2. **Positive:** Paragraphs which discuss the Pakistan nuclear program in the context of positive change and development in energy, economic, political and social sector, peace and harmony promotion of democratic values. Involvement in agreement of nuclear proliferation coded as positive. Moreover, the editorial which communicates appreciation of the initiatives taken by the policy makers to save nuclear arsenal would be coded with a positive slant

3. **Negative:** Paragraph which discusses the Pakistan nuclear program in the context of natural and human destruction, political instability, energy crisis, poor living conditions and political, economic and interstate disputes coded as negative. All such paragraphs which depict criticism of policies in aforementioned area as well as offensive comments to twist the personality of policy makers and nuclear scientist would be coded with a negative slant
4. **Neutral:** Editorial containing plain-and-simple fact or paragraphs containing equal and competing positive and negative statements, quotes or wording. (2) When facts, figures and quotes exist without an appearance of positive or negative connotation.
5. **Nuclear Proliferation:** Editorial in which nuclear technology transfer, including treaties NPT, CTBT etc.) are discussed.
6. **Nuclear Energy:** Editorial in which civil use of Pakistan's nuclear program is discussed.
7. **Nuclear Scientist:** Editorial in which Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan and other nuclear scientist are discussed.
8. **Nuclear Terrorism** Editorial that discussed Pakistan's nuke as weapons of mass destruction or threat that weapon can fall in the hand of militants, extremist or al-Qaida.
9. **Nuclear Rivals:** Editorial in which Pakistan nuclear program is discussed in the context of Pakistan and India relation or can use of nuclear weapon in case of war or talks nuclear arsenal.
10. **Nuclear Politics:** U.S. aid for counterinsurgency, U.S. policies or plans for Pakistan nuclear program, or discussion on role of Pakistani government in context of nuclear program.
11. **Other:** Editorials that do not fall any of the said categories.

12. **Epistemic stance:** Comments on the certainty (or doubt), reliability or limitation of proposition including comments in the source of knowledge. (Ochs, 1996, p. 410).
13. **Attitudinal stance:** Conveying the writer's attitude, feelings, or value judgments (Bednarek, 2008, p. 16).
14. **Style stance:** The manner in which the information is presented (e.g. Condemning, appreciative, supporting etc.).

CHAPTER 04

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Research Question 1

How the editorials of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* framed Pakistan's Nuclear Program and make discourses about it?

The Guardian has been quite open to criticize Pakistan's Nuclear Program. Total no of editorial appear in *The Guardian* on Pakistan nuclear program are 24. It has more often discussed the issue negatively in epistemic and condemning styles. Nuclear weapons will fall in the hand of militants and nuclear scientist role in proliferation has more often been discussed in its contents.

The Daily Telegraph did not lag behind in criticizing Pakistan's 'nuclear program' and government's role in, to deal with militancy and proliferation¹. Total no of editorial appear in *The Daily Telegraph* on Pakistan nuclear program are 26. It has also more often discussed the nuclear program negatively and in epistemic stance with condemning tone. It has more often discussed nuclear scientist and nuclear terrorism theme in its discourses and declared Pakistan's nuclear program as a threat to world peace, it more often discussed the possibility of nuclear use in case of war² between Pakistan and India.

¹ *The Daily Telegraph*, July 06, 2007.

² *The Daily Telegraph*, October 20, 2007.

Finding 1

Finding one suggests that, mean difference between positive and negative slant indicate that the *The Guardian* framed the Pakistan nuclear program more negative way than positive.

Table 1: Slant of *The Guardian*

Slant	N	Mean
Positive	24	.0417
Negative	24	.7500

Finding 2

Finding two suggest that, mean difference between epistemic and attitudinal stance indicate that *The Guardian* covers the Pakistan nuclear program more in epistemic stance than attitudinal.

Table 2: Stance of *The Guardian*

	N	Mean
Epistemic	24	62.5
Attitudinal	24	37.5
Total	24	

Finding 3

Finding three suggest that the nuclear scientist theme is most often discussed in the editorial of *The Guardian*.

Table 3: Themes of *The Guardian*

	Frequency	Percent
Nuclear Proliferation	1	4.2
Nuclear Energy	1	4.2
Nuclear Terrorism	6	25.0
Nuclear Scientist	11	45.8
Nuclear Rivals	1	4.2
Nuclear Politics	3	12.5
Other	1	4.2
Total	24	

Finding 4

Finding four suggest that the style of *The Guardian* is condemning most often in its contents.

Frequency of condemning style is 19.

Table 4:Style of *The Guardian*

	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Condemning	19	79.2
Supportive	3	91.7
Attitudinal	2	100.0
Total	24	

Finding 5

Finding five suggests that, mean difference between positive and negative slant indicate that

The Telegraph framed the Pakistan nuclear program more negative way than positive

Table 5: Slant of *The Telegraph*

Slant	N	Mean
Positive	26	.1200
Negative	26	.8800

Finding 6

Finding six suggest that, mean difference between epistemic and attitudinal stance indicate that

The Guardian covers the Pakistan nuclear program more in epistemic stance than attitudinal

Table 6: Stance of *The Telegraph*

	N	Mean
Epistemic	26	67.5
Attitudinal	26	32.5

Finding 7

Finding seven suggest that the nuclear scientist theme is most often discussed in the editorial of *The Telegraph*.

Table 7: Themes of *The Telegraph*

	Frequency	Percent
Nuclear Proliferation	3	11.5
Nuclear Energy	3	11.5
Nuclear Terrorism	7	26.9
Nuclear Scientist	8	30.8
Nuclear Rivals	3	11.5
Nuclear Politics	1	3.8
Other	1	100.0
Total	26	

Finding 8

Finding eight suggest that the style of *The Telegraph* was condemning most often in its contents.

Frequency of condemning style is 21.

Table 8:Style of *The Telegraph*

	Frequency	Percent
Condemning	21	80.8
Appreciative	3	11.5
Supportive	2	7.7
Total	26	100.0

The Guardian in its editorials criticize Pakistan's nuclear program most often in epistemic stance and tried to prove it that Pakistan's nuclear assets are vulnerable to Taliban. In its contents newspaper discussed the nuclear terrorism theme in following manner:

Apparently Taliban are now at the gates of Islamabad – and Islamabad possesses approximately 55 nuclear warheads. Astonishingly anticipating such an event, the Bush administration had moved to safeguard Pakistan's nuclear arsenal by offering to share with Islamabad the sophisticated Pals ("permissive action links") technology, which would have linked Pakistan's nuclear weapons to secret codes that would control their activation³.

³ *The Guardian* February 21, 2009

In above mentioned paragraph of editorial, apparently and approximately is indicator of epistemic stance and astonishingly refers to attitudinal stance.

The Guardian discussing the nuclear terrorism theme on another occasion commented that 'According to congressional investigation into weapons of mass destruction today offered a chilling prediction of terrorists mounting an attack using biological or nuclear weapons within the next five years. The six-month inquiry singles out Pakistan as one of the likeliest sources of such an attack. The target could be the U.S. or some other part of the world⁴. In this paragraph accordingly and chilling are indicator of epistemic and attitudinal stance respectively.

The Guardian raises the concern that nuclear weapons have not only threat from militants but also from the workers at the nuclear installations⁵, with Islamist sympathies, and criticize that

Although Pakistan maintains a special 10,000-strong army force to guard its nuclear warheads and facilities, western officials are also said to be increasingly concerned that military insiders with Islamist sympathies may obtain radioactive material that could be used to make a so-called dirty bomb, for possible use in terrorist attacks on western cities⁶.

Not only Pakistan, the U.S. government was also subject of criticism in the contents published by *The Guardian*. One of such occasion is:

'Nuclear politics also play a part in shaping Pakistani perceptions of the U.S. role. Many people believe Washington's true policy objective is to seize control of the country's nuclear assets. An increasingly popular conspiracy theory holds that the U.S. is secretly fomenting Taliban violence

⁴ *The Guardian* December 3, 2008

⁵ *The Guardian* May 4, 2009

⁶ *The Guardian* May 4, 2009

in Pakistan in order to create a situation where U.S. soldiers could invade and snatch the warheads⁷.

The Guardian more often stated in plain words that Pakistan is continuing to expand its nuclear bomb-making facilities despite growing international concern that advancing Islamist extremists could overrun one or more of its atomic weapons plants or seize sufficient radioactive material to make a dirty bomb⁸.

'The Khushab reactors are situated on the border of Punjab and North-West Frontier province, the scene of heavy fighting between Taliban and government forces. Another allegedly vulnerable facility is the Gadwal uranium enrichment plant, located less than 60 miles south of Buner district, where some of the fiercest clashes have taken place in recent days⁹.

Most of the comments on the 'nuclear proliferation' domain were in epistemic style, and in a condemning tone. When Dr A Q Khan claimed in front of international media that he is the only person who is responsible for nuclear technology transfer, *The Guardian* commented that 'Dr Khan has already admitted on national television that he illegally traded nuclear secrets to other countries and denied that the Pakistani government knew of or approved the nuclear proliferation¹⁰ and the U.S. is looking on with interest at a tug of war over AQ Khan, the man behind Pakistan's nuclear program.

It further commented that Pakistan has 'failed to control nuclear proliferation and key supplier to Libya, Iran and North Korea¹¹ and Pakistan was a key supplier to North Korea's secret nuclear program that first suspicions evidently arose when Benazir Bhutto, the then Pakistani prime minister, went shopping

⁷ *The Guardian* May 4, 2009

⁸ *The Guardian* February 2, 2009

⁹ *The Guardian* December 3, 2008

¹⁰ *The Guardian*, March 10, 2005.

¹¹ *The Guardian*, November 02, 2007.

for missile technology in Pyongyang and Beijing nearly a decade ago. According to repeated reports that Pakistan supplied North Korea with its know-how on enriching uranium in return for Ghauri missile which it tested in April 1998¹².

Discussing Pakistan nuclear program in context of Pakistan India relation, *The Guardian* showed concern that the ongoing development of Pakistan's atomic weapons program could trigger a renewed nuclear arms race with India¹³ and Pakistan started its nuclear weapon program after India's atomic blast. The newspaper stated that, it appears Pakistan started developing nuclear weapons in the 1970s, following the lead of arch-rival India, and conducted its first test in 1998¹⁴.

In a bid to decrease tension between Pakistan and India, the newspaper support 'confidence-building initiative by Pakistan'¹⁵ and further wrote

'Pakistan opened a trade route across divided Kashmir for the first time in six decades today, another sensible step in lowering temperatures between the nuclear-armed neighbors'¹⁶.

On the issue of civil use of nuclear energy, *The Guardian* offered hardly any comments during the period of analysis, while *The Daily Telegraph* has epistemic style and it offered light comments without covering it in a critical manner.

The Guardian not only devoted relatively greater space to shed light on the 'nuclear scientist' than it also appreciated the stance of President Pervez Musharraf on Dr A Q Khan issue¹⁶. In a leading article entitled 'Pakistan releases 'father' of nuclear bomb from house arrest', the newspaper supported the president's action in following manner

¹² *The Daily Guardian*, October 19, 2002.

¹³ *The Guardian*, May 04, 2009.

¹⁴ *The Guardian*, December 7, 2009.

¹⁵ *The Guardian*, November 25 2008.

¹⁶ *The Guardian*, 6 February, 2009.

'Apparently Khan has been fighting for case against his detention, saying he had not been convicted of any crime. Regime, led by the then army chief, Pervez Musharraf, unfortunately he had little chance of successfully challenging his arrest, but the civilian government has been flagging its wish to see him freed'¹⁷. The articles in this domain were mostly in epistemic and condemning style.

The Daily Telegraph In its approach towards ongoing Pakistan India relations, the newspaper more often commented on that Pakistan can use its nuclear warheads if India attacked first

'One scenario is that the Indians will attack and will get a bloody nose from the better-trained Pakistani army. They will throw in a bigger force and the Pakistanis could use nuclear weapons'¹⁸.

The Daily Telegraph approach towards Dr A Q Khan role in nuclear proliferation was same as *The Guardian*. Both news papers gave high space to nuclear scientist theme. That becomes clear from the following statements:

'Khan Research Laboratories had free rein to establish a clandestine procurement network around the world. Dubai became his trading hub for centrifuge parts manufactured in Malaysia, machine tools and training sourced in Europe, South African manufacturing skills and electrical parts from Turkey. As the programme grew the trade became a two-way flow, and highly lucrative. Investigators eventually called it the nuclear Walmart. Dr Khan's first customer was Iran in 1987 but he also dealt with North Korea, Iraq and Libya'¹⁹.

¹⁷ *The Guardian*, February 06, 2007

¹⁸ *The Daily Telegraph*, May 22, 2002.

¹⁹ *The Daily Telegraph*, May 22, 2002.

Considering Dr A Q Khan as 'part of the problem', *The Telegraph* repeatedly remarked that 'Pakistan is one of the most dangerous places on earth'²⁰, and Khan network made millions of pounds by selling know-how for the equipment needed to make weapons-grade fissile material and the manufacture of nuclear bombs²¹.

Like *The Guardian*, it more often opined in rhetoric fashion to condemn the release of A Q Khan said his release will alarm western powers²².

'The decision to release him provoked anger in Washington. U.S. said that she was "very much concerned" by the move. America was seeking assurances from Islamabad that Dr Khan was no longer involved in nuclear proliferation'²³.

Contrary to *The Guardian's* stance on civil use of nuclear program in Pakistan, *The Daily Telegraph* has opted for epistemic style to support nuclear energy program of Pakistan.

Pakistan develops two new nuclear power plants. China has already helped Pakistan to build a nuclear power plant about 125 miles southwest of the capital, Islamabad. Work on a second nuclear plant is in progress and is expected to be completed in 2011 which solved energy crisis in the country²⁴.

The Daily Telegraph while discussing the nuclear terrorism issue commented in same manner as *The Guardian's* that Pakistan's nuclear assets are not safe. Pakistan's nuclear sites are undisclosed but are thought to be in the north-west²⁵, away from the border with India. However, that places them in the heartlands of Taliban extremists.

²⁰ *The Daily Telegraph*, December 31, 2007.

²¹ *The Daily Telegraph* October 20, 2007

²² *The Daily Telegraph* November 17, 2005

²³ *The Daily Telegraph* May 14, 2009

²⁴ *The Daily Telegraph* October 18, 2008

²⁵ *The Daily Telegraph* May 14, 2007

Three sites suspected of being connected to Pakistan's nuclear program have been attacked in the past two years but the bombings have always been played down by the government. It was feared that while the terrorists would not be able to capture a nuclear bomb, they could seize radioactive material²⁶.

Although on some occasions *The Daily Telegraph* commented that Pakistan nuclear assets²⁷ are safe but most of the time commented in attitudinal stance that they are at risk.

The turmoil in Pakistan has heightened fears that its nuclear technology and materials could fall into the hands of terrorist groups or enemies of the United States. American intelligence officials admitted they did not know the location of all Pakistan's 50 nuclear weapons and are concerned they would not be able to prevent them falling into the wrong hands if the country descended into chaos²⁸.

The Daily Telegraph did not discuss the issue of nuclear politics in greater detail; however, it has been open to criticize the Pakistan government for mishandling of counterinsurgency aid²⁹.

The newspaper said that 'Mr. Obama's government inherited from George W Bush a multiyear, \$100 million (£67m) secret American program to help Pakistan build stronger physical protections around some of those facilities, and to train Pakistanis in nuclear security. Other experts note that even as Pakistan faces instability, it is producing more plutonium for new weapons, and building more production reactors³⁰.

Amazingly, *The Daily Telegraph* stance was anti U.S. and UK policies for support to President Musharraf despite of nuclear proliferation

²⁶ *The Daily Telegraph* November 17, 2005

²⁷ *The Daily Telegraph* November 12, 2007

²⁸ *The Daily Telegraph* February 7, 2008

²⁹ *The Daily Telegraph* October 5, 2007

³⁰ *The Daily Telegraph* May 4, 2009

'Pakistan's role in arming two out of three members of President George W Bush's "axis of evil" creates an awkward problem for America and Britain. They regard nuclear proliferation as a serious menace to world security but want to protect Gen Musharraf as a key ally in the "war on terrorism"³¹.

Analysis of the contents of both newspapers indicates that both has been found to portray negative postures of the Pakistan's Nuclear program and discussing the issue epistemologically with a greater degree of contents on 'nuclear scientist' theme. Both the newspapers have been found using condemning tone in their editorial.

³¹ *The Daily Telegraph* January 27, 2004

Research Q2

2. How the editorials of *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* framed Pakistan's Nuclear Program and made discourses about it?

The New York Times has been quite open to criticize Pakistan's Nuclear Program. Total no of editorial appear in *The New York Times* on Pakistan nuclear program are 49. It has more often discussed the issue in attitudinal and condemning styles. 'Nuclear politics' and 'nuclear rival' theme has more often been discussed in its contents

Total no of editorial appear in *Washington Post* on Pakistan nuclear program are 50. Most of the editorials are in attitudinal and condemning manner. *The Washington Post* thinks that U.S. should stop its aid program for Pakistan because of its role in proliferation and claim that nuclear program is threat to world's peace especially U.S.. It more often discussed the possibility of nuclear use in case of war between Pakistan and India.

Finding 9

Finding nine suggests that, mean difference between positive and negative slant indicate that

The New York Times framed the Pakistan nuclear program more negative way than positive.

	Frequency	Percent
Positive	1	2.0
Negative	41	83.7
Neutral	7	14.3
Total	49	100.0

Finding 10

Finding two suggest that, mean difference between epistemic and attitudinal stance indicate that

The New York Times covers the Pakistan nuclear program more in epistemic stance than attitudinal.

Table 10: Stance of *The New York Times*

	Frequency	Percent
Epistemic	15	30.6
Attitudinal	34	69.4
Total	49	100.0

Finding 11

Finding eleven suggests that the nuclear politics theme is most often discussed in the editorial of *The New York Times*.

Table 11: Themes of *New York Times*

	Frequency	Percent
Nuclear Proliferation	3	6.1
Nuclear Terrorism	10	20.4
Nuclear Scientist	4	8.2
Nuclear Rivals	11	22.4
Nuclear Politics	18	36.7
Other	3	6.1
Total	49	100.0

Finding 12

Finding twelve suggest that the style of *The Guardian* is condemning most often in its contents.

Frequency of condemning style is 45.

Table 12: Style of *New York Times*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Condemning	45	91.8	91.8	91.8
Appreciative	3	6.1	6.1	98.0
Supportive	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	49	100.0	100.0	

Finding 13

Finding thirteen suggests that, mean difference between positive and negative slant indicate that *The Washington Post* framed the Pakistan nuclear program more negative way than positive

Table 13: Slant of *Washington Post*

	Frequency	Percent
Positive	1	2.0
Negative	43	86.0
Neutral	6	12.0
Total	50	100.0

Finding 14

Finding fourteen suggest that, mean difference between epistemic and attitudinal stance indicate that *The Washington Post* covers the Pakistan nuclear program more in attitudinal stance than epistemic.

	Frequency	Percent
Epistemic	14	28.0
Attitudinal	36	72.0
Total	50	100.0

Finding 15

Finding fifteen suggest that the nuclear scientist theme and nuclear rival are most often discussed in the editorial of *The Washington Post*

Table 15: Themes of *Washington Post*

	Frequency	Percent
Nuclear Proliferation	7	14.0
Nuclear Energy	7	14.0
Nuclear Terrorism	11	22.0
Nuclear Scientist	3	6.0
Nuclear Rivals	11	22.0
Nuclear Politics	8	16.0
Other	3	6.0
Total	50	100.0

Finding 16

Finding four suggest that the style of *The Washington Post* is condemning most often in its contents. Frequency of condemning style is 47

Table 16: Style of *Washington Post*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Condemning	47	94.0	94.0	94.0
Appreciative	1	2.0	2.0	96.0
Supportive	2	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	100.0	

Most of the time *The New York Times* criticize the Pakistan government and advise U.S. government to exert pressure on Pakistan to stop nuclear technology transfer.

Washington must insist Pakistan to show his responsibility to see that the nuclear technology pipeline from Pakistan is finally closed down. The world cannot afford a repetition of what seems to have happened in Iran, Libya and North Korea³².

Newspaper demanded for action against those who are involved in nuclear sales:

'We can only hope the explanation is that the administration cut a quiet deal to shut down Pakistan's network of nuclear sales and detain its participants. Punishing or pardoning Dr. Khan is not as important as ending these sales and the production of fissile material in Pakistan, destroying the network, and making sure that the senior officers involved are removed from power³³.

The New York Times more often stated in plain words that U.S. should stop its aid to Pakistan:

'we should slow the financial flow to Pakistan's government and military. If the government wants to stop the Talibanization of Pakistan, its greatest need isn't money but the political will to stop sheltering Taliban leaders in the city of Quetta'³⁴.

Newspaper critically analyze the U.S. aid for counterinsurgency

³² *The New York Times*, January 31, 2004

³³ *The New York Times*, February 7, 2004

³⁴ *The New York Times*, November 23, 2008

'The United States has squandered more than \$10 billion on Pakistan since 9/11, and Pakistani intelligence agencies seem to have rerouted some of that to Taliban extremists'³⁵.

Pakistan, meanwhile, created the Taliban, gave sanctuary to members of Al Qaeda, supported Islamist terrorists in Kashmir, built an Islamic nuclear bomb, and its leader, a military dictator, got \$1 billion in aid from America³⁶.

Newspaper openly criticizes both Pakistan and India for their nuclear ambitions and declares the Kashmir conflict is a nuclear war³⁷.

'The past few years have been discouraging ones for efforts to check the spread of nuclear weapons. India and Pakistan have abruptly pushed their way into the club of states possessing such arms'³⁸.

The New York Times often guide U.S. government on its policies toward Pakistan and India's nuclear program Mr. Clinton must make clear that his greatest interest is to see India and Pakistan reduce the danger of a nuclear confrontation³⁹.

The danger of nuclear war between India and Pakistan is receding, and American diplomacy deserves much of the credit, along with parallel efforts by Britain⁴⁰.

The New York Times while discussing the nuclear terrorism issue commented that Pakistan's nuclear assets are threat for U.S.:

³⁵ *The New York Times*, November 23, 2008

³⁶ *The New York Times*, June 26, 2002

³⁷ *The New York Times*, November 24, 2000

³⁸ *The New York Times*, April 24, 2000

³⁹ *The New York Time*, March 19, 2000

⁴⁰ *The New York Times*, June 12, 2002

'The United States has no more important ally in the war against terrorism than Pakistan. Were Pakistan and its nuclear weapons to fall under the control of Islamic fundamentalists, American security would be gravely threatened'⁴¹.

The New York Times raises the concern that nuclear weapons have not only threat from militants but also from military⁴² and criticize that

'The Pakistani government is increasingly hard-pressed to control the radicals, who have made inroads in the army officer corps and have many sympathizers in the general populace and rich supporters in Saudi Arabia. Some militants have even declared their intent to establish a radical Islamic state in Pakistan'⁴³.

The laboratories have allies in Pakistan's army and its powerful military intelligence agency. To ensure that nuclear exports are truly halted, General Musharraf must tighten government control over the laboratories⁴⁴.

Not only Pakistan, the U.S. government was also subject of criticism in the contents published by *The New York Times*. One of such occasion is:

The Bush administration, which sees General Musharraf as a valuable ally against terrorism, has not pressured him to restore democracy. Betting American security on one man in a troubled

⁴¹ *The New York Times*, July 3, 2002

⁴² *The New York Times*, May 4, 2009

⁴³ *The New York Times*, March 15, 2000

⁴⁴ *The New York Times*, December 23, 2003

country of 150 million is risky. A wiser course would be to hold General Musharraf to all of his promises, on nuclear exports, terrorist infiltration and restoring democracy⁴⁵.

Most of the comments on the 'nuclear proliferation' domain were in epistemic style, and in a condemning tone. Newspaper critically discusses the issue that Pakistan being an ally on 'war on terror' still involves in nuclear technology transfer.

The United States has again been given good reason to wonder whether Pakistan is the trustworthy ally it claims to be. Fresh evidence indicates that it has sold nuclear-weapons secrets to Iran, North Korea and perhaps other countries over the years⁴⁶.

Pakistan now appears to be one of the world's leading suppliers of illicit nuclear technology. In 2002, American satellites detected a Pakistani plane picking up missile components in North Korea, apparently as part of a barter deal for nuclear weapons technology.

It further contended that Pakistan has 'failed to control nuclear proliferation and key supplier to Libya, Iran and North Korea' and commented on the issue in following manner.

Last November, Iran told nuclear inspectors that its uranium enrichment programs had gotten crucial help from people in various nations who were probably linked to Pakistanis. And in recent weeks, Libya has indicated that its nuclear programs benefited from intermediaries in Dubai who may have been working with Pakistanis⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ *The New York Times*, December 23, 2003

⁴⁶ *The New York Times*, December 23, 2003

⁴⁷ *The New York Times*, January 31, 2004

Discussing Pakistan nuclear program in context of Pakistan India relation, *The New York Times* showed concern that the ongoing,

But both countries need to go further and reach agreement to stop production of weapons-grade nuclear material, prevent the export of nuclear technology and halt the deployment of missiles that can deliver nuclear weapons⁴⁸.

Newspaper discussed Pakistan-India relation in attitudinal stance and also present solution

India and Pakistan must be coaxed into signing the international nuclear treaties. In return they should be given access to the safety technology that established nuclear powers use to prevent accidental detonations and theft⁴⁹.

India and Pakistan must also follow the example of other nuclear powers and work out emergency communications and confidence-building agreements to prevent accidental nuclear conflict⁵⁰.

In a bid to decrease tension between Pakistan and India, the newspaper gave stress on both countries to sign NPT

Although 187 countries have signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, four, including India and Pakistan, have not, and tougher inspection procedures are needed to make sure that all that have signed fully honor their obligations⁵¹.

⁴⁸ *The New York Times*, February 23, 1999

⁴⁹ *The New York Times*, June 5, 1998

⁵⁰ *The New York Times*, May 29, 1998

⁵¹ *The New York Times*, April 24, 2000

Pakistan and India has not signed the nuclear test ban treaty and tensions over Kashmir is as dangerous as ever⁵².

The New York Times not only devoted relatively greater space to shed light on the nuclear politics theme but also appreciated the stance of President Pervez Musharraf against terrorists. Pakistan's military dictator, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has done such a good job as a vital American ally against radical Islamic terrorism and safeguards nuclear weapons⁵³.

In an editorial entitled 'Our Friends the Terrorists, the newspaper supported the president's action in following manner:

In 2001 Pakistan, after so many wrong turns in its history, has tentatively taken a right one in the last few months. Now it must build on that by clamping down on its own terrorists. And, whatever the stench of blood in Islamabad, we Americans must hold our noses and do all we can to help General Musharraf hold his course⁵⁴.

During the 1980's and 90's, Pakistan, although closely allied with Washington, was virtually a rogue state. It shared nuclear bomb technology with Iran and North Korea, sponsored terrorism in Indian-ruled Kashmir and backed the Taliban government that sheltered Osama bin Laden. General Musharraf has changed some of these policies. But Washington must pressure him to do more⁵⁵.

⁵² *The New York Times*, August 28, 2000

⁵³ *The New York Times*, July 9, 2004

⁵⁴ *The New York Times*, December 21, 2001

⁵⁵ *The New York Times*, December 23, 2003

Pakistan is suffering severe energy crisis from last couple of years. Main source of energy is hydroelectric power but nuclear power reactors are also installed in Karachi and Chashma to cope with energy crisis. No single leading article has been found in newspapers during the period of our analysis on this subject.

The Washington Post also did not lag behind in criticizing Pakistan's nuclear program and government's role in, to deal with militancy and proliferation. *The Washington Post* stance on nuclear proliferation changed with passage of time, the newspaper more often commented that Pakistan is most dangerous place on earth⁵⁶ and commented in following words: 'Pervez Musharraf's Pakistan is a base from which nuclear technology, fundamentalist terrorism and life-destroying heroin are spread around the globe this nuclear-armed country is in part ungoverned, in part ungovernable and most dangerous place on earth'⁵⁷.

On many occasions newspaper critically analyze U.S. aid policy for Pakistan and criticize U.S. for giving huge amount to Pakistan. On one occasion it criticizes in following manner:

'Turning the other cheek is not one of President Bush's best-known traits. But he is ready to forgive a lot in the case of Pakistan, where a skillful political alchemist is transforming a record of failure, extremism, proliferation and betrayal into gold from the U.S. Treasury'⁵⁸.

Newspaper also criticized U.S. for giving aid to Pakistan despite of its role in nuclear technology transfer:

⁵⁶ *The Washington Post*, October 24, 2000

⁵⁷ *The Washington Post*, October 24, 2002

⁵⁸ *The Washington Post*, June 29, 2003

A year after U.S. intelligence confirmed that Pakistan had supplied North Korea's rouge regime with nuclear weapons technology, Bush lavished a much-coveted Camp David welcome on President Pervez Musharraf last week. The general also won a \$3 billion aid package⁵⁹.

Discussing the Pakistan's role as a key ally in 'war on terror newspaper comments that U.S. should change its policy for Pakistan especially during Pervaez Musharaf regime and commented that, 'last week Mr. Bush invited Mr. Musharraf to Camp David and offered him \$3 billion in military and economic aid over the next five years, as well as what a White House briefer called "a long-term commitment to build a relationship." That is a huge boost for a man who overthrew Pakistan's last elected civilian government in a military coup, presided over his country's delivery of nuclear weapons technology to North Korea'⁶⁰.

The Washington Post criticize Dr A Q Khan role in nuclear proliferation. Newspaper wrote that Abdul Qadeer Khan, an accomplished scientist, is also by his own account a thief of Ali Baba proportions who became a national hero by stealing the designs of a European nuclear centrifuge system that enabled Pakistan to explode several nuclear devices in 1998⁶¹.

Discussing the nuclear terrorism editor says that Pakistan has as many as 100 nuclear weapons and the missiles, as well as the airplanes, submarines and surface ships, to launch them⁶² but raised fears that unstable politics, religious fanaticism and the involvement of senior military and

⁵⁹ *The Washington Post*, June 29, 2003

⁶⁰ *The Washington Post*, June 30, 2003

⁶¹ *The Washington Post*, February 10, 2004

⁶² *The Washington Post*, May 19, 2009

intelligence officials in terrorist networks, including al Qaeda and the Taliban are threat for nukes⁶³.

Newspaper critically analyzed the soft corner for Pevaez Musharaf in the heart of U.S. government despite of his role in nuclear proliferation.

He received kid-gloves treatment from Washington even as he failed crucial tests on punishing his country's globally destabilizing nuclear proliferation and eliminating al-Qaeda, Taliban and Kashmiri terrorist bases that are aided by his intelligence service⁶⁴.

The Washington Post while discussing the same issue on another occasion said that aid should be given on do more policy and new aid package with Pakistan as implicitly conditioned on. Musharraf's further cooperation against terrorism, renunciation of trade in weapons of mass destruction and return to genuine democracy⁶⁵.

The Washington Post has been quite open to criticize Pakistan's role in proliferation, newspapers editor says that Pakistan helped North Korea to construct a secret centrifuge system of uranium enrichment in return for missile technology and equipment while advising that The United States must align itself with responsible nuclear powers that do not proliferate. North Korea and Pakistan stand at the top of the list of irresponsibles, and they must not be given leeway to help

⁶³ *The Washington Post*, January 8, 2004

⁶⁴ *The Washington Post*, August 19, 2007

⁶⁵ *The Washington Post*, June 30, 2003

lengthen it⁶⁶. Editor further says that one of my hypotheses is that Daniel Pearl may have been killed to prevent him from reporting on such trafficking of nuclear know-how⁶⁷.

Despite of Dr. A Q Khan's public confession that he transferred nuclear technology on his own, *The Washington Post* argued on many occasions that nuclear technology transfer is not possible without military involvement and although Musharraf pardoned the perpetrator of the worst crimes in the history of nuclear proliferation, A.Q. Khan, whose sales of nuclear technology to North Korea, Iran, Libya and possibly others could not have occurred without the knowledge of military commanders⁶⁸.

Newspaper further wrote that Pakistan military is involved in technology transfer to Libya, Iran and North Korea and criticize U.S. government for its aid.

President Bush wants Congress to reward the Musharraf government with a five-year, \$3 billion assistance package, even as his administration turns a blind eye to the Pakistani military's involvement in proliferation of nuclear materials to North Korea, Iran and Libya⁶⁹.

Supporting U.S. efforts to ease tensions between Pakistan and India editor says that U.S. should made a program like The Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program. The Nunn-Lugar program has devoted American technical expertise and money to joint U.S.-Russian efforts to safeguard and destroy materials and weapons of mass destruction in Russia⁷⁰.

⁶⁶ *The Washington Post*, November 10, 2002

⁶⁷ *The Washington Post*, September 12, 2003

⁶⁸ *The Washington Post*, April 4, 2005

⁶⁹ *The Washington Post*, May 5, 2004

⁷⁰ *The Washington Post*, December 6, 2001

In a bid to support NPT and to promote peace in the region newspaper says that Pakistan and India must sign to international nuclear arms agreements; no outside authority regulates their nuclear programs. That should change. Newspaper further wrote that If Pakistan wants to be a friend of the United States and receive the billions in aid promised by the Bush administration, Pakistan should be required to commit itself formally to stop proliferating⁷¹.

⁷¹ *The Washington Post, February 5, 2004*

Research Q3

3. Do newspapers with identical outlook like *The Guardian* of UK and *The New York Times* U.S. as being liberal newspapers and *The Daily Telegraph* of UK and *The Washington Post* of U.S. as being conservative differ in their slant towards the Pakistan's Nuclear Program?

Finding 17

Finding seventeen suggests that the coverage *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* are ~~salient~~ because their mean of negative coverage is high as compared to positive.

Table 17 Slant of Liberal Newspapers

Newspaper		Positive	Negative
<i>The Guardian</i>	Mean	.0417	.7500
	N	24	24
<i>The New York Times</i>	Mean	.0204	.8367
	N	49	49

Finding 18

Finding eighteen suggests that the coverage of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* are same because their mean of negative coverage is high as compared to positive.

Table 18:Slant of conservative newspaper

Newspaper		Positive	Negative
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	Mean	.0417	.7500
	N	26	26
<i>The Washington Post</i>	Mean	.0204	.8367
	N	50	50

CHAPTER 05
CONCLUSIONS & DISCUSSIONS

Discussion

This study has analyzed discourses through which UK and the U.S. print media have reported on the Pakistan nuclear program. As earlier discussed in literature review section of thesis that media construct social reality through the frames they use. They build these frames by highlighting some feature of issue and emphasize these features on other. In the case of their coverage of the Pakistan nuclear program, the U.S. print media represented by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* and UK print media, represented by *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* have chosen to highlight their stance on six selected themes on Pakistan nuclear program.

It can be argued that nuclear terrorism being considered a big threat to western countries especially after 9/11 incident. Elite media portray Pakistan nuclear program negatively and make attitude of its readers that nukes will fall in the hand of terrorist. Another feature of the reality constructed by elite media is showing of conflict between Pakistan and India in such manner that it can turn into a larger war or a nuclear war. This also confirms the findings of previous studies that elite media coverage of developing countries tends to be crisis oriented such as coverage of disaster, coups, crimes, terrorism and assassination (Shoemaker and Resse.1991). This pattern is clear in the coverage of the Pakistan nuclear program. When Pakistan and India exploded its nuclear devices in 1998, these tests got a lot of U.S. and UK media attention. In one year from May1998 to June 1999 (15 editorials in *The New York Times* and 11 editorials in the *Washington post* and 5 editorials in *Guardian* and 7 editorials in *The Daily Telegraph*) were published which are higher number of editorial published in one year on Pakistan nuclear program in selected time period. Nuclear arsenal nations including UK and U.S. expressed their

doubts that there might be nuclear war between Pakistan and India despite of repeated assurance by officials of both countries. They also announced that neither country could afford the damage of nuclear war, and their weapons are for deterrents. But the U.S and UK media continued to quote Western government officials, including former President Bill Clinton and experts, as saying that the Kashmir is a nuclear flashpoint. This shows the power of media discourses, on the Pakistan nuclear program by the elite media.

Concern and priorities of the U.S. media are clearly seen in the nuclear politic theme which support the conclusion about U.S. media that it reflects the government agenda when it discuss the international relations. Entamn (1989) argued that media frame the issue by not only choosing certain aspect of reality but also to exclude some aspect, and the same is done by U.S. media while discussing nuclear terrorism theme. Elite media highlight the issue in such a manner that Pakistan's nuclear program will fall soon in the hand of Taliban and there are no safety measure to protect nuclear arsenal. Elite media look the program through eyes of government's stance on region and supplemented this stand by quotes from their experts on the nuclear issue. They have not promoted an equal extent the contentions of Pakistani governments that Pakistan's nuclear assets are safe and some of its nuclear plants are for energy not for weapons.

Conclusion

Discourses made by elite media on Pakistan nuclear program support the initial argument that only crisis and bloodshed and possibility of major conflict in developing countries, get covered in elite media. The number of stories in the New York Times jumped from 4(in 1998)to 15(in 1999)the year in which Pakistan and India fought kargil war and there was threat of nuclear war and secondly coup in Pakistan. The coverage again jumped in 2001 and 2002 when Pakistan and India send their nearly a million troops along LOC in Kashmir(3 to 7 in *The Washington Post* ,2 to 8 in *The New York Times*) reflecting again the possibility of human damage on large scale. Second reason of increase in number of editorial was involvement of Bush administration in the region after September 11 attacks and aggressive attempt to push Pakistan to join coalition against terrorism and Taliban.

When Musharaf came into power elite media criticized Pakistan government for aid, human rights violation and labeled allegation that Pakistan was training Kashmiri militants and Taliban and its nuclear arsenal have threat. But soon elite media change its tone toward Musharaf government this change can be attributed to increasing closeness between U.S. and Pakistan because of Pakistan's role in war on terror. This change reflects the impact of media power on media discourse.

In conclusion, one can say that the elite media have made discourses about the Pakistan nuclear program by making selected attributes of the conflict and by highlighting in their text. Also, confirming past findings on international news coverage by the western media. This study shows that media coverage of the Pakistan nuclear program was crisis-oriented and reflected U.S and UK media policy toward Pakistan and region.

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Appendix

TABLE 1 STANCE ADVERBIALS (Biber et al., 1999)

	EPISTEMIC STANCE						ATTITUDE STANCE	STYLE
	Doubt & certainty	Actuality & reality	Source/ evidence	Limitation	Viewpoint or perspective	Imprecision	Evaluation; judgement; assessment of expectations	
SINGLE WORD ADVERB	certainly, definitely, maybe, obviously, of course, perhaps, probably, undeniably, undoubtedly	actually, really	apparently, evidently, reportedly	generally, mainly, typically		about, approximately, kind of, like, roughly, sort of	amazingly, astonishingly, conveniently, curiously, disturbingly, fortunately, hopefully, inevitably, interestingly, ironically, predictably, quite rightly, regrettably, sadly, sensibly, surprisingly, unbelievably, unfortunately, wisely	confidentially, figuratively, frankly, honestly, literally, seriously, truthfully
ADV. P.	most likely, quite likely						even more importantly, even worse, oddly enough, rather surprisingly	quite frankly, quite honestly, quite simply
PREP. PHRASE	for all I know, without doubt	for a fact, in actual fact, in fact	according to...	in general, in most cases, in most instances, on the whole	from our perspective, in my opinion, in my view, in our view, in some cases, in the author's view		to my surprise	in a word, in brief, with all due respect
N. P.	no doubt							
FINITE CLAUSE	I think, I guess, I bet, I would say, it seems, it appears		as X notes			if you can call it that	as might be expected, as you might guess, as you would expect	if I may say so, if you don't mind my asking
NON-FINITE CLAUSE		as a matter of fact				so to speak	most surprising of all, rather surprisingly	more simply put, putting it bluntly, strictly speaking, technically speaking, to tell you the truth