

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PAKISTANI & BRITISH  
NEWSPAPERS' EDITORIALS ON THE COVERAGE OF 'WAR ON  
TERROR'**

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## ABSTRAK

Perang terhadap keganasan (WoT) oleh Amerika telah menjadi isu penting dalam liputan media bukan sahaja di Amerika Syarikat (AS) tetapi juga di seluruh dunia. Kajian terdahulu menunjukkan bahawa media Barat, terutamanya media AS menggambarkan peristiwa yang memihak kepada dasar AS. Mereka menekankan kepada sudut pandangan kerajaan AS, justifikasi perang dan unjuran kempen ketenteraan, manakala liputan terhad diberikan kepada kesan buruk perang dan hujah kritikal berhubung WoT. Sebaliknya, media di negara lain yang tidak menyokong polisi perang AS dari segi politik seperti Jepun dan negara Timur Tengah menengahkan isu mengenai tragedi manusia, kerosakan harta benda dan sudut pandang yang berbeza. Justeru, kajian ini memfokuskan kepada analisis perbandingan akhbar Pakistan dan Britain mengenai liputan WoT. Secara khususnya, kajian ini menggariskan tiga objektif: (i) untuk menerangkan kepelbagaian liputan WoT di antara akhbar Pakistan dan Britain; (ii) untuk mengenal pasti pemingkaian media dan agenda berbeza yang digunakan untuk pelaporan WoT; dan (iii) untuk menyelidik pematuhan media terhadap dasar luar negara berkenaan. Analisis tema bagi editorial dua akhbar Pakistan dan dua akhbar Britain mendapati akhbar Pakistan dan Britain menggunakan pendirian bertentangan terhadap WoT dan membingkai isu perang kebanyakannya dalam bingkai anti-perang. Walau bagaimanapun, pada masa tertentu, akhbar Britain menyatakan pendirian menyokong dan neutral terhadap dasar kerajaan Britain mengenai WoT. Akhbar Pakistan menentang WoT sepenuhnya dan mengkritik sokongan kerajaan Pakistan terhadap perang. Akhbar Pakistan lebih agresif dan membangkang WoT berbanding akhbar Britain. Kajian ini menyumbang kepada teori pemingkaian dan penetapan agenda, yang mana ia menekankan bagaimana WoT telah dibingkai secara berbeza oleh media dua negara berbeza dan apa isu-isu berbeza yang telah dipilih sebagai agenda media mereka. Kajian ini juga telah membincangkan mengenai perspektif masyarakat Islam dan Barat berkaitan pemingkaian WoT. Kajian ini turut menyumbang kefahaman berhubung liputan media mengenai WoT berdasarkan faktor sosial dan politik.

**Kata kunci:** Pemingkaian media, Penetapan agenda, Perang terhadap Keganasan, Akhbar Pakistan dan British, Pematuhan media.

## ABSTRACT

America's War on Terror (WoT) had been a crucial issue of media coverage not only in the United States (US) but all over the world. Previous studies revealed that the Western media, particularly the US media portrayed the events in favour of US policies. They stressed upon the US government's viewpoint, justifications of war and projected military campaign, whereas a limited amount of coverage was given to the consequences of war and critical arguments on WoT. In contrast, the media in other countries that did not politically support the US policies of war such as Japan and Middle Eastern countries highlighted human tragedy, property damage and oppositional viewpoints. Hence, this study focused on a comparative analysis of Pakistani and British newspapers regarding the coverage of WoT. Specifically, the research outlined three objectives: (i) to explain the diversities between the Pakistani and British newspapers regarding the coverage of WoT; (ii) to identify the different media frames and agendas that were employed for the reporting of WoT; and (iii) to examine media conformity to the foreign policy of their respective countries. A thematic analysis of two Pakistani and two British newspapers editorials found that the Pakistani and British press adopted oppositional stance against the WoT and framed the war mostly in anti-war frame. However, at certain times, the British press expressed supportive and neutral stance towards the policies of British government regarding the WoT. The Pakistani press was completely against the WoT and criticized the Pakistan government's support for the war. The Pakistani press appeared to be more aggressive and oppositional against WoT than the British newspapers. This study contributes to framing and agenda setting theories, in which it highlighted on how the WoT was framed differently by the press of two different countries and what different issues were selected as their media agenda. This study also discussed about the Muslim and Western society perspectives on the framing of WoT. This study provides understanding on the influence of social and political factors towards media coverage on WoT. This research also contributes on the understanding of media coverage on WoT with regards to social and political factors.

**Keywords:** Media framing, Agenda setting, War on Terror, Pakistani and British press, Media conformity.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

The September 11 attacks have had a substantial impact on the history of United States since the war of 1812 or Japanese strike on Pearl Harbour in 1941 (Lansford, Watson, Robert & Covarrubias, 2009) which consequently, led the ‘war on terror’ later on. The media provided unprecedented coverage to the incident by reporting spectacular images, prominent personalities and human tragedy (Monahan, 2010). Within a limited time span the news channels were loaded with the stories of terrorist attacks. As Debatin (2002) observed; “The whole world was watching the events in real time or very shortly after the events occurred” (p. 165). Moreover, “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 the attacks” (Monahan, 2010, p. 11). The news channels created live pictures in front of its spectators. Reaction to this tragedy ranged from “unprecedented responses of sympathy and empathetic support” to “elation and celebration” (Hacten & Scotton, 2002, p. ix). Several studies illustrated that after 9/11 attacks the people moved towards media for getting latest information (Abel, Miller & Filak 2005; Carey, 2003; Greenberg, Hofschire & Lachlan, 2002).

During the initial phase the audience was more focused on television screens for getting breaking news coverage but later on, people wanted to know detailed information .So newspapers became the essential source of reporting on the 9/11 attacks and the war on terror (Stempel & Hargrove, 2002; Cohen, Ball-Rokeach, Jung & Kim, 2003).

However, this study aimed to explore the coverage on ‘war on terror’ in the context of Pakistani and British press. It sought to investigate how Pakistani and British press framed the coverage of war and moreover what agendas the press promoted. For this reason, the study conducted the comparative analysis of Pakistani and British newspapers regarding the coverage of terrorism war.

### **1.1.1 September 11 attacks and US response**

The tragedy took place in US when the terrorists on September 11, 2001 crashed four hijacked planes. Two planes smashed into World Trade Centre in New York City, the third plane into Pentagon and the fourth plane into the ground in Pennsylvania. It killed nearly 3000 passengers and damaged more than 30 million square feet area in Lower Manhattan (Bram, Orr & Rapaport, 2002). The attacks also impacted American economy by reducing US real GDP growth rate to 0.5% and increasing unemployment rates to 0.11% in 2001 (Roberts, 2009).

September 11 attacks which occurred in America had been covered by the entire world media. However from its beginning, the media narrowly focused on high profile leader’s statements and particularly portrayed President Bush as “facing his greatest test”

(Nisbet, 2001). Hence, the next morning, the newspapers like *New York Post* and *The Daily News* carried the following headlines; “Act of War” and “It’s War” (Nisbet, 2001). Under these circumstances, the Bush administration immediately framed these attacks as ‘act of war’ but within few hours this framing was replaced by “war on terror” (Zhang, 2007). Consequently, this redefined “American foreign policy and its national security strategy” (Snauwaert, 2004, p. 121). As President Bush himself declared that the attacks were “more than acts of terror. They were acts of war” (Bush, 2001a). He further said in his public remark during Cabinet Meeting on 12 September 2001:

“Freedom and democracy are under attack. The American people need to know we’re facing a different enemy than we have ever faced... We will rally the world. We will be patient. We’ll be focused, and we will be steadfast in our determination. This battle will take time and resolve, but make no mistake about it, we will win” (Bush, 2001b).

Other officials such as Vice President Richard Cheney, and Secretary of State Colin Powell used the same rhetoric during the following days and months of 9/11. The strategy of US government by repeating these words was to establish emotional and persuasive frame for getting public and media support for military action in Afghanistan (Entman, 2003). Even the opposition party, the Democrat publicly supported government’s military strategies, subsequently, it was obvious for media not to invoke oppositional stance against the policies of Bush administration (Carr, 2003). Such political rhetoric is usually employed by the politicians when they want to pursue their goals, to control the situation and to promote particular ideas. Accordingly, they utilize media for realizing their political aspirations; as Manheim (1991, 1994) rightly conceptualizes it as ‘strategic political communication’. Such political communication and mediated environment have become common in these days (see Domke, Watts,

Shah, & Fan, 1999; Pfetsch, 1998). Thus, in the case of war on terror, President Bush not only influenced US media but also demanded patriotic standpoint for this cause (Entman, 2003).

As a result, during post 9/11 scenario, US Government adopted the frame of war on terror to project its national securities, diplomatic and military policies. George W. Bush often discussed the concept of terrorism in his speeches. For instance during 2002 State of the Union address, he talked about terrorism in terms of global threat which required unified efforts to wipe out “axis of evil” that support terror campaigns. Even earlier in his speech on September 11, 2001 he assured that the US will not differentiate between those who committed these terrorist attacks and those who supported them (Bush, 2001d).

Likewise, new US National Security Strategy explained that America was struggling against the terrorists who have broader impact. These terrorists are not limited to a single political party, regime, group of people or a religion. They aim to kill innocent people for their predetermined political gains (National Security Council, 2004).

Immediately, America launched the war on terror and in its first phase, Afghanistan was attacked on October 7, 2001 by US and coalition forces (Rose, 2002). The objective of the war was to combat against Al-Qaeda and Taliban who were considered as the guilty party of 9/11 atrocity. As John Negroponte, the representative of America wrote a letter

to the Security Council on October 7, 2001, in which he justified the reason to the United Nations for invading Afghanistan. He wrote that:

“In accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, I wish, on behalf of my Government, to report that the United States of America, together with other States, has initiated actions in the exercise of its inherent right of individual and collective self-defence following armed attacks that were carried out against the United States on September 11, 2001” (Negroponte, 2001).

However, neither United Nations approved the US-led invasion of Afghanistan (Foreign Policy Blogs, 2009) nor the public supported it. A study conducted by Gallup International in late September 2001 reported that the majority of people in 34 out of 37 countries polled, were against US attack (Miller, 2001). Similarly, Rose (2002) argued that these attacks could not be approved under UN charter of customary international law because the US proposed insufficient justifications for attacking Afghanistan. Nonetheless, these attacks made devastating impact on Afghanistan by killing hundreds of civilians and destroying infrastructure. From October 7, 2001 to March 2002, approximately 3000 to 3400 civilian casualties were noted in US air strikes (Herold, 2002). Although the US media did not give more coverage to the casualties and demolition in Afghanistan rather it focused on official sources for legitimization of this aggressive campaign (Riddick, 2012; Traugott & Brader, 2003).

As well as, during the second phase of ‘war on terror’ America moved towards invading Iraq. On March 20, 2003, US with its coalition partner, Great Britain attacked the city of Baghdad in pursuit of Saddam Hussein who was projected as global threat by having mass destruction weapons. Gershkoff and Kushner (2005) elaborates as to how Bush framed the invasion of Iraq in the context of 9/11 attacks. The victory in Iraq was

considered indispensable for the success of war on terror. Vice-President Cheney proclaimed on 14 September 2003 that the victory in Iraq would give catastrophic damage to the enemy who had terrorized the Americans since 9/11 attacks (Cheney, 2003). This time world opinion about Iraq was alienated. Thus, US government had a coalition of 48 countries at the start and the most prominent of them were UK, Italy and Spain (White House, 2003) whereas France, Germany, Russia and China, were the countries who opposed the war. The war was not endorsed by United Nations (Quille, Gasparini, Menotti, Manaco, Valasek & Bayles, 2005). In spite of this opposition; US did not refrain it from invading Iraq.

### **1.1.2 Media coverage of 9/11 attacks and war on terror**

There was no doubt that the struggle against terrorism got immense media attention. Therefore, Wolfsfeld (1997) correctly commented that events established the amount of media coverage for any particular issue. Nonetheless, journalists played a significant role by elaborating these events into their visual and press coverage. Thus, it can be said that journalists opened a “window on the world” (Tuchman, 1978, p. ix). During the initial hours of 9/11 attacks the American news channels (CNN, ABC, NBC, CBS) gave extraordinary coverage. Additionally, their reporters assumed the role of experts and social commentators and used anonymous sources, reported rumours and even included personal references (Amy & Barnett, 2003). On September 12, the day after the terrorist attacks, newspapers such as *New York Times*, *The Independent*, *The Guardian* and *The Times* gave considerable space to the story, and published following headlines;

- i. 'The War against America'  
(*The New York Times*, September 12, 2001)
- ii. 'A day that changes America's view of terror'  
(*USA TODAY*, September 12, 2001)
- iii. 'Terror in America: the awesome cruelty of a doomed people'  
(*The Independent*, September 12, 2001)
- iv. 'Terror for all'  
(*The Times*, September 12, 2001)
- v. 'Terror in America: Horror will live in world history'  
(*Birmingham Post*, September 12, 2001)

All this information not only enhanced the impact of the incident but also focused public attention towards the television news casts. Accordingly, the terrorist attacks 2001 brought decisive cultural change in the practice of news frames regarding national security issues by U.S. media (Norris, Kern & Just, 2003). During the following weeks of 9/11 attacks, US media supported military action against the terrorism by incorporating patriotic themes, sensational portrayal of events, condemning Taliban, Al Qaeda , and ignoring historical references (Eisman, 2003).

In the same way, during the coverage of Afghanistan war 2001, the US media highlighted government policy towards war while ignored the alternative view points (Barrett, 2003). Additionally, the US media justified military action against the perpetrators of September 11 attacks (Amy & Barnett, 2003) and moreover the audiences were also alarmed by exposing negative images of Osama bin Laden as an evil genius or insane (Winch, 2005).

The coverage of Iraq war was also supportive of government policies by US media (Aday, Cluverius & Livingston, 2005; Bennet, 2003; Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingstone, 2006; Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005; Groshek 2008; McLane, 2004). American journalism reporting from official sources is mostly considered as professional journalism (McChesney, 2002). Indeed, some journalists were so habituated with their role of stenographer for government policies that they did not consider it harmful for democratic norms (McChesney, 2002). In the long run, the role of American media was pro government and also helpful, publicizing its war agenda among the masses of United States.

Media could be an excellent tool to promote any policy. Generally the liberal press balanced the government stance and alternative arguments that provided fair chance to audience for analyzing the conflict. But in reality, the connection between the US government officials and news organizations was more obliging and comfortable, specifically in foreign affairs (Entman, 2003). As he writes further:

“The attacks of September 11, 2001, may have “changed everything,” as a cliché of the time had it, but at least on first impression, one thing it did not change was the news media’s traditional promotion of patriotic rallies around presidents when America appears under attack” (Entman, 2003, p. 2).

During grave circumstances the national leaders sometimes framed events in such a way that might serve their political and ideological goals. Hrvatin and Trampuz (2000) studied the war in Kosovo and they found that Serbian media adopted nationalistic stance and incorporated references from history that was called ‘patriotic journalism’ which subsequently motivated and nationalized public sentiments about the war.

For the duration of crisis, many observers anticipated that media would report the incident in objective and critical manner. But there are certain controversies regarding the coverage and framing of terrorism: whether media are amplifying or dispersing the fear; whether media are supporting the criminals by giving them cheap popularity; and whether media are actually fair in reporting of the terrorism (Azeez, 2009). Conversely, in the framing of 'war on terror' the official frame was quite dominant in US media. This "loaded and elastic frame" was employed to "justify and fast-track the new unilateralist foreign policy" (Reese, 2004). Yet the official frame provided ideological reference to follow political agendas for the sake of national security and to perceive the world within the dominant frame (Reese, 2007). It was difficult for the US journalists to assume an oppositional stance as to consult Arab sources because that stance was not even accepted by the audience (Waisbord, 2002). Waisbord further argued that "post-September patriotic journalism confirmed the adage that the media want to be loved more than believed" (p. 208). While talking about September 11 attacks and war on terror, it was generally observed that Western media were more supportive towards the war on terror, frequently ignoring the alternative view point; more pro war news dominated while the information about consequences and brutality of war were rarely found especially on American news agendas.

As has been noted above, the media had a unique quality of easily drawing public attention towards a specific issue by focusing it more thoroughly. This quality was commonly known as 'agenda setting'. Many scholars agreed on the point of view that: "the amount of press coverage that issues received gave individuals salience cues with

which they learned the relative importance of these issues” (Wanta & Ghanem, 2007, p.37; McCombs, 2004; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004). Likewise, media framing was another strong concept that emphasized the depiction of an issue in particular manner. Like Goffman (1974) mentioned that framing was a process by which the given value to an issue influences the understanding of the audiences and it also helped them “locate, perceive, identify, and label” the information that they daily receive (p.21). In this way, media framing frame the reality in such a manner that not only influence public opinion but also serve the objective of a specific group. In the case of war on terror, different media framed the event differently including their national political context, media norms, media policies or different cultural perspectives.

### **1.1.3 British media and war on terror**

Before moving towards the response of British media to the war on terror, a few details about British print media were vital to know. In UK, the London press had prominent position in terms of providing national news and information to the masses. *The Times*, *the Guardian*, *Manchester Times*, *Metro* and the *BBC* were most excellent news outlets (Martin & Copeland, 2003). As Fridriksson (2004) reported that UK press had 130 dailies and Sunday newspapers, nearly 2000 weekly newspapers and more than 7000 periodicals. The press was conventionally divided into tabloids, quality and popular newspapers. There were thirteen national morning newspapers and nine newspapers were weeklies that were particularly published on Sunday. *The Guardian*, *the Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* are regarded as most world reputed newspapers (Fridriksson, 2004).

The coverage of 9/11 attacks was the big story in British media at that time but the stance of the coverage was not significantly different from the coverage of US media. British media borrowed numerous justifications and assumptions from American journalists. In Britain also, 9/11 attacks were portrayed as an “act of war” rather than just an act of terrorism. BBC news adopted the frame of “Attack on America” (McNair, 2010). The day following the September 11 attacks, nearly all British newspapers published news about the demolished towers with offending gesture (Kennedy, 2001). Greensdale notes that the most distinguished feature of British news coverage was the depiction of US ‘as one of us’ (Kennedy, 2001). The following headlines appeared in British press on 12 September;

War on America (*Daily Telegraph*)

War on the World (*Daily Mirror*)

Declaration of war (*Daily Express*)

Assault on America (*Financial Times*)

Apocalypse (*Daily Mail*)

For example, *The Times* immediately focused on the images of crashed planes into World Trade Centre, and many other horrific sights. Also, *The Times* published information regarding private life of Osama Bin Laden showing his son’s wedding and Al-Qaeda training camps. Bin Laden was shown as a big threat for civilized world that required action against both him and his supporters (Marron, 2010). A leading article in *The Times*, on September 12, it was written; “The United States, its allies and the civilized world are at war today against an enemy which, while undeclared is as well

organized and as ruthless as any that a modern state has confronted” (Leading Article, 2001, p. 13). The British channels were also flooded with the stories of 9/11, Afghanistan, Al-Qaida and press conferences of US government officials and gave little space for dissenting or neutral view points (McQueen, 2010). Principally the British media demonstrated feelings of annoyance and fear towards the incident of 9/11 when the Prime Minister of United Kingdom, Mr. Tony Blair declared solidarity and compassion for Americans and mentioned that several British people also killed in terrorists attacks, indicated the media to frame the event as an “attack on us” by “them”. Later the attack in Afghanistan was portrayed as a legitimate response to the disastrous incident of 9/11 (McNair, 2010).

Kennedy (2002) noticed that conservative newspapers in British press such as *The London* and *The Telegraph* supported Blair’s policies of collaboration with United States in the case of war on terror while *The Guardian* and *The Independent* which are considered as leftist assumed critical stance about the coverage of US attack on Afghanistan.

#### **1.1.4 Pakistani Media and War on Terror**

So far as the Pakistani media was concerned, since the inception of the country, Pakistani media had not been allowed to work independently. Freedom was restricted by various press laws such as Press and Publication ordinance 1963, Registration of Press and Publication Ordinance 1988 and Freedom of Information Ordinance (1997). Moreover Pakistani rulers tried to control press Yahya Khan who imposed censorship on

press in 1969; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who controlled National Press Trust newspapers in 1971 and continued censorship, press advice, physical attacks and arrest of journalists and Zia ul Haq in 1977 who continued repressive measures against press (Ali & Gunaratne, 2000). After 1999, President Musharruf gave freedom to Pakistani media and later it flourished rapidly by opening dozens of TV channels, FM radios, newspapers, and magazines. Since Musharruf's time, Pakistani media has been free to criticize government policies, actions and many other subjects (Shah, 2010). There were 90 TV channels working in Pakistan until 2010, including 22 news channels and 35 entertaining channels whereas in print media; there were 2,538 newspapers and periodicals, in which 275 are dailies and 510 are weeklies (Hassan, 2012). From these daily newspapers 184 were printed from Punjab, 48 from Sindh, 27 from NWFP and 12 from Balochistan while the number of English dailies was 133 until 2006 (Asif, 2008, Wassan, 2008).

Moreover, Pakistani press was divided into three linguistic categories namely English, Urdu and regional languages like Baluchi, Sindhi, and Pashto. English newspapers had limited circulation as compared to Urdu language newspapers but English papers were regarded more precise, qualified, liberal and democratic (Mezzera & Sial, 2010). English press was popular among elite and educated class as it made an influence on policy makers, politicians and business community. There were three leading groups of print media in Pakistani news market. First was Jang group of news papers that was the largest and most popular news outlet that mostly followed a moderate conservative policy. Its major publications were the *Daily Jang*, *The News International*, *MAG*

*Weekly*, and *Awam*. The second leading group was the Dawn Group of newspapers that had a variety of publications including *The Star*, *Herald* and the flagship newspaper *Dawn*. The policies of Dawn group were generally inclined towards liberal, moderate and secular perspectives. The third leading group was the Nawa-e-Waqt group whose publications were *The Nation* and *Nawa-e-Waqt*; Nawa-e-waqt reviewed as conservative promoting the notion of democracy, Islamic values and national interest (Media in Pakistan, 2009).

The September 11 attacks were a big event for Pakistani media. Previously, the press was more concerned about domestic, political and social issues but now it had to cover an international conflict at its doorstep. Pakistani news channels and newspapers gave extensive coverage to the incident of 9/11 and thereafter the campaign against terrorism. The statements of Pakistan's government in the national press got more credence than the coverage of US, NATO, Taliban and Afghanistan; and in respect to the framing of war, the Pakistani media did not show favourable impressions towards the US policies against terrorism (Ahmad, Mahsud & Ishtiaq, 2011).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

There had been a significant number of studies relating to the media framing of the war on terror. The events of 9/11 astounded the US Government and the public. The politicians used the press to promote their narrow claims regarding the meaning of war on terror and to unite the country for war (Kellener, 2004; Kull, Ramsay & Lewis, 2003). The War on Terror was the label the United States government dispensed to

pursue its national objectives which appeared as a popular frame, providing justification for attacks on Iraq (Reese & Lewis, 2009). The Bush administration responded to the 9/11 attacks by bombing Afghanistan and then invading Iraq which was viewed as heaven for terrorists (Johnson, 2003; Kellner, 2004). With few exceptions, most media supported the war on terror. During the time period between the 9/11 attacks and US invasion of Iraq, the US media negatively framed terrorism and Iraq's impending nuclear capacity (MacArthur, 2003). A massive propaganda campaign was presented together with the dramatization of the enemy by U.S media which carried Government arguments and justifications (Altheide, 2009). In the post 9/11 scenario the portrayal of Islam and the Muslims also received the biased coverage by the Western media (Salim, 2010; Dina, 2010). US media mostly assisted the Bush administration in disseminating faulty messages about the war to mislead the nation (Kumar, 2006).

The numerous studies had been conducted on American media regarding the coverage of war on terror supporting the government view point in its coverage (Aday, Cluverius & Livingston 2005; Benett, Lawrence & Livingstone, 2006; Bennet, *et al.*, 2007; Kellner, 2004; Levenson, 2004; MacArthur, 2003; Lipschultz, 2007; Ryan, 2004). As an illustration, Aday, Cluverius and Livingstone (2005) noted that after the collapse of Saddam Government in Baghdad, the mainstream media frequently adopted victory frame and reduced its coverage on battle-related news stories. The one sided coverage of Iraq war 2003 consequently, influenced the news agenda. Accordingly, Bennett *et al.*, (2007) also endorsed the same view point as they observed a harmonious relationship between US government and its media during Iraq crisis 2003. Moreover, the media also

failed to challenge administration policies over the Abu Gharaib controversy. Kellner (2004) argued that Bush administration and Jihadists both used media to promote their political agendas that terrorized the masses and also publicized government's policies against Evil. Kellner (2004) considered US media as a tool of propaganda that supported the Bush administration during the war on terror. However, President Bush used the phrase the 'war on terror' for projecting his military campaign influencing not only the framing of news stories but also constructing the social reality about the war. Correspondingly, the news media employed this phrase in its coverage that eventually reproduced political discourse and encompassed many of the complex issues (Lipschultz, 2007). Rayan (2004) commented that the media employed the frame of 'war on terror' even without conducting any debate on it. No one was willing to bother with alternating and dissenting arguments.

Further studies indicated that the media avoided negative statements against US government (Althaus, 2003) and largely averted reporting on the incidents of violence during Afghanistan war in 2001 and Iraq war of 2003 (Aday, 2010). Certain factors influenced the framing of war on terror including national political context, political leaning of newspaper and stage of conflict (Vliegthart & Schroder, 2010). Vliegthart and Schroder, (2010) elaborated on the impact of embedded journalism on the framing of Iraq war in 2003. They found journalists to rely on military sources and mainly projected positive image of Iraq invasion. Pictures of President Bush, weapons and military hardware were primarily projected while the depiction of human sufferings was down played (Pfau, Haigh, Gettle, Donnelly, Scott, Warr & Wittenberg, 2004;

Reynolds & Barnett, 2003, Griffn, 2004). By presenting positive version of war on terror, the US government was successful in attaining public support regarding the War on Terror as indicated by various polling results (Gershkoff & Kushner, 2005; Gallup, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c).

Britain the strongest US ally in the war on terror, saw its media adopt a pro-US policy heavily relied on official sources and gave less coverage to the casualties (Richardson, 2001; Robinson et al., 2009; Fahmy & Kim, 2006; Brookes, Mosdell & Threadgold, 2006; Robinson, Goddard, Parry & Murray, 2009). A few studies noted the British media's portrayal of all international players relating to war on terror, employing global resources and offering alternative view points (Papacharissi & Oliveria, 2008; Filz, 2004).

Certain studies focused on the comparative analysis of different countries regarding the framing of war on terror (Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005; Vliegthart & Schroder, 2010). The countries who politically supported US policies, had their media adopt pro US stance (Ottosen, 2005; Steuter & Wills, 2009) while the countries that were against the war on terror like Japan, had a critical and negative position towards the war (Kodama, Kanayama & Shim, 2007). Limited studies have been conducted from Middle Eastern and Asian media perspective. But these studies found that Middle Eastern media had quite a different point of view than the Western media, they were more focused on consequences of war, casualties and destruction (Jasperson & El-Kikhia, 2003; Jasperson & El-Kikhia, 2002).

As noted above the previous literature on the coverage of War on Terror highlighted the Western media perspective. The studies on American, British, Australian, New Zealand and other European countries had pro-war stance. However, the coverage of War on terror from the Muslim media perspective was lacking. After September 11 attack, two wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were fought to contain the threats of terrorism and to punish terrorists. Muslim countries such as Syria, Iran and Iraq were declared as axis of evil by the US. Pakistan the country which facilitated the war on terror was also portrayed as a country which supported terrorism. Pakistan, Iran, Syria, Iraq and Palestine were those countries which had the problem of terrorism. It was important to know the Muslim countries that were affected by the war on terror how their media framed the war on terror. The present study looked at the Muslim media perspective on war on terror that was lacking in the Western studies. Moreover, it compared the coverage of Pakistani press with the British press, the comparison highlighted the differences between the coverage of the two countries that represented Western and Eastern perspectives.

However, there were limited studies noted from Pakistani media regarding the coverage of war on terror. These studies argued that Pakistani media gave negative coverage to the issue of terrorism and highly criticized American politics (Ahmad, Mahsud & Ishtiaq, 2011; Khan & Safdar, 2010; Khan & Imran, 2011, Singh, 2003).

Moreover, this study focused on the newspapers of two countries; Pakistan and Britain which had a politically different approach towards war on terror. Pakistan was the country that was forced to participate and facilitate America in the war whereas Britain declared itself as the major coalition partner of America. The study discovered how the newspapers of these two countries framed the war on terror. It conducted a comparative analysis of Pakistani and British newspapers regarding the coverage of war on terror. It also identified the differences between the newspapers of Pakistan and Britain regarding the issue of war on terror and employed the qualitative approach to explain these differences. Previous studies on Pakistani press regarding the coverage of war on terror mostly employed quantitative content analysis (Ahmad, Mahsud & Ishtiaq, 2011; Khan & Safdar, 2010; Khan & Imran, 2011). These studies lacked the qualitative approach. By filling the methodological gap, the present research analyzed the coverage of war on terror through qualitative approach.

Previous studies conducted analyses of news stories, news articles, features, TV news reports or photographic representation on war on terror (Robinson, Goddard, Parry, & Murray, 2009; Pfau *et.al.*, 2004; Li, 2007; Griffin, 2004; Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005; Kodama *et al.*, 2007). Robinson *et.al.* (2009) tested elite driven and independent models in the British evening news broadcasts, namely, the Independent Television News and British Broadcasting Corporation. They analyzed the news stories on Iraq war, measured the range of news sources, the variety of subjects and observed to what extent, the channels gave coverage to the standpoint of coalition forces. Though, Pfau *et al.* (2004) focused on the coverage of US newspapers on three military operations namely, “Iraqi

Freedom” (2003), Operation “Enduring Freedom” (2001), and Operation “Desert Storm” (1991). This study examined all news articles in local, national and international pages of the newspapers. It discovered that the embedded coverage of Iraq war (2003) was more supportive towards the policies of Bush administration than non embedded reporting. Kodama *et al.* (2007) employed the comparative analysis of media outlets from four different countries, namely; United States, the United Kingdom, Brazil, and Japan. They specifically investigated the changes in international news patterns and news content after the incident of 9/11. They analyzed the content analysis of TV news programmes and also conducted interviews from TV producers, directors, reporters, editors and press officers. Previous research on the coverage of war on terror from print and electronic media mostly analyzed news stories, news reports, television programmes and news articles. Very few studies have looked at news editorials (Archetti, 2007; Rayan, 2004). Therefore, the present study particularly focused on the editorials of Pakistani and British newspapers. As news editorials represented the news policy, ideology, opinion and moreover, they conveyed the actual voice of the newspaper (Webster dictionary, 2014).

Inspired by the previous research, this study explored the coverage of war on terror in the editorials of Pakistani and British newspapers, to identify the dominant agendas and to determine which frames were utilized by the respective press. Moreover, it qualitatively analyzed the nature of differences between the Pakistani and British press in the framing of concepts like ‘terrorism’ and the war on terror. Thus, the study

inquired as to which issues got more credence in the newspapers of both countries and with what perspectives and direction these issues were depicted.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) indicated some factors that influenced media content such as pattern of media content, media workers, organizational influence, political policies and ideology. Moreover, Foreign policy guideline is also one of the important factors that influenced the coverage of any issue of international importance. It was noted that the coverage of 'War on Terror' by the US media was influenced by its government policies (Niven, 2001; Ryan, 2004; Reese & Lewis, 2009).

The previous research on British media observed that during international conflict, the British media supported its government and political stance (Robbinson, *et al.*, 2009; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; The Glasgow University Media Group (1985). However, from Pakistani media, it was noted that during the coverage of the War on Terror, it did not conform government policies on the War and condemned Pakistan's support for the war (Shah, 2010; Khan & Safdar, 2010; Khan & Imran, 2011; Paracha, Imran & Khan, 2012). Likewise, the present research explored whether the press in Pakistan and Britain considered the foreign policy guidelines of their respective countries in the coverage of 'War on Terror' or they adopted different stance. In this way, it examined the effects of political and foreign policies of a country on the coverage of the issue.

Some previous studies had also examined the opinion of journalists regarding their role in the process of framing (Lewis & Reese, 2009). However, this study had conducted

interviews from Pakistani and British informants. The analysis of the interviews denoted that how the people in Pakistan and Britain perceived 'War on Terror' and what they think about the war.

The present study applied the theories of media framing and agenda setting. Theoretically, the study contributed to the body of knowledge that how different media frames and media agenda brought changes in the presentation of the issue. The coverage of war on terror was analyzed by Pakistani and British press which highlighted different media agendas and framed the conflict with different media frames

Overall, the present research analyzed the framing of war on terror by Pakistani and British press. It identified different media frames, media agendas and prominent issues by the coverage of war on terror. Moreover, it looked at to what extent Pakistani and British press supported their political and foreign policy guidelines in the coverage of war on terror. Lastly, the study depicted the opinion of Pakistani and British informants which elaborated the public perception regarding war on terror.

In the long run, the study would be beneficial to news organizations and future researchers particularly concerning how social and political factors play their role in the framing or setting the agenda for the war on terror.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

These are the following questions that the study would explore:

- RQ1: How was the War on Terror framed in the editorials of British and Pakistani newspapers?
- RQ2: What were the dominant frames that emerged in British and Pakistan newspaper editorials regarding the issue of War on Terror?
- RQ3: What were the differences in the framing of war between British and Pakistani newspaper editorials?
- RQ4: What issues were included in the coverage of War on Terror by Pakistani and British newspaper editorials?
- RQ5: What agendas were promoted by Pakistani and British newspaper editorials in the case of War on Terror?
- RQ6: To what extent the Pakistani and British newspaper editorials followed their foreign policy in the coverage of War on Terror?
- RQ7: How did the representatives from Pakistan and British public perceive the War on Terror?

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

This study explored the coverage of War on Terror by the editorials of Pakistani and British newspapers with framing and agenda setting perspectives from September 12, 2001 to September 11, 2003. In order to understand the media agendas and framing of war on terror, the following objectives were formulated:

- i. To study the framing of war on terror by the editorials of Pakistani and British newspapers.

- ii. To identify the dominant frames that were used to cover the war on terror by the Pakistani and British newspapers.
- iii. To compare the differences between Pakistani and British newspapers regarding the framing of war on terror.
- iv. To identify the agendas of Pakistani and British press in the context of war on terror.
- v. To investigate those issues that were included in the coverage of war by the respective press in both countries.
- vi. To understand whether Pakistan and British press considered their foreign policy guide lines in the coverage of war on terror.
- vii. To explore the view points of Pakistan and British people how they thought about the War on Terror.

## **1.5 Operational Definitions**

The key terms were operationally defined as below.

### **1.5.1 Frame**

Frame related with the way in which an object, incident or a situation was presented or depicted in the media. The media employes various frames in its daily news coverage. These were: the ‘conflict frame’ which was commonly used in a situation of crisis and disagreement among groups or individuals (Neuman *et al.*, 1992); the ‘morality frame’ which analyzed the situation or event in the context of ethics, religious doctrine and social set up (Neuman *et al.*, 1992) and the ‘economic frame’ that considered the issue

in terms of economic consequences on individuals, organizations or countries (Graber, 1993). An another important frame identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) was the 'attribution of responsibility frame' that was defined as a way of attributing responsibility for gaining some objectives whether related to political group or individual groups.

This frame was more commonly used in quality newspapers. As Jasperson and El-Kikhia (2003) used three frames in the coverage on war on terror namely official frame, military and humanitarian frame. The stories which supported government view point on the war on terror were coded in 'official frame', the stories which emphasised upon military operations, strategies and combatant activities were coded in terms of military frame and the stories which focused on human sufferings, problems, destruction were referred to humanitarian frame (Jasperson & El-Kikhia, 2003). Accordingly, in this study, it explored how an issue was presented or portrayed in the editorial of Pakistani and British newspapers (*The Dawn, The Nation, The Guardian, The Independent*) whether the newspapers highlighted the issue in official frame, military frame, humanitarian frame, conflict frame or any other frames emerged through exploration of data.

### **1.5.2 Agenda Setting**

According to agenda setting theory media selected particular issues and constant presentation of that particular issue set public agenda. Wilcox, Glen, Ault and Warren, (2003) argued that media content set the agenda for public discussion. The present study explored what media agendas were highlighted by Pakistani and British press regarding

the coverage of war on terror. Either the press of the both countries focused on the similar issues or they highlighted different agenda for their respective public.

### **1.5.3 War on Terror**

‘War on Terror’ was an international struggle against terrorism that was started after September 11, attacks in the United States. It aims to wipe out all those elements which caused this tragedy. This study investigated how the concept of ‘War on Terror’ was presented in the Pakistani and British press whether the press followed US view point, official policies of their countries, alternative arguments or any other perspective were highlighted.

### **1.5.4 Quality Newspapers**

Quality newspapers were mostly referred as serious, realistic and are more concerned to political and economic news stories by objective approach. Bucher and StraBner (1991) wrote that quality newspapers usually employed their best effort to perform correctly and professionally in terms of information management. For this study, four quality newspapers from Pakistan and Britain were chosen, namely; *The Guardian*, *The Independent* from Britain and *The Dawn* and *The Nation* from Pakistan.

### **1.5.5 Editorial**

For this study the editorials of Pakistani and British press had been chosen to analyse the framing of war on terror. According to merriam-webster dictionary, editorial was a newspaper or magazine article that provided the opinion of the editor or publisher

(Webster dictionary, 2014). Moreover, the editorial also gave impression regarding the political affiliation of the newspaper and depicted the newspaper policy. The editorial depicted the opinion of a newspaper on the particular issue rather than objective reporting. That's why editorials for this study were chosen. These editorials of Pakistani and British newspapers depicted the policies of their newspapers regarding the issue of War on Terror.

### **1.5.6 Pakistani and British public**

These informants were selected from Pakistani and British public. These people had knowledge about 'War on Terror' 'the respective foreign policies of their countries' international politics and were the consumers of their respective media. The opinion of these informants gave idea that how the people in Pakistan and the British perceived the 'War on Terror'.

### **1.6 Significance of the Research**

This study would be a significant endeavour to understand the coverage of war on terror by Pakistani and British press. It would also be beneficial to indicate the differences between the media of two countries. There were a significant number of studies that had been conducted on the issue of war on terror but mostly discussed the Western media in this respect. The American media generally conformed to the policies of US government and hardly paid heed towards the alternative stand points. The War on terror was fought in Afghanistan, Iraq and other Muslim countries. But these countries were framed negatively by the US media such as Iran, Syria, Palestine and Pakistan. The issue was

that, the point of view the Muslim media on the war on terror was lacking in previous literature. Thus, the present study provided the information from the Muslim perspective regarding the coverage of war on terror that might not be found in the Western media.

Accordingly, the study provided fresh insight about the framing of war on terror by the Pakistani press. Pakistan was the country that was participating and was directly affected by the war; so it was critical to understand how its press looked at it. The study also made its comparison with the British press regarding the coverage of war on terror because Britain declared itself a strong coalition partner. The study investigated the nature of differences between Pakistani and British press. For this reason, it explored the theories of ‘Agenda Setting’, ‘Media Framing’ and ‘Media conformity to foreign policy’ which elaborated the media agendas and media frames of Pakistani and British press in the reporting of war on terror. These theories described that how Pakistani and British newspapers chose different media frames and selected different issues regarding the coverage of war on terror. By selecting different media agenda and presenting the same issue with different media frames brought changes in the presentation of the coverage of war on terror. These findings of the study contributed to fill the theoretical gap.

This study employed thematic analysis of Pakistani and British newspapers to analyze the agendas and framing of war on terror. The thematic analysis of the newspapers explained, how the ‘War on Terror’ was presented and portrayed through media. Previous studies on Pakistani press regarding the coverage of war on terror, lacking qualitative approach. The present study analyzed the coverage of Pakistani newspapers

in detail and understood how war on terror was framed by the Pakistani newspapers. The application of the qualitative approach contributed to fill the methodological gap. Additionally, the interviews from Pakistani and British public representatives were also conducted. These detail interviews indicated that how the people in Pakistan and Britain think about 'War on Terror, policies of their respective countries and the media coverage of the issue. Previous studies mostly conducted surveys regarding public opinion on war on terror; they did not deeply analyze public perception on war on terror. The present study provided media perspective on the war on terror and also studied public perception on this issue.

From the perspective of government policy, it investigated that to what extent government polices affect to the coverage of an international issue. The media conformity to the foreign policy approach indicated that to what extent newspapers of Pakistan and Britain supported the political and foreign policies of their respective countries on the coverage of the war on terror. These findings contributed to fill the practical gap.

So, from this study the students, journalists, academicians and policy makers would be aware as to how the media of different countries frame the same issue. And as to how the applications of framing and agenda setting strategies brought change in the content and presentation of the issue on media.

## **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

This study was limited in its scope because it only focused on quality newspapers of Pakistan and Britain. Quality newspapers were chosen because these newspapers were mostly read by policy makers, politicians and educated class. The information that was published in these newspapers not only depicted the policy of the respective governments but also had an impact on the domestic and international policies. Further, research on the given issue could be extended to the mainstream or popular electronic and print media of the countries.

Secondly, this study only analyzed the editorials of the newspaper. Articles on the editorial page; news stories, news features, and letter(s) to editorial were excluded from the research. The editorials always emphasized upon significant issues of the past and indicated the editorial policy of the newspaper.

Thirdly from methodological perspective, it applied qualitative analysis of newspapers and interviews from Pakistani and British public. But the qualitative method itself was a limitation for the researcher because it was a new way of research which was previously not utilize. For this reason, know-how of thematic analysis, interviews and data analysis was needed.

Furthermore, the researcher was working on a sensitive topic of ‘war on terror’ for which interviews from Pakistani and British public were taken. But most of the time, the

people were reluctant to express their opinion about terrorism. Particularly, the British public hesitated to answer the questions about terrorism war. Moreover, due to financial constraints, the researcher could not interview them directly; so she had to contact them through telephone, email, or Skype. However, the future studies could expand by including face-to-face interviews from the public, journalists, and political personalities. Focus groups could also be included for elaborating the issue.

Lastly, due to time constraint only the newspapers of two countries were selected. Future research could be expanded to longer time period which could explore the impending changes in media frames about the coverage of war on terror. Electronic media and media of different countries like European, Middle Eastern, Asian or American could also be contrasted, which could give a holistic picture of media framing. Likewise, the impact of social media could also be studied on the issue of terrorism war.

### **1.8 Theoretical framework**

The research employed media framing and agenda setting techniques for analyzing the coverage of war on terror in Pakistani and British press. This study sought to explore what issues were selected in the coverage of war on terror and how these issues were presented by the newspapers of Pakistan and Britain. For these reasons these two theories were used because agenda setting explained how media selected the issues by giving them more coverage and framing elaborated how those issues were portrayed and emphasised by the newspapers.

Media framing was the theory which described how news content was presented to the readers and how it affected them. There had been numerous studies that were conducted through framing approach (Entman, 1993, Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Neuman *et al.*, 1992). Entman (1993) wrote that “to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a ‘perceived reality’ and make them more salient in such a way that endorse a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or a treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 51). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) argued that media framing was a process through which readers understood the meaning and made their public opinion. It was media that develop and crystallize the meaning for public discourse. Moreover, Cissel (2012) commented that framing was a tool which was used by the media and the politicians to promote their desired agenda to the minds of the public. Similarly, Tuchman (1978) emphasised that mass media set frame of reference accordingly the readers interpret and understood the public issues.

Agenda Setting was another theory according to McCombs and Shaw (1972) news media had a power to set agenda for the public and to focus their attention to few specific issues. McCombs (2005) further wrote that media had ability to shape policy by focusing public attention to particular issues. These issues got attentions by the policy makers when public considered these issues most important. Previous studies found that sometimes media influenced policy agenda on various topic including AIDS (Rogers, Dearing, & Chang, 1991), education (Brewer & McCombs, 1996), and drunk driving

(Yanovitsky, 2001).

Agenda setting was a theory which selected particular issues and made them salient among the public. However, media framing was another theory which portrayed the same issue with different perspectives and frames. These two theories were selected for the study because it depicted that how Pakistani and British newspapers framed war on terror. Through which perspectives and frames they presented the war. Moreover, agenda setting approach highlighted those issues that were discussed by the newspapers of Pakistan and Britain in the coverage of war on terror. Consequently, these agendas got attention among Pakistani and British public.

### **1.8.1 Media framing**

The concept of framing became very popular in the field of communication research during 1990's. However, Goffman (1974) gave the general conceptualization of media frames as “schemata of interpretation,” which helped the audience to understand the issues meaningfully (p. 21). Entman (1993) said that “framing essentially involves selection and salience” and further defined framing as:

“selecting 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 for the item described” (p. 52).

He further mentioned that frames facilitated individuals to generate their personal frames by giving more importance to a certain piece of information that became noticeable for the audiences (Entman, 1993). Thus the pattern and framing of news

stories influenced public understanding of the issues (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1995). Otherwise, Iyengar (1991) made his claim that framing theory reflected slight modifications in the presentation of any issue or problem. Eventually, it enhanced the probability that receivers would perceive the information in the perspective of framed strategy.

Nonetheless, Entman (1993) pointed out four locations in framing process that could be evaluated: the text, the communicator, the receiver and the culture. He explicated that communicators made framing judgments that established belief system, text included frames which involved different key words, images, metaphors, source of information that endorsed certain type of ideas, consequently, all these factors direct public opinion. Culture was a cluster of frames that were commonly practiced in social groups. Indeed, these were important aspects of media framing that played significant role in the depiction of any issue.

Conversely, Touchman (1978) was more concerned with the factors that played a considerable role in framing news such as media routine, legitimization and institutional elements. He further said that media frames demonstrated social realities and these frames had fundamental importance in news reporting. The principles of framing research were pervasive (Entman, 1993; Iyengar, 1991; Larson, 1982; Norris, 1995; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Tewksbury *et al.*, 2000).

According to framing experts (Iyengar, 1991; Kahneman & Tversky, 1984; Pan & Kosicki, 1993), the objective of framing is to choose a certain aspect, communicate it in a particular manner and reinforce it in the minds of the audience so that they should commence similar action to what has been framed. Figure 1.1 elaborated this process.

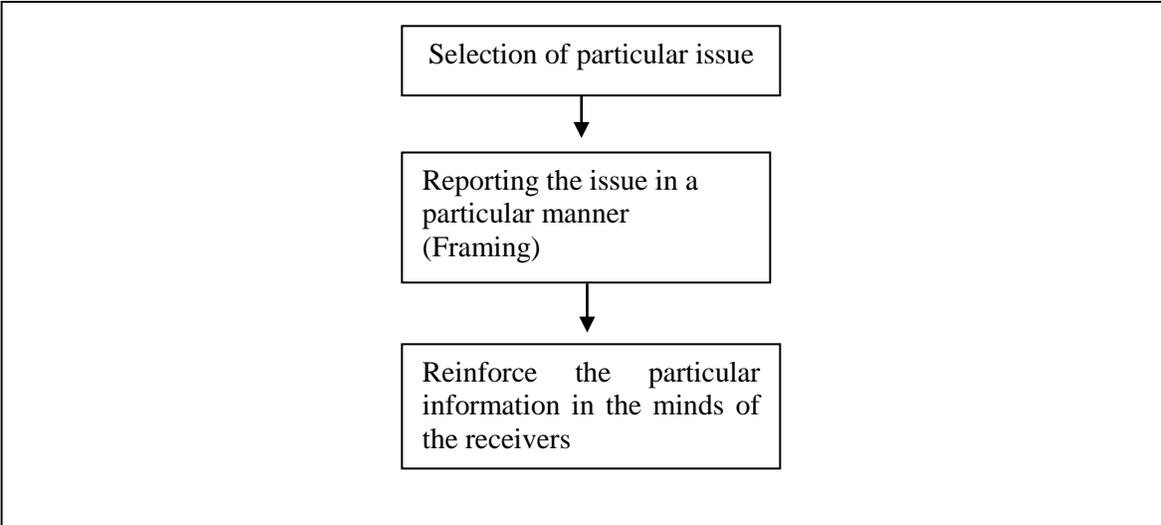


Figure 1.1. Framing process

Source: (Iyengar, 1991; Kahneman & Tversky, 1984; Pan & Kosicki, 1993)

Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2002) argued that framing was a way through which people made sense about certain interpersonal behaviours, events and relationships. Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2002) further emphasized that when content was included into a specific structure, that content effected audience's mind more than that content which was not structured. Framing theory also suggested that the same message could be perceived differently if it was communicated in different framing patterns (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). Likewise Scheufele (2000) wrote that framing affected public thinking. Framing did not work to make any issue more prominent but rather it

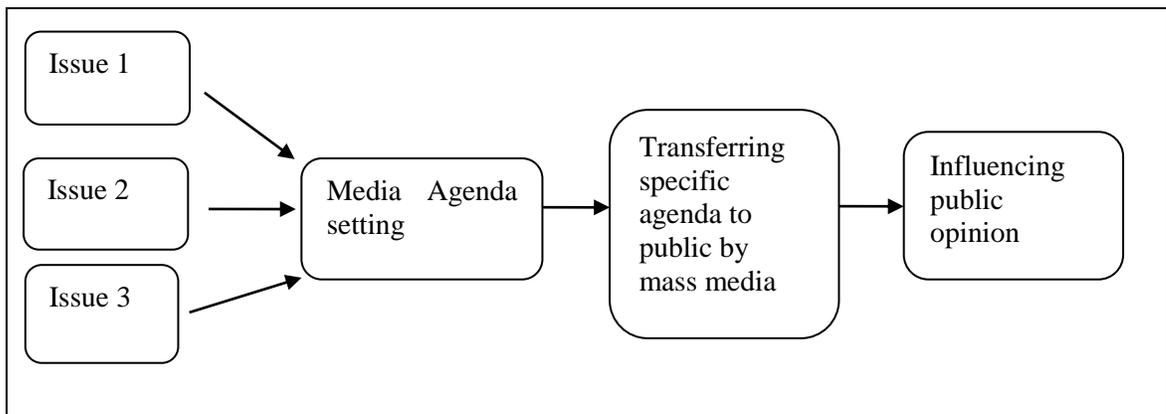
structured the information in a particular manner that subsequently, shaped public perception

### **1.8.2 Agenda Setting Theory**

Agenda setting theory proposed that there was a strong link between the media agenda of a particular phenomenon and the audiences' acceptance of those agendas (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). It was observed that public gave considerable importance to the issues that were frequently focused by the mass media. Similarly, the people noticed the incidents, events and personalities included into mainstream media discourse (Shaw, 1979). In day-to-day life, people came across with different kinds of media, namely, newspapers, magazines, television, and radio but these media could not present all information to their receivers. Therefore certain issues were selected by the media and the rest of the information was excluded. The way, in which the media organized, arranged and emphasized issues, the public followed suit (Shaw, 1979). Similarly Zhu and Blood (1997) denoted that agenda setting was a process that facilitated the public in identifying the imperative issues or objects. Likewise Cohen (1963) argued that press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 13).

According to agenda setting theory, mass media made certain issues more easily approachable for their receivers either by repetition or their placement in print media. People easily remember them, and it influenced public standards of assessment about

any political candidate (Price & Tewksbury, 1997) or any other issue. Figure 1.2 elaborated the relationship between media agenda and its impact on public:



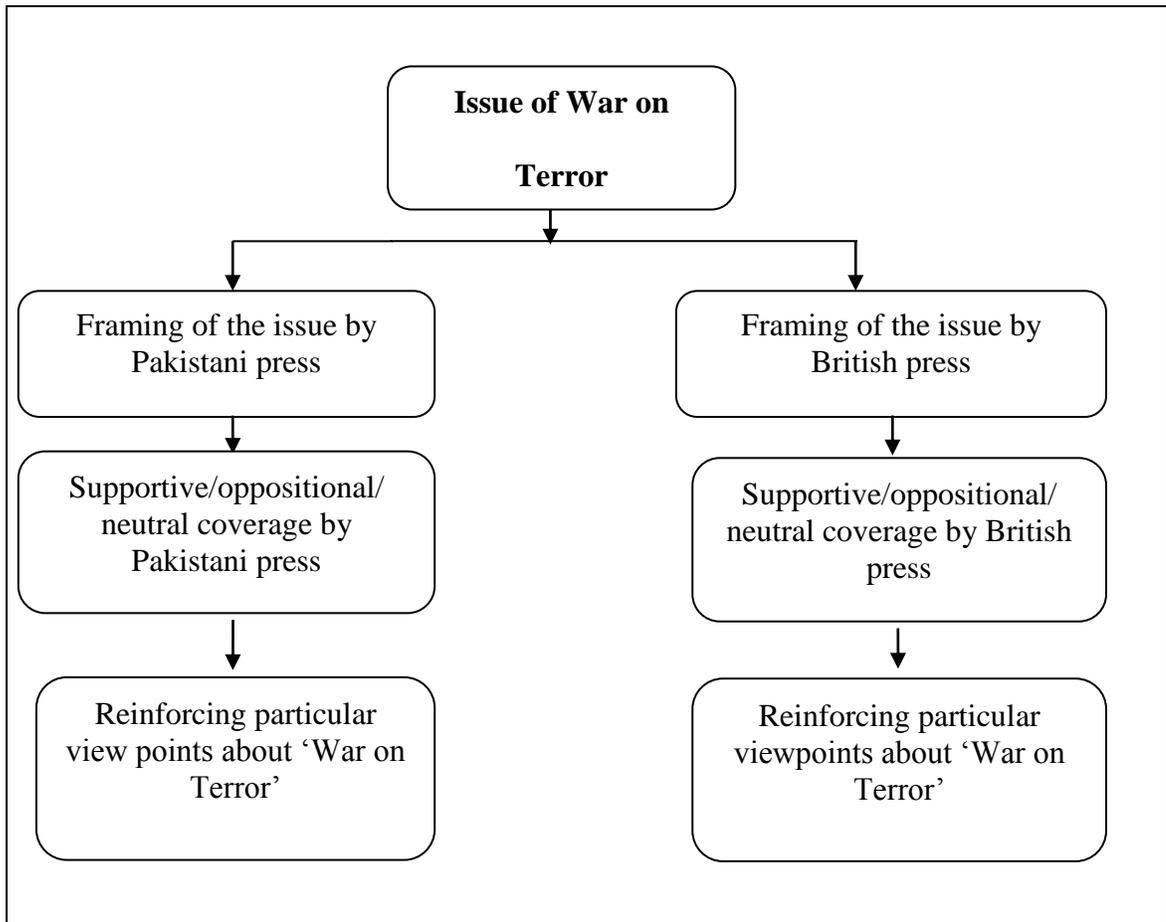
*Figure 1.2. Agenda Setting:* The figure elaborates that media transfer its agenda to the public which consequently affects public opinion.  
Source: Price & Tewksbury (1997)

However, there were certain similarities in agenda setting and media framing approaches. Both focus on how issues were presented in media and which news story was played up or played down. There were some characteristics that differentiate them from each other. Price and Tewksbury (1997) noted that agenda setting selected a particular issue that captured public attention towards that issue while framing not only focused on issue selection but also emphasized the portrayal of the news story.

### **1.9 Conceptual framework for the study**

The conceptual framework for the study presented below was based on a literature review of media framing and agenda setting. Figure 1.3 demonstrated the effects of media framing on the coverage of war on terror in Pakistani and British press. Fig.1.3

explained the issue of the ‘War on Terror’ as reported by both Pakistani and British newspapers.

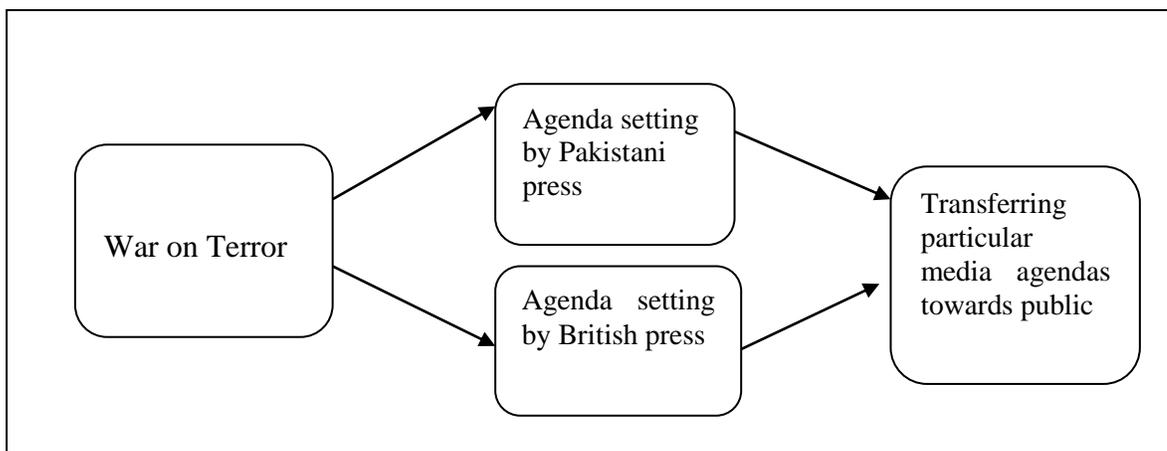


*Figure 1.3.* Conceptual frame work showing the Framing of War on Terror by Pakistani and British Press

The press of two countries presented or communicated the issue differently to their respective receivers. The press could stress on military aspects of war, official stand points, causalities in war, moral issue and any other perspective. Moreover, the newspapers assumed supportive, oppositional or neutral stance in the coverage of war.

Consequently, the framing of Pakistan and British press might highlight the issue of ‘War on Terror’ with different angles and perspectives.

Figure 1.4 explained the agenda setting role of media that it stressed upon particular issues by giving it more coverage which consequently established media agenda. For example, Pakistan press might give more coverage to the violation of human rights in Afghanistan whereas the British press might be more concerned about the capturing of terrorists from Afghanistan. The reporting on particular issues consequently set the media agenda.

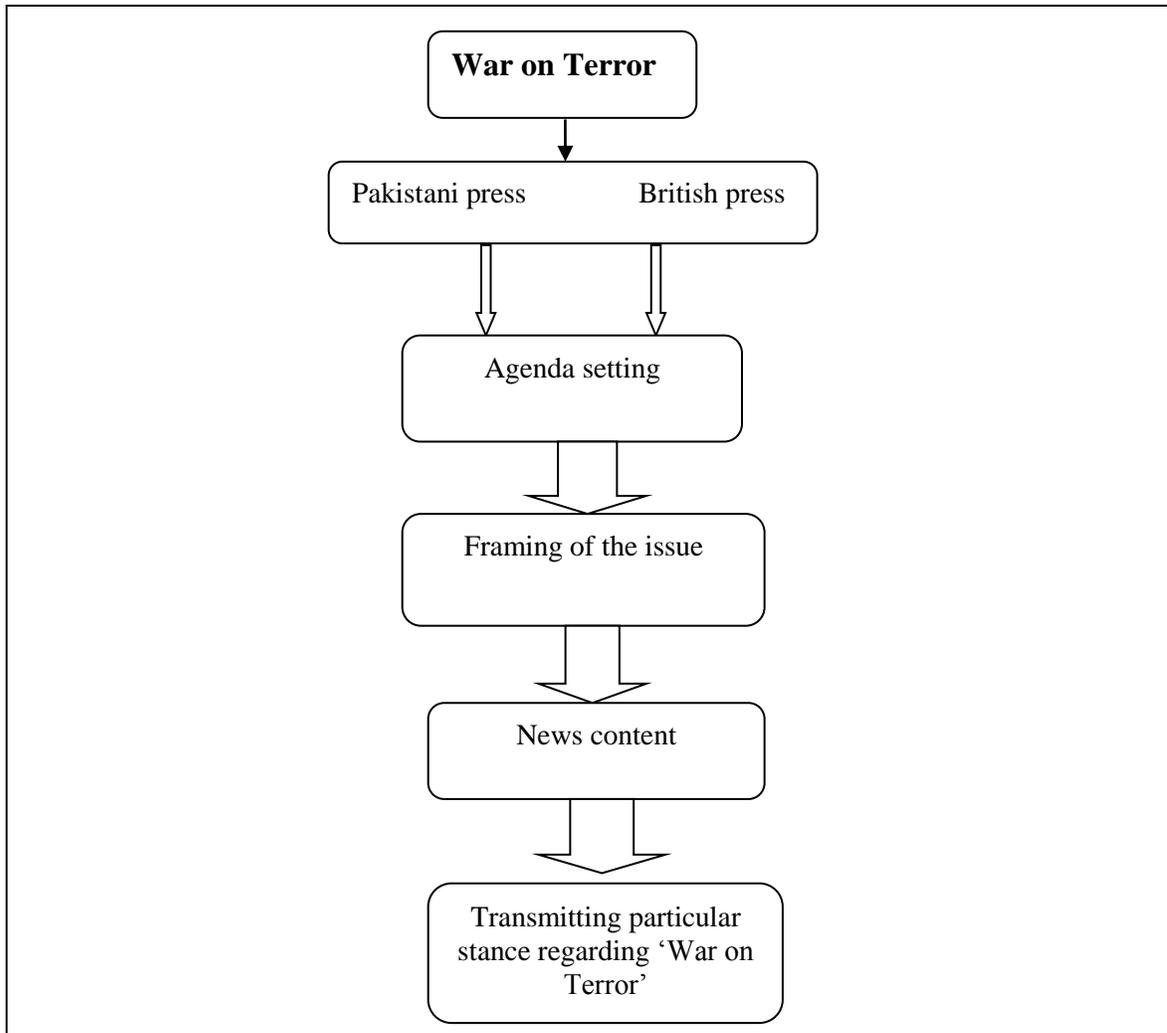


*Figure 1.4.*Agenda setting process

The figure 1.4 explained Pakistani and British press reporting the issue of ‘War on Terror’. The respective press in both countries promoted particular issues and agenda through their coverage.

This research investigated the differences in Pakistani and British newspapers through framing and agenda setting approaches. It explored the particular issues which got prominence in Pakistani and British news coverage of ‘War on Terror’ and moreover

investigated that how these issues were framed in the respective press of both countries. For this reason the integrated conceptual framework was presented in figure 1.5:



*Figure 1.5.* Integrated frame work: Conceptual framework showing the effects of media framing and agenda setting on the news content of 'War on Terror' in Pakistan and British press

Figure 1.5 described media framing and agenda setting approaches influencing the news content of war on terror in Pakistani and British press. The newspapers of both countries were selecting different issues relating to 'War on Terror' and furthermore presenting them with different perspectives and different frames. The present study analyzed

different frames, media agendas and stance of coverage by Pakistani and British press regarding War on Terror.

### **1.10 The Pakistani Press: A Reflection**

The study was conducted by a Pakistani researcher on the coverage of war on terror. In the context of Pakistan, the issue of terrorism meant a lot because the discourse about terrorism war, US policies about Pakistan, al Qaeda, and the consequences of extremism were quite common in Pakistani society. Most of the time Pakistani news channels, political elites and even the common public discussed this issue quite seriously.

When September 11 attacks occurred in United States, the researcher was a college student and was not much interested in news, media or any political or international issues. These attacks got unprecedented coverage in Pakistani media as well as in Western media. With Pakistan's involvement in war on terror, it was the daily issue in the media. Such an environment enhanced the researcher's interest in this issue. The researcher started to observe that Pakistani media had adopted quite an oppositional stance against the 'War on Terror'. They were highly critical of the policies of President Musharruf relating to war on terror. Eventually, public opinion was not supportive towards Afghanistan war in 2001 and Iraq war in 2003. Pakistan provided logistic support to coalition forces in the Afghanistan and the Pakistani military fought against terrorists in Pakistani tribal area. Due to Pakistan's support to war on terror, Al-Qaeda and Taliban threatened Pakistani government and military. Subsequently, Pakistan suffered at the hands of terrorists' who killed innocent civilians. In these circumstances,

the Pakistani media criticized the government's decision to participate in the war but at the same time, extremism was also not supported. The researcher felt that Pakistan had sacrificed a lot in this war but the Western media had not given due credit to it. Problems faced due to this war and Taliban were rarely discussed by foreign media outlets. However, to some extent British media tried to present a neutral coverage by giving voice to alternative view points.

Subsequently, the researcher came across media framing and agenda setting during her Master's degree in communication studies. It was then that the researcher utilized media framing in the context of war on terror. Research on American Image in Pakistan in 2008 gave her immense information about war on terror, media and framing. It is through literature review that the researcher discovered that in Western countries and especially in US, there has been massive work done relating to 'War on Terror'. At this stage, the researcher decided to keep working on point of view of Pakistani media about the war, how it talks about terrorism and what issues it brings on its agenda. The researcher made a comparison with British media elaborated somehow different perspectives regarding the reporting of 'War on Terror'.

### **1.11 Conclusion**

The chapter discussed the incident of September 11 attacks and media response towards it. The incident which took place in the United States was massively covered by the entire world media. In response to September, 11 attacks the Bush administration declared war on terror, launching attacks on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2001 in Afghanistan and later

on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003 on Iraq. Overall, the US media adopted positive stance in favour of American government. Furthermore, the chapter provided information about Pakistani and British press and their coverage of war on terror. Although the media in both countries gave immense coverage to the incident, there were certain differences found in the framing of war. The study aimed out to reveal the differences between Pakistani and British press regarding the coverage of war on terror. The chapter also explained the problem statement, research objectives, research questions; and conceptual framework that were based on agenda setting and media framing theories. These theories would be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter encompassed the discussion pertaining to media framing, agenda setting, media conformity and coverage of war on terror. The following chapter catalogued how frames worked in media, how they affected news content. Likewise the literature about agenda setting explained the theory, its effects on media coverage, public opinion and moreover determined the similarities and dissimilarities between media framing and agenda setting. The chapter also reviewed the previous studies on the coverage of war on terror from Britain, Pakistan, US and other countries, explores how previous researchers analyzed coverage on war, what methods they utilized and what finding they brought. Forward, the chapter shed light on the foreign policies of Pakistan and Britain relating to the issue of war on Terror. The chapter began with a discussion concerning theories.

#### **2.2 Media Framing**

The term frame was mostly referred to as “topic” but Reese (2007) regarded it as “organizing” and “structuring” work. In like manner, de Vreese (2005) concluded that frame underlined the prominent aspects of the issue. In fact, frames categorized the world for the journalists who reported them and the audiences who trusted these reports (Gitlin, 1980). The application of framing strategies was common in communications

and reporting of news. D'Angelo (2002) proposed four empirical objectives of news framing research. These were to: (a) discover frames, (b) point out precursor factors which generate frames, (c) observe how frames work and make its impact on individual's previous knowledge, interpretation, assessment and evaluation of any event; and (d) investigate how these frames make public opinion and shape policy discourse. Nelson and Boynton (1997) argued that frames affected public thought by emphasizing particular principles and information, and portrayed them as an issue of significant value whereas if they appeared in a different frame, that frame might depict the reality alternatively. In the case of war on terror, many studies described how different media outlets framed the incident. Some of the media supported this war; particularly American and Western media but on the other hand, Middle Eastern and Muslim countries adopted an oppositional stance and some channels or newspapers were concerned about the consequences of war.

Kinder and Sanders (1990) have said that frames were often entrenched in political discussion, this was quite identical to the idea of media frames and the individual frames that depicted the "internal structures of the mind" (p.74). Entman (1991) mentioned the difference between individual and media frames, explaining the individual frame as "information-processing schemata" of individuals and media frames as "attributes of the news itself" (p.7). In fact, news frame "creates a structure on which other elements are built" (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 39). Bateson stated that frames demarcated "a class or set of messages (or meaningful actions)" (1972, p.186), accordingly, people understood and estimated the social reality in framed communication (Clair, 1993). As

Reese (2001) put it: “frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (p.11). In this manner, frames indicated the main theme and direction of the news story. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) stated that a media frame provided main theme to news story which further guided the audience about the complexities of the issue.

Subsequently, Hertog and McLeod (2001) studied the construction of frames as they wrote, “structures of meaning made up of a number of concepts and the relations among those concepts,” (p. 140) provided rules to assess new content. Frames were imperative to understanding the message and to construct a story because frames structured the ideas, made them consistent and select particular elements for the discussion (Gamson, 1989). By the same token, frames were concerned with the understanding and evaluation of any issue by the public; how the people perceived reality and further how they reacted towards it. In this process, they effected large number of people but it was difficult to assume that they had universal influence on every one (Entman, 1993).

### **2.2.1 Cognitive, Constructionist and Critical perspectives in framing research**

D’ Angelo (2002) argued that framing theory could not be restricted to a single paradigm rather; it accumulated its knowledge under various paradigmatic perspectives about framing and its effects. For this reason, he proposed three paradigmatic approach to framing research, namely, cognitive, constructionist and critical.

In cognitive perspective, frames were regarded as preceding information that guided the individuals to understand the news content that was transmitted to them through various news frames (Rhee, 1997). Similarly, individuals also discussed political issues according to their prior knowledge or their individual frames (Gamson, 1996). Hence, individual frames and media frames often interacted with each other. Neuman, Just and Crigler (1992) wrote that previous knowledge facilitated the individuals to “alternatively accept, ignore, and reinterpret the dominant frames offered by the media” (p. 62). So far as the studies were carried out through cognitive approach of framing, they generally discussed that journalists routinely evolved significantly different frames about a single story or issue. Likewise, it was also tested how these different frames affected the public opinion about any particular topic (D’Angelo, 2002). The cognitivists believed that the individuals employed media frames for the understanding of issues which later on influenced their decisions and judgments (Rhee, 1997). Yet, in present study, it would be analyzed what different frames were used by the journalists in Pakistan and Britain about the reporting of war on terror and what issues get frequent coverage. Along this, the study also aimed to explore the view point of Pakistani and British informants, how do they perceived ‘War on Terror’?

The critical perspective, argued that news organizations played a dominant role in the selection or rejection of any news story. They made use of different news frames that highlighted the specific view point supportive of the status quo (Reese & Buckalew, 1995; Watkin, 2001). In this way, frames overshadowed news stories and public opinion. Martin and Oshagen (1997) observed that frames were interrelated with

hegemonic processes that “limit the range of debate . . . and occlude the potential for a democratic public sphere” (Martin & Oshagen, 1997, p. 691). Likewise, Entman (1991) concluded in his study about US news frames that elite political personalities most often framed the events in favour of US political interests. Therefore, the studies from critical approach analyze that how public perception about any particular issue, problem or event is affected by dominant media frames (D’ Angelo, 2002).

According to constructionist perspective, journalists produced “interpretive packages” of information for political interest holders (Gamson & Mojdiliani, 1987, 1989) but this process might impede certain civil rights. News frames could restrict political awareness to the public by hiding certain facts (Gamson 1996) and could limit policy discourse on specific issues by ignoring democratic standards. Moreover, the constructionist approach determined that frames could highlight an issue for a long time. For example, the issue of terrorism had dominated the news coverage of many world news channels for several years. The constructionist researchers concluded that ‘news organizations’ restrict wide range of data by considering them as incredible sources (D’ Angelo, 2002). That s why, news channels sometimes gave prolonged coverage to an issue but avoided certain viewpoints those were essential for public understanding (Andsager, 2000). The researchers from constructionist perspective investigated the effects of frames on public persuasion. They inquired how the individuals develop their opinion by having been exposed to news frames and societal discourses about these frames (D’ Angelo, 2002).

### **2.2.2 Cultural and Social perspectives in Framing**

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) incorporated the idea of cultural aspects of framing. They proposed that individual interpretation of media content was mostly directed by the cultural processes. Nonetheless, the frames too worked within cultural perspective as Goffman (1981) considered that frames were a significant element of a culture which was structured through many ways. The journalists promoted the cultural phenomenon through the presentation of media content to their recipients (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The cultural aspect of framing broadened its scope from other theories of media effects such as priming and agenda setting that were primarily related with cognitive concepts (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). VanGorp (2007) characterized frame as a persuasive provocation that guided the reader to evaluate the issue in a particular manner that would consequently lead the individual towards specific understanding of the topic. He further added that such ‘reasoning devices’ were not compulsorily discussed in media text albeit the frames were closely associated with cultural setting. The relationship between frame and cultural phenomenon affected the minds of public and the media workers. Consequently, this association determined dynamic “social process where social reality was produced, reproduced, and transformed” (VanGorp, 2007, p. 73).

Nonetheless, some researchers discussed framing in the spectrum of social constructionism which related to the construction of reality through socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). According to this approach, media studies stressed the role of active and participative receivers (Wicks, 2001). Media studies focused that there

were different types of issues that were discussed by the media and the people differently but communication experts were concerned about these differences (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992). The journalists played a dominant role in creating social reality by utilizing different kinds of media frames and restricting alternative sources (McCullagh, 2002; Reese, 2001). Likewise, frames could be defined as theoretical devices that were used by the media to express and assess the message (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992). Likewise, the present research would explore how social differences between Pakistan and Britain affected the coverage of war on terror and what issues and topics were selected by the respective press in both countries. It would also evaluate how the public in both countries reacted to the issue of terrorism war, and issues they raised in the perspective of War on Terrorism.

### **2.2.3 Framing Effects**

It should be remembered that framing was a process of making public opinion by utilizing different approaches of presentation in news coverage of elite rhetoric (Iyengar 1991; Scheufele 1999). Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) argued that framing effects were ‘attitudinal outcomes’ that were formed not because of media content but rather the way an issue was depicted to the masses. Rabin (1998) predicted that framing effects rose when two “logically equivalent (but not transparently equivalent) statements of a problem led decision makers to choose different options" (p, 36). Specifically, framing effects occurred when communicators’ emphasized a particular issue that shaped public opinion in their favour. The framing impacted a psychological process of individuals and people started to think in line with the framing strategies. Indeed it also affected

their belief system (Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). However, Sniderman and Theriault (1999, pp. 31-32) proposed in the perspective of political opinion:

"According to the framing theory of public opinion, citizens are not capable of political judgment ... They are instead puppets, voting thumbs up or down depending on how issues are framed, their strings being pulled by elites who frame issues to guarantee political outcomes." (Also see, Entman 1993, p. 57)

The authors demonstrated the strong effects of framing content on the minds of public. The opinion of which was completely influenced by those factors that framed any event, object or philosophy. Sniderman and Theriault (1999) explored the coverage of government campaign about spending for the poor. When it was framed as an advantage for the poor class, mostly people supported the activity. Conversely, when it was framed in the context of increased taxes, the masses started to criticize the government spending. It demonstrated the fact that people generally developed their opinion in line with the framing approaches. Kahneman and Tversky (1984) also endorsed the same point by arguing that different portrayal of the same event made divergent effects on public perception. This approach was called "equivalency" (Druckman, 2001, p. 228). The equivalency framing measured how the depiction of the same issue with different words, phrases or expressions impacts the audience's choice (e.g., 10% illiteracy rate or 90% literacy level). Its effects occurred when the similar information, whether in positive or negative manner, transformed public preferences (Levin, Schneider, & Gaeth, 1998, p. 150).

Druckman (2001) invoked the idea of "emphasis" (p. 230) approach in framing research. He proposed that stressing certain segments of message could persuade public to focus

on these highlighted issues. He further said that in the context of political matters, emphasis framing influenced public opinion by focusing on potentially related facts (Druckman, 2004) which consequently facilitated them in decision making process.

Nonetheless, Nelson, Thomas, Oxley and Clawson (1997) considered framing as a psychological process that affected human minds. They argued that framing enabled humans to intentionally evaluate the different aspects of the phenomenon provided by the frame. Further, Nelson and Oxley (1999) said that framing effects occurred by transforming “the importance individuals attach to particular beliefs” (p. 1041). For instance, framing worked when the communicator convinced the audience that ‘war on terror’ is pertinent to curtail the threat of terrorism from the world rather than addressing the consequences of war on those people who were affected by it. Accordingly, this study evaluated the impact of framing of ‘War on Terror’ on the minds of Pakistani and British people. It looked at how media framing influenced the public thinking, perceptions or/and did people really thought identically to media’s strategies or they had a different opinion?

In the realm of political communication, Druckman (2001) used different approach; he did not consider framing effects as one-sided elite exploitation rather he suggested that framing influenced public opinion because people trusted apparently credible elites to guide them for choosing any frame. In this way, “perceived source credibility appears to be prerequisite for successful framing” (Druckman, 2001, p. 1061). So framing effects occurred not because of elite manipulated the information but rather because masses considered them reliable.

Lecheler and de Vreese (2011) traced the effects of political framing from different perspective. They investigated the impact of duration of framing on public opinion. They argued that framing experiments had permanent effects on individuals but these effects were dependent on person's level of political knowledge. The people with a low level of information exhibited immediate impact of framing about the issue but afterwards they were less involved in it. High knowledge individual were initially affected by the framing but later on they were more inclined to consult other sources of information and likely to reject political argument after some time. Only the people having moderate political knowledge displayed persistent effects of political framing. In this way, the framing process had led them towards political decisions.

#### **2.2.4 Factors influencing framing process**

The question as to what factors influenced the framing process was relevant to explore. Cobb and Elder (1972) study of framing of news stories subsequently questioned the influence of media personals, organizational and structural factors in this perspective. However, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) identified three possible factors of influence. These were journalist's created influence, political affiliation of the news organization and some external sources, namely, political entities, official authorities, elite groups or certain interest groups. These were potential internal or external sources that framed the story in a particular manner. Comparatively, Carragee and Roefs (2004) emphasized that there were numerous social players like political personalities, associations, and social groups who were notably involved in the construction of media frames. Entman (2004)

identified the influence of white house on the framing of news stories in his ‘Cascading model’. He argued that in the matters of foreign affairs, the administration shaped the frames that ultimately were followed by media organizations, members of Congress and public. Later on, the public response towards the initial frame facilitated the administration to restructure its standpoint. In this model, Entman (2004) discovered different factors that manipulate framing process. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) discovered three other factors that influenced framing process; they were media norms, cultural resonances, and sponsor activities. They revealed that when cultural resonance and sponsor’s requirement corresponded to media routines, it produced a media frame for a particular issue.

Although this might be true, Pan and Kosicki (2001) invoked an alternative idea that the framing process was not always dominated by political elites. Public participation was quite important in this regard. As people interpreted the issues, communicated with one another by utilizing available sources like media and personal experience and they developed a common wisdom. Therefore, framing was a multi-directional course in which media effects move in various ways (Pan & Kosicki, 2001). Several scholars had proclaimed that framing effects were not universal but rather that public involvement considerably influenced the process of framing (Druckman, 2001, 2004; Druckman & Nelson, 2003; Brewer, 2003).

### **2.2.5 Frame location**

At the same time it was also pertinent to identify frames within the news text. Entman (1993) proposed that frames could be identified in news text by their occurrence in

keywords, type casted symbols, visuals, information providers and the news structures. Accordingly, Tankard (2001) demonstrated comprehensive techniques for recognizing frames; he gave the following list: i.) headlines, ii.) subheads, iii.) photos, iv.) photo captions, v.) leads, vi.) source selection, vii.) quotes selection, viii.) pull quotes, ix.) logos, x.) statistics, charts xi.) concluding statements and paragraphs. On the whole, these textual or visual elements facilitated the researcher to outline the frames within the news story. For instance, Malik and Iqbal (2010) conducted a study about the image of Taliban in Pakistani press. They noted that mostly Pakistani press referred Taliban as 'extremist', 'terrorists', 'Taliban animal', 'butchers', 'a band of frenzied men', and 'militant out fits'. Through these catchwords anyone could easily recognize that Pakistani media was framing the negative image of Taliban in its coverage.

### **2.2.6 Characteristics of media frames**

On the other hand, Herman and Chomsky (1988) pointed out the salient features of media frames that were persuasive, affected by "money and power", "marginalize dissent" and "allow government and dominant private interests" (p. 2) to launch their outlook through apparently neutral media. Media frames had also become working routines for the journalists to quickly identify information and "to package it for efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Sometimes the news organizations indirectly favoured official opinions by not giving the substitute arguments. In this way Schudson (2003) recognized the process of framing as a "source of distortion". Media in this regard played a significant role in the success or failure of any societal movement. Gitlin (1980) further defined framing as a constant pattern of presentation

which included or excluded particular items that subsequently determined routine discussion.

Entman (1993, 2004) described four levels of framing consisting of: problem definition, causal interpretation, remedy endorsement and moral evaluation. The framing that included at least two of these levels was considered as “successful”. In fact frames provided structure to the media through which it derived its agenda. Entman (2004) wrote that frames played a pivotal role in defining the terms of discourse; by shaping public opinion with the use of influential language and lead to public policy change. The frames offered a mechanism to news media, political elites and public officials through which they could demonstrate their political framework. Such frames were often propagated due to some social and institutional objectives. It could be said, “Framing is an exercise in power” (Reese, 2001, p. 10). So, frames were not merely cognitive structures but were dominated and coupled with elite structures (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) that were used to strengthen political or elite power (Carragee & Roefs, 2004).

Scheufele (2000) conceptualized framing as, “a continuous process where outcomes of certain processes serve as inputs for subsequent processes.” Scheufele (2000) narrated four processes: “frame building; frame setting; individual-level effects of framing; and a link between individual frames and media frames (i.e., journalists’ and elites’ susceptibility to framing processes)” (p. 115). Frame building focused on communicators influence on framing of news story, Frame setting indicated the impact of frames on communication, individual level effected of frames, impacted frames on behaviour and attitude and Journalists as audience, examined how public response

affected the frame building process. Nonetheless, Rhodebeck (1998) conceptualized framing as a process in which influential class, pressure groups and media played a dominant role but sometimes lower class or groups also exerted their importance. It was not required that framing effects certainly moved from top to down, sometimes variations might occur. Fishman (1980) exemplified in his study that initially the coverage of crime news was framed as, “crimes against the elderly” by the members of small media but soon this frame was picked up by other news media. Fishman assumed it as “news wave”.

As a matter of fact, media played a decisive role in accepting and publicizing frames offered by other media channels, newspapers or social actors. Subsequently, the world was framed through journalists (Jamieson & Waldman, 2003) but occasionally, we found political voices more dominant than others. This practice was common due to media’s reliance on government sources (Fishman, 1980). Many researchers argued that most US media supported its government in its coverage of war on terror and highly depended on official sources (Kellner, 2004; Levenson, 2004; MacArthur, 2003; Ryan, 2004). Therefore, the present study investigated how often the Pakistani and British press followed their respective government policies, relied on government sources or adopted a neutral approach.

However, individuals and establishments most often strived to influence media frames because the presentation of any phenomenon by media had a broader impact on the audiences’ mind (Husselbee & Elliott, 2002). Similarly Pfau, Haigh, Gettle, Donnelly,

Scott, Warr, and Wittenberg (2004) narrated that the framing of news story persuaded public perceptions and guided them to think about it. Indeed, media should be considered a platform upon which different ideologies and social groups competed with one another to dominate their view points (Gurevitch & Levy, 1985). For instance the global impact of US media facilitated portrayal of military contests in the frame of 'humanitarian interventions'. Consequently coverage could shape public opinion regarding war (Thussu, 2002).

### **2.2.7 Types of frames**

Journalists used numerous frames in the coverage of subjects ranging from domestic issues to international issues. Broadly, frames could be divided into two categories, namely, issue specific frames and generic frames. Issue specific frames focused on a particular issue as for example the studies on women's movement (Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997), labour disputes (Simon & Xenos, 2001) and public perceptions about American budget (Jasperson *et al.*, 1998). There were also generic frames that formed different topics for a long time with diverse cultural contexts (De Vreese, 2002). These focused upon political issues or political campaign and conventions of journalism, to explore the norms and values. For instance, Neuman *et al.* (1992) discovered five frames for current affairs coverage: 'human impact', 'powerlessness', 'economics', 'moral values' and 'conflict'. Human impact frame related to the influence of the particular issue in the human beings, powerlessness focused on those elements which controlled marginalized groups, the economics frame referred as 'the preoccupation with "the bottom line", profit and loss' (1992, p. 63), moral value frame related to moral aspects

and conflict frame dealt with the stories of clashing or disputes on political issues and disputes. The use of generic frames was common in the area of political, international, economic reporting and media related values.

On the other hand, Snow and Benford (1988) classified news framing into: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing. The same classification could be applicable to the framing of war on terror. The Western media endorsed the ideas of Bush administration regarding war on terror. So in this manner the media mobilized the collective support against terrorism. All most identical classification of framing was also given by Gamson (1992) in which he categorized the function of framing as to diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe. Frames, in fact, articulated problems and the contributing factors by evaluating and discussing their expected positive or negative effects and finally suggesting treatment.

Later, in his study about the US election campaign 2008, Entman (2010) discussed the concept of media bias. He argued that, though researchers differentiated framing due to its diachronic nature and cultural perspective, framing often supports one group over another. He distinguished media biasness as content bias and decision bias. First content bias was conceptualized as, the persistently one sided coverage of a particular group, personality or ideology. Content bias promoted the interests of particular group and ignoring the contrary point of view. This type of framing needed a prolonged time span and the helped of influential media. In this way projected interest groups dominated their point of view and influence public opinion for their interests. Second, decision bias

referred as, “the influence of journalists’ belief systems on the texts they produce” (p.393). The personal beliefs of individual journalists guided their news decisions from news gathering to news presentation. Similarly news organizations also had specific rules that they commonly employed. In this way, media decision making biases impacted the news process and eventually were referred to as journalistic norms and routines.

On the whole framing theory asserted notable impact on the public opinion regarding different political and public issues. The masses exposure towards media was influenced by framed messages. The researchers were more concerned with factors that influenced framing process of journalistic routines, organizational restraints, individual factors of journalists, political affiliations or political pressures. These factors not only framed particular issues but also affected framing process. This research looked at how war on terror was framed by two different medias: Pakistani and British. How was it framed differently and what frames were employed in the coverage of terrorism war?

However, framing theory was also equally discussed with agenda setting and some scholars regard it as refined form of agenda setting (McCombs, 2004). Because media frames purposely focused on particular details of the issue and accordingly transmitted their shaped agenda towards public.

### **2.3 Agenda Setting Theory**

McCombs and Shaw, pioneers in agenda setting research, assumed that mass media had minimal effect on the attitudes of the public. But its role was huge in setting the agenda

for any political campaign and influenced the public perception (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The roots of agenda setting could be drawn from the works of Walter Lippmann (1922) in his study, *Public Opinion*. He emphasized upon the importance of press that played a key role in determining public opinion. He wrote that the news media formed the primary pictures of the world affairs in the minds of public for whom the world was, “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind” (Lippmann, 1922, p. 29) and mostly the public perceptions about the outer world was based upon the information that media provided them. Lippmann was the first person known to emphasize the press in creating public opinion. He laid foundation of agenda setting theory. Later on, the idea of news media influence was empirically tested by McCombs and Shaw in 1972. They explored news coverage of any issue and impact on public opinion. The study was conducted in Chappel Hill during the US presidential elections in 1968. It was found that response of the public was closely related to the pattern of news coverage on the respective political issues (McComb & Shaw, 1972). Since this study in 1968, there had been more than 300 studies conducted to look at the effects of mass media on public opinion, adopting different research methods such as panel studies, time series analysis and laboratory experiments (McCombs, 2002). The studies analyzed various public issues, election campaigns, non political agenda and many others. Moreover the research has broadened its scope beyond America to Europe, Australia, Asia and Latin America (Mc Combs, 2005).

Although, it might be true that agenda setting did not have an immediate and direct impact on the minds of the receivers, it influenced public cognitions (Shaw, 1979). In

this way it related itself to the theory of diffusion and the multiple step flow model that emphasized the role of personal contacts (Lazarsfeld & Menzel, 1963). Interpersonal factors enhanced the impact of the media agenda on the public (Robbinson, 1972). At the same time it was important to realize that agenda setting had importance in media-related studies. As noted by Shaw (1979):

“Agenda setting fills a void in communication theory by locating and defining media power as a peculiar influence, not so much on the substance of a person’s mental and verbal behaviour but on the structure of those private and social activities. This is no small matter, not only for the individual so influenced but also for society” (p. 101).

Previously as suggested by McCombs (1972) media had power to influence public cognition but not their attitudes. In another study on second level agenda setting, McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar and Rey (1997) suggested that media had a possible impact on public attitude as well. After September 11, people immediately put respective media to task which consequently, played decisive role in making public opinion about the attacks. Wanta and Hu (1993) pointed out public interest and involvement as notable aspects impacting issue salience. Likewise, US, Britain, and Pakistan presented the war as a main agenda in their media which consequently enhanced public interest towards this issue.

Wanta and Wu (1992) mentioned interpersonal communications as an effective tool to support agenda setting. But there were several studies producing diverse results. Some studies showed significant effects of interpersonal communication on agenda setting (McLeod, Becker, & Byrnes, 1974); some indicated restrained effects of agenda setting (Atwater, Salwen & Anderson, 1985; Erbring, Goldenberg, & Miller, 1980); and some

propose no effects (Lasorsa & Wanta, 1990). It seemed that media agenda setting asserted substantial influence on public opinion but certain elements might play a role in increasing or decreasing the impact.

While Ghanem (1996) invoked an idea in agenda setting theory said that sometimes certain attributes of an issue were more noticed by the audience than others and these attributes worked as compelling arguments which further incorporated framing and agenda setting. Compelling arguments were defined as frames, particular ways of organizing a story that are noticeable to public. Ghanem (1996) conducted a study in Texas on extensive media coverage given to crime. During that time crime rate was declining as compared to past. She concluded that salience of crime on public agenda was directly affected by the frequency of media coverage of the issue which threatened every individual. This frame was considered as a compelling argument of the crime news story.

However, during political campaigns, role of media was always very important and agenda setting research had been conducted during election situations. Media was easily available for information about political issues, political personalities, candidates' qualification and political activities. Correspondingly the masses tend to follow these evidences (Shaw & McCombs, 1977) and their voting behaviour was also affected by this information (Stromback & Kioussis, 2010). Similarly, Lang and Lang (1966) also endorsed this idea by stating that media focused public attention to specific issues and facilitated them to shape the public opinion about political personalities.

Agenda setting effects were not limited to the public, the politicians were influenced by them (Walgrave & Aelst, 2004). In this way, media might have a fair chance to decide what to include in media agenda or what to exclude. The agenda setting process gave freedom to the media about the selecting of salient issues but selection of news might lack the representation of all issues (Weaver, 1994). He noted, “It is not quite accurate, however, to speak of the media as setting agendas if they were mainly passing on the priorities and perspectives of prominent news sources such as politicians and their campaign managers” (p.350). Correspondingly, this study inquired the basic agendas of Pakistani and British press regarding the coverage of war on terror. Whether they projected justifications of war, alternative view points, consequences of war, and the threat of Al-Qaeda, Taliban, counter terror activities, or effects of war on terror on fighting against terrorism, was examined.

If media played an indispensable role in setting the agenda for the masses then who set the agenda for media? There were explicit factors that shaped media agenda like journalistic norms and traditions, daily contact among news organizations, interaction with various news sources and their agendas, a journalist’s observation of his surrounding and colleagues, and the influence of elite members of the media. These particular factors usually determined the pattern of news stories and consequently establish a media agenda that could be known as inter media agenda setting (McCombs, 2005).

### **2.3.1 Relationship between Agenda setting and Framing theory**

Generally, agenda setting was defined as the selection and salience of object (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) whereas framing was concerned with the selection and salience of specific characteristics of any issue (Entman, 1993). McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997) proposed that framing was basically an expansion of agenda setting. They employed the term second level agenda setting that referred to media's emphasis on particular issues and its effects on audiences' perception. The concept of second level agenda setting, in fact, reinforced the original agenda setting theory, which was criticized due to its simplistic emphasis on broad issues (Funkhouser, 1973). Second level agenda setting had a significant impact on public perception regarding the important attributes of an issue (Kim, Scheufele & Shanahan, 2002). Similarly McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar and Rey (1997) argued, "The first level of agenda setting is . . . the transmission of object salience... the second level of agenda setting is the transmission of attribute salience" (p. 704). Because first- level agenda setting was related with the salience of issues or objects whereas second-level agenda setting or framing was related to the salience of issue attributes (McCombs *et al.*, 1997; McCombs, 2005 & Ghanem, 1997). Each news story had various latent attributes that might be linked with the main theme of the story (McCombs *et al.*, 2000) and possibly exerted their impact. There were four areas of second level agenda setting as described by Ghanem (1997): subtopics, framing perspective, affective and cognitive elements. Researchers had analyzed the principles of second level agenda setting on several objects namely financial coverage (Hester & Gibson, 2003); international issues (Wanta *et al.*, 2004); and public sentiments against September 11 incident (Craft & Wanta,

2004). Framing and second-level agenda setting were mainly concerned with the viewpoints of journalists and the public, and particularly, these theories related itself to the organization of a message that what elements or frames manipulated news content (McCombs, 2005). Moreover, McCombs (1997) had defined framing in the perspective of the second-level of agenda setting. He argued that framing included particular attributes of the story in its news agenda and further emphasised them during discussion. Henceforth, framing was a refined version of agenda setting that elaborated the salience of an issue by applying different forms of presentation and consequently changing public opinion (McCombs, 2004). Due to these conceptual similarities, some other studies defined agenda setting, priming and framing without any distinction (Popkin, 1994).

Framing and second level agenda setting did have certain similarities, but they could not be considered as identical. Both theories focused on issues reported and which issues got more prominence on media. But framing dealt with broader cognitive procedure which included “moral evaluation, causal reasoning, appeals to principles and recommendations for treatment of problems than does second-level agenda setting (the salience of attributes of an object)” (Weaver, 2007, p. 146). Likewise, some other researchers indicated certain differences between agenda setting and framing. Nonetheless, agenda setting was referred to as the massive accessibility of any issue by its exposure through mass media (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). It was basically an amount of coverage that had been given to any issue whereas in the perspective of framing, it dealt with the description and labelling of an issue which affected the news story

(Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). With this in mind, this study investigated issues presented in Pakistani and British press relating to terrorism war and moreover, media framing theory was taken as supporting it.

Scheufele (2000) pointed out some other theoretical dissimilarities between agenda setting and framing. He argued that agenda setting depended on theory of attitude accessibility. An audience could easily retrieve information from its memory due to easy accessibility of salient issues which helped them to make political decisions. Framing relied on prospect theory that proposed variations in the description of any issue. Framing brought interpretative patterns that affected the information and made certain aspects of issues more considerable.

To sum up, agenda setting theory anticipated powerful media effects on the minds of public, first tested by McCombs and Shaw in 1972. Hundreds of studies had been conducted to evaluate the theory since. Certain factors that possibly influence the agenda setting theory like personal interest or inter personal communication but overall media played an indispensable role in setting the agenda for public. Thereafter, people adopted media agenda. This particular study analyzed the agendas of British and Pakistani press regarding the coverage of war on terror. It looked at media of countries, their agenda of the war on terror, and how they differed from each other.

#### **2.4 Media conformity to foreign policy**

The study also explored how far the media in Britain and Pakistan followed the foreign policy guidelines of their countries in the case of war on terror. Previous researchers have explored media compliance with foreign policy or the government position

(Bennett, 1990; Entman, 2004). In the United States the studies indicated the dominant presence of Presidential frame in the political discourse of mainstream media. Frenssley (2002) investigated *The New York Times*' coverage of Bush's speeches after September 11 attacks; it was found that these speeches framed media coverage of the event. Likewise, cross-national studies suggested that sometimes the journalists consciously averted the principles of objectivity and fairness. Grundmann, Smith, and Wright (2000) conducted a comparative analysis of French, British, and German media reporting on Kosovo crisis. Thematic dissimilarities in their media coverage were discovered though these countries were allies and had parable designs. Similarly, Gurevitch, Levy, and Roeh (1991) found different media frames in the coverage of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech by American and British media. It anticipated that foreign policy directives made their impact on media coverage.

Traditionally, it was believed that media mostly worked independently in democratic countries but, it had been found that during an international crisis, the media in US and UK usually worked in line with their foreign policy guidelines (Bennet, 1993; Carpenter, 1995; Largio *et. al.*, 2004; Friel & Falk, 2004; Kumar, 2006; Reese & Lewis, 2009); and political leaders aligned public opinion with their foreign policy lines by using mass media (Hill, 1996; Morgenthau, 1978). From 9/11 to the Afghan invasion, US media incorporated militarist themes in their coverage which justified Bush's military policies. It included these frames: "America Strikes Back" and "America's New War" (Kellner, 2007). Kaufmann (2004) noted that after 9/11 attacks the popular media, newspapers and magazines provided an opportunity to Bush administration to propagate

their claims that Saddam Hussain was a direct threat and could use Weapons of Mass Destruction on America. Later on, Zheng (2006) analyzed the coverage of Iraq war 2003; the results supported media conformity to the foreign policy. During the post 9/11 scenario, American media consistently propagated a one-sided agenda by blaming enemies along the lines of US political strategies as the cause of attacks (Ali, 2002).

Bennet (1993) explored the media portrayal of US participation in Nicaraguan conflict and concluded that *The New York Times* projected the government's view point. Parker-Stephen and Smidt (2011) analyzed Bush's rhetoric on Iraq war 2003 and compared it with the US media coverage. They analyzed the reporting of *the New York Times*, *the Washington Post*, and *USA Today* regarding the issue of WMD and Iraq crisis. They found that US media followed US president rhetoric with little opposition. In this way, the President Bush easily framed media and public discourses over Iraq crisis.

However, Khan (2008) tested media conformity in three elite US newspapers regarding the portrayal of Pakistani image in pre and post 9/11 scenario. Findings revealed that US changed its foreign policy towards Pakistan and adopted a more positive gesture; US media did not show similar expression and continued criticism against the country. Similarly, Khan and Safdar (2010) explored the American image in Pakistani press during the war on terror when Pakistani government was supporting and facilitating US attacks in Afghanistan. Pakistani media did not conform to government foreign policy and persistently opposed US military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Accordingly, the present study investigated the coverage in Pakistani and British press at the time when their respective governments declared the war on terror to whether they conformed to their foreign policy instructions or they contradicted them in the reporting of war.

## **2.5 Terrorism and War on Terror**

Prior to commencing a discussion on the media treatment of war on terror, it was relevant to explain the concepts like ‘terrorism’ and ‘war on terror’. Generally, terrorism could be defined as a coercive use of violence against the masses for some political gain. A comprehensive definition for terrorism was difficult to assign. As Laqueur (1977) wrote, “a comprehensive definition of terrorism . . . does not exist nor will it be found in the foreseeable future” (p. 5). Although, different scholars, organizations, political leaders, journalists and non-state actors used the term in different meanings, one concept that was commonly attributed to terrorism was violence as “violence or threatened violence” (Schmid & Jongman, 1988, p. 5). Taylor (1988) discussed terrorism from three perspectives: as legal, moral and behavioural. First using the legal perspective, terrorism was considered as an illegal activity that was mostly used by governments to interpret terrorism. But the opinion of various governments about the legality of any terrorist activity could be different because it depended on whether a government considered an act as legal or illegal. Second, the moral perspective considers any violent act as terrorism if it did not have any moral justification. Sometimes groups committed violent activities for political gain but justified them as morally accepted. Third, Taylor (1988) emphasized the behavioural perspective of terrorism. In terms of legal and moral

perspectives, the opinion of different governments and political leaders could vary but the behavioural explanation was likely to be more related and unbiased.

On the whole, terrorism was an activity that involved killing, destruction, abduction, harassment, misery and pain. Scholars believed that humans were not the only targets of terrorists but also that non-human objects like buildings, animals and even crops could be targeted as well. Furthermore, terrorists pursued their goals by creating the atmosphere of terror and fear (Gibbs, 1989). Oots (1990) endorsed this point of view by saying that terrorism intended to cause panic and fright in large number of people. Terrorist activities were generally designed to accomplish certain objectives by terrifying or murdering the people. The United Nations Security Council referred to terrorism as an illegal assault against innocent civilians causing murder, injuries or abduction that attempted to arouse fear among citizens or to force government and international authorities to comply with their demands (UN Security Council Resolution 1566, 2004).

In like manner, FBI defined terrorism as, “...the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (U.S. Department of Justice FBI, 1997).

Later on, the US Patriot Act 2001 discussed terrorism in more detail and considered the following activities as terrorism:

- i. Threatening, plotting to hijack airplanes, boats, buses or other vehicles
- ii. Threatening, conspiring or attempting to commit acts of violence on any "protected" persons, such as government officials; and
- iii. Any crime which is committed by using precarious weapons, when the objective of crime is to jeopardize public life or immense property damage for personal financial interests (US Patriot Act, 2001).

Generally speaking, after 9/11 attacks certain ambiguities about the perception of terrorism in the United States existed (Alexander & Brenner, 2001). Previously the US considered international terrorism as a crime that must be dealt through legal procedures (Raimo, 1999) but after these attacks President Bush declared it as an “act of war” and shifted its stance from crime to act of war. Subsequently in the pursuit of war objectives, the US employed military forces and intelligence agencies like FBI and CIA to combat terrorism. Therefore, US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld fortified the perception that the challenge of terrorism was, “essentially military in character and that military power alone can deliver victory” (Halper & Clarke, 2004, p. 2).

Terrorism was a violent activity that caused physical and material damage and also created a fearful environment that disturbed normal activities of human beings. During post 9/11 scenario, terrorism was declared as a big challenge for not only America but also for the entire world. Baxi (2005) enumerated that before 9/11 the acts of ‘terror’ were described neither as acts of ‘war’ nor the practices of counter terrorism, but after September 11 the acts of terror were immediately turned into the act of war. With this in

mind, American response to 9/11 could be explicated in the words of Hart (1967) as, “the art of distributing and applying military means to fulfil the ends of policy” (p.321).

Soon after 9/11 attacks President Bush addressed a joint session of congress and launched ‘war on terror’. At that time, he warned Taliban that they had to surrender to US demands; otherwise they would face severe consequences (Bush, 2001c). The attack on the World Trade Centre was considered as an attack on American sovereignty and US government demanded that Afghanistan hand over the perpetrators of 9/11 tragedy or be invaded. Consequently on 7<sup>th</sup>, October US forces attacked Al-Qaeda and Taliban and by the end of December all major areas of Afghanistan were under the control of coalition forces. This struggle against terrorism was declared as, “war on terror” by the Bush administration which permitted the US government to pursue their aggressive line of action for fighting terrorism. In the second phase of war on terror President Bush indicated that Saddam Hussein’s weapons of mass destruction were a threat to America. He argued that tragedy of 9/11 had taught the lesson that a distant enemy had the capability to harm the American nation. He was determined to combat the Iraqi threat which could be more disastrous than ever before (Bush, 2002).

In post 9/11, President Bush and Dick Cheney considered Saddam Hussain a new threat for America. Although, pre 9/11 saw the dictatorial rule of Saddam and the need of regime change in Iraq as more dominant issues in American political discourse (Gellman, 2009; Badie, 2010). Subsequently on the pretext of weapons of mass destruction, Iraq was invaded in March 2003 by air strikes and ground attacks. The Iraqi

government soon collapsed and came under the control of coalition forces. Although the main military operations were completed within few months in Afghanistan and Iraq but American forces still fighting in Afghanistan. As President Obama said in his speech on the operation to kill Osama Bin Laden, that al Qaeda certainly continue their fight against US. That's why America should be alert at home and as well as abroad (Obama, 2011). However in Iraq after declaring its victory, the US forces completed their withdrawal from the country in 2011.

The War on terror that was started in 2001 as a response to September 11 attacks was still going on. Although the operation in Iraq was about to end, the situation in Afghanistan was still disturbed and American forces were fighting against Taliban. Although, the Obama administration had generally talked about the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan in 2014, no timeframe was being given on ending the 'war on terror'. The following study looked at how the concept of terrorism and war on terror was framed in Pakistani and British media and whether the media of both countries framed the same picture of terrorism or were there dissimilarities. Along with this, it explored the differences in the pattern of media framing regarding terrorism in both countries.

## **2.6 Coverage of 'War on Terror'**

After September 11 attacks, the US media incorporated the themes of public mobilization through patriotic and war expressions, the criticism on offenders, extraordinary support to President Bush, inclusion of contradictory arguments,

uncritical approval of 'official' point of view and the adoption of censorship policies (Barrett, 2003). The media facilitated the government projecting its military intentions in Afghanistan and later in Iraq which successfully persuaded public opinion in favour of US government (Friel & Falk, 2004; Kumar, 2006; Miller, 2004a). Smith (2005) commented that war was not something that was decided by the elites only with the help of public relation strategies, but going to war also involved pre-existing norms, codes, techniques of communication to mobilize support and authorize military action. Most often, wars started when policy makers successfully brought their agendas into line with cultural frame. Similarly, in the case of war on terror the Bush administration continuously disseminated their military objectives and justifications in media gatherings or administration meetings. For instance in joint session of congress on 20<sup>th</sup>, September, 2001 Bush said that although their fight started with Al-Qaida, it would not stop until all terrorist groups of international reach were captured and wiped out (Bush, 2001c).

According to Schudson (2002) when the country was exposed to tragedy, public danger or security crisis, US journalists most often willingly avoided reporting from a neutral perspective. As 9/11 happened, it was difficult for the media to pursue an objective stand point. The role of US journalists was as just as the disseminators of news (Reynolds & Barnett, 2003). Similarly, Haes (2003) conducted a comparative study about the coverage of September 11 attacks by US and German news media. He observed that both countries equally gave huge coverage to the terrorist attacks but US media was more inclined towards patriotic evaluation of the incident. Conversely

German media underlined the need of international collaboration for tackling the threats of terrorism.

The frame of war on terror led by the Bush administration was accepted uncritically by the American media. It appeared to be more supportive and positive towards official perspective. In the same manner, Entman (2003) revealed in his theory of cascading activation how persuasion started from the White House and then transferred through elite sources to the journalists and then to the masses. An identical practice is found in US press when they framed the coverage of 9/11 attacks. Ryan (2004) mentioned in his study that the frame of “war on terror” was applied without any debate by the U.S. press and none stated that military attack would be inappropriate. The newspapers selectively chose news on historical references, government sources and contextual statements in a way so as to frame the tragedy in favour of US potential response. So if anyone posed an alternative viewpoint regarding terrorists or war on terror, he or she would be reproached by the government of the United States. Like Bill Maher (talk show host) who said that the terrorists were not cowards, was denounced and had to lose his job (Kellner, 2003). Furthermore, a radio consortium blocked 150 songs that had sarcastic lyrics (e.g., Simon and Garfunkel’s ‘Bridge Over Troubled Waters’) (Kellner, 2003). Similarly, Brody (1989) hypothesised that White House restricted the flow of information during national or international crisis, and the opposition parties of US avoided publicly expressing their criticism of President’s policies. Allen, O’Loughlin, Jasperson, and Sullivan (1994) wrote that due to self censorship, it was difficult for the media to bring alternative issue for public discussion. Particularly, during international crisis, journalists found no other way just to present President’s stand-point about the issue.

Eventually the Bush administration used this stance to promote its own objectives namely, the propagation of Islamic terrorism and right of the Government to take action against those states that support the terrorists (Power, 2007). Although Bush administration tried to portray it, “as global struggle against violent extremism” but the administration soon returned to the ‘war on terror’ and primarily focused on projecting the conflict in military terms (Stevenson, 2004).

Kellner (2004) said in his study that mainstream US media had become the tool of propaganda in the hands of US government and Pentagon during the war on terror. He said that Bush administration and Islamic Jihadists used notions of terrorism to promote their own political agendas; both continued the discourse of good versus evil. As a result, the concept of terrorism was frequently used by the US government throughout the Gulf War of 1990, the Afghanistan war in 2001 and Iraq war of 2003. In the modern era winning wars depended on supporting domestic and international opinions. Today the military commanders paid more attention towards the political terms of war rather than the military. That was why neutral media generally was not allowed to work independently (Payne, 2005). For this reason the US media echoed the points of view of Bush administration about Iraq’s nuclear weapons before the war (MacArthur, 2003). For the most part, the role of US media cannot be considered democratic as Kellner (2003) comments that:

“Rarely has television functioned so poorly in an era of crisis, generating more heat than light; more sound, fury, and spectacle than understanding; and more blatantly grotesque partisanship for the Bush administration than genuinely democratic debate over what options the country and the world faced in the confrontation with terrorism.” (p. 69)

The US press extensively adopted the idea of war on terror after Bush's speech on September 20, 2001. It published thousands of news reports, articles, features and editorials to justify the government's military strategies (Levenson, 2004). By relying on an "echoing press" the US government easily expanded its military action towards Iraq: an extension of war on terror. Actually, President Bush used the phrase, 'War on terror' for gaining support for his administrative policies and therefore TV news coverage seemed to be a shorthand device to reproduce the political rhetoric (Domke, 2004; Lipschultz, 2007). It was not only the US Government but also military leaders conveying pro-American themes in their public messages. All this was considered essential to unite the American nation and to attain public support for military actions. The American media followed this nationalist theme in which American objectives were overplayed and the enemy was demonized (Hutcheson *et al.*, 2004). The US politicians emphasized upon the themes of terrorism, assumption about future terrorists attacks and connection between Iraq and Muslims. All these factors created an atmosphere that could be more supportive for US government to attain certain goals. For example Iraqi fighters were portrayed as barbaric, insurgents and gunmen whereas US soldiers were depicted as heroes by the US media (Altheide, 2007).

This type of patriotism was adverse to effective journalism as Jensen (2003) argued that during a war, the media should be neutral, critical and independent of any ideological limitations but commercial mainstream news media generally failed these tests profoundly. The media strived to go behind national ideology and national objectives. The researchers had found that in the coverage of international events, journalists tend to

localize the event in the context of one's country. For example, Clausen (2003) studied the coverage of 9/11 incident by various journalists around the globe. She found that the journalists in different countries played up different elements in their reporting mostly to comply with their cultural frame work. Correspondingly the Western media frequently under reported the antiwar protests and civilian casualties in war on terror.

In fact the war was covered by the US press having more dependence on official sources (McChesney & Nichols, 2005). Such as, in the case of Iraq invasion 2003, Rich (2006) pointed out the media's disinclination to pose a critical stance towards President Bush's rationalization for military assault. His study suggested that reporters' reliance on official resources prevents them to adopt critical approach. Subsequently, the U.S media focused on the "victory frame" following the fall of Baghdad and eluded the severe realities of war, for instance the scandal of Abu Gharaib prison (Aday, Cluverius & Livingston 2005; Bennet, Lawrence *et al.*, 2007). Not only news stories or columns were influenced by the official policy but also pictorial display of war on terror was lead by Washington's version of the event. Pictures of President Bush, US troops, weapons and military hardware were over projected while photographs of human suffering by commercial news magazines was ill represented (Griffin, 2004). US media have persistently pursued the official guidelines concerning the coverage of American military involvement since Vietnam (Mermin, 1999).

Recently, Reese and Lewis (2009) wrote that the Bush administration used the label of war on terror to pursue its military policies and drew the framework for the invasion of

Iraq. They looked at the coverage of war on terror by *USA Today*. The findings indicated that the US press followed the frame of war on terror as drafted by government officials and even worked as the ‘shorthand’ for the administration policies. It was not only the media that incorporated the frame of war on terror but that frame was also utilized during the US presidential campaign 2004. As Spielvogel (2005) mentioned George Bush relied upon the ethical framing of the war during his political discourse and tried to portray Iraq invasion under the larger banner of war on terror. Contrary to this, John Kerry criticized the validity of Bush’s military policies in Iraq as the expansion of war on terror. Gershkoff and Kushner (2005) said that the American people supported Bush’s frame of Iraq invasion as indicated by various polling results. An analysis of *The New York Times*’ coverage of Bush’s speeches discloses that the newspaper did not offer any alternative arguments over the framing of Iraq conflict as extension of war on terror. Similarly, Lockett, Scott and Kevin (2007) argued that political elites most often employed media as a political resource. Likewise, after the 9/11 crisis, President Bush projected the war on terror as essential for internal and external security. As a result of this rhetoric, President successfully framed news agenda, gained control over congress and led country towards Iraq war.

Reynolds and Barnett’s (2003) researched on news coverage of the Cable News Network (CNN) right after the 9/11 attacks indicated that CNN particularly relied on official sources. CNN framed the information into three thematic clusters: war and military response, American unity and justifications. While responding to these frames CNN used the statements as “America” instead of “the United States” and the using of

words “acts of war”, tagging the event as “horrific” and “unbelievable” and describing the enemies as “cowards” and “madmen”. Likewise, Jaspersen and El-Kikhia (2003) conducted a comparative study of CNN and Al Jazeera news regarding Afghanistan war. They found similar results as noted by Reynolds and Barnett, that’s CNN mostly reinforced the viewpoint of Bush administration but Al Jazeera reported on consequences of war, Afghan casualties and alternative opinions on the issue.

A longitudinal study by Livingston and Bennett (2003) analyzed CNN coverage of international stories for the period of eight years. An immense presence of officials was present in the stories related to international and foreign policy. Currently, the mainstream press in United States avoided producing bold statements against U.S. foreign policy matters (Althaus, 2003). For example, in the case of Abu Gharaib, the leading US press was indecisive in constructing an opposition to Bush administration’s claim that Abu Gharaib was an isolated case of abuse committed by low level of combatants. Notwithstanding, the media allowed the government’s argument to dominate the news (Benett, Lawrence & Livingstone, 2006).

After 9/11, the US media did not critically analyze the US policies of war even though the media facilitated the government in the realization of its political goals. Fox news was a notable example of a media organization that insistently adopted the patriotic frame, excluding all alternative arguments. It abandoned the canons of objectivity and impartiality throughout the coverage of war on terror (Morris, 2005; Cushion & Lewis, 2009).

Archetti (2004) conducted a study about the impact of global media on international political discourse. The researcher challenged the claim that global media is generating homogenization of political dialogues on worldwide level. Specifically, the story explores how US media tried to influence the perception of world regarding war on terror. The US government conveyed its frame of terrorism to the international world to gain support for its own foreign policies. The researcher analyzed the media discourse of US, France, Italy and Pakistan. The findings did not support the notion of homogenization of global political and media discourse regarding ‘War on Terror’, even as national culture is the main factor to establish political and media dialogue.

In the countries that supported the war on terror, the media also followed the official stance of their governments. For instance, Ottosen (2005) investigated the coverage of war on terror by Norwegian media with special reference to Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan. He studied how Norwegian media framed the ‘War on Terror’ when their army was supporting and participating with the US military in the battle field. The results indicated that Norwegian media projected US view point and particularly relied on Western sources about the coverage of war. Moreover, Norway was presented as a potential victim of future terrorist acts. He further argued that the media did not talk about the hidden agendas or strategic interests of United States such as the controlling of oil.

Steuter and Wills (2009) discussed the perception of Canadian press regarding wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. They explored how the image of “enemy” was constructed in

prominent media discourse. The analysis of data reveals that media applied dehumanized language for enemy leaders, Muslims and Arab nations such as “rat”, “hornet’s nest of terror”, “desperate Afghan swarms”, “Afghanistan corruption is a cancer”, “Iraq breeding terror”, and “Al-Qaeda mutating like a virus”. The symbolic discourse labelled the enemy as racist, backlash, prisoner and genocide. Even the cartoons that were published on the editorial pages of US newspapers after September 11 attacks dehumanized the enemy by portraying them as animal or an invader. These cartoon depictions were in line with the policies of Bush administration (Hart & Hassencahl, 2002).

Jasperson and EI-Kikhia (2002) provided the Middle Eastern perspective on Afghanistan war 2001 by enumerating a comparative study of US and Middle Eastern media. They observed that US coverage was mainly focused on military capabilities, bombing of American military on Al Qaeda, and artful expressions by the military experts. However the oppositional voices were controlled and mutated. On the other hand, the coverage of Al- Jazeera, the most prominent news outlet in Arab world projected the opposite picture of war in which it frequently discussed the appalling impact of war on Afghanistan and its masses. Comparatively, the overall coverage of Middle Eastern media was not supportive to US stand-point but at the same time they also did not show any consideration to Osama Bin Laden or Al Qaeda. As the comparative studies depicted above regarding the coverage of war on terror, the present study also made comparison between Pakistani and British newspapers regarding war on terror. It was explored how the newspapers from both countries framed the war.

## **2.7 Coverage of Iraq War 2003**

The coverage of Iraq invasion 2003 was also framed in the perspective of pro-war ideas by the Western media. Therefore, it was commonly heard that United States was invading Iraq in the pursuit of mass destruction weapons, to restrain Saddam Hussein's activities who had connections with Al-Qaeda (Katzman, 2004) and to establish democracy for the masses of Iraq. As President Bush said during his speech to nation on March 17, 2003, that Saddam government had the history of atrocities in Middle East and also had hatred for US and its friendly countries. The Iraqi government remained involved in supporting terrorist groups including al Qaeda who killed many innocent people in US or other countries. Bush assured that his government would fight against these brutal challenges to achieve the course of safety (Bush, 2003).

Generally, United States promotes itself as the harbinger of capitalism, democracy and human rights in the world. So it considered a moral responsibility to fight against the enemies whenever it was critically required. This was the common justification the US government, political entities and media gave in response to war (Hackett & Zhao, 1994). Although, if anyone reviewed US history, it depicted that from 1945 onward the United States attempted to overthrow nearly 40 distant regimes and rooted out almost 30 jingoistic associations (Blum, 2004) and during cold war it supported right wing terrorist armies in European countries (Ganser, 2005). In spite of all this, US presidents mostly endorsed their will to project democracy in all over the world as President Reagan (1982) announced that he would 'foster the infrastructure of democracy' to allow the public 'to choose their own way'; henceforth, President Clinton considered the need for

more ‘democracy... particularly in countries of strategic importance to us’ (White House, 1996); moreover President George W. Bush frequently supported democracy and proclaimed that ‘the US is the most democratic country on earth’. For this reason, US media generally supported government’s position and even framed public opinion in line with government policies (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

In the case of Iraq war 2003, the US government was much concerned about the portrayal of war in American media because war images play a crucial role in producing public opinion and public sentiments like “patriotism, sacrifice, humanity, and fairness” (Zelizer, 2004, p.115). With this intention the media coverage of terrorism after 9/11 prepared the masses for Iraq war 2003. The media propagated the impression that invasion of Iraq was crucial for curtailing terrorism. Even the suspension of civil rights was portrayed as combating terrorism. The media coverage included government supporting arguments but rarely elaborated the impact and context of the political decisions (Armstrong, 2002; Altheide, 2009). For this reason, few surveys were conducted in United States before, during and after Iraq war. The ones that were conducted reveal that the American public had following beliefs regarding war: (a) Saddam Hussain had certainly relation with Al Qaeda, (b) Iraq had mass destruction weapons, and (c) the Iraq war had been fought with international approval (Kull *et al.*, 2003; Kull, 2004). These findings confirmed that US government had been successful in disseminating their war agenda among American public.

Under these considerations, initially the US military unwillingly announced the number of casualties during war, but later on, during 2004 US military decided to publicize limited number of US casualties as compared to immense death toll of enemies (Boettcher & Cobb, 2006). It was further explored that the news about US casualties in Iraq war significantly influenced the public support to US invasion in Iraq.

The U.S. Government adopted a strict policy towards media, and reporters were kept in press pool. Rarely, were the selected journalists allowed to report from the battle field. But when they went to the war theatre, all casualties were removed (McLane, 2004). It was a government perception that media misreports the military activities during wars. But previous studies argued that during war time the US media mostly supported official view point. The news reports bias in a variety of perspective, having to rely on: violent crime news of enemies (Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Klite, Bardwell & Salzman, 1995; Reid, 1971; Singer, 1983), negative political coverage of opponents (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Niven, 2001; Sabato, 1996) and violent incidents at protests (Giltin, 1980).

The government of United States launched an embedded journalism for the coverage of war. The programme facilitated the media in covering the conflict more closely. The military troops not only provided them with fresh information and images but also protected them. Pfau *et al.* (2004) wrote that the reports of embed journalists were more personalized and provided information mostly about US troops. Overall the coverage of

war focused upon a rosy picture of US military forces and supported American perspective.

Even before the Iraq war, the debate about the weapons of mass destruction of Iraq had begun in US media, but soon, the discussion became more pointed. Groshek (2008) mentioned in his study regarding events leading to Iraq war debate in US newspapers that there was an increased level of interaction among official authorities. When Congress passed a resolution to invade Iraq, the media began more critical coverage of the issue.

The bias of the U.S. media was not a novel phenomenon. Researchers had found many examples of partiality in the coverage of several conflicts, for instance the invasion of Panama (Dickson, 1995), the Persian Gulf War (Entman & Page, 1994) and incidents of torture in the Iraqi conflict (Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingstone, 2006).

Aday (2010) reported that NBC and Fox news conferred less coverage to violence during the wars in Afghanistan, 2001 and Iraq, 2003. They gave close to positive or neutral depiction of events that was contrary to the reality. Fox news seemed served as a mouthpiece for the Bush administration's statements and gave less space to critical voices. Particularly, during the Iraq invasion the U.S. government was much apprehensive about its portrayal in the media. The journalists were not free enough to take critical stand-point towards the government. Lewis and Reese (2009) pointed out in their study that journalists in the United States adopted war on terror frame due to fear

of Bush administration that's they did not want to be considered biased or confrontational. The US media's vicious campaign ignored the world resistance towards the Iraq war and mostly highlighted those factors that served US interests (Bennet, 2003). It seemed that the media was unable to show the true picture of the war (Aday, 2005) and was more focused on the coalition's conquest following the fall of Baghdad (Aday, Cluverius & Livingston, 2005).

Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams and Trammell (2005) conducted a comparative study of US and international news website regarding coverage of the Iraq war 2003. They discovered that foreign sites adopted a responsibility frame whereas American sites were more concerned about military conflict. Similar facts were also found in Dimitrova and Stromback's (2005) study about framing of Iraq war by US and Swedish newspapers, in which they explored the differences in the perspective of war framing, use of sources and stance of coverage between the newspapers of two countries. The US press mostly adopted military and official frames whereas responsibility and anti-war protest frames became more evident in Swedish press. It appeared that American media typically sensationalized war by focusing on war victories as illustrated by embedded journalists (Graber, 2006). Correspondingly the media neither discussed the connection between Iraq and Al Qaeda nor probed the US government's standpoint against Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (Calabrese, 2005).

Similarly, Griffin (2004) argued in his study about the pictorial display of Afghanistan and Iraq war in three news magazines: *Time*, *Newsweek* and *US News & World Report*.

Photographs promoted the US image as a military and political power. On the other hand the photos about consequences of war, plight of Iraqi people or global perspective were hardly ever mentioned. Fahmy and Kim (2006) also revealed that in the visual depiction of Iraq war, *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* newspapers devoted only 20% of their coverage to the images of Iraqi people casualties. Instead, these photos primarily focused on military troops, political leaders of America and Britain, and the conquests of allied forces. Schwalbe (2006) who analyzed the visual portrayal of Iraq war on US news websites reinforced the same argument. He argued that Internet could depict alternative, broad and balanced perspective of any issue, but the findings of his study denote that US Internet news sites projected a patriotic and pro government stance. The visuals of US military, allied forces, technologically powerful arsenal and victorious attacks dominated the coverage. It was shown that mainstream media of the United States did not play an objective or investigative role in portraying the Iraq war. In these circumstances, it was pertinent for intellectuals to scrutinize the new imperialism (Kumar, 2006).

In contrast to previous studies, Kuypers, Cooper and Althouse (2008) proposed different findings in the context of war on terror. They suggested that US press was upbeat about the 'War on Terror' but it did not frame the situation along the lines of the Bush administration's point of view. Rather the US press started to counter Bush' idea of war on terror, portraying him as an opponent to civil liberties and followed their editorial policies. This study indicated an alternative view point about the framing of 'War on

Terror' by US media that was previously discussed as supportive to the administration by the researchers.

## **2.8 Media coverage of 'War on Terror' across countries**

It was observed that national political environment and media system of one's country played crucial role in the framing of war (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). The media's reliance on governmental sources influenced the coverage of political and social issues (Wolfsfeld, 2004). Yang (2003) analyzed the coverage of NATO air strikes on Yugoslavia by Chinese and American media. It was noted that US media framed these strikes as 'humanitarian aid' for the Kosovo-Albanians where as Chinese newspapers portrayed it as a foreign 'intervention'. In this case both media supported their country's view point in the reporting of NATO strikes.

Gao and Liang (2010) noted that September 11 attacks received immense coverage by the Chinese media. It reported about consequences of 9/11 on the US, world stock markets, airlines, tourist industries and American economy. While the reporting about Afghanistan war 2001, Chinese newspapers did not support the war rather it stressed upon International organizations and international laws to draw a framework for tackling terrorism. Gao and Liang (2010) found that the official media in China followed Chinese's government view point about 'War on terror (WOT)'. In which they opposed WOT, all type of terrorism and recommended to conduct WOT within the limitations of international rules and regulations. However, semi-official media in China

discussed the incident in terms of international and economic consequences. It condemned these terrorist attacks and civilian casualties.

Prior to Iraq war (2003), Ingrid (2005) analyzed the media coverage of pre-war discourse about the UN inspection of WMD in Iraq by US and German media. For this reason, two newspapers: *The New York Times* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and two evening news programs NBC Nightly News (American news program) and Die Tagesschau (German news program) were analyzed. Ingrid (2005) concluded that coverage in both countries differed to each other and was supportive to the policies of their respective countries. German media tried to provide the balance reporting on the issue by including Iraqi sources and advocating to give more time to UN inspectors for probing WMD. Conversely, the US media dominated the view points of Bush administration by calling Saddam as “the tyrant and madman”, threat to freedom, human rights and connections between Saddam, Al-Qaida and 9/11. This comparative study suggested that during crisis, the media were mostly culturally bound and less inclined to bring opposing viewpoints (Ingrid, 2005). Similarly, Johnston (2004) observed that during Iraq war 2003 German media followed their government position on the issue. As German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder expressed anti war opinion, in the same way the German media gave negative coverage to US view point on Iraq war. Anti American demonstrations were widely covered by German print and electronic media. The framing of American image in the perspective of Iraq invasion was negative and one sided.

In addition, Maeshima (2007) suggested in his study about the coverage of Iraq war 2003 in Japanese and US print media that Japanese media carried negative stories about the US policies of Iraq and framed it as a big evil doer than the US media which portrayed Sadddam Hussain as an oppressor and big threat for the world. Although both countries had free press but the newspapers from both countries framed the war distinctively. Japanese newspapers highlighted the role of United Nations in Iraq war whereas US media was more concerned about US stand point about war.

Bergman (2013) studied Dutch press in the context of Iraq war 2003. Pro American bias was observed in the coverage of weapons of mass destruction issue in Iraq. It was argued that Dutch press failed to provided critical reporting on the concerning issue. Dutch press marginalized anti-war issues such as American desire to capture Iraq oil resources and followed American lead in this context. It was concluded that in the coverage of Iraq war; Dutch press followed vested political and economic interests.

As far the Arab media was concerned, it adopted anti war stance in the coverage of Afghanistan war 2001. It highlighted the statements of Taliban leaders and provided excessive coverage over physical and property losses caused by US bombing. The Arab channels mostly used Pakistan-based Afghan Islamic Press (AIP) as a major source which gave reports about Afghan and Taliban casualties (Lee, 2002). Likewise, the Arab media emphasized upon the US government to solve out the Israel-Palestine conflict because the continues support for Israel government could be a significant reason for September 11 attacks (Lee, 2002). The Arab media mostly criticized America

and Israel due to Israel-Palestine conflict. Ayisha (2002) observed in her study about the coverage of Israel-Palestine conflict by Arab TV, Syrian Satellite channel, Abu Dabi and Al Jazeera Satellite that Arab channels were supportive to Palestine and criticized Israel and the United States. Moreover, the US support for Israel was framed negatively. In this conflict the Palestinian deaths were portrayed as martyr whereas Israel army was framed as aggressors.

However, Nawawy (2006) analyzed the coverage of Afghanistan war 2001, Iraq war 2003, Palestine-Israel conflict and Lebanon war 2006 by Al-Jazeera. It was noted that Al-Jazeera was more focused on collateral damage by US attacks on civilians, mosques, buildings and infrastructures than the Western networks that were more concerned about the progress of US military. Al-Jazeera used the terms like martyrs” versus “suicide bombers” and “insurgents” versus “terrorists.” Nawawy (2006) concluded that the reporting of Arab channel was dominated by humanitarian perspective in which the issue of victimization in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and Lebanon were underlined.

GOkce and Akgun (2010) gave Turkish media perspective about the reporting of September 11 attacks and ‘war on Terror’. They found that Turkish press tried to give balanced coverage to 9/11 attacks and “war on terror” but somehow there were certain amount of coverage which adopted critical stance towards President Bush’s war policies. During the initial days of September 11 attacks, the Turkish press was concerned about the issues like planning, execution and long-term consequences of the attacks. Later on Turkish press and its political elites expressed uncertainty about US

policies against Taliban and Afghanistan and said that these attacks were not endorsed by UNO. However, the newspapers that supported WOT they mostly quoted president Bush's justifications for invading Afghanistan and Iraq. Some of the writers wrote that American had some secret political agenda for attacking Afghanistan. It wanted to dominate Muslim countries and capture oil resources from here.

Ewart and Halim (2013) argued in their study regarding the framing of 9/11 attack's 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary by Australian television that coverage included the themes of courage, patriotism and sacrifice of those who lost their lives in the attack. On the other hand, the threat of radical Islam was completely absent from the coverage. There were important question raised regarding the relationships between Islam and the West but Islam and Muslim were not portrayed as responsible for 9/11 attacks. There were certain reference noted related to Taliban and Al Qaeda but they were not attached with mainstream interpretation of Islam.

However, Maslog, Lee and Kim (2006) studied the Asian media in the perspective of 'War on Terror'. They examined the news coverage of Iraq war 2003 by five Asian countries namely, India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Philippines and Pakistan according to the principles of War/peace journalism. It was observed that the coverage from non Muslim countries except Philippines supported War on Terror and US stand point whereas the Muslim countries framed the conflict in the humanitarian perspective and were more supportive to Iraqis. Similarly, Ravi (2005) observed in his study that Pakistani and

Indian newspapers gave more coverage to Iraqi viewpoints and published the news stories about the civilian casualties in Iraq.

## **2.9 Framing of the Muslim image after 9/11**

Subsequently, it was noted that for the duration of war on terror, the Muslim image was affected. Particularly, the American press framed the crisis in the perspective of a civilization based conflict (Abrahamian, 2003; Seib, 2004). *The New York Times* published the following headlines, “A Nation Challenged”, “Yes, this is about Islam,” “Barbarians at the gate,” “Faith and the secular state,” (Abrahamian, 2003). The Wall Street Journal quotes, Norman Podhoretz, “barbaric culture had declared war not because of our policies but for what we stood for—democracy and freedom” (Abrahamian, 2003, p. 533). After 9/11, journalists assumed the agenda of the war on terror to interpret the “friends” and “enemies” of a state in which the Muslims in Middle East and West were included in the category of “enemy” (Norris *et al.*, 2003). According to Richardson (2001) even before 9/11, Muslims were portrayed in a negative perspective such as aggressive, terrorist, fundamentalist or wicked in British press. But after 9/11 they were framed negatively to a great extent by both the British and American media. The London bombings 2005, brought it extreme hatred for Muslims and media was there to report it (Ruigrok & Atteveldt, 2007).

Salim (2010) studied the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in *The New York Times* and CNN after 9/11 attacks. The findings indicated negative framing of Muslims and Islam with a high level of bias and the distortion of Islamic and Muslim image. The media

employed stereotypical language in its coverage for discussing “Islam” and “Muslims” such as “Extremists”, “Violent” or “Radical”. Likewise Dina (2010) also supported this argument by concluding that impartial portrayal of Islam is a myth even not only in America but also across the world. She also emphasized that journalists must perform their duty in an objective manner and chooses neutral frames regarding any issue.

Contrary to these studies Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2003) researched regarding the image of American Muslims and American Arabs after 9/11 in four US newspapers. They noted that Muslims were more frequently reported in US media after the terrorist attacks. But they found a change in the portrayal of American Muslims between pre and post 9/11 scenario. Before 9/11, Muslims were portrayed in negative perspective in terms of supporting terrorism in Middle East but after 9/11, there was a positive change in media policy regarding the American Muslims. The media involved more thematic themes that portrayed the positive picture about Islam and Muslims.

Overall, the literature indicated that the struggle against terrorism was framed frequently in favour of war ideas by Western media. Yet, few researchers have found some alternative frames. However, before particularly exploring the literature on the stance of Pakistani and British media coverage of war on terror, it was important to know the foreign policies of the respective countries on the ‘War on Terror’ that would determine how the respective media responded to their foreign policy guide lines.

## **2.10 British Foreign policy relating to War on Terror**

The government of United Kingdom had followed an activist foreign policy by having a strong relationship with America, implementing interventionist strategies and being dedicated to Britain dominating all over Europe since 1997(Lunn, Miller & Smith, 2008). During the War on Terror Britain supported the United States actions against Afghanistan and Iraq. Britain played central role in the War on Terror. It supported the United States by providing Tom-a-hawk cruise missiles from its submarines, helped refuelling of U.S. Navy jets and British special military forces participated in Afghanistan war. Moreover, British investigation plans provided intelligence information to the US army. From diplomatic perspective, Tony Blair played crucial role for the United States. He visited many countries and tried to gain support for Bush's military actions (Golino, 2002).

Blair's response to U.S. military strategies indicated his serious concerns about Al-Qaeda and its supporters. Although he supported the 'war on terror', he was more concerned than US to include multilateral and UN approval for the action (Lunn *et al.*, 2008). Likewise, Britain served the ambitions of Bush administration whose policies were unilateralist and based upon the doctrine of pre-emptive actions. Almost immediately after 9/11 Britain became the major ally of United States. Kamfner (2003) criticized Blair's decision, "when George W Bush and the neoconservatives around him saw in the new global dangers the need to assert a doctrine of pre-emption and US primacy" (p. 350), he denounced Blair's strategy to "go with the Americans". It was

Blair's failure in the perspective of foreign policy because he overvalued the influence of U.S. pressures.

It was not only Afghanistan that was supported by the British Government but also in Iraq war 2003, Britain was a major ally of U.S government. Its support was very crucial for US government to practice its military plans in Afghanistan and especially in Iraq. As Meyer (2005) mentions that American officials often discussed this issue with British's ambassador after 9/11 and desired to win UK's support. In response, Blair's government stood alongside with American global policies of intervention. Blair criticized the division of world opinion over Iraq war 2003, he said in parliament debate over Iraq crisis:

“What we have witnessed is indeed the consequence of Europe and the United States dividing. ...The heart of it has been the concept of a world in which there are rival poles of power – the U.S. and its allies in one corner, France, Germany, and Russia and its allies in the other” (Blair, 2003).

British and US cooperation in Iraq was considerable. This strategic relationship was developed during the war in Afghanistan 2001. As McCausland (2006) mentioned that there was no other example except Britain that considerably supported and remained involved in Iraq war operations with the United States. By having a close relationship with the US, Britain had an opportunity to serve its national interests. Blair's foreign policy advisor David Manning argued, “At the best of times, Britain's influence on the U.S. is limited.... But the only way we exercise that influence is by attaching ourselves firmly to them and avoiding public criticism wherever possible” (Kampfner, 2003, p. 117). British policy makers considered this relationship good for Britain in terms of

global aspects and in giving a way for Britain to impact US policies. Blair certainly wanted to have a strong involvement in war on terror and Iraq invasion. Blair argued that if a UN resolution did not support military actions in Iraq, it could lose its credibility (Dumbrell, 2006). Even before 9/11 Blair showed the same commitment towards a US and Britain relationship. He said in his Chicago speech 1999, “we have a government that is both pro-Europe and pro-American” (Blair, 2004, p. 115).

If we looked at European public opinion regarding war on terror it was noted that initially the opinion of European countries was supportive towards war because they expected that terrorists would be killed by this war. A poll which was conducted after few weeks of 9/11, showed that 65% of Germans supported war (Golino, 2002). Similarly the support in Britain and France was also very high. But by October 2001, this support began to decline. Many Europeans were bothered about the growing number of civilian casualties in Afghanistan. Even in UK the major US ally, public opinion did not support war ambitions in Afghanistan but in France, and Germany, it declined more sharply (Golino, 2002).

### **2.10.1 Coverage of War on Terror and Invasion of Iraq by British Media**

In the case of British press, official sources not only provided primary information about the issue but also shaped news agendas (Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994). It was a practice in Britain that during war, the media most often evaded criticism in favour of the government. Likewise, during the Iraq invasion 2003, this practice was observed firmly; the newspapers that adopted oppositional stances were toned down. Even the politicians

were condemned (Murray, Parry, Robinson, & Goddard, 2008). Franks (2003) proclaimed that during the 'War on Terror' the British Army pressed the media to manoeuvre the facts in favour of war. As Franks (2003) remembered, a British Army Commander told him that the military wanted a 'particular message delivered to particular audiences', and that media was, 'a tool, a weapon, a battle-winning asset'(Franks, 2003). In these circumstances, many UK Muslims mistrusted American and British media and declared, 'The existence of non-Western transnational satellite TV news stations, providing alternative accounts of events, directly feed scepticism and cynicism about "Western news"' (Michalski *et al.*, 2002, p. 6).

Generally, British media supported the coalition forces throughout the invasion of Iraq. Robinson, *et al.* (2009) noted that during the fight against terrorism, the principles of patriotism and official sources farmed the media performance in favour of UK Government. The Glasgow University Media Group (1985) said that the British media had been nationalistic, compliant and accommodating during the conflict of Falklands in 1982.

Lewis, Brookes, Mosdell and Threadgold (2006) identified considerable reliance of British media on official sources. They divided the coverage into three thematic categories connected with the governments' case of Iraq war: immorality of the Iraqi regime, the threat of Saddam's mass destruction weapons, and reception given by the Iraqi people to the coalition forces. The findings indicated that British media supported the official stand by highlighting the immorality of Saddam regime and welcoming

gesture of the Iraqi public whereas it refrained from the critical questions regarding the claims of grave threats from WMD to the world. Similarly, Robinson, Goddard, Parry and Murray (2009) identified British media's conformity to the official viewpoint by relying on government sources and notion of patriotism. On the other hand, the researchers also found considerable data on casualties and humanitarian issues. Somehow it indicated towards the objective and balanced coverage trends of British media as well. There were certain elements in UK media that distinguished it from US media regarding the coverage of terrorism. Papacharissi and Oliveria (2008) presented a comparative analysis of US and UK newspapers about the reporting of terrorist attacks. They found that US newspapers gave more coverage to military aspects, political personalities and excluded the information associated with diplomatic perspective while UK papers were concerned about the all international players related to the issue of terrorism, more use of global resources and foreign experts, alternative policy options and diplomatic assessment of terrorist attacks. They argued that national government policies of US and UK generally influence the media strategies about the coverage of any issue. As Britain and America had been involved in Iraq and Afghanistan, it was mostly observed that British press projected both military and diplomatic arguments but US media seemed to be more focused on war strategies and pro war ideas. Although this might be true but Susan (2004) came up with different findings. She analyzed '*The Independent*', the British daily. It was observed that the newspaper presented both positive and negative images of America regarding the war on terror. During the initial days of September 11, attacks America was portrayed as a victim but later on it was presented as combatant or a "country out of revenge at every cost" (p. 18). *The*

*Independent* chose this frame due its liberal ideology because the paper did not hesitate to express its opinion against the government. By the same token, Hammond (2003) proclaimed that British main stream media, for instance, Channel Four and Daily Mirror had included many references of criticism on American imperialism and also presented reports related to anti-war protests and condemnation.

Vliegthart and Schroder (2010) offered a comparative study by looking at more number of newspapers from four countries, namely, US, UK, Germany and the Netherlands about the coverage of terrorism. They concluded that the overall stance of coverage in the newspapers was negative but at the same time substantial differences also occurred due to national policies of concerned countries and the political inclination of the newspapers. For the countries that supported the war namely, UK, US and Netherlands, the media framing was more favourable. On the other hand in the countries whose policies was not aligned with the United States like Germany, the press adopted negative tone and were more involved in discussion about the consequences of war. National political policies always play a key role in deterring the media policies of any country.

Kodama, Kanayama and Shim (2007) also endorsed the same point by analyzing Japanese media after 9/11. In Japan whose constitution did not allow attacking other country for solving any political conflict, the media avoided using the word ‘terrorists’ for Islamic groups. Additionally, the media emphasized the severe consequences of the American attack on Iraqi people. Kodama *et al* (2007) explored the evening coverage of

BBC, CBS, Globo and NHK after September 11 attacks. Interestingly, the findings indicate that the media of four countries framed the same event from different perspectives. CBS appeared to be more patriotic and used the words as “we” and “they” after 9/11. The BBC adopted a neutral and objective policy to some extent. Globo channel neither supported the Bush propaganda nor Osama Bin Laden. Generally the Brazilian people were not supportive of Bush policies against Afghanistan. That is why their media was more critical in its coverage and frequently included reports from Al-Jazeera channel (Pastina, 2004).

### **2.11 Pakistan’s foreign policy relating to War on Terror**

As far as Pakistan was concerned, it was a developing country and its foreign policy like that of any other country was dictated by the ethos, aspirations, strengths and weaknesses of its people. It was also conditioned by its history and geography because Pakistan was created in the name of Islam. Founding father of Pakistan Quaid-i- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah gave his vision regarding the foreign policy of the country by stressing upon the policy of friendliness and benevolence for all world nations. He further emphasized world peace, development of country, improvement in the life of a common man and policy of non interference (Jinnah, 1947).

Since the inception of Pakistan, the relationship with the United States always had significant position in the foreign policy of the country. While in the wake of 9/11 attacks Pakistan-US relations took a drastic turn. The US policy with respect to Pakistan changed to a new dimension. Although before the incident, the US had

different opinion on the affairs of Pakistan. From US viewpoint Pakistan was heading towards being an unsuccessful country. Its nuclear programme was a matter of concern for American authorities and it was subjected to US sanctions under the Pressler, Glenn and Symington Amendments; also known as “Democracy Sanctions” which restricted all economic and military support (Hussain, 2005). Moreover Pakistan was asked to sign Composite Test Ban Treaty. Along with these actions the US was moving ahead to endorse its diplomatic and strategic ties with India that was Pakistan’s enemy per se (Ahmad, 2001).

The post 9/11 scenario brought a considerable shift in the stance of US policy makers which led to Pakistan-US alliance over the war on terror. With this attention, the Bush administration lifted sanctions and provided aid in exchange for Pakistani cooperation in Afghanistan war 2001. President Bush after 9/11 made it known to the world that either you are with the US or against. So President Musharruf agreed to “full support” to the war on terror (Kundi, 2007). Despite having public pressure against American war, Pakistan declared its willingness to support coalition action against Afghanistan on September 16, 2001 (Wirsing, 2003). Pakistan took a U-turn in its policies towards Taliban Government. The Taliban were discarded overnight and US was provided with bases in Pakistan for launching military operations against Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden (Kapila, 2002). Even during initial days of war all logistic support was given without any formal agreements or payments (Fair, 2004). Pakistan provided military bases to US in Jacobabad, Pasni, Dalbandin and Shamsi. Along with this 35,000 Pakistani military troops were allocated to protect coalition bases. These troops not only

secured the area but also arrested 420 high value Taliban and Al Qaeda members (Collins, 2008). President Musharraf said in his address to nation on January 12, 2002;

“This terrorist act led to momentous changes all over the world. We decided to join the international coalition against terrorism and in this regard I have already spoken to you on a number of occasions. We took this decision on principles and in our national interest...” (Musharraf, 2002)

There were four areas of assistance between US and Pakistan that determined the relations between these countries the after 9/11 attacks (Rafique, 2006):

**i. Mutual participation in global war on terror**

After September 11, attacks Pakistan participated in the global war on terror with the United States. The governments of both countries had worked together to destroy Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Pakistan also coordinated with US in sharing intelligence, finance, and law implementation. Pakistan successfully captured many high value targets and banned extremist organizations like Lashkar-e-Taiba, and Jaish-e-Mohammed.

**ii. Helping states of South Asia to enhance regional stability**

The South Asian region had always been a matter of concern for America; it had a vast population, economic resources and also possesses nuclear weapons that could be a threat for the region if a conflict takes place. America supported mutual understanding, cooperation and stability among the countries of the region namely: Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan. For realizing the potential of the area, these countries must have sound political and military relationships.

**iii. Aiding Pakistan to pursue its economic, political and democratic goals**

The US aim had been to help Pakistan in building up its social, political and economic institutions. It recently launched a multi-billion dollar, multi-faceted assistance programmes that would facilitate Pakistan relating to the issue of balance-of-payment support, debt rescheduling, agricultural, trade, and investment support. Moreover, USAID would provide support in the areas of education, health, governance and micro financing.

**iv. Eliminating the divergences between Pakistani and American public for enhancing understanding between the states.**

The relationships among the people of Pakistan and US were not harmonious. There was an environment of mistrust, and lack of understanding among the people of two nations. Particularly, the issue of strict visa policy harmed the mutual understanding of both countries. It was suggested to reduce the differences between the two nations.

President Pervez Musharaff said in his speech on 12 January 2002 that the country had decided to participate in international struggle against terrorism. Pakistan would not allow any other state to use its land for the purpose of terrorist activities. Moreover, this decision had been taken in the interest of Pakistan (Musharraf, 2002). Pakistan's foreign minister endorsed President Musharraf's stand on War on Terror and he said during his speech to the ministerial meeting on combating terrorism held at the UN Security Council that;

“Pakistan is and will remain a key member of the global coalition against international terrorism. As President Musharraf said last year, “the strategic decisions we took after 11 September are consistent with our moral principles and

national interests. Our unstinting support has been critical in the battle against terrorism. This support will continue until our shared objectives are fully met and the evil of terrorism is completely eliminated.” (Kasuri, 2003)

In line with the policy adopted after 9/11, the US had declared Pakistan as a non-NATO ally and announced a \$3 billion package over a five years period (Amicus, 2005). The US and the West applauded the Pakistani Government for enlightened leadership. Never before had so many Americans visit Pakistan as in the months after September 11 (Sattar, 2007). Pakistan’s relations with US were at their best because it was a front line state in war on terror, on the other hand, public opinion in Pakistan was not supportive towards American policy. The masses looked at war on terror as the war of United States’ interests in South Asian region.

However, in the case of Iraq war 2003, Pakistan Government decided not to support the war. Pakistani Government supported peaceful resolve of the matter. As the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Zafarullah Khan Jamali said on March 18, 2003 that;

"We stand by our principled stand that the mater should be resolved peacefully. But we must only think of Pakistan at this critical juncture" (Jamali, 2003)

Likewise, foreign minister, information minister and other Government officials many times expressed their opposition against imminent attack in Iraq. Pakistan’s information minister Mr. Sheikh Rasheed made it clear that Pakistan would not support the United States in the case of Iraq. Foreign minister of Pakistan opposed Iraq attack in these words;

"There is no justification for this war.... I have said several times in the past and I say it again today... All people want peace... Can there be any Pakistani who

wants war in Iraq. We have consistently opposed war on the issue and tried to remove differences within the international community (in the UN Security Council) even this last hour." (Kasuri, 2003b)

Pakistan Government wanted international consensus on Iraq crisis. It was argued that Pakistan did not want destruction of Iraq. Along that Pakistan Government used other international plate forms to avert Iraq war such as OIC, NAM, Arab League and conveyed to the United States that Pakistan was not in position to support Iraq attack. There was immense opposition inside the country. Pakistan Government pressed United Nations to address the miseries of Iraq. Prime Minister Jamali argued that war in Iraq would not solve any problem but it would increase the suffering of Iraqi people. He stressed to preserve the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Iraq (Jamali, 2003b).

Above discussion indicated that on 'War on Terror' and Afghanistan attack 2001, Pakistan Government supported US actions. Even during Afghanistan attack, Pakistan provided logistic support to the United States. However, in the case of Iraq, Pakistan Government proclaimed that it did not support US action against Iraq. Many times Pakistani ministers and other Government officials expressed their opposition. Concluding, on Afghanistan crisis, Pakistan supported the war but during Iraq crisis, Pakistan Government adopted anti war policy.

### **2.11.1 Coverage of War on Terror by Pakistani media**

In these circumstances, Pakistani media was not welcoming towards the county's involvement in war on terror; even it criticized President Musharruf policies regarding combating terrorism. The Pakistani media was also sceptical about the impact of US

policies on the Pakistani citizens and the future of Pakistan (Singh, 2003). The war on terror has been widely criticized in local language press of Pakistan. The journalists framed America negatively and even declared it the 'biggest evil' 'the real terrorist' wrote by Pakistani columnist. Despite American efforts to correct its image in Pakistan by giving billions of US dollar aid and public relation measures but still the American image is severely suffering among the Pakistanis due to US criticism on Pakistan's role in war on terror and drone attacks in Pakistan (Shah, 2010). At the start of 'war on terror' somehow Pakistani media adopted a positive and neutral stance towards American policies but with the passage of time the US aggressive policies against Afghanistan, Iraq and allegations against Pakistan's relations with Taliban enraged the media. Furthermore Pakistani local press adopted stricter stance against US strategies and focused on national interest of the country (Khan & Safdar, 2010). As a result, the Pakistani press was also not very supportive towards the Pakistani government's activities against terrorism; elite media had a neutral standpoint towards countering terrorism activities of government. However, these media were concerned the issues of national security, development projects and peace agreements. Media does not toe Pakistan's foreign policy regarding the issue of war on terror (Khan & Imran, 2011). Archetti (2007) focused upon some other factors that affect the framing of news such as selection of sources, national interest, journalistic norms and editorial policies. She conducted a comparative analysis of Pakistani, US, France and Italian press about the framing of 9/11 and found that Pakistani press focused on Afghani, Asian and Muslim sources. Moreover, Pakistani press provided the notion that war should be fought through international law; mediation with Taliban must be encouraged and should target

those governments who project terrorism with a particular reference to India. The US press narrowly focused on US political version of war on terror and rarely allowed alternative ideas to emerge. In a like manner, Western media also followed US media policy lines and slightly emphasized upon the outcomes of war (Archetti, 2007).

At the same time, it was also important to realize that Pakistanis consider America an imperial or hostile power that forcefully entered in Afghanistan, Iraq and now dictates to Pakistani government and military for pursuing their objectives. The Pakistani government also constantly asserted that by joining US 'war on terror' the country had to spend approximately \$34 billion. Likewise, the Pakistani media looked upon America's activities in a suspicious manner. For instance America's plans to extend their embassy area and presence of Black Water security personnel in Pakistan were highly criticized by the Pakistani media circles (Shah, 2009). Though, after 9/11 Pakistan had explained repeatedly that it has neither contact with Al-Qaeda nor with the perpetrator of September 11 attacks but still it had to face severe criticism and consequence such as drone attacks which have killed nearly 2000 Pakistanis. Yet at the same time, it is a US ally in war on terror. Therefore, the Pakistani press framed drone attacks in tribal area of Pakistan negatively and never showed positive gesture towards it. The press mostly included the reports on human sufferings, civilian casualties, public sentiments, sovereignty of Pakistan and dual policies of America regarding its drone strategy in Pakistan (Paracha, Imran & Khan, 2012). It denotes that Pakistani media had quite oppositional stance about war on terror and American policies.

The Pew Research Centre (2011) conducted polls after US operation against Osama Bin Laden inside Pakistan which revealed that most of the Pakistanis condemned this operation; subsequently US popularity also fell to 14% and approval for Obama's policies reaches to 8%. In fact, most people considered America as potential threat and disapproved US war on terror (Pew Research Centre, 2011). Correspondingly, Matthews and Majeed (2010) reported that Pakistani mainstream media did not hail Obama's new strategy for Afghanistan in which he proposed to increase 30,000 US troops in Afghan area and tentatively announced the date for withdrawal from Afghanistan. The Pakistani media criticized US for not consulting Pakistan for evolving this new strategy, additionally some rightist journalists wrote that actually Obama wants to attack Pakistan and to deprive the country from its nuclear weapons. In that case, some newspapers published these headlines such as *The Daily Times* writes, "Evoked alarm and disappointment", Urdu daily Jang adds that America would "increase pressure on a weak Zardari government" moreover; *Nawa-e-Waqt* was alarmed that increased number of troops in Afghanistan would be threat for Pakistani sovereignty.

The Pakistani media did not support the government alliance with US in 'War on Terror'; it framed America as a constant threat for Pakistani interests. *Nawa-e-Waqt* declared that US president is 'aiming directly' at Pakistan. Likewise, Dawn wrote, 'we do not wish to become an enemy of the United States, but neither are we prepared to be the target of an enemy dressed as a friend' (Terradellas, 2008). The growing cross border attacks by US forces from Afghanistan area were worsening Pakistan US relation as Pakistani authorities had expressed their extreme resentment. In these circumstances

the Pakistani media was filled with anti American sentiments and highly critical of American activities in the tribal area of Pakistan (The Layalina Review, 2011). Even though, the Pakistani media was urging the government to stop their support for war on terror due to stiff relations between Pakistan and the United States (The Layalina Review, 2011). The discussion above demonstrated that the Pakistani media was in an aggressive mood that had denounced war on terror and moreover advocating some changes in the realm of Pakistan's foreign policy.

Eijaz and Ahmad (2011) had an analysis of the usage of global news sources in Pakistani English dailies concerning issue of war on terror. It was observed that mainly Pakistani journalists relied on Western sources, and few journalists brought independent news from Afghanistan or Iraq's battlefields; as it suggests the projection of Western sources and their view points. However, framing analysis of Pakistani newspapers implies that *daily Dawn* promotes neutral and independent trends in its coverage of war; *The Nation*, applied nationalistic and ideological approach while *The News*, included variety of sources in the coverage of war and made no biasness in the selection of news sources.

As previous studies posited Pakistani media showed a negative impression towards American policies but at the same time, there was another compelling reference that should not be overlooked. Pakistani newspapers did not support the Taliban, their atrocities and their growing influence in Pakistan. Malik and Iqbal (2010) anticipated that Taliban carried a negative image in Pakistani press and they were discussed as a

major cause of growing extremism in Pakistan. They were labeled as ‘extremist’, ‘terrorists’, ‘Taliban animal’, ‘butchers’, ‘a band of frenzied men’, ‘militant out fits’, ‘reign of terror’, ‘malevolent black Harpy’ and ‘ultra orthodox’ in Pakistani English dailies. By the same token, when Osama bin Laden was killed in Pakistan by US military operation, it was reported positively in Pakistani media and none of media outlet expressed grievance over this incident whereas the absence of Pakistani authorities in this operation was widely criticized and the act was regarded as the violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty. Some critics also argued that after Osama’s death, there was no justification left for America to stay in the region (Rollins, 2011). However, Eijaz (2011) explored in her research that with the passage of time, the portrayal of Taliban had been changed in Pakistani media. During 1980’s the concept of Taliban had been popularized by the repressive regime in Pakistan by using state-controlled media. But in present scenario with free media, the situation was quite contrary to the past. Now the Taliban were discussed in Pakistani media as an enemy who are suppressing women rights and challenging the government authorities. Overall, it was observed that Pakistani media neither supported the activities of Al-Qaeda and Taliban nor the US military strategies in the region. Notwithstanding, it focused on causalities, destructions, consequences and the implications of war on terror on Pakistan. The present study explored how Pakistani press framed war on terror and what media frames were utilized in the coverage of war on terror.

By analyzing the previous literature on the coverage of war on terror, it could be stated that the media framing of the issue was influenced by the official policies of respective

governments, media routines and ideological framework of particular organizations. United States was the key player in war on terror; its media was massively influenced by government opinion and patriotic sentiments. Both wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the US victory frame and American arguments dominated the American media discourse. The British media was also supportive of the war on terror as their Prime Minister announced his support for the American war but its media somehow tried to focus on alternative arguments on war. Along with war frame, it also included responsibility and neutral frames as well. Furthermore the media of other countries generally followed the government policies of their countries regarding war, for instance the countries that did not support America, i.e., Middle Eastern and German media, eventually, criticized the ‘War on Terror’ and displayed the images of human casualties, disaster and perished infrastructures. The present study explored to what extent Pakistan and British newspapers followed the foreign and political policies of their respective countries in the coverage of war on terror.

It was noted that previous literature on the coverage of war on terror mostly employed quantitative content analysis (Eijaz, 2011; Malik & Iqbal, 2010; Khan & Imran, 2011; Robinson, Goddard, Parry & Murray, 2009; Lewis, Brookes, Mosdell & Threadgold, 2006; Bergman, 2013). There was a need to conduct more qualitative research to explore the media frames and media agendas regarding the coverage of war on terror, particularly from those countries that had different position on war. To fill this gap, this research aimed to carry out a comparative analysis of Pakistani and British press which explained the framing of issue from two different perspectives. The present study

analyzed the coverage of war on terror in detail by employing qualitative techniques such as thematic analysis of Pakistani and British newspapers and moreover, the interviews from Pakistani and British informants. The thematic analysis explained the differences in media frames and agendas regarding the coverage of ‘War on Terror’ while the interviews from Pakistani and British informants described how the Pakistani and British people perceived ‘War on terror’.

## **2.12 Conclusion**

The chapter included information about framing and agenda setting theories that how by using these techniques, the media influenced on the content of the issues. By over projecting and emphasizing specific details of the problem, the media made certain issue more salient in society. In this respect, several studies discussed the media framing of war on terror in which US media appeared to be more supportive of the government and at many times it avoided alternative view points. Even after 9/11 the Muslims and Islam were not portrayed in an objective manner by the Western media. However, few studies included response from those countries who denounced American military ambitions and consequently, their media adopt strict policy against United States. Additionally, the studies from British and Pakistani media were included in this chapter which revealed that British media played a responsible role in the reporting of Afghanistan and Iraq wars. And Pakistani media adopted an oppositional stance for ‘War on Terror’.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

To answer the research questions, this study analyzed the editorial coverage of war on terror in Pakistani and British newspapers from September 2001 to September 2003. War on terror was a broad term which included Afghanistan war 2001, Iraq Invasion 2003, counter-terrorism activities, and drone attacks on Pakistani frontier areas. But this study was specific in its scope, in that it explored the editorials particularly published on the issues of 9/11 incident, war on terror, Afghanistan war 2001 and extension of war on terror towards Iraq. It investigated the impact of media framing and identified the differences between Pakistani and British press regarding the coverage of terrorism. Moreover, it conducted the interviews from Pakistan and British informants for exploring their view points about 'War on Terror'.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

For this study, qualitative research design had been employed because this design was descriptive in nature and had comprehensive approach. This research design was chosen because the present study aimed to understand and explain the framing of war on terror by Pakistani and British press. By employing this technique, the study provided in-depth understanding regarding the issue. It provided rich perspective how war on terror

was covered and what themes emerged from the data. Qualitative design had characteristics to describe the issue with rich details. Denzin (1994) wrote that qualitative research involved many methods such as interpretative, naturalistic techniques for exploring the phenomenon. It helped the researcher to conduct the research in a natural setting and he could explore the holistic picture of the phenomenon by analyzing words, reports, photos and information (Creswell, 1994). Similarly Denzin and Lincoln (2000) stated that qualitative experts observed explained and interpreted the phenomenon in its natural environment. In short, Shank (2002) defined qualitative research as “a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning” (p. 5). However, Denscombe (2010) explained the principles for qualitative data analysis. First principle was that to condense diverse raw data into succinct structure. It would enable the researcher to identify, compare and determine the data. Secondly one should make relationships between the objective of the study and summary of the data. Thirdly, the researcher should conclude by developing or improving the conceptual research. Cohen et al. (2011) argued that qualitative data analysis had distinguished approach by,

“Merging of analysis and interpretation and often by the merging of data collection with data analysis” (p.537)

In this study, the qualitative approach analyzed the framing of war on terror in Pakistani and British newspaper editorials. It examined the text, information, agendas and frames used in the editorials. Further, it observed how the concepts of terrorism and war on terrorism were projected or framed into the newspapers and at what points they were at variance from each other.

### **3.3 Method**

In order to analyze the framing and agendas of Pakistani and British press relating to the coverage of War on Terror, it was important to explore the content of newspapers. Moreover, public perception regarding War on Terror was also explored. For this purpose, the following methods are adopted in this study.

- Thematic analysis
- In depth Interview

Thematic analysis was chosen for this study because it aimed to explore the stance of coverage regarding war on terror. In this study mostly themes emerged from data. For this reason thematic analysis was most appropriate method. Because it was based on grounded theory and development of cultural model which required more interpretation by the researcher. Thematic analysis described the data with rich details. Codes were generated from the data that represented identified themes from the data. Corbin and Strauss (2008) discussed the techniques and procedures of thematic analysis in detail. Thematic analysis was widely used qualitative analytic method in the field of social sciences (Boyatzis, 1998; Roulston, 2001).

According to Marks and Yardley (2004) thematic analysis was the most useful technique for those studies which sought to investigate the interpretation of the data. It helped the researcher to identify different themes from the data. This technique brought the whole meaning of the data. Moreover, it allowed the researcher to explore the potential of any issue deeply.

By looking at the present study, the researcher wanted to explore stance of coverage regarding war on terror by Pakistani and British press. It was investigated with what themes, the press framed the war on terror positively, negatively or neutral. Thematic analysis helped the researcher to identify different themes from the data. Moreover, the study investigated different media agenda, prominent issues and media frames. By using the techniques of thematic analysis, the researcher was able to identify different media frames, agendas and prominent issues from the data. The present study also investigated to what extent Pakistani and British press supported the political and foreign policies of their respective countries regarding the coverage of war on terror. Thematic analysis identified those themes that were supportive to the foreign policy and also indicated those were against the policy of the respective countries. In this way, the thematic analysis analyzed the coverage of war on terror with rich detail and whole meaning.

The other technique that was used for this study was in-depth interviews. Interview was the most appropriate technique of data collection in qualitative research. Unlike surveys, in interviews, the interviewee expressed his opinion in detail and more participants in meaning making (Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). In-depth interview brought the perception of the interviewee regarding the issue. It allowed the informant to speak about his personal feelings, opinion and experience. It also provided opportunity to understand how people perceive the world and happenings around them.

Therefore, the advantages for using interview technique were that it provided direct information regarding the opinion of the individuals. It helped to understand the

situation. It provided opportunity to identify unanticipated outcomes and the interviews were mostly conducted in natural setting that was more flexible.

For this study in depth interviews were conducted from Pakistani and British informants and it was explored how they perceived war on terror. It was a sensitive topic and previous researches mostly conducted surveys that could not describe the detail perception of the public regarding war on terror. The detail view points of the informants were recorded by the researcher. Their opinion was analyzed through qualitative approach. The findings revealed several themes how the British and Pakistani informants looked at the war on terror. Both the methods thematic analysis and in-depth interviews appropriately answered the research questions of the study.

### **3.3.1 Thematic Analysis**

Qualitative methods had been frequently used in social sciences during the past decade (Denzin, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Morse, 1994). The researchers frequently adopted thematic analysis in their qualitative studies. Thematic analysis answered the questions such as “what” and “how”. It explored themes into text (Popping, 2000) through “careful reading and re-reading of the data” (Rice & Ezzy, 1999, p.258). This method was employed to analyze patterns and classifications within data. Thematic analysis brought results with rich details and explanation (Boyatzis, 1998). First time, the idea of thematic analysis was discussed in the context of phenomenology and ethnography during 1980s (Hycner, 1985). Braun and Clarke (2006) defined thematic analysis as a qualitative systematic method for “identifying, analyzing and reporting

patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organized and described your data set in (rich detail). However, frequently it went further than this, and interpreted various aspects of the research topic” (p. 79). Kellehear and Glicksman (1997) briefly stated that “thematic analysis is a search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon” (quoted in Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 3). Thematic analysis was mainly used to discover hidden themes by exploring textual data at different levels which explained the pattern of text and represented salient subject (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Further, it provided the interpretation of themes in the context of previous literature (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis was a process that was quite flexible and functional, which brought detailed and rich information about the concerning issue (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Ibrahim (2012) argued that thematic analysis was most suitable for those studies that sought to discover interpretations. It enabled the research to analyze the themes and the frequency of themes with the whole content. It allowed the researcher to explore the relationships between concepts and compare them with replicated data. Ibrahim (2012) discussed the appropriateness of thematic analysis in the following points;

- i. Data interpretation
- ii. Deductive and inductive approaches
- iii. Analysis two different phases of data
- iv. Coding and categorizing

First, thematic analysis was useful in detecting different factors or variables affecting any issue discussed in the data. Secondly, thematic analysis could utilize inductive or

deductive approach for analyzing data. Through inductive approach, themes would come from collected data and would move towards broader generalization and to theories. From deductive approach, the researcher could compare the data with prior themes or categories. Thirdly, thematic analysis was useful when research aimed to explore the current practices of any media organization and the influence of any individual on it. Furthermore, the researcher could investigate the differences and similarities apparent within the data set. Finally, thematic analysis allowed to code and categorizes the data. In thematic analysis, data was described according to its similarities or differences. For achieving above mentioned goal, the process would include coding, categorizing, noting patterns and relationships between different variables (Ibrahim, 2012).

Braun and Clarke (2006) summarized the advantages of thematic analysis in these words such as it was a flexible method, relatively easy and quick to learn, results were understandable for general educated people, provided thick description of data, pointed out similarities and differences of the data, could generate unanticipated insights, useful for social and psychological interpretation and useful to produce qualitative analysis relating to policy development. Braun and Clarke (2006) discussed the phases of thematic analysis. Table 3.1 depicted the phases below.

Table: 3.1

*Phases of Thematic Analysis*

<b>Phases of Thematic Analysis</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data, reading data, noting down initial ideas
Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic manner Assemble data related to each code.
Searching for themes	Gather codes into prospective themes Assembly all data relevant to each potential theme.
Reviewing themes	Checking in the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), Generating a thematic „map“ of the analysis.
Defining and naming themes	To refine the specifics of each theme Generate clear definitions and names for each theme.
Producing the report	Final analysis: Selection of compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, linking back of the analysis to the research question and literature Producing a scholarly report of the analysis

Source: (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 35)

There had been several researchers (eg, Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis, 1998) that had proposed certain steps to perform thematic analysis. For instance, Attride-Stirling (2001) described three basic categories of themes that facilitate the process of thematic analysis, such as:

- i. Basic Theme
- ii. Organizing Theme
- iii. Global Theme

### **Basic Theme**

It was the most basic analysis of data that derived initial theme from textual data. Basic theme constructed the preliminary structure for analysis and it explains very little about the text. But it depicted the central idea that facilitates the construction of organizing theme.

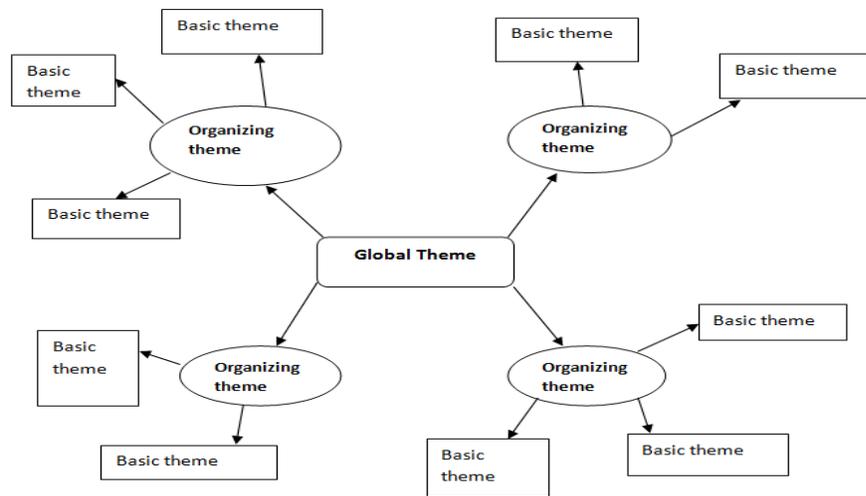
### **Organizing Theme**

This was the second category of themes that was organized by the bunch of similar basic themes of the same issue. These were the groups of similar themes which precised the central idea of the Basic Themes. These themes were more conceptual and informative that explains the phenomenon clearly. Subsequently, the cluster of Organizing Themes constructs the Global Theme.

### **Global Theme**

Global Theme was a higher level of theme that described the prime metaphor of the data. Global theme was just like a conclusion of entire analysis. The combination of organizing themes generated the global themes. Global themes briefly described the pattern of data within the given context of the analysis. It summarized the basic themes and also interprets the data. Global theme reveals the entire thematic network which

contributes towards main results (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Figure 3.1 depicted the thematic network.



*Figure: 3.1.*Structure of a thematic network.

Source: (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 388)

Thematic analysis was further assisted by computer-assisted programs. These programs helped in qualitative data analysis such as NVivo, Atlas-ti and Nudist. For instance, NVivo was a tool that supported the researchers to develop theoretical concepts as Gibbs (2002) explained it as a ‘theory builder’s software’. This software was designed to include nodes that helped the researcher to connect theoretical concepts from the text (Gibbs, 2002, p. 57). Thus, computer software programmes facilitated the coding process of thematic analysis but it was only the first step (Boyatzis, 1998). The next step was data interpretation that was quite imperative that explained the coded data in the relevant context.

This study explored the media frames and agendas which were utilized in the coverage of war on terror as framing studies denoted that domestic or foreign media frame the incidents differently. Media selected certain aspects from reality and made them more prominent in its text, communication or visuals for promoting specific impression (Entman, 1993). In this way media played a significant role in publicizing particular frames in the society. There were few studies that offered comparative analysis of war on terror coverage (Dimitrova *et al.*, 2005; Archetti, 2004; Jasperson & El-Kikhia, 2003; Jasperson & El-Kikhia, 2002). This particular research analyzed the comparative coverage of British and Pakistani press regarding war on terror. In this war, Britain had an important role by participating side by side with US forces. Internationally, UK supported US in its struggle against terrorism. On the other hand, Pakistan's political and geographic location was used to facilitate US government. Now it was interesting to explore how the media of these two different countries framed war on terror and what agendas their respective press promoted.

The study utilized deductive and inductive thematic analysis for examining the data. The deductive method was mostly used in those cases where researcher wished to retest an existing theory in new perspective (Catanzaro, 1998). There were few researchers who employed theoretical or deductive approach for their thematic analysis. In which themes were developed through prior ideas (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic analysis not only included themes through exploring text but also the previous literature helped to interpret these themes. Theoretical thematic analysis was directed by the researcher's theoretical concern about the particular issue, and therefore it was more

analyst-driven (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In deductive approach, the researcher worked on previously decided categories that connected the data with theory and facilitated to manage large qualitative data (Hayes, 1997).

However in inductive thematic analysis themes and patterns were derived from data. It was also called 'bottom up' approach (Frith & Gleeson, 2004). In this approach themes were firmly connected with the text (Patton, 1990) that made it similar to grounded theory. In inductive analysis, coding of data is entirely based on the researcher's analytic presumptions; it did not follow pre existing frames or categories (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

This study employed both inductive and deductive thematic analysis for investigating the media frames, dominant agendas used by the respective press in Pakistan and Britain. The researcher analyzed text through prior categories or theme derived from previous studies but new themes or theoretical concept came into view during analysis.

### **3.3.1.1 Prior categories**

The following categories were developed for the analysis of data. These categories were adapted from similar studies (Robinson, Goddard, Parry & Murray, 2009; Lypka, 2011; Lee, 2004; Wojdynski, 2008). These categories were operationalized and further redefined according to the need of the study. These categories included the incident of 9/11 attacks, US wars in Afghanistan 2001 and Iraq 2003, the plight of affected people, consequences of war, portrayal of extremist organization like al-Qaeda, anti-war

arguments and policies of Pakistani and British governments about war on terror. The researcher started to code the data from editorials based on the following categories but during analysis new categories and themes emerged from the data. These prior categories were Incident of 9/11 attacks, Bush administration, Process of war, Portrayal of Al-Qaida, Consequences of war, Casualties, Anti war voices, Weapons of mass destruction, Rebuilding, Political policies, US relations with Pakistan and British Governments, Portrayal of Islam, Prisoners of war and Others.

### **3.3.1.2 Definitions of key categories**

In order to make clear what was analyzed through thematic analysis of the editorials, these categories were explained in detail. It provided the guide line to distinguish the data in different categories

#### **i. Incident of 9/11**

The information related to the incident of 9/11 attacks was included in this category such as destruction due to this incident, casualties of people, relatives of dead people, information about plane crash, and world response towards attacks.

#### **ii. Bush Administration**

The editorial related to the response of Bush Administration, statements of President Bush, declaration of war on terror, action against terrorism, strategies and policies of US Government.

### **iii. Process of War**

The information about US attack on Afghanistan, bombing on Afghan areas and terrorists, coalition forces, military advancement, US military technology, weapons, analysis of military operations, diplomatic efforts regarding war and coalition victories. Likewise, The US attack on Iraq, military advancement, bombing on Saddam's army, coalition forces, analysis of military operation, killing of enemy, victories and diplomatic activities regarding Iraq war.

### **iv. Portrayal of Al Qaeda**

The information about Al Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden, members of Al Qaeda, their military strategies, terrorists camps and domestic life style of Al Qaeda.

### **v. Consequences of War**

The outcomes of war in the case of Afghanistan and Iraq, destruction of infrastructure, economies loss, disrupted life of civilians, plight of refugees, effects on community development and long term impact.

### **vii. Causalities**

The information related human causalities including civilians, coalition forces and enemies during Afghanistan and Iraq war, the impact of these military and civilian causalities on world opinion and policies of US will be included in the category.

**viii. Anti War Voices**

The discussion about mass protest against war around the globe, world opinion, criticism on US war policies, Bush strategies, loss of human lives and attacks on civilians, oppositional stand point of UNO, other world organizations, and prominent political personalities.

**ix. Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)**

The category includes the information relating to the discourse on of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, and the threat of using these nuclear weapons by the terrorists.

**x. Rebuilding**

The efforts for rebuilding, economic support programs and to establish democratic governments in Afghanistan and Iraq

**xi. Political policies**

This category included the political policies of Britain and Pakistan over war on terror, the policy statements of British and Pakistani governments regarding Afghanistan and Iraq war.

**xii. America's relations with British and Pakistan's Governments**

The US foreign policy towards Britain and Pakistan, the changes in US foreign policies due to war on terror, the declaration of Britain as major ally, Pakistan as non NATO

ally, the economic, political and military support towards Pakistan and other related issues were included in this category.

**xiii. Portrayal of Islam**

The discussion about Islam, the role of Islam in Society, Islam as a religion, as a code of life and the importance of Islam in the lives of Muslims

**xiv. Prisoners of war**

The category includes the information related to prisoners of war, their nationalities, and the plight of prisoners.

The researcher started to analyze the data according to prior categories but during analysis number of new themes, codes and categories emerged from the data.

**3.3.1.2 Inductive and deductive themes**

The analysis of the editorials was started through open coding. During the first phase of coding deductive themes were utilized. These themes were got from the previous literature. But with the passage of time, numerous inductive themes appeared from the data. But in the end of the analysis, it was noted that the inductive and deductive themes had some relevance. The table given below presented inductive and deductive themes of the study.

Table: 3.2

*Inductive and deductive themes*

<b>Inductive themes</b>	<b>Deductive themes</b>
Criticism on 9/11 attacks	Incident of 9/11 attacks
Criticism on US polices of war on terror	Bush administration
Process of war in Afghanistan and Iraq	Process of war
Concerns against Al-Qaida	Portrayal of Al-Qaida
Consequences of war	Consequences of war
Casualities in Afghanistan and Iraq	Casualities
Anti war voices	Anti war voices
Weapons of mass destruction	Weapons of mass destruction
Criticism on Pakistan and British foreign policies regarding war on terror	Political policies
Portrayal of Islam and Muslims	Portrayal of Islam
Prisoners of war	Prisoners of war
Limited role of UNO in War on terror	
Muslim collective approach	
Humanitarian crisis in Iraq and Afghanistan	
US economic support to Pakistan	
Rebuilding process in Afghanistan and Iraq	
US interests in Middle east	
British dossier on Iraq's WMD's	

**3.3.1.3 Selection of Newspapers**

For this study four newspapers from Pakistan and Britain were selected. The particular study focused on quality newspapers because elite and quality newspapers often played decisive role in determining political agenda for other mass media. Chomsky (1997) wrote that the elite media laid down framework for other media outlets. Although elite newspapers were not representative of entire media, they had a major impact on society (Benson & Hallin, 2005). Furthermore, newspapers provided more detailed coverage of events (Krippendorff & Bock, 2009) and they were regarded as credible sources that

were commonly quoted by other media outlets (Handely, 2010). In the UK, *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Mirror*, *Times*, *the Financial Times*, *Telegraph* (Cridland, 2010) and in Pakistan, *Dawn*, *The News*, *The Nation*, *Jang*, and *Nawa-e-Waqt* were considered as quality newspapers of the respective countries. For this research, purposefully two newspapers from each country were selected: *The Guardian*, and *The Independent* from Britain and *The Dawn*, and *The Nation* from Pakistan. They were national, quality newspapers and had broad circulation in their countries. Further details of these newspapers were discussed as below:

(i) *The Guardian* was one of the leading and a quality newspaper of Britain that was founded by John Edward Taylor in 1821. It was basically Berliner. The paper's main policy was to promote the liberal interest in its coverage. Its regular daily circulation was about 230,541 in October 2011 which was less than *the daily Telegraph* and *The Times* and more than *The Independent* (Press Gazette, 2011).

(ii) *The Independent* was another national and quality daily newspaper of Britain which was in tabloid form. It was first time published on October 7, 1986 by Independent Print Limited, a company that belonged to Alexander Lebedev since 2010. The political ideology of newspaper was leftist but it was more of classical liberal, sympathetic to poor and pro market (Pfanner, 2003; Wilby, 2008). Its daily circulation was about 182,881 in July 2011 (ABC: National dailies, 2011). Over all it was regarded as the most outspoken and politically unbiased newspaper in England (Guttenplan, 1997).

(iii) *The Dawn* was one of the oldest and most popular English newspapers in Pakistan; it was first time published in 1947. It belonged to Dawn group of publications formed by Quaid-i- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan in 1941. It had approximately 138,000 weekly circulations in 2004. Since its inception *Dawn* tried to follow an independent policy and sometimes it had been targeted by repressive measures of government (Ali, 2000). Its approach towards social issues was tolerant, original, neutral, credible and independent (Mezzera & Sial, 2010).

(iv) *The Nation* was a prominent English daily national newspaper in Pakistan. It was launched in 1986 by Arif Nizami. It was owned by Nawa-i-Waqt group which was founded in 1940 by Hameed Nazami, one of the founding journalists in Pakistan. The Nawa-i- Waqt group promoted Pakistan's ideology, right wing political discourse and its opinion pages were considered as most influential in the country (Mezzera & Sial, 2010). It provided variety of viewpoints on national and international issues.

Newspapers were retrieved from the Lexis Nexuses database, websites or the hard copies from news offices.

### **3.3.1.3 Time Period for the Study**

The time period for the study had been chosen from 12 September 2001 to 11 September 2003. The time span was crucial as President Bush declared war on terror on the eve of 9/11. The US attacked Afghanistan in October 2001 to destroy Al-Qaeda and further extend its war campaign against Iraq. The US invaded Iraq in March 2003 in

pursuit of nuclear weapons. The initial years of post 9/11 were important due to mass coverage given to terrorism, war and threats.

### 3.3.1.4 Sample for the study

Moreover, the sample for this research study included all editorials using the word “war on terror” or “9/11”, or “Al Qaeda”, or “Afghanistan war 2001”, or “Osama bin Laden” or “Iraq”, or “Saddam Hussain”, or “WMD” in the headline or leading paragraph in the selected newspapers from 12 September 2001 to 11 September 2003. For this study, all editorials having the above mentioned words in their title or leading paragraph during two years were selected for analysis. There were total 1041 editorials studied, 444 editorial from British newspapers and 597 from Pakistani newspapers.

Table: 3.3

*Number of editorials analyzed*

<b>Pakistani Newspapers</b>	<b>No. Of editorials</b>	<b>British Newspapers</b>	<b>No. Of editorials</b>
<i>The Dawn</i>	287	<i>The Guardian</i>	180
<i>The Nation</i>	310	<i>The Independent</i>	264
Total	597	Total	444

### 3.3.1.5 Unit of Analysis

The paragraphs of the editorials and their themes were taken as unit of analysis. The rest of the articles, photographs and editorial cartoon on editorial page were excluded from the study. The editorial was chosen for the study because editorial depicted the opinion

of its newspaper and organization. Moreover, the editorial also gave impression regarding the political affiliation of the newspaper. The editorial depicted the opinion of a newspaper on the particular issue rather than objective reporting. That's why editorials for this study were chosen. These editorials represented the policies of their newspapers regarding the issue of War on Terror.

### **3.3.2 In-depth interviews**

The second approach that was employed in this study was qualitative interviews. These interviews were conducted from Pakistani and British informants for getting their response about war on terror. Qualitative interview was an approach which facilitated to explore different nations, cultures, countries, societal problems and solutions. Moreover, it helped the researcher to analyze the similar or different viewpoints of the informants about concerning issue (Robin & Robin, 1995). The basic idea of qualitative interview was to understand the thinking of interviewees (Kvale, 1996) and what is their original thought. Interviews were just like directed conversation (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) where as a comprehensive interview gave detail information about the topic from the interviewee who had pertinent knowledge (Charmaz, 2006). In this way, the interviewer's information about the topic helped to expand the research (McNamara, 1999). However, it was an important tool of research for discovering public understanding of issue, their stance and approach (Arksey & Knight, 1999).

Patton (1987) described three approaches for conducting qualitative interview; the informal conversational interview, the general interview guide approach and the standardized open-ended interview.

**i. The informal conversational interview**

This type of interview was like informal conversation in which sometimes informants might forget that they are being interviewed. Even the questions or topics were not pre planned, they came up with immediate context.

**ii. The general interview guide approach (commonly called guided interview)**

In this approach, the researcher already had an outline or check list for topics to be discussed. But the researcher was still flexible in exploring and asking questions. The approach was useful when the researcher wished to probe specific issues.

**iii. The standardized open-ended interview**

In standardized open ended interview, the researcher strictly followed predetermined questions but these questions were open ended. Although it was not a flexible method but still it was a qualitative interview because its responses were open ended. This technique helped to reduces variation in questions and biasness.

This study utilized standardized open ended interview for gathering informants' response from Pakistan and Britain. This type of interview was used because the researcher could not access the British informants directly. Due to geographical limitation, the researcher emailed questionnaires to the British informants and they sent

their replies via e mails. For this reason, the standardized open-ended interview was suitable because the informants followed the questions and gave their response in detail. However, in the case of Pakistani informants, the researcher conducted face to face interviews from them. She followed the same questionnaire but conversation with the Pakistani informants was more flexible.

### **3.3.2.1 Informants**

The informants in this study were nineteen people: ten from Pakistan and nine from Britain. These people were educated, well informed about the issue of war on terror and the users of their respective media. The list of informants was given in appendix C. These interviews were taken during the months of February and March 2013. The study used “snowball” or “network” techniques for “locating information-rich informants or critical cases” (Patton, 2002, p. 237). As Berg (1988) referred that in snow ball technique, the contacts were developed by the recommendation of people who were already in circle.

The British informants were belonged to Birmingham and Walsall mostly. They belonged to middle class and upper middle class. All informants had University education. Occupation wise, they were mostly, teachers, students, doctor and office going people. They consulted their mainstream media for getting information on war on terror and other issues. Among them there was one doctor who personally served during Iraq war. All informants had great interest regarding war on terror, international and national politics.

The Pakistani informants were chosen from Multan and Lahore. All of them were well educated and belonged to Middle and upper middle class. They were mostly teachers, civil officers, communication experts and office going people. Some of the informants particularly studied international affairs, Pakistan foreign policy and political issues of Pakistan. These informants expressed their interest regarding the issue of war on terror and expressed valuable comments on the issues. These informants mostly got information from Pakistani main stream newspapers such as Dawn, Nation, Nawa-e-waqt, Jang and other electronic Pakistani news channels.

#### **3.3.2.2 Interview Protocol**

The interview was conducted in English or Urdu (Pakistani national language) language. It was face to face interview in Pakistan but in the case of Britain, it was difficult for the researcher to get access directly to the interviewees, so the questionnaires were e mailed or posted to the informants, moreover telephonic or Skype interview were conducted.

The interview was based upon their perception about the war on terror and their media. It was discussed how they thought about war on terror, the incident of 9/11, al Qaeda, Taliban, the consequences of war in terms of physical and property damage, Islam and role of their media during war. The researcher analyzed how people thought about terrorism war whether they communicated the identical opinion to their media about war or are there variations. The interview protocol was given in appendix D.

### **3.4 Analysis of data**

By applying thematic analysis the researcher analyzed the stance of coverage from Pakistani and British press. It identified different media frames, media agendas and prominent issues in the coverage of War on Terror. Moreover, it was investigated how Pakistani and British press supported or opposed their Government policies in the coverage of War on Terror. For analyzing the content from newspapers, the study employed Inductive and deductive thematic analysis. The editorials of Pakistani and British newspapers were chosen as the unit of analysis. The researcher started to analyze data based on the prior categories derived from previous literature but during analysis new themes and categorizes emerged from data.

For this study, three types of coding were employed such as open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Open coding classified and labelled the phenomenon as pointed by the data. At this point, open coding did not explain the different aspects of the data but it captured its meanings (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The text was read line by line and was broken down into different codes. All codes were assigned particular incidents or issues. Such line by line analysis prevented biased analysis due to preconceived ideas based on previous theory or data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Open coding moved towards to compare codes where similar codes were put together under same conceptual label. In this way each group became a concept. These conceptual labels were contrasted again and then formulated more abstract level called as categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Axial coding: during this process the data was analyzed again by making associations between categories and its subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The analysis explained the phenomenon implanted in the data. First step of axial coding was to identify properties and dimensions of each category or sub category. Second level was that to explore the relationships between them and identify consequences and conditions of the phenomenon by these relationships.

Selective coding integrated the categories to a structure or theoretical framework. In this case, first step was to identify core category. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998) core category was a conceptual idea that covered all other categories. Core category was a central idea of the research. Core category was the main theme of the research that explained the whole phenomenon. That's why other categories linked to core category. But there could be more than one core categories in a particular research.

Based on the following method data from British and Pakistan editorials were analyzed. For this purpose the researcher used NVIVO 10. The analysis was started through open coding of the editorials. The editorials were read line by line and accordingly data was broken down in various codes. In the process of open coding, the researcher put data into numerous nodes of Nvivo software. These codes were based on particular details. The similar details were put under same codes. After completing open coding, the researcher had bulk of codes. These were 494 open codes that emerged from the editorials of Pakistani and British newspapers.

In the second step of coding, the researcher merged the similar nodes into a single category and made association between categories and subcategories. During axial coding 350 codes emerged from the data. During this step, the researcher started to read data that was already put in different nodes of Nvivo software. The researcher started to make connections between different nodes and sub nodes of the data. At this point the researcher found out stance of coverage. The data indicated the positive, neutral or negative themes of the data. The data pointed out different media frames and prominent issues.

At the last stage, during selective coding, the researcher reread the parent and child nodes of Nvivo and the nodes or categories which had similar information were merged together. During selective coding 130, themes came out of the data. At this stage the researcher found out core categories from the data. These core categories depicted the stance of coverage either supportive to War on Terror or not, found out particular media frames, issues and agendas. By applying the method of open, axial and selective coding, the researcher was able to answer the research questions and particular themes came out which highlight the whole research idea.

After analyzing the newspaper content, the researcher analyzed the interviews conducted from the interviewees of Pakistan and Britain. For analyzing the interviews from informants, the technique of thematic category analysis was employed. In which, the themes emerged inductively from the data (Patton, 1990) and the researcher did not apply any other external themes. In its first step, the interviews were transcribed by the

researcher herself, so that she could understand the nature of data. The data was put into Nvivo software. Secondly, the researcher started first reading of the text and identified the major issues or topics. Afterwards, the researcher re examined the data by thoroughly reading the text; she could do the micro analysis of data which brought new information. Thirdly, the themes started to emerge from data and these themes were arranged by organizing them into similar categories. At this stage, the initial themes were brought, for this purpose; the Nvivo software helped for arranging the data. In fourth step, the initial themes were re-analyzed to see its category and moreover, the description for each theme was described. In fifth step, each theme was re-evaluated with the original data, it was looked at whether the information relates to theme or not? After this, the final construction of each theme is determined by scrutinizing its title, definition and supporting material. Lastly, the final themes came out from the data, which communicated the actual result of research.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

To sum up, the chapter had discussed the methodology for the research. It applied qualitative method of research for exploring the coverage of war on terror and subsequently, its impact on public opinion. The study included the qualitative thematic analysis of the selected newspapers editorials from Pakistan and Britain for the time period of two years from September 12, 2001 to September 11, 2003 and the interviews from Pakistani and British informants. The chapter had provided the detail information about the research procedure, instruments of research and data analysis.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FRAMING OF ‘WAR ON TERROR’ BY THE BRITISH NEWSPAPERS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the findings of the research. This study utilized thematic analysis for analyzing the content of British newspaper editorials regarding the coverage of the war on terror. The chapter discussed in detail how the two British newspapers (*The Guardian*, *The Independent*) framed the War on Terror, what frames they employed during the coverage and to what extent they supported British foreign policy in the coverage of war. The chapter also described the issues that were discussed during the coverage of War on Terror by the British newspapers.

#### **4.2 Framing of “War on Terror” by the British press**

In this section, the editorial coverages of *The Guardian* and *the Independent* were analyzed. After the September 11 attacks, the British newspapers gave immense coverage to the issues related to terrorist attacks in the US, incidents of terrorism, US campaign against terrorism and the war in Afghanistan in 2001 and in Iraq 2003. From September 12, 2001 to 11 September 2003, the editorials from *the Guardian* and *the Independent* were analyzed.

By examining the editorials, it was observed that after the attacks, the British press

mostly framed the tragedy in a neutral way. It sympathized with the Americans but it expressed certain concerns over US policies regarding combating terrorism. Particularly, *The Guardian* adopted a more neutral stance than *The Independent* on the incident of 9/11. In *The Guardian*, 60% references of the editorials indicated a neutral stance and 35% of the references framed the attacks negatively. On the other hand, 42% references in *the Independent* commented on the issue in a neutral stance but 57% were framed negatively by criticizing the military options.

After September 11 attacks, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* sympathized with the United States government and supported the British government stance over the tragedy. The press commented that government should support America but the support should not be at the expense of British national interests. In an editorial after the attacks, on September 13, 2001, *The Guardian* empathized with America and endorsed Mr. Blair's response to the 9/11 attacks who expressed distress, sympathy and support to the American nation after the disaster. However, it supported the American right of vengeance against the perpetrators of the attacks but it emphasized the need to take political measures to eradicate the roots of terrorism. In the same editorial, *The Guardian* also advised Mr. Blair to support America in the outrages of 9/11 but it recommended the British government not to adopt a "shoulder to shoulder" approach towards American policies. Likewise, *The Independent* framed the 9/11 attacks as a horrendous act of terrorism that killed hundreds of innocent people. *The Independent* sympathized with the affected people but it suggested to the government that the response to these attacks should be civilized. It stated that:

“Terrible acts of barbarism against America, but still the response must be civilized”(The Independent, September 12, 2001, p. 3).

*The Independent* commented that the September 11 attacks were an awful incident that affected billions of people around the globe. It was a severe tragedy for those who died or were injured or who lost their relatives. The entire world was shaken by this tragedy but framing it as a “turning point in history” or “act of war” was not justified. As *The Independent* stated that:

“For all the assertions that the attacks on New York and Washington were "acts of war", they are not comparable. The purpose of Tuesday's attacks was primarily the fear and shock of the attacks themselves - the object of terrorism being to induce terror...” (*The Independent*, September 15, 2001).

However, in the upcoming days *The Guardian* suggested to the British government many times to adopt a responsible approach for dealing with matters involving the September attacks. It cautioned the government not to follow every policy devised by the US government as it was contrary to British national interest. *The Guardian* also stressed that the 9/11 attacks could not be justified. It was a lethal act which killed many innocent people. Simultaneously, it was also pertinent to respond appropriately. It indicated that the response towards the attacks should be responsible; otherwise it could involve religious and cultural disputes. That was devastating for everyone.

It was noted that *The Independent* adopted a critical stance against the US post 9/11 policies. *The Independent* commented that among the Americans there was a strong sentiment to hit back at the terrorists. But it would be a vengeful act. America should bring the terrorists to justice. The culprits of the attacks should be punished but pursuing

the policies of war against other countries would not be productive. It would not address the causes of terrorism yet it would increase hatred among the Muslims against the US. It was better that the US won Muslim public opinion by addressing the grievances of the Middle East because the people in Palestine believed that the US was killing Muslim children and supporting Israel in its brutality:

“Terror in America: bring the murderers to justice, but tackle the causes of these outrages” (*The Independent*, September 14, 2001, p.3).

Similarly, *The Guardian* also remarked that the terrorists, who belonged to the Islamic world, had suffered from injustice of the US in the Middle East. Nobody was worried about those injustices. It wrote:

“...The Islamic world - from some part of which the attackers appear now to have come - has been consumed for generations with a massive sense of injustice about the role of the United States in the Middle East and in the world more generally. Why else should some Arabs have celebrated Tuesday's carnage?” (*The Guardian*, September 13, 2001, P. 25)

*The Independent* stressed that the British people were standing shoulder to shoulder with the Americans after the tragedy and wanted to avert such incidents in future. But President Bush's approach to these attacks was resentful and it could be counterproductive. It was commented that for combating terrorism America should reconsider its policy and consider eliminating the causes of terrorism. It should resolve those conflicts that cause casualties involving innocent people. Moreover, the US should focus on its security measures especially for air traffic and strengthen the intelligence services to root out terrorism. However, military response could cause many consequences in economic, political and humanitarian terms.

The British press deplored the 9/11 tragedy and framed these attacks as an awful tragedy that had an extensive and destructive impact but it was stressed to the British Government that it should adopt a balanced policy relating to the War on Terror and should try to remove the causes of terrorism. From the negative perspective the British press commented on the failure of US intelligence, pre-September 11 warnings of terrorism, Bush's post 9/11 policies and conduct of War on Terror.

*The Guardian* raised an interesting point regarding the pre-September 11 warnings of terrorists' attacks and framed Bush's response towards it in a negative manner. It revealed that Mr. Bush was warned by the CIA in August that Al-Qaeda was planning to attack US. The newspaper inquired why the US government did not heed these warnings. It further emphasized that this matter was quite serious and it merited an independent and international inquiry. *The Guardian* wrote:

“What Bush knew: Answers are needed about September 11” (*The Guardian*, May 18, 2002, p. 21).

Later on, in certain editorials, *the Guardian* criticized Bush's post 9/11 strategies. It argued that the US was pursuing the Republican domestic agenda after the 9/11 attacks and lacked international consensus on certain issues. It further indicated that America was using the 9/11 attacks for its political gains. All US policies were framed in the context of the September attacks. All measures were justified in the name of patriotism and all opposition was suppressed for the sake of nationalism. It wrote that:

“... Mr. Bush, self-styled universal soldier for truth, will have to stop pretending that tragedy gave him a free hand to remake America and the world to fit his simplistic, narrow vision - or risk having voters and US allies end the pretence

for him. For this is the delusion under which he labours. And a very dangerous delusion it is too" (*The Guardian*, January 31, 2002, p. 19).

*The Independent* raised critical questions regarding the conduct of War on Terror. It asked with whom they were fighting and whether the objectives of this war were achievable. It argued that they would not realize its goals through a conventional war that used military force. In this war they had to focus on the resources of peace. Otherwise indiscriminate killings would increase the number of martyrs and would aggravate the situation. It was better for the response to be accurate and according to international law. *The Independent* cautioned the US not to take hasty action against Afghanistan. As it wrote;

“That it has not rushed to premature and merely symbolic vengeance is to the credit of President Bush and his security team. But by designating the attack an act of war and declaring the US now to be at war against terrorism, the administration is able to cloak the reasoning behind any future military retaliation beneath that all-purpose cover: "intelligence considerations"(*The Independent*, September 19, 2001, p. 21).

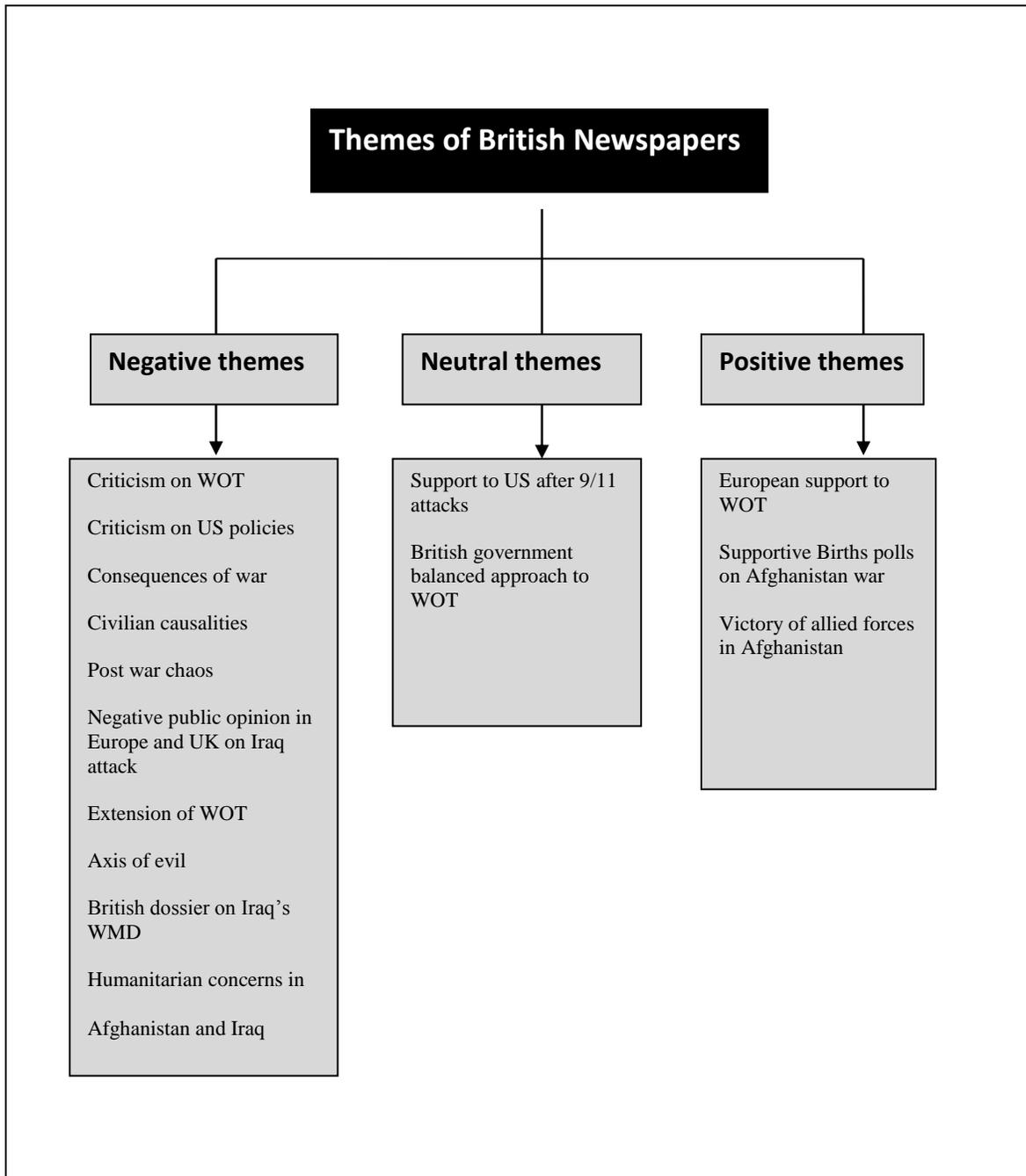
Later on, President Bush's assertions to link 9/11 with President Saddam were highly criticized by *the Independent*. In July 2003, *The Independent* discussed a congressional report on September 11 and argued that there was no solid link between 9/11 and Iraq. It was the Bush administration that used the incident for pre-emptive war on Iraq. This report did not support any argument on Iraq's weapons of mass destructions (WMD).

“If the governments of Britain and American really wanted to ensure the security of their peoples, they should have devoted the same resources and attention that were applied to fighting the war in Iraq to trying to coax, bully and bludgeon the Saudi authorities into rooting out the networks that support al-Qa'ida and similar organisations.

The sooner the allies can achieve what Americans call closure in Iraq, the sooner they can devote their energies to learning the real intelligence lessons of the attack on the twin towers” (*The Independent*, July 26, 2003, p. 18).

It further argued that there were links between the 9/11 attacks and the Afghanistan regime but these links were also not very much clear. But the war in Afghanistan had brought severe consequences such as casualties and warlordism. Besides, Osama’s agenda of perversions of Islam got strengthened in the minds of many fanatics in many other places.

The table below depicted the stance of coverage by the British press regarding war on terror. Positive, negative and neutral themes were given below.



*Figure 4.1. Stance of Coverage by British Press on War on Terror*

#### 4.2.1 War on Terror

By exploring the coverage on War on Terror, it was observed that negative themes were more dominant than neutral or positive ones. From *The Guardian* there were 61.7% references which framed the War on Terror negatively and 29% of the references were neutral. From *The Independent* 75% of the references pointed towards negative themes and 25% towards neutral ones. The British newspapers criticized the War on Terror by commenting on US policies, challenges of war, consequences of war, lack of clear objectives, lack of evidence against Osama, Bush's pro-war rhetoric and extension of the War on Terror to other countries such as Iraq, Iran or Syria.

From the perspective of neutral framing, the British newspapers highlighted the response of different countries towards the War on Terror. *The Guardian* wrote that the United States received mixed reaction from Muslim and non Muslim countries. For instance, Germany, France, Russia, the Arab World and Asian countries were sympathizing with the US and supporting the US but at the same time they suggested to employing non- military measures to tackle the dangers of terrorism and avoid destructive outcomes. Likewise, Iran supported UN approved action against Afghanistan but unilateral military attempts by the US were not acceptable by the country. *The Guardian* reported that some of the Arab governments supported the war but its public expressed intense opposition to invading Afghanistan. Even Saudi Arabia could not publicly support the United States in this war. The Arabs considered Palestine as their first priority. Unless this crisis was solved, the Arabs could not develop positive gestures

towards America. However, the Bush Administration claimed that Saudi Arabia and the US were working closely on the 'war on terror'.

Similarly, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* discussed Russian response to war on terror that was also unexpected. After the 9/11 attacks, the Russian President Mr. Putin expressed sympathy over the loss and offered his help for 'war on terror'. He asked President Bush to use the Central Asian states for launching his attack on Afghanistan. It was a startling response from an old enemy. *The Guardian* was concerned how the US would respond towards it. But the newspaper supported the collective approach that was essential for new world. However, *The Independent* framed his response as a political stunt. It was argued that by supporting the US he justified his war on terror in Chechnya and in response he received less criticism from the West on the Chechnya issue.

“Mr. Putin is securing the spoils of war” (*The Independent* November, 15, 2001, p. 3)

*The Guardian* and *The Independent* discussed Pakistan's support for the War on Terror in many of its editorials but the British press had a skeptical stance against Pakistan. Pakistan was framed as an uncomfortable ally of the US in the War on Terror. *The Independent* questioned how the President of Pakistan, who violated democratic norms in the country, could be trusted. As a President of Pakistan it was his duty to stabilize his country first that was near to nuclear confrontation. The newspaper further stated in another editorial that Pakistan was the most important and the weakest ally in the War on Terror. It may be noted that although its President pledged full support to the United States, its population was quite against to the deployment of US forces in the region.

“Pakistan might yet prove to be a weak link in Mr. Bush's grand coalition” (*The Independent*, September 20, 2001, p. 3).

*The Guardian* commented that although president Musharraf wanted to end extremism from the country and supported the US he might play a double game. It was argued that Pakistan had previously supported the Taliban regime, its public had intense anti-American sentiments, the political situation was quite disturbing and certain members of the army had links with the Taliban. Moreover, changing its policies towards Taliban, it was awarded with a lot of financial and moral support by the US. Under these circumstances, Pakistan's support to the war on terror might be questionable.

From the perspective of negative framing, the following themes remained prominent in the coverage of the War on Terror by the British dailies oppositional view points, lack of evidence against Osama, US hawkish policies, Bush's pro-war rhetoric, lack of objectives, challenges to the War on Terror and consequences of war.

Four days after the September attacks *the Guardian* suggested the Bush administration to explore all other measures for restricting terrorism such as a ban on terrorist funds, the use of economic punishment for those states that supported terrorist organizations, and adopting a legitimate approach to arrest Osama Bin Laden. The newspaper was not in favour of immediate military campaign against al-Qaeda because it could be long and dangerous. *The Guardian* stated that:

“The penknife and the bomb: Brute force is not the way to defeat the terrorist threat” (*The Guardian*, September 15, 2001, p. 21).

Later in February 2002, *the Guardian* mentioned the viewpoints of France's foreign minister, Hubert Vedrine and the European Union's Javier Solana regarding the War on Terror. They also stressed the need to address the root causes of terrorism rather than adopting military means. Both criticized the US's unilateral policies and criticized President Bush for pursuing war policy after 9/11 rather focusing on multilateral consensus.

In certain editorials *The Guardian* commented on the lack of evidence against Osama. On October 05, 2001, *the Guardian* wrote that President Bush declared that he would provide evidence against Osama that was not still apparent. Tony Blair said at the Commons debate that

"There is evidence of a very specific nature relating to the guilt of Bin Laden and his associates that is too sensitive to release." (*The Guardian*, October 05, 2001, p. 23)

The newspaper commented that under these circumstances, the case against Osama could be questionable on moral, legal and political grounds. It was pertinent to explain these conflicting issues especially to the Muslim community. Otherwise it would strengthen the point of view of those who believed that America followed arrogant and aggressive policies.

There were a number of editorials from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* that commented negatively on US post 9/11 policies. *The Independent* wrote on October 15, 2002 that after 9/11 the world expressed their deep sympathy and support to the US for the tragedy but the US lost this sympathy due to its merciless treatment with prisoners of

war, arrogant attitude towards civilian casualties in Afghanistan, hostile rhetoric and autocratic attitude towards the allies. After 9/11 President Bush expressed that "all who are not with us are against us"; he had proved it with his actions. Bush's post 9/11 strategies were quite aggressive in terms of attacking Afghanistan and Iraq and threatening Syria and Iran. All these strategies framed the negative image of the US. Similarly *The Guardian* criticized Bush administration for its hawkish policies relating to the war on terror. *The Guardian* wrote on May 26, 2003 that the Bush administration propagated the values of democracy, freedom from repressive regimes and human rights as an excuse to extend its military campaigns in Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries.

“When George Bush, contemplating the September 11 product of another lethal brand of fundamentalism, responds with a violent, unyielding absolutism of his own, he moves closer to betraying, not fortifying, America's values.” (*The Guardian*, May 08, 2002, p. 17)

*The Independent* suggested if the nations were really determined to combat terrorism, they had to depend on better security systems, sharp intelligence and diplomacy. The rhetoric war by the politicians might not impress the people. The war could be won through diplomacy and intelligence, not by military retaliation. For crushing terrorism, what required was more hard work by the police and a cessation of rhetoric of war.

Particularly, *The Independent* commented negatively in certain editorials on Bush's rhetoric related to the War on Terror. It was argued that after 9/11 Bush's rhetoric was neither clear nor impressive. The newspaper framed few phrases as “folksy phrases” such as “about Osama "dead or alive", "smoking out" the terrorists and being a "lovin' guy". He acted like a small-town movie sheriff than a successor of Franklin Roosevelt.

In October 2001, *the Independent* argued that Bush's rhetoric about war against all terrorists caused confusion. There were different types of conflicts in the world. In this all oppressors would justify their fight. Mr. Putin wanted to win Chechnya's, Israel had atrocities against Palestinians. Pakistan and India had conflicts with each other. All were different cases that needed different approaches. The problem with the War on Terror was that it could not differentiate between different causes of terrorism and different policies to tackle them. Moreover the problem was that Bush did not target his struggle at Osama bin Laden alone. Instead he started it to realize the noble cause of solving all world problems with military policy. It was more important to make a new world order based on international law rather than waging war against all terrorists everywhere.

“Talking about a war against all terrorists only causes confusion” (*The Independent*, October 06, 2001, p.3).

Later on the British newspapers criticized the War on Terror by not having clear objectives and targets. *The Guardian* questioned about the exact objectives and targets of the ‘War on Terror’. It was commented that President Bush again and again repeated the same rhetoric that he was waging war against “evildoers” but he did not clearly define his policy. It was stressed that the US had no right to involve British troops in such a war that lacked clear objectives and reachable targets. On September 28, 2001, *the Guardian* urged the British Prime Minister to rationalize the War on Terror, made clear its objective and likely outcomes before involving British army in this war. *The Independent* also endorsed the same idea by stressing that America had to make some clarifications before starting campaigns in Afghanistan such as: What was the purpose

of war in Afghanistan? Which countries harboured terrorists and how they would be dealt? Where was the strong evidence which linked Osama with the 9/11 attacks?

In another editorial *The Independent* pointed that in the declaration of War on Terror there were technical and legal issues. War could be declared against a state or a military power but rest of the arguments were not convincing. War could not be declared on an approach. Declaring war on terrorists did not make sense.

“This is a war which, like the war against drugs, debases the language. There may yet be a real war, of course. If the US and its allies commit forces to fighting in Afghanistan there will, of course, be casualties on the Nato side, unlike the war in Kosovo or, in significant numbers, the Gulf war. That could lead the West into a war like Vietnam, but we are, we hope, a long way from that yet” (*The Independent*, September 17, 2001, p. 3).

Prior to the Afghanistan attack of 2001, *the guardian* cautioned against likely consequences of war in its editorials in September 2001. It stated that the ‘War on Terror’ would affect millions of people and would cause immense civilian casualties. In these attacks, those who were not the enemies of Americans might be killed. Moreover, this war would arouse anger among Muslim communities. Many countries including Britain had started serious debates regarding the outcomes of war. The US must take this issue seriously and should consider the upcoming consequences of the attack.

*The Guardian* also highlighted certain challenges that could be faced by the coalition forces. It was argued that Afghanistan was a dangerous area and with lack of ground level intelligence, it could give a tough time to the soldiers. Secondly, the soldiers were not clear about their objectives and targets that would add further difficulties for them. The coalition forces had to fight against the Taliban; they might come across Pakistan's

pro-Taliban and may have to tackle Northern Alliance resistance. In this situation, the US and British politicians were involving the troops in a dangerous combat. Besides these it was warned that supportive public polls should not be misread, and the growing soldiers and innocent civilian casualties could cause unrest around the world.

*The Independent* commented that the War on Terror was not successful in curtailing terrorism. There were new forms of terrorism emerging such as suicide attacks. It needed preventive measures. It was more important to find out the root causes of terrorism and isolate these groups with the help of Islamic countries. Such an approach was never advocated by the President. *The Independent* stressed on Bush's statement "meet violence with patient justice". The struggle should be carried on with patience and should not be framed as Operation Infinite Justice. The authorities should focus on diplomatic measures rather than military means. *The Independent* framed the w War on Terror as a dangerous and ineffective war. It wrote that;

"Lessons of 11 September, and how the war on terror' has brought only more war and more terror" (*The Independent*, September 11, 2003, p. 16).

It was suggested that for confronting the challenge of terrorism, it was important to improve security and intelligence, resolve grievances and bring the organizers of terrorism to justice. The War on Terrorism was least concerned about these issues.

#### **4.2.2            Afghanistan attack of 2001**

In the first phase of the War on Terror, Afghanistan was attacked on October 07, 2001 by the allied forces. Afghanistan was invaded to capture Osama bin Laden and

neutralize Al-Qaida. By analyzing the coverage of British newspapers (*The Guardian* and *The Independent*), it may be observed that the negative themes were more dominant than positive or neutral ones. In *The Guardian*, there were 24% references of the editorials that framed the Afghani attacks in a positive stance whereas 76% references framed it in a negative stance. However, in *The Independent*, there were 43% references that framed the war negatively, 27% neutrally and 28% positively.

From the perspective of positive or neutral framing, it may be noted that the British newspapers highlighted positive public opinion, European support to Afghanistan attack, allied victories in Afghanistan and justifications of war. In certain editorials *The Guardian* and *The Independent* wrote that they supported action against Afghanistan. *The Guardian* wrote during October and November 2001 that military action against Afghanistan was justified because America was brutally attacked by the enemy. For this reason, it was a legitimate act to defend the nation from further loss. The US was also successful in getting UN backing for the attack but not very much active support. *The Guardian* also mentioned Morning's Guardian-ICM polls that predominantly supported the attack on Afghanistan.

Similarly, *The Independent* stressed that there should not be any questions on the military campaign. As on September 11, there were several thousand innocent people killed in America, it was the duty of the US to respond to the assault. However, the US did not move rashly towards retaliation. It gathered intelligence and got international support, before it waged war. *The Independent* argued that although military campaigns

caused destruction and death, it should be remembered that the Taliban regime caused sufferings to millions of Afghans and thousands of people lost their lives on September 11. In November 2001, *The Independent* revealed the extent of European support to the War on Terror. The NATO and the European Union were determined to participate in the War on Terror. Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the smaller EU countries had offered their support to the campaign.

The other aspect that was mainly discussed by *The Independent* was the evidence against Osama Bin Laden. *The Independent* argued that Osama was designated by the US as the prime suspect of 9/11 and announced his arrest dead or alive. However, the US did not provide strong evidence against him and said that they had confidential intelligence. *The Independent* emphasized the need to gather stronger evidence against Osama and to evolve a larger coalition against terrorism by including Russia and China. Although, *The Independent* was not very much convinced by the evidence presented by Prime Minister Blair against Osama it argued that the facts that were revealed were enough to justify a limited campaign against Osama bin Laden. The Al Qaeda organization should be taken to justice for its crimes and could not be allowed to survive in any country that followed international law.

“Despite these obvious weaknesses, however, the dossier is more than enough to justify action against al-Qa’ida, the network of extremists dedicated to a vicious and inhuman "holy war" against America and Israel. Mr Blair has, after all, shown the more specific evidence privately to the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties, which is a reasonable safeguard” (*The Independent*, October 05, 2001, p.3)

During November and December 2001, there were certain editorials noted from *The*

*Guardian* and *The Independent* which hailed early victories of the allied forces in Afghanistan. *The Guardian* stated that the Taliban easily surrendered even within a month. This development was unexpected. Afghanistan was also ready for a new government setup with UN backing. It was quite astonishing for those who believed that the Afghanistan campaign would be difficult with the passage of time. *The Guardian* wrote that it was quite a successful campaign for Mr. Bush in which the Taliban surrendered so early but later on they had to be engaged with ground actions that were more dangerous and there was also a threat of prolonged guerilla warfare. *The Independent* suggested that the military campaign in Afghanistan must be accompanied by political initiatives. *The Independent* stated on November 14, 2001 that:

“THE IMAGES beamed from Kabul yesterday were as old as war itself: the triumphal entry of the victorious fighters; the joyous reception from the liberated population; and the bloodied corpses of those identified with the old regime who failed to flee in time. As the advance guard of the Northern Alliance walked into Kabul at dawn, the taboos of the Taliban were broken. Music played on the radio; men shaved off their beards; women uncovered their heads” (*The Independent*, November 14, 2001, p. 3)

*The Independent* argued that after defeating the Taliban, the US forces must be seen less on the ground. There should be peacekeeping forces from the Muslim countries such as Turkey and Bangladesh under the UNO to take post war responsibilities. It would help to reduce the anger of Muslim who might think that American military might attacked the Muslims. After the Taliban collapse, the lifting of burqa and playing music in Kabul was appreciative but still the War on Terror was not closer to its victory. The war in Afghanistan was the small part of War on Terror. Although it was a successful campaign, it should be noted that the Muslim world had reservations against the war with increasing casualties and humanitarian crisis. *The Guardian* also stressed the US

and Britain should start the diplomatic process and involve the UNO in the resolution of critical issues in Afghanistan.

The negative framing of the war mostly included stories related to criticisms on heavy bombardment, collateral damages, US's lack of interest in humanitarian and diplomatic concerns, Bush's axis of evil and objections against the Northern Alliance as a proxy force. *The Guardian* framed the attack as an 'indiscriminate devastation'. It stated that;

“Huge earth-shaking explosions, horizons filled with flame and smoke, doomsday clamor and an indiscriminate devastation: these are the familiar, unnerving symptoms of a bankrupt policy, of plans lacking or gone awry, of exponential escalation and dread futility. Familiar because the world has seen the Americans go this way before, in Vietnam, in Cambodia and in Iraq, with no good result” (*The Guardian*, November, 02, 2001).

On October 05, 2001, *the Independent* framed the Afghanistan war as a retributive and deterrent attack against the perpetrators of 9/11 attacks. It was argued that the attack on Afghanistan did not look like a law enforcement operation. According to international law, the individuals having crime charges against humanity could be arrested from other countries but fighting war against a country was vengeance. *The Independent* also questioned the scope of the War on Terror in another editorial. President Bush said that the campaign was “defined and the goal clear”. But the newspaper was not agreed to this. It was argued that initially, the US focused on Osama, now it proposed to neutralize al Qaeda and to destroy the Taliban military capability and could be expanded to other countries. The newspaper criticized the extension of the War on Terror towards other countries.

Later on many of the editorials in *The Guardian* and *The Independent* condemned heavy bombardment and collateral damages in Afghanistan. In this respect the editorials criticized the US's pro war policies. In October and November 2001, *The Independent* condemned indiscriminate bombardment by the forces. It stated that the CIA had failed to provide correct intelligence regarding the location of Al Qaeda leaders and the areas to be bombed. By doing intensified bombing they damaged their campaign. Their campaign could be successful when they achieved their targets, but by enhancing bombardment they were damaging public support for the war. Through heavy bombardment, the US would not be able to frame its image as a victim; there were plenty of reasons for which the people disliked America. Moreover, *The Independent* stressed that there should be pause in bombing. The continuous bombing would enrage the Muslim world and it could be exploited by the extremists. There was the need for the bombing to be paused for two days; the aid agencies could provide food. The food supply could be stolen by the Taliban but the civilian desperately needed it. *The Guardian* argued that contrary to this situation, the US government was only concerned to target the militants and avoided the human aspect. It even mentioned the US commander-in-chief's statement regarding the bombardment in Afghanistan:

“Here was the US commander-in-chief once again asserting the moral right to use any means, including military force, to destroy anybody he might arbitrarily deem to be a terrorist, terrorist sympathiser, or otherwise an enemy of America, at home or abroad” (*The Guardian*, November, 23, 2001, p. 23).

*The Guardian* framed the US' assertion of pro war arguments as illegal in the context of international laws and UN resolutions. There were brutal acts against civil liberties and in a democratic society. *The Guardian* argued that such assertions reminded us of the

glimpse of 'old Bush unilateralism'. By watching such indiscriminate incidents of violence, the other countries were also concerned about the conduct of war. This issue was more exploited by Al Qaeda, the Taliban and other extremist organizations who were accusing the US of its brutality.

*The Guardian* highlighted two incidents of brutal bombardment in November 2001 and January 2002. On November 29, 2001, *The Guardian* narrated an incident of fighting at Qala in Afghanistan. The combat in Qala was framed as a 'merciless fighting' that killed hundreds of Taliban prisoners in the fort. *The Guardian* argued that the people were looking at the incident differently, some considered it as a fight against fanatics or some framed it as a conspiracy designed by the US to kill Arab Afghans. *The Guardian* regretted that we did not know the exact story; we only knew what was shown on screens. This operation gave rise to many questions that must be answered through an independent inquiry. It was advocated that everyone had rights whether in war or peace time. So these rights must be assured by the forces. Otherwise such incidents would have severe consequences for the UK and the US.

Later, on January 11, 2002, *The Guardian* reported an incident in its editorial, in which it revealed that the US forces mistakenly bombed a wedding party in Afghanistan on 29 December. According to the UN, this bombardment killed 62 civilians and other sources reported the casualties as 107. However, initially the Pentagon did not accept the error but later on promised an investigation. *The Guardian* commented that although it was the only single incident of collateral damage it indicated that in future the Afghan

civilians would be under threat. The description of these two incidents of violence indicated that *The Guardian* was very concerned about the collateral damages, human rights and international laws and supported independent inquiries for such incidents. It did not support the Afghanistan attack without any objections; throughout the campaign it highlighted all those issues that were contrary to human rights and international laws.

Later, *The Independent* and *The Guardian* emphasized that the US should focus on humanitarian and diplomatic fronts of the campaign. The press mentioned Blair's statements in which he said that in this campaign there were three fronts, military, diplomatic and humanitarian. Now the military campaign had started and it was very important to work on other two fronts. It was stated if America was serious to win hearts, it should deal with the emerging humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. Particularly, the refugee crisis was getting severe in that area. Otherwise, America could lose its victory in Afghanistan if it only focused on military policy. Although American politicians stressed on diplomatic and humanitarian concerns but it's more important to prove it through actions. *The Independent* also remarked that it was wrong approach by the Americans. They moved forward with their military gains and their allies were left to clear up the mess. If America preformed in a sensible manner it could achieve enough out of this war but if it continued its arrogant behaviour, it would destroy its achievements.

Both newspapers expressed their concerns regarding the US's post-war strategies in Afghanistan. The US formed a British-led, 18-nation International Security Assistance

Force that would stabilize the country and strengthen the government setup. All of its activities would be controlled by the US and it would not be allowed to participate in any military operations. Secondly, the US planned to insert the Northern alliance as a proxy force. *The Guardian* was not in favour of NA as proxy forces. It commented that America previously had formed a lot of mistaken alliances and the present would be disturbing too. As it wrote;

“With friends like these ...: It is hard to trust the Northern Alliance” (*The Guardian*, November 08, 2001)

*The Guardian* commented that after the war, it should be the US’s prime responsibility to reconstruct the country to eradicate poverty and disparities which were producing extremists like Osama Bin Laden. However, *The Independent* argued that after defeating the Taliban, America planned nation building in Afghanistan but its strategy to form an acceptable political setup was not apparent. It was more committed to military gains. It seemed that the US was determined to kill or capture Osama and Al Qaeda leaders and not much interested in post Taliban setup. The British government’s stand was that after the Taliban fall there should be a stable government installed. The Britain should be determined to do this and the US should not leave Afghanistan as it did after Soviet withdrawal.

In certain editorials *The Guardian* and *the Independent* indicated negative public opinion and opposition from Muslim countries to the Afghanistan attack. *The Guardian* stated that with the start of the Afghanistan attack, the Muslims felt alarmed, worried and confused over the incident. Moreover, awful sufferings of the civilians aroused

annoyance among the Muslims. On October 12, 2001, *The Guardian* discussed Blair's trip to the Arab countries in its editorial for convincing them of the need for the War on Terror. It may be observed that the Prime Minister found anti-American sentiments in the Arab world and Saudi Arabia also refused to support the attack on Afghanistan. 89% of Palestinians condemned the US action against Afghanistan. The newspaper was of the opinion that the West must resolve the Middle Eastern issues. Otherwise, anti-Americanism would spread in the region. Later on, the protests in Pakistan and other Muslim countries were highlighted by the newspaper. These protests indicated if the war in Afghanistan proved to be prolonged and inflexible, it would further enrage the Muslim community. It was time to address humanitarian concerns in Afghanistan; otherwise in future it could have disastrous outcomes.

Later on *The Guardian* and *The Independent* criticized Bush's axis of evil which included Iraq, Iran and North Korea. The British press was against the extension of the War on Terror towards Iraq. This action was not supported by the newspapers and framed as a breach of moral and legal values. The press argued that the US response to 9/11 attacks in terms of attacking Afghanistan and threatening Iraq had enhanced instability in the region. The US and the UK must sort out these issues through political and diplomatic measures.

#### **4.2.3 Iraq attack 2003**

By analyzing the data from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* on the Iraq war of 2003, it may be observed that negative and oppositional themes dominated the coverage. In *the*

*guardian*, there were 93% references from the editorials that framed the attack on Iraq in a negative stance; 7% were neutral and nothing was positive on it. Likewise, from *the Independent*, there was 87% coverage having negative stance; was 8% neutral and 5% was positive.

An exploration of the data from the neutral and positive stances showed that there were very few themes from *The Independent* and *The Guardian*. For instance, *the Independent* framed neutrally Saddam's offer to renew a UN inspection inside Iraq. It was argued that although Saddam could not be trusted, he often took time when he felt threatened. However this time, it appears to be immature to overrule his offer. Allowing inspection in Iraq could have turned the situation in a positive one. The war could have been avoided through peaceful diplomacy. *The Independent* pointed that Saddam's offer to renew talks with the UN arms inspectors might have been a bluff but his offer could not be dismissed without exploration.

Likewise, few editorials from both newspapers framed the fall of Baghdad in a neutral or positive stance. *The Guardian* considered it as an impressive conquest of allied forces that wiped out 35 years of tyrannic rule of Saddam. The Iraqis felt relieved and crushed Saddam's statues. It was sure that most Arab and western leaders either supported the attack did not feel relived after the fall of Baghdad. On the other hand, some Arabs considered it as a wrong act and the defeat of Muslims and the Arabs. There were many Arab leaders who did not like Saddam but they did not approve the attack. Countries like Iraq, Syria, Libya and North Korea might have been alarmed by the fate of Saddam.

*The Independent* stated that the Iraqi capital was liberated, statues were torn down, secret forces were destroyed and all information apparatus was demolished.

“The all-powerful apparatus of information control has evaporated. Hesitantly at first, the rejoicing crowds came out on the streets to celebrate. Once oppressed people have lost their fear, there can be no turning back” (*The Independent*, April 10, 2003, p. 12).

*The Independent* appreciated the professionalism and discipline of allied forces through which they succeeded in defeating Saddam with minimum casualties. The people of Baghdad were happy at the end of a despotic regime. People celebrated their freedom in the streets.

“No one could fail to be moved by the scenes of celebration in Iraq, the joy and relief at the toppling of Saddam Hussein's - as it turned out - hollow tyranny. We should be grateful that the war was over so quickly” (*The Independent*, April 12, 2003, p. 16).

But at the same time, *The Independent* indicated that with the fall of the regime, there were threats of lawlessness and insecurity. It would be the allied forces' duty to restore the situation. *The Independent* was alarmed that the US had won war in Iraq by defeating Saddam's forces in a short time but the US and the UK had to pay a price in the form of Arab resentment and global insecurity. Every passing day increased anxiety in the Middle Eastern region.

Turning now to the negative coverage, there were a number of issues that were highlighted by the British press. It touched on the consequences of war, opposition to the war, protests, negative opinion polls, inspection of weapons of mass destruction, US policies of war, violation of UN resolutions by the United States, deteriorating security

situation and the US's extension of 'War on Terror' to other countries. With the beginning of the War on Terror the US started to accuse Iraq of its possession of weapons of mass destruction. Bush's statements indicated that the US had planned tough strategies for Iraq. *The Guardian* suggested that before settling Afghanistan, the US should not have extended its anti terrorism campaign to Iraq. It was remarked that without the authorization of an international organization the US policy against Iraq would be irrational. If the US had planned to pursue this course of action without the UN, it would go without British support. If Blair would support Iraq attack, his decision would not be backed by the British people.

In this context, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* discussed British public opinion that was against war. There were continuous protests in the UK. The newspapers wrote that the British people did not believe that Saddam had any links with 9/11. The British public supported action against Saddam through the UN but not the US's unilateral battle. *The guardian* commented on British support to the US war on Iraq in these words;

“Six months ago, we could be proud of our support for the US. Today, pride has been replaced by an alarm that Mr Blair is enthusiastic to lend our support to Mr Bush's deeply dangerous schemes” (*The Guardian*, March 19, 2002, p. 19).

Further, *The Guardian* mentioned certain public polls conducted in Britain and America during September 2002 that indicated opposition to the war. Polls conducted in Sedgefield and Downing Street indicated a negative public perception. An ICM poll for the Daily Mirror concluded that 71% of British people believed that the UK should not

support the war. *The Independent* mentioned *The New York Times* opinion polls on January 25, 2003 which indicated that 77% of Americans were of the opinion that the government should wait to gather more sound evidence against Saddam and only 17% supported to starting military action against Iraq.

*The Independent* suggested that it would be unwise for the US and the UK to participate in a war that lacked public support. On February 15, 2003, *The Independent* mentioned that the British public protested against the Iraqi war in Hyde Park. It was emphasized that the British public strongly opposed the Iraqi attack. Now it was a difficult moment for Tony Blair to decide whether British forces would support the US attack or not. The situation was critical for Blair; he should have considered the public message that said; “Stop the war”. *The Independent* wrote that:

“The Prime Minister's biggest challenge is to convince the British public” (*The Independent*, February 28, 2003, p. 20).

The British press mentioned that there were many European and Muslim countries such as France, Germany, Belgium, China, Russia, Turkey, Ireland, Italy, Australia, Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran that opposed the Iraqi war. German chancellor Gerhard Schroder publicly criticized the US policies over Iraq. His opposition to Iraq war affected US-German relations later on. Moreover, the British newspapers highlighted the oppositional statements by prominent political and religious personalities against the war such as British Minister Clare Short, Javier Solana, Chris Patten from the European Union, Dominique de Villepin, the French Foreign Minister, President Chirac's and Henry Kissinger. Javier Solana from the European Union

opposed Iraq attack in these words;

"There can be no excuse for slipping into war because of the dictates of logistics or the weather,"(*The Independent*, February 01, 2003, p. 18)

Chris Patten commented that the European Union was against this war. The Iraqi attack would cause suffering for the Iraqi population and it was not a legitimate attack approved by the UNO. *The Guardian* argued that not only Europe criticized the Iraqi attack but American politicians also denounced the war. The ex-Nato commander Wesley Clark commented on Saddam that;

"...he never saw Saddam Hussein as an imminent threat to the US or to the region and says that the refusal now to put Iraq under UN auspices is a "strategic blunder," creating chaos and drawing in terrorists."(*The Guardian* September 01, 2003, p. 21).

*The Guardian* remarked over the statement considering it as a 'sensible' words against the US's belligerent policies. The Conservative foreign secretaries, Malcolm Rifkind and Lord Hurd expressed their reservations on the Iraqi attack. Ex-President of the US Bill Clinton disapproved of Bush's aggressive policies. He suggested focusing on Al-Qaeda rather than moving towards other fronts of 'war on terror, following the UN instructions to deal with Iraq and employing non-military ways for regime change and military attack as the last option. *The Guardian* hailed Clinton's remarks over the Iraqi policy and stated that;

"Bill Clinton delivered the speech of a true political master" (*The Guardian*, October 03, 2002, p. 21).

There were some other Americans that opposed the Iraqi war such as the former

secretary of state Mr. Madeleine Albright and Senate foreign relations committee chairman, Senator Joseph Biden. Moreover, *The Guardian* pointed out that the government faced criticism from religious circles of the country. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams and Church's Board for Social Responsibility, chaired by the Bishop of Southwark declared the Iraqi war as immoral and illegal without the UN support. *The Independent* revealed that the new Archbishop of Canterbury with 200 other religious leaders opposed the war without the UN backing. Senior church figures in the United States also did not support the idea of war. Mr. Blair tried to win religious circles by visiting Rome to meet the Pope but he got negative response. The negative response from the public and religious circles had weakened the Bush and Blair case against Iraq.

Later on, *The Guardian* commented on the justifications of the Iraqi war in its editorials on December 03, 2002, June 05, 30, 2003 and May 26, 2003. It argued that there was no validation and international backing to overthrow a national leader by an external force as America had decided to topple Saddam's regime. This war could set dangerous precedents for other countries. As *The Guardian* stated:

“It is, fundamentally, about the wilful exercise of unrestrained global power, unfazed by considerations of international law, the principles of collective UN security, and the consequences for everyman. Iraq will form an awesome precedent for what Gerhard Schroder calls the "law of the jungle". Iraq is just the beginning” (*The Guardian*, January 30, 2003, p. 23).

The newspaper was suspicious of the intelligence reports against Iraq's weapons of mass destruction that had made a legal case in favour of war. The US and Britain also claimed that Saddam was a threat and had links with al-Qaeda. But if these claims were

manoeuvred or edited for self interests, it could have severe impacts on the US and British credibility among the public. Further, *The Guardian* contended that the US and the UK exploited moral and human grounds to attack Iraq although the British government presented a dossier on human rights violations in Iraq. It should be denounced but it did not support the attack on Iraq. In reality, humanitarian issues were used to justify their political and military objectives. The other justification for invading Iraq was its autocratic and undemocratic regime. *The Guardian* argued that there were many examples of undemocratic regimes from Turkey to Egypt and Pakistan to Saudi Arabia. These countries did not have the ideal form of democracy but it did not mean that they should be attacked. The war on Iraq would set very dangerous precedent.

The other theme that was generally stressed by *The Independent* and *The Guardian* in their editorials was the role of the United Nations in the inspection of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and the US response to it. Both the newspapers mentioned that US did not show positive response towards United Nations inspection. Although United Nations team mentioned that the Iraqi Government provided them with all assistance the United States was not ready to accept the findings of the United Nations. On March 03, 2003, *The Guardian* commented that the US ignored the findings of UN inspectors who said that they did not find any smoking gun in Iraq. Even Hans Blix challenged the US allegations of Iraq's deception on 14 Feb. *The Guardian* commented that perhaps the US had detached itself from an inspection process and was not ready to comply with UN resolutions. At this time any positive development by Iraq could not restrict America to invade the country.

*The Independent* argued that the Iraqi war had demoralized the UN authority as an international arbitrator. Europe persuaded the US to drop the option of war and advised that it give one last chance to Saddam Hussein and the UNO as well. *The Independent* stated that Blair's support of the Iraqi war had isolated him in Europe, in his political party and in Britain too. *The Independent* did not consider the Iraqi attack a legitimate war without UN authorization. It wrote on April 10, 2003 that by attacking Iraq without the UN support, the US and the Britain had violated basic principles of international order relating to national sovereignty. *The Independent* referred to Kofi Anan's statement in its editorial on March 12, 2003 that any action against Iraq without a Security Council approval would lack legitimacy. It should be a serious matter of concern for Blair. It would create legal and political implications for the Prime Minister. *The Guardian* and *The Independent* were in favour of peaceful disarmament of Iraq through diplomacy.

Prior to the Iraqi attack, the British press started to highlight the consequences of war on Iraq and on Britain too. It pointed out that the attack would have economic, political, security and humanitarian consequences. *The Guardian* wrote that the US attack on Iraq would frame not only Iraq's future but also the Arab World's. It would not be successful to restrict terrorism through aggressive means. Contrary to this, the war would enrage Muslim opinion, reinforce al-Qaeda, kill innocent civilians, enhance terrorism and wreck the coalition against terrorism. After the war, Iraq's internal situation would become more precarious. There would be security concerns, crimes, killings and chaos.

Moreover, the impending attack on Iraq would negatively impact the world economy as indicated by the IMF. These attacks would impact British politics and British national interests. It was neither approved by the UNO nor was there any strong evidence concerning Iraq's weapons. It would badly affect Labour votes and Britain's future as a multiracial European nation. Besides, it would have serious implications for Blair's political career.

*The Independent* argued that the unilateral attack on Iraq would set a bad precedent for other countries that have had grudges with their neighbours. For example, China could use it against Taiwan, India against Pakistan and many other countries. This precedent had given life to the old metaphor "Might is Right". On May 09, 2003, the newspaper stated that President Bush's military response to 9/11 had worsened the situation. Many other leaders used 9/11 for their vested interests such as Vladimir Putin (in Chechnya), Ariel Sharon (in Palestine), Atal Behari Vajpayee (in Kashmir) and the US in Iraq.

Moreover, the unilateral stand of Britain and the US had affected multilateral institutions like the NATO, the European Union, the Arab League and the UNO. The consequences of war would increase the sufferings of the Iraqis. It was expected that the war process would not be prolonged and the forces would try to minimize civilian casualties. This war would not be easy but rather destructive. In April 2003, *The Independent* referred to a statement of the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak who said that this war would create 100 Osama bin Laden. The entire Muslim region was threatened by the attack. There were daily protests in Jordan and Egypt. Islamic jihad

declared that they would increase suicide attacks against Israeli forces. The Arab TV channel Aljazeera gave 24 hour coverage to the Iraqi war more openly and less retentively unlike the BBC or the CNN. The images of war were to enrage Muslim public opinion throughout the region.

Later on, the process of war in Iraq was framed in a negative stance by highlighting civilian casualties, excess use of bombs, tough targets and violations of international laws. On March 31 and April 07, 2003, *The Guardian* revealed the extent of incidents of civilian casualties. Bombing on Hilla, a small town near Baghdad killed 33 civilians and injured 100 people. In another incident in the pursuit of Saddam 50 civilians were killed in one day. *The Independent* framed the war process in these words;

“The final countdown to an unsupportable conflict has begun” (*The Independent*, February 07, 2003, p.16).

*The Guardian* and *The Independent* criticized the use of cluster bombs and heavy bombardment in Iraq. *The Guardian* argued that the use of cluster bombs was against international laws because it had dreadful impacts on the civilians. On April 04, 2003, *the Independent* reported that these bombs were responsible for extensive damage and caused many casualties.

Later on the British press argued that the Iraqi attack was not supported by the Iraqi nation as it was expected by the Americans before the war. The Iraqi did not welcome the troops as liberators. *The Guardian* wrote that;

“...and the expected welcome for the "liberators" has not happened, or at least not yet. This may be because people are either too scared to risk Saddam's wrath until victory is assured or because the brutality of the invasion has aroused a latent Iraqi nationalism that cohabits with fear of Saddam” (*The Guardian*, March 31, 2003, p. 19).

In March and April 2003, *the Independent* discussed in its editorials that America expected that its forces were invading Iraq for crushing a brutal regime and its forces would receive reception as liberators but it did not happen. They were not framed as liberators; instead of that they were perceived as invaders and Saddam was as a patriot. Iraqi nationalism had emerged among the population. At the Jordanian border few reporters interviewed some of the refugees, who said that they wanted to fight for Iraq under Saddam. There was no sign of welcome from Iraqi public to the America invasion. Only the US's modesty could win their hearts, otherwise arrogant polices would alienate them. The newspaper suggested that the war should avoid civilian casualties and America should hand over reconstruction task to the UNO. It would help to decrease anti-American sentiment in the Muslim world.

Further, the newspaper commented that by having technological superiority, the US could not achieve its prime targets early. The US troops faced heavy resistance from Iraq; as they moved towards Baghdad, they were already exhausted and logistically stretched. There was also a danger that Saddam could use such use chemical weapons for securing Baghdad but the US soldiers could handle this problem.

After the war, *the Independent* remarked that although the war was over, we had to pay for its consequences over many years to come. This war brought many stories of human

sufferings, miseries and civilian casualties. The brutal images of war could not be erased from the eyes of spectators that became the continuous cause of fury in the Muslim community. The attack would increase more suicide attacks against Western civilians, encourage terrorists to enhance global terrorism and would destabilize the region. *The Independent* emphasized that the implications of the Iraqi war were grave. The war enhanced resentment against America not only in Iraq but in the entire Muslim region. In these circumstances the post-war situation would be more expensive than expected.

“The implications of a long war are serious. The case for military action was sold with the implication that it would be short and relatively bloodless. Even on that basis, George Bush and his award-winning salesman Tony Blair could not persuade world opinion that it was necessary. Now that they appear to accept that the fighting will last months rather than weeks, with all the likely consequences in blood and suffering, support for the war, although it may have increased briefly once British troops were engaged, could recede” (*The Independent*, March 03, 2003, p. 14)

After the war, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* highlighted the worsening of law and order in Iraq. They urged on the United States government to resolve security and humanitarian issues in Iraq. The British press supported the United Nations leading role in post war Iraq. *The Guardian* argued that after the attack, there was a severe deterioration of the law and order situation. There were civilian and military casualties on a daily basis. The incidents of destroying oil pipelines, water supply to Baghdad and other destructions became common. With the passage of time, the security conditions were deteriorating in Iraq. Even the Red Cross held their operations in Iraq; in that case the Iraqis would suffer. It was particularly required that the US should reconsider its policies but *The Guardian* deplored the statement of the US administrator in Iraq, Paul Bremer, who said:

"you have to be willing to go on the offensive against terrorism - kill them before they kill you" (*The Guardian*, August 08, 2003, p. 19)

*The Independent* argued that before invading Iraq, President Bush portrayed Saddam as a threat to the US and the entire world. By removing him, the sufferings of the Iraqi people could be reduced, terrorism could be rooted out, terrorist organizations would be wiped out and Israel and Palestine could peacefully resolve their conflicts. But after the war, it was noted that none of the objective was fulfilled. There were increases in the incidents of violence and suicide attacks. There were no peace deals on table between Israel and Palestine. Law and order was deteriorating in Iraq. The American forces had been planned to be stationed in Iraq perhaps for years.

*The Independent* noted many incidents of looting, deteriorating law and order and lack of basic necessities in post war Iraq. On April 11, 2003, *The Independent* pointed in its editorial the incidents of looting, destruction of civil order and chaos in Iraq. It was a heavy price that Iraq paid for establishing democracy by force. It was the duty of the forces to restore law and order in Iraq. In the next editorial *the Independent* mentioned the incidents of looting in Baghdad and Mosul museums. The individuals plundered ancient artifacts. Seven weeks after the formal end of the war, the security and provision of basic necessities to the people were at deplorable state. *The independent* criticized the allied forces that they were less prepared to restore law and order in the country. It was the duty of the forces to stop looting and violence. Regrettably, the forces were more interested to secure oil fields than restore law and order and secure hospitals that were more important. *The Guardian* also emphasized that it was the responsibility of the forces to restore law and order in Iraq. For this reason they had to make some security

plans with the Iraqi forces and intelligence. The prime objective was to bring Iraqi life back to normal.

After the war, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* were highly supportive of the active role of the UNO in Iraq. But America did not trust the UN. *The Independent* wrote that in post-war affairs the US was not agreed to involve other countries and particularly those who opposed war such as France and Russia. Even arrogantly, the US refused the offer by Mr. Blix to restart arms inspection in Iraq. Mr. Bush responded that the US forces were more capable of finding weapons of mass destruction than Hans Blix. Without UN inspection, the independent verification of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction was not possible. *The Guardian* deplored the fact that the US gave very little importance to the UN in the post war scenario even though people were expecting a dominant role by the UN. Even Prime Minister Blair was in favour of the UN and expressed his concerns about the issue. In few editorials, *The Independent* indicated the differences between the US and the UK regarding post-war arrangements in Iraq. Blair wanted to have a central role for the UN to transit Iraq from the war situation to democracy. Moreover he wanted a peace deal between Israel and Palestine. But America wanted its dominant role in Iraq. This situation was unacceptable for the Arab States; they did not tolerate major US presence in the region.

In September 2003, *The Independent* supported the idea that some international force should take charge in Iraq. The UN must play an active role in post-war affairs as the US arrogantly conceded a "vital role of UN in Iraq". All UN members should play their

role to resist American participation in the civil war of Iraq. It would take time to stabilize the precarious security situation in Iraq. But its severe outcomes would affect the British economy. It was suggested by the British press that the US should rethink its policy over Iraq because escalating human and financial costs were putting America in trouble. If the UN had an enhanced role in Iraq, it would be easy for other countries to participate in the peace process.

The other issue that was continuously discussed by the British press was the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Before the war, the press emphasized that the United States and British governments should follow the United Nations instructions in this respect but after the war, the press stressed the finding of missing weapons of mass destruction from Iraq and criticized the United States and British governments on this issue. After the attack, *The Guardian* stressed on weapon inspection inside Iraq. The newspaper argued that weapons of mass destruction were the prime reason to invade Iraq. Now it seriously asked the Bush administration where the weapons were. The delay in locating missing weapons would increase public scepticism over US intelligence and Bush's policy. It was criticized that the Bush administration exaggerated this issue by extraordinarily emphasizing on weapons of mass destruction. At this stage, the US had distanced itself from UN inspection in Iraq, which was a bad policy. In the present scenario, only the UN was the international and objective body that could pursue inspection and present factual information. *The Independent* argued in its editorials in September 2002;

“Mr. Bush and Mr. Blair have still not produced the evidence to justify war” (*The Independent*, September 09, 2002, p. 14).

*The Independent* further argued in the same editorial that it was believable that Saddam supported international terrorism but there was not strong evidence. Mr. Blair and Mr. Bush said that Iraq had nuclear missiles which posed a threat to British interest. Mr. Bush claimed that the International Atomic Energy Agency declared that Saddam was six months away from developing nuclear bombs. That was not at all true. The US Defence Department had in the previous year declared that Saddam was five years away from making bombs and he needed considerable help from outside to enrich uranium Iraq's reserves. *The Independent* argued that by making these statements Bush and Blair got enough media coverage that they needed and they had made a solid case against Iraq. *The Independent* stressed that if there were strong proofs that Saddam had nuclear weapons, they should be provided. Mr. Blair in certain of his statements tried to scare people for supporting the war but did not convince them through strong justifications, which was dangerous and irresponsible. In April 2003, *the Independent* argued that after capturing Iraq, it was important to bring evidence relating to weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. After fighting, the forces had access to the whole of Iraq and scientists and now they could not conceal any information. Each passing day was increasing public doubts regarding the missing weapons and legitimacy of war. Now the forces should find weapons and anthrax as claimed before the war. It was more important to get help from the UN weapons inspection team to sort out the issues of missing weapons in Iraq. If the US and the UK were unable to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, it would cause tension for them. Mr. Blix stated that

"...you have sent in 250,000 men to wage war in order to find nothing" (*The Independent*, March 21, 2003, p. 20).

*The Independent* commented that it would be good if the forces would obtain evidence but if they failed, it would indicate that the war was based on “speculative exaggeration”. *The Independent* asked grim questions of the British government to explain why Iraq was attacked. Why were weapons of mass destruction not found after the attack? There was no evidence that these weapons were provided to al-Qaida. Now there was no one ready to take the responsibility for false information provided through dossiers. After the Iraqi war the British government said that there were mass graves found in Iraq. Saddam’s rule was despotic and cruel. But the question was that Iraq was attacked for having weapons of mass destruction; now the Prime Minister was questioned why six weeks after the attack weapons of no mass destruction were found.

Moreover, there were certain editorials from *The Guardian* that criticized the Bush’s policies of war. It framed the US’s approach on Iraq as unilateral and bellicose. It was not in favour of the Iraqi war. The newspaper commented that the war would increase terrorism in the region, as it stated;

“Terrorism will not be defeated by toppling Saddam Hussein. But scapegoating Iraq, like penalizing Palestinians for the west's policy failures, will certainly aid terrorism” (*The Guardian*, November 29, 2002, p. 25).

The newspaper depicted Mr. Bush’s policies and his statements such as “axis of Evil” and “civilized and uncivilized camps” as dangerous and chaotic. It argued that many people framed him as “warmonger” if he was not; he must focus on diplomatic measures and avoid confrontational statements. If America would continue the same course of action it might lose many of the European friends. *The Independent* criticized the US

policy of 'axis of evil' and threats to Iran and North Korea after Iraq. It was stated that confrontational policies of America would derail its image in the region. *The Independent* considered US's threats to Syria and Iran as a next target of War on Terror that was inappropriate. *The Independent* argued that there were certain figures in the Bush administration who wanted to redraw the map of Middle East. Britain should restrain itself from this policy. The British government should open diplomatic channels with these countries and should not support the policy of axis of evil. Such ill-conceived wars could destabilize the whole region.

Overall, the framing of the Iraqi war was quite negative. *The Independent* and *The Guardian* were against the war since the beginning of allegations against Iraq. The newspapers highlighted negative statements, public polls and oppositional comments over the war, collateral damages, resistance by the Iraqi forces and chaotic situation in Iraq. During the post-war period, the press highlighted the deteriorating security situation of Iraq, inability of allied forces to control the situation and US's arrogance not to give the leading role to the UNO in the post-war process. The press also criticized British government for not finding WMD's in Iraq that was framed as strong justification to attack Iraq. There were only few references that indicated positive and neutral stance towards the framing of the Iraqi war. However, the entire coverage of the Iraqi war was significantly negative. The British press did not consider it a legal war without the UN backing. It stressed to the British government to withdraw its support from the war.

Concluding, it could be stated that the overall framing of War on Terror was negative by the British press. In the coverage of the Afghanistan war of 2001 and Iraqi war of 2003, the negative and oppositional themes were dominant but at the same time, there were certain themes from both newspapers which adopted positive or neutral stance over the conflict. Particularly, in the coverage of the Afghanistan war, at certain points the press supported the war or looked at it neutrally but during the Iraqi crisis, the positive or neutral framing was quite limited.

### **4.3 Media Frames**

By analyzing the coverage of ‘War on Terror’, it was observed that there were four media frames used by the British press namely;

- i. Anti war Frame
- ii. Rebuilding Frame
- iii. Humanitarian Frame
- iv. Pro war Frame

It was observed that the anti war frame was mostly used by the newspapers. The newspaper criticized war policies, consequences of war, casualties, negative public opinion etc. Secondly, the newspapers focused on the rebuilding of war-torn area, suggested to involve the UNO and stressed to form representative governments. Thirdly, the humanitarian frame was identified from the coverage. The newspaper showed its concerns over humanitarian issues such as shortage of food and water, medicine, diseases, babies’ health, refugee problems and plight of prisoners of war. Lastly, in few

editorials, the pro-war frame was also identified. The press supported war victories in Afghanistan, mentioned pro-war public polls and discussed pro-war arguments.

### 4.3.1 Anti-war Frame

The analysis of the editorials from *the Independent* and *The Guardian* indicated that the newspapers mostly framed ‘War on Terror’ in an anti war frame. The press criticized the policies of war, the pro-war rhetoric of the Bush administration, oppositional statements, objectives of war and consequences of war. The figure below highlighted the themes of anti war frame

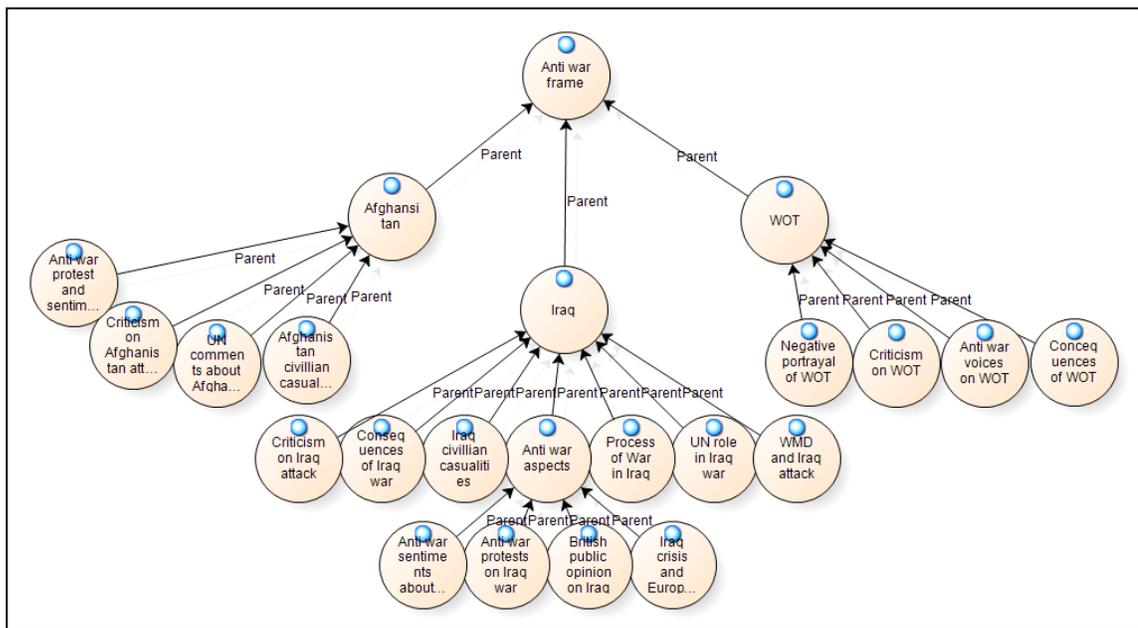


Figure 4.2. Thematic Model of Anti-War frame by the British newspapers

The British press argued that after the 9/11 attacks limited number of people supported the war on terror but after a few months to the incident, the people were sceptical about the conduct of this campaign; and the effectiveness of the strategies employed by the

Bush administration to defeat terrorism. The British nation had concerns regarding the targets and challenges of the war. In certain editorials, *The Guardian* illustrated its unease over unclear targets and objectives of the war in Afghanistan.

Later on *The Guardian* and *The Independent* argued against Bush's post 9/11 policies and pro-war rhetoric. *The Guardian* criticized Bush's framing of 'War on Terror' as the battle between good and evil. It was commented that this war did not have any moral reflection. Regrettably, President Bush was not ready to consider any alternative view point except war. He regarded 9/11 attack as a 'lethal brand of fundamentalism' but his own policies proved more violent and contrary to American values. *The Guardian* also argued that President Bush did not clearly explain the war objectives. Later in September 25, 2001, *the Independent* expressed its opposition to the British participation in the War on Terror. It was argued that Britain could not give a free hand to the Bush administration on this issue. It should be assured that there would be limited risks to the British forces and would be there limitations to the British role in this war.

The British newspapers pointed at the dangerous consequences of the War on Terror. The *Independent* argued that America's retaliation on 9/11 attacks could provoke revolution in the Islamic world. The attacks on the Muslim countries could provoke the Muslim community. *The Independent* and *The Guardian* pointed out the economic impacts on the world market. The 9/11 attacks already had bad effects on the economy. The War on Terror would have negative impacts especially on the economies of the US

and the UK. Moreover the costs of war could depress the economies of these countries. *The Guardian* argued that the US response to the 9/11 attacks could affect millions of peoples and dozens of countries. The attacks in Afghanistan would cause civilian casualties and would affect many people. *The Guardian* was of the opinion that before exploring all diplomatic channels with Afghanistan, the country should not be attacked.

With the start of the Afghani war on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2001, the press highlighted negative public opinion, protests, oppositional statements, incidents of bombings, collateral damages, criticism on US policies, and deteriorating American image in the Muslim world. *The Guardian* mentioned anti-war protests and anti-war public opinion in its editorials in October 2001. It was stated that there were anti war protests in the UK, European countries and the US due to increasing civilian casualties in Afghanistan. *The Guardian* commented that after the Afghanistan attacks, the Muslim community felt perturbed over the US policies towards the Muslims countries. The situation the Muslims faced in Afghanistan, Palestine and Kashmir added to their anxieties. The US should reconsider her policies towards the Muslims and should take positive steps for the betterment of the Muslims living in vulnerable conditions in Palestine and Kashmir.

Later on, *The Guardian* mentioned the incidents of civilian killings in its editorials during October, November and January 2001. *The Guardian* condemned the casualties, merciless fighting, and violence in Afghanistan. It was argued that many countries were concerned about the indiscriminate bombings of the allied forces. This situation could be exploited by the militants in the Muslim world. The war against the Taliban proved

more destructive and less effective. Likewise, the number of editorials from *The Independent* in October, November and December 2001, also discussed escalating civilian casualties in Afghanistan.

*The Guardian* was extremely opposed to the extension of the war on terror in Iraq. It wrote that if America extended its campaign to other countries such as Iraq in pursuit of Osama or Al-Qaida, such a move would not be supported. Such action pointed towards the US's unilateral and activist approaches. The second phase of the War on Terror, the Iraq war, was also framed in a negative stance. The British newspapers pointed out negative public opinion, oppositional statements, consequences of war, casualties, post war chaos, scepticism regarding missing weapons of mass destruction and demonstrations.

*The guardian* and *The Independent* mentioned that many countries opposed the Iraqi attack of 2003 namely Germany, Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, France, Russia, China and Iran. Moreover, the press highlighted the oppositional statements by Javier Solana, the European Union's foreign policy chief, Hubert Vedrine, foreign minister of France, European foreign affairs commissioner Chris Patten and Russia's President Vladimir Putin against the Iraqi war. The British press argued that it is not only the Islamic and the European countries that opposed the Iraqi attack; even some Americans expressed their concerns against the war. *The Independent* also published opinion polls on August 13, 2002 and September 10, 2002 that indicated negative public opinion in France, Germany, Britain and America. *The Guardian* also

endorsed the same view point and argued that the British government faced criticism from political, social and religious circles in Britain. There was widespread dissent in the UK.

It was observed that in certain editorials *The Independent* and *The Guardian* criticized the US policies on Iraq. *The Guardian* commented that the US policies on Iraq were not rational and logical. The British public did not consider Iraq responsible for the 9/11 tragedy. It was argued that Iraq war was not for democracy, justice or freedom; it demonstrated the expression of wild global power that did not consider international laws and UN authority. Moreover, the Iraqi war would cause casualties, enrage Muslim opinion and disrupt anti terrorist efforts. *The Guardian* emphasized that the war served US self interests and set an immoral and dangerous precedent. *The Guardian* also denounced the US monopolies of the dossier, pressuring Hans Blix for favorable results, bombing of south Iraq, lack of evidence against secret weapons and indications of waging war without UN backing.

In the context of Iraq crisis, the British press stressed the act of inspection in Iraq by the United Nations. Many editorials in both newspapers dealt with the issue of inspection of weapons of mass destruction. It was argued that the United States and Britain should follow the United Nations authorization for war. It was observed that the press criticized America for by passing United Nations on Iraq issue.

During the war process, the British press stressed heavy bombardment, increasing civilian casualties and property damages. *The Guardian* criticized that the Iraq attack had caused massive casualties and destruction in the country. Even after five months after the attack, the situation was still unsettled. There were incidents of military and civilian casualties, the destruction of a section of the oil pipeline and sabotaging of the Baghdad water supply. In April 2003, *The Independent* condemned the use of cluster bombs in Iraq. It was argued that these bombs were very dangerous and created massive explosions. With increasing casualties, the war was becoming unpopular in Britain.

In the post war scenario, the Iraqi war was framed with the images of suffering and civilian casualties. There were no WMD's, no elections, no Saddam was found; instead 57 Americans were killed since the victory was announced in Iraq. *The Independent* argued that the post war situation was more expensive for the US. The longer stay of the allied forces would burden financial cost for the US, suffering of the people, chaos in Iraq and increase anti Americanism. It was noted that with the fall of the Saddam regime, there was a deteriorating security situation and looting in Iraq. The forces were not capable of restoring the country and perform peacekeeping tasks.

The other issue that was covered in an anti frame was the missing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. The US and Britain were criticized for not finding WMD's. In July 2003, *The Independent* wrote if the US and the British troops did not find WMD's from Iraq, it would damage the justification of war. The newspaper also mentioned Hans Blix's statement that he was eager to see weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. He

criticized British and American governments that if the forces did not get weapons, it indicated that these governments sent 250,000 soldiers to Iraq to find nothing.

Overall, anti-war frame dominated the coverage of War on Terror. The British newspaper included anti war statements, public sentiments, negative arguments about the war, casualties, collateral damages, consequences, UN opposition and criticism on US and British policies regarding war.

#### **4. 3.2 Rebuilding Frame**

The rebuilding frame was not as dominant as the anti-war frame was. However, the British newspapers included the issues related to reconstruction of Afghanistan and Iraq, international rebuilding aids, rebuilding plans, UN role in rebuilding, security situation and political representative setups in Afghanistan and Iraq. The figure below highlighted the themes of rebuilding frame by the British newspapers

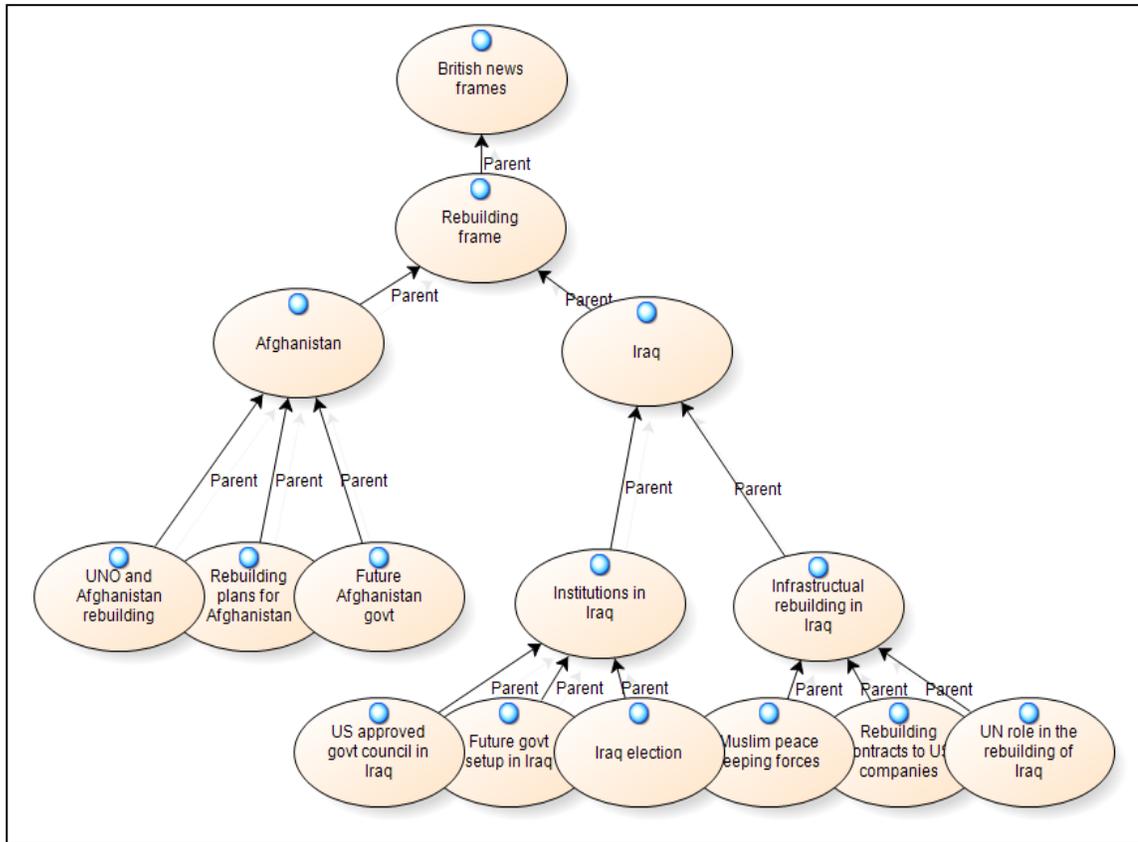


Figure 4.3. Thematic Model of Rebuilding Frame by the British newspapers

*The Guardian* was quite concerned about the rebuilding of Afghanistan. In many editorials, it stressed to the international community to support the rebuilding process. However, *The Guardian* criticized the US for not adequately participating in rebuilding and stabilizing process of the country. It criticized the statement made by the Pentagon chief, General Richard Myers who emphasized on the military aspect of war rather than political and humanitarian fronts. *The Guardian* argued that a deteriorating security situation had disrupted the rebuilding process in Afghanistan. The chaotic situation in Afghanistan might weaken Karzai's government. But his downfall would halt the international rebuilding process and would provide opportunity to fanatics and terrorists

to strengthen their grip in Afghanistan. It was stressed that the US must take positive steps to control the deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan.

*The Independent* reported that the reconstruction of Afghanistan would be more costly than the military campaign. It referred to the statement by Secretary of State Jack Straw who stressed to the international leaders to make generous contributions for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. He proposed a special international fund for Afghanistan along with existing aid donations. *The Independent* commented that it was encouraging to hear that the British government focused on rebuilding tasks as well as the military mission. It was the realistic plan for rebuilding Afghanistan. *The Independent* emphasized that Afghanistan needed international aid and UN supported government that could stabilize the country and could save thousands of Afghans from starvation. However, *The Independent* acknowledged that peace making and reconstruction would be a daunting task in Afghanistan but it was an essential duty of the forces to be involved in the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Soon after the start of war in Afghanistan, *The Guardian* highlighted the need for a broad base political setup under the UNO to perform the tasks of the country's rehabilitation. This setup would provide a platform to various Afghan factions and would dispel the impression among the Muslim community that only Western authorities were involved in post war setup. Later on when an interim political setup was formed in Afghanistan, *The Guardian* framed it as a positive step towards the political and social rehabilitation of the country. The interim council was headed by a Pashtun

chief but the rest of the members mostly belonged to the Northern Alliance. It was hoped that these members would positively respond towards the rebuilding of the country and would rise above their self interests. As *The Guardian* wrote;

“A delicate imbalance: Afghan chiefs must rise above self-interest”(The guardian, December 06, 2001, p. 21)

*The Independent* was in favour of a representative political system in Afghanistan. The government should represent all Afghan factions and no ethnic and political group should dominate others. However, the selection of Karazai as the head of Afghanistan was welcomed by *The Independent*. It argued that it was the positive sign that at the end of the year, one troubling part of the world moved towards a peaceful solution. *The Independent* stressed that the international community should support new political set up in Afghanistan. It stressed to the British government that it should stand shoulder to shoulder with Karazi and confirm British commitment to support the Afghans.

In certain editorials *The Independent* pressed the issue of UN participation in the rebuilding tasks of Afghanistan. It suggested that the UN should perform a supervisory role in Afghanistan and train Afghan youth to perform much of their duties on their own. *The Independent* emphasized that the United Nations should play a central role in the reconstruction of the country. The UN involvement in rebuilding tasks was more legitimate and according to international law. It also proposed that peace keeping forces should also be from Muslim countries under the UN banner.

“The UN must now take the lead in Afghanistan” (*The Independent*, November 19, 2001, p. 3).

However, in the case of the Iraq war 2003, *The Guardian* pointed out that war had badly affected the infrastructure of Iraq. There was hunger, poverty and chaos in the country. Now it was the US's duty to restore Iraq's economy and bring Iraqi life back to normal. In the hot summer season, the Iraqis had shortage of water and fuel. It was an urgent need that the allied forces should provide power transmission, purified water to the people of Iraq and restore other systems. However, *the Independent* expressed its concerns regarding the rebuilding of Iraq. It was argued that the reconstruction of Iraq would cost more money than was expected by the US and the UK. The US utilized oil exports as rebuilding fund but with the loss of pipeline, it would cost a loss of \$7 million per day. Iraq's newly constituted Council for International Co-ordination requested billions of dollars from the donors and the US to rebuild the country. The Iraqi needed better security, provision of basic necessities and a representative political setup.

*The Independent* and *The Guardian* stressed the central role of the United Nations in the infrastructural and political rebuilding of Iraq. In many editorials *The Guardian* stressed that the political setup in Iraq should be led by the UNO and the Iraqis must have representation in it. The UN was the only neutral organization which could help the Iraqis. The newspaper criticized the idea of American governed council in which an American military governor would lead the process. Such a setup would not be successful in Iraq. The Political system must be independent free from US authority. Similar ideas were expressed by *The Independent*. It was argued that the US should enhance the United Nations presence in Iraq. The UN forces might be regarded as peace keeping forces in Iraq rather than occupiers. The people of Iraq would trust them as

predecessors for an elected government. The presence of allied forces would increase more chaos and resistance. The newspaper also pressed to the British government to support the United Nations' leading role in Iraq.

“This is the time to strengthen the role of the United Nations in Iraq” (*The Independent*, August 20, 2003, p.14).

*The Independent* condemned the negative attitude of the United States with respect to the leading of the United Nations in Iraq. The US said that the UN would have a vital role in Iraq. These were just words which were not supported by actions. The US had passed a draft resolution; according to that the US would govern the country and the UK would have a subordinate role. The UN would only organize humanitarian tasks and would give advice and endorse the decisions. *The Independent* commented that it was a humiliating role that was given to the UN. *The Independent* was supportive of self rule in Iraq. It argued that the US-appointed Iraqi Government Council (IGC) was not acceptable to the Iraqis. The council was not successful in providing the basic necessities to the masses. It was more important that powers should be delivered to the new Iraqi ministers and they should resume their duties.

Overall, the rebuilding frame included the issues related to the reconstruction of war torn areas, supported a wider role for the UN, pressed the rich countries to give financial aid, criticized the US for having a stiff attitude towards the UN and supported independent political governments in Afghanistan and Iraq.

### 4.3.3 Humanitarian Frame

The humanitarian frame included the stories about the miseries of war-affected people, shortage of food and water, plight of prisoners of wars, refugees' crisis and assistance to war torn areas. In the coverage of the War on terror, the humanitarian frame was not very much dominant in the British newspapers. There were few editorials that discussed the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan and Iraq. The figure below highlighted the themes of humanitarian frame by the British newspapers.

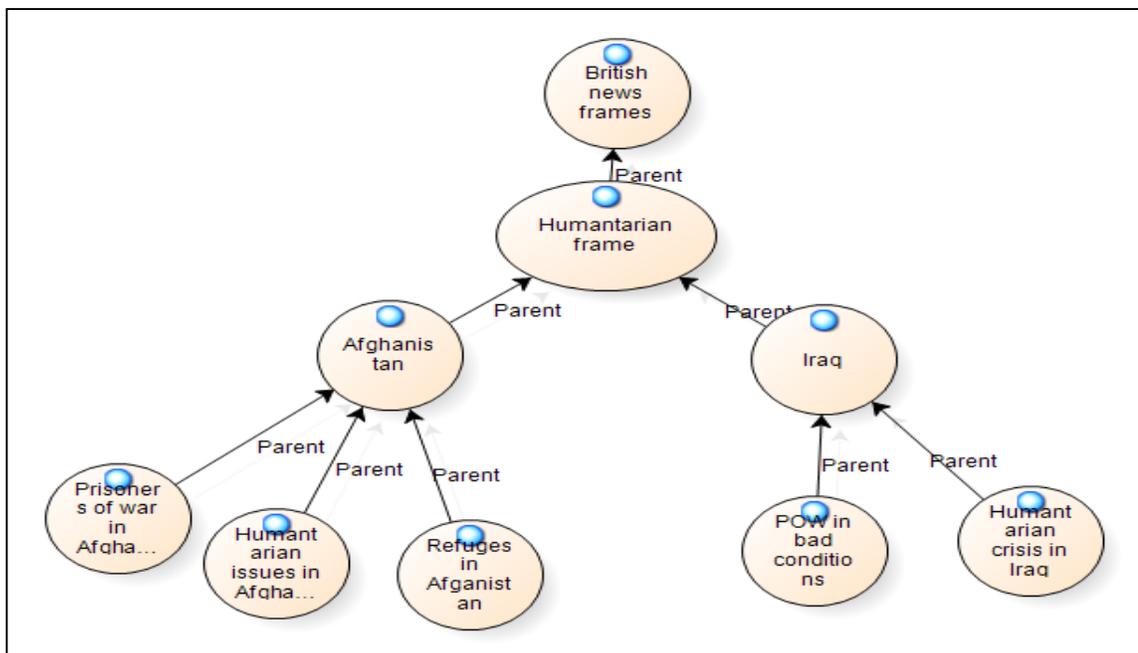


Figure 4.4. Thematic Model of Humanitarian Frame by the British newspapers

The British newspapers argued that the War on Terror brought sufferings for the people of Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan had suffered from food crisis even before the start of the war. The war had worsened the situation. It was very important for the authorities to pay serious attention to the provision of humanitarian aid. On December 06, 2001, *The Independent* mentioned that there was threat of starvation of 7 million

people in Afghanistan. They were dying of starvation, cold and disease. It was feared that delaying humanitarian action could cause anarchy in Afghanistan.

*The Guardian* stressed that humanitarian action was an equally important as military action. Prime Minister Blair declared at the start of the Afghanistan campaign that there were three fronts of this war; military, diplomatic and humanitarian. Mr. Bush also pledged in his interview that food, medicines and other essentials would be supplied to the Afghan civilians. But it seemed that the humanitarian action was not as fast as the military one. In November 2001, *The Guardian* discussed the statement by the British politician Clare Short who emphasized the deepening humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. She indicated that civilians in the south of Afghanistan and Kandahar were badly affected. Relief agencies were not able to control the situation.

*The Independent* argued that for winning the War on Terror, it was important to give preference to humanitarian activities. The forces should maintain law and order and provide basic necessities such food aid, housing for homeless people and reconstruct the country. It was noted in another editorial that the US had dropped humanitarian aid labelled as “Partnership of Nation”. It indicated that the US was engaged in propagating welfare for winning Muslim and Arab opinion. If the Americans were actually serious about helping the Afghans, they should give preference to humanitarian rather than military operations.

*The Guardian* and *the Independent* highlighted an emerging refugees’ crisis in

Afghanistan. It reported that due to bombardment many Afghans were moving to neighbouring countries particularly Pakistan. According to the World Bank report there were seven million people starving in Afghanistan. They needed urgent help from rich countries. It was very important to strengthen the Karazai government in Afghanistan so that it could handle the humanitarian issues. *The Independent* noted in its editorial on September 29, 2001 that there were 1.5 million displaced Afghans and suffered seriously inside Afghanistan. The allied countries should focus on the refugees crisis and provide humanitarian aid to the people.

Later on the issue of prisoners of war was discussed in many editorials during January, February, June, August 2002, and July 2003. *The Independent* and *The Guardian* criticized the US's treatment of prisoners of war from Afghanistan. These POW's were placed in Cuba Guantanamo and others were in Afghanistan. The images of inhuman treatment of POW's raised public sympathy from the public. It was stressed that these prisoners must have rights according to the Geneva Convention. The US could not detain them for an indefinite period. They should be taken to legal process. In January 2002, *The Independent* stressed that in the War on Terror the US should not bypass international laws and civilized values. The US decision to try POWs by military tribunals was much criticized by *The Independent*. It argued that military tribunals would abrogate many principles of justice. Britain and many of US allies had expressed their concerns against the decision.

On June 12, 2002, *The Independent* discussed the plight of those prisoners who were arrested for minor charges like immigration after 9/11. These were about 1200 non-US nationals that were captured from the US. They were kept in miserable conditions and were denied legal rights. They were not even proved guilty and the US government did not give any information about them. On such inhuman treatment *The Independent* remarked that the US aggressive policies would not serve the War on Terror rather it would harm the struggle.

In the case of the Iraqi war, *The Guardian* again stressed the inhuman treatment of US forces with Iraqi people. According to an Amnesty International report the US forces badly treated with Iraqi prisoners, they were denied access to water and toilets. That was a very bad way to win Iraqis hearts. The British government tried to pursue the case of 4000 prisoners of war for giving them rights according to the Geneva Convention but it did not succeed. *The Independent* argued that if President Bush was sincere to treat Iraqi prisoners humanly, it should follow international laws that other civilized nations practised. The President should pursue policies according to international standards but previously he had ignored multilateral obligations of the Kyoto treaty, the International Criminal Court and bypassed the UN while attacking Iraq.

In the case of the Iraqi war, there were very few references coded under the humanitarian frame. However, the British press indicated a worsening security situation, looting of hospitals, museums and lack of food and medicine in Iraq. It was stated that the Iraqis already suffered from the UN sanctions but war had provoked the crisis. The

children were dying due to lack of food and medicines. There was no plan for an alternative political structure after Saddam's fall and no plans for reconstruction. The forces were busy in securing the oil ministry and oil wells. The deepening humanitarian crisis needed world's attention. It was emphasized that the allied forces should settle these problems first. Moreover, the political unrest and conflicts had worsened in Iraq. There was a need for financial assistance and a representative political setup to control the situation.

Overall, the British press discussed subjects such as the food crisis, threat of starvation in Afghanistan, the refugee crisis, plight of prisoners of war and the worsening security scene in Iraq. Moreover, it stressed to the international community to give financial support to the people of Afghanistan who had already suffered a lot due to poverty and war.

#### **4.3.4 Pro War Frame**

The Pro-war frame mostly includes stories related to terrorism, victories, evidence, moral, threat, support to military action, democracy, al-Qaeda, September 11, coalition, fighting, Osama Bin Laden, nuclear weapons, etc (Luther& Miller, 2005; Harmon and Muenchen, 2009). However, by looking into the data, it was observed that there were very few editorials that covered the War on Terror in a pro-war frame. The editorials that employed the pro-war frame, they included stories related to victories of war, pro-war public opinion, evidence against Osama, justifications for the war and support for the War on Terror. The figure below highlighted the themes of the pro war frame by the British newspapers.

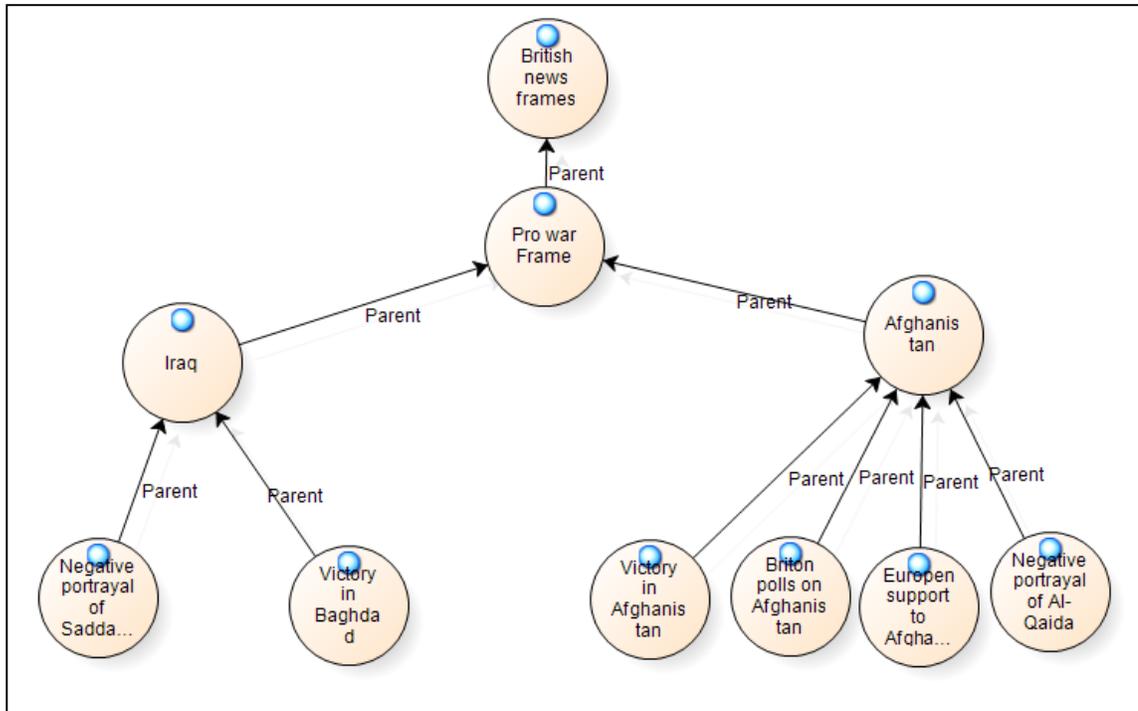


Figure 4.5. Thematic Model of Pro-war Frame by the British newspapers

In discussing the Afghanistan attack of 2001, *The Guardian* mentioned supportive public poll to the war in its editorial on October 12, 2001. According to the Guardian-ICM poll the majority of the British public supported the war in Afghanistan. The people were of the opinion that the West had done enough on the diplomatic front; now it should attack al Qaeda and the Taliban. *The Independent* welcomed the European support for the War on Terror. It stated that along with Britain other countries like Germany, France, Italy, Spain and smaller EU countries had offered their military support to the US war in Afghanistan. The solidarity shown by the European nations was quite impressive and demonstrated political unity for the cause of anti terrorism. Further, *The Independent* argued that although evidence against Osama could not be proved in court still the evidence justified the war against al-Qaida. The organization had been involved in inhuman holy war against America and Israel.

“This evidence would not convict in court - but it does justify a limited war” (*The Independent*, October 05, 2001, p.3)

*The Independent* wrote that after suffering on 9/11, it was just for America to attack the culprits who killed several hundred Americans. The declaration of War on Terror was vindicated. As it stated;

“No nation can fail to respond when several thousand people are deliberately murdered within its borders, however ill-defined or elusive the culprits. It is to the immense - and unexpected - credit of America that it approached the business of retaliation with such method, caution and responsibility. Resisting the temptation to lash out, it took time to gather intelligence, build its case and muster international support” (*The Independent*, October 09, 2001).

Later on during November, December 2001 and January 2002 the British press hailed the early victories of the allied forces in Afghanistan. The campaign was framed as remarkable and successful. It was stated that the Afghanistan war was a valuable victory for the people of Afghanistan and for America. Within four weeks of the War, the Kabul government fell and they were agreed on a neutral government setup. As it stated;

“...that the US-led campaign in Afghanistan continues to be far more successful than the pessimists, and even most optimists, ever thought possible. It is always harder to act than not to act, but the action taken by the US has been largely vindicated, at least in the short term (*The Guardian*, December 08, 2001, p. 21).

*The Guardian* wrote that that the war victory was unexpected for those who thought that the Afghanistan campaign would be more complicated and worse. These people were proved wrong. *The Independent* reported on November 13, 2001 that the news was coming that allied forces were advancing in Afghanistan. Mazar-i-Sharif, Herat and Kunduz had fallen to the allied forces. The forces were advancing towards Kabul. The Taliban were falling "like dominoes". *The Independent* framed Kabul's fall in a pro war frame, as it wrote;

“The images beamed from Kabul yesterday were as old as war itself: the triumphal entry of the victorious fighters; the joyous reception from the liberated population; and the bloodied corpses of those identified with the old regime who failed to flee in time. As the advance guard of the Northern Alliance walked into Kabul at dawn, the taboos of the Taliban were broken. Music played on the radio; men shaved off their beards; women uncovered their heads.”(*The Independent*, November 14, 2001, p. 3)

The fall of Kabul was in a peaceful manner. The forces attacked at military targets and avoided civilian killings. The forces had successful venture in Afghanistan. That was the moment of rejoice for Americans and its allies. But *The Independent* warned that Mr. Bush should not forget that the conduct of war might provoke the Arabs and Muslims against America’s power.

However, in the case of the Iraqi war, few editorials from *The Guardian* framed the war in a pro-war frame. For instance, at the fall of Saddam’s regime, *The Guardian* framed the incident as an impressive conquest of allied forces that defeated 35 years of autocratic regime of Saddam. The Iraqis were pleased and celebrated Saddam’s defeat. Moreover the Arab and western leaders who even did not support the attack, felt relieved over Saddam’s defeat. The newspaper supported the defeat of an oppressive regime but expressed its concerns that Saddam’s tyrannic rule should not be replaced by another. The conquerors should fulfil their post war pledges;

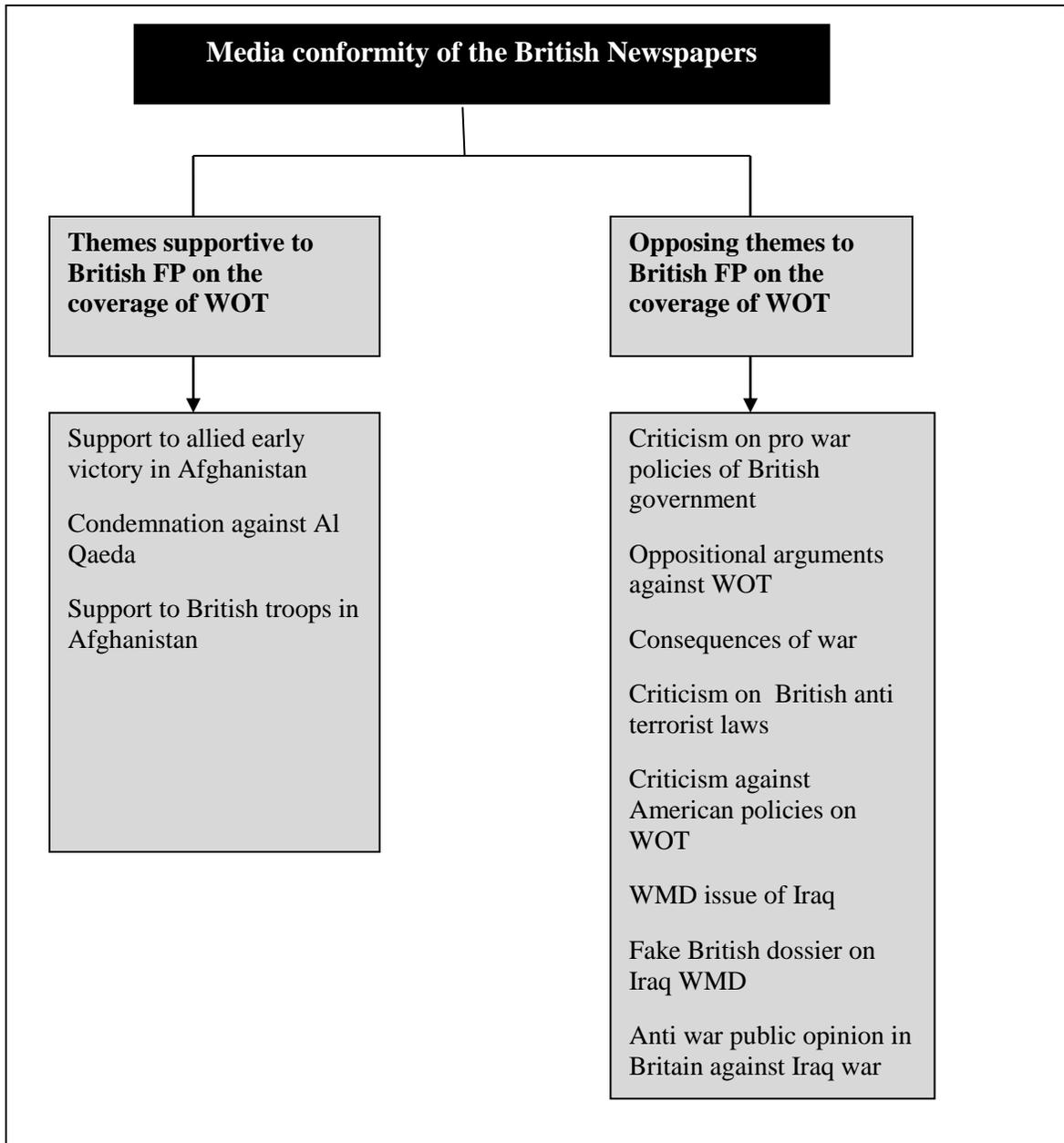
“On one level the US-British success to date is deeply impressive and on another, troubling. Saddam's overthrow is a great boon. But Iraq's "liberation" must not lead to internal destabilisation or external exploitation. Pre-war promises must be fulfilled; there must be long-term follow-through and a major rethink, too.” (*The Guardian*, April 10, 2003, p. 29).

However the Iraq war of 2003 was not framed in a pro-war frame by *The Independent*. At the fall of Baghdad, *the Independent* framed it in a neutral stance but it was not supportive of war. The entire coverage of the Iraqi attack by *The Independent* was dominated by an anti-war frame.

#### **4.4 Media Conformity to Foreign policy**

This section analyzes to the extent to which the newspapers followed the British foreign policy guidelines in its coverage of the War on Terror. It was shown in the literature review that the British government gave immense support to the US's war on terror and even the British forces participated in Afghanistan war of 2001 and Iraq war of 2003.

By analyzing the data, it was noted that generally the reporting on the war on terror by the British newspapers was not supportive to the British government's stand. However, certain editorials were noted which endorsed British policy on the war on terror. Few editorials from the British newspapers expressed their support to the United States on the 9/11 tragedy but it was suggested to the British government that shoulder to shoulder support was not appropriate. As it was noted during Afghanistan attack, the British press condemned the war but at the same time, it supported action against Al Qaeda. However, on Iraq attack of 2003, the British press was completely against the war and also disapproved the British government policy on it. The table below summarized pro and anti foreign policy stance of the British newspaper editorials on the war on terror.



*Figure 4.7.* Media Conformity to Foreign Policy, Coverage of War on Terror by the British press

The 9/11 attacks were framed as a devastating and barbaric acts of terrorism by *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. Both the newspapers condemned the killings of innocent people and it was urged that there should be serious action taken to prevent such attacks in future. *The Independent* wrote that:

“The coalition is right to try to bring Osama bin Laden and his al-Qa’ida organisation to justice. Whether or not Mr bin Laden was directly responsible for the atrocity of 11 September, he gloried in it and is trying to foment similar acts of terror. And if effective action against al-Qa’ida requires a new government in Kabul, then the US-led coalition is justified in trying to help the Afghans to set up a new government that will respect international law” (*The Independent*, October 26, 2001, p. 3).

It was suggested by *The Independent* that for eradicating terrorism, the United States and Britain should do collaborated efforts and should focus on good intelligence and police work. The other countries should also be involved to widen the coalition against terrorism such as Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the smaller EU countries.

Later on few editorials noted from *The Guardian* in which Prime Minister’s speeches related to the war on terror were framed positively. *The Guardian* commented that Mr. Blair delivered balanced and reasoned arguments in post 9/11 scenario. *The Guardian* also mentioned the Guardian-ICM polls that supported military action against Taliban and al Qaeda. Moreover, the newspaper had a negative stance towards Osama Bin Laden and he was portrayed as the “dark star of Islam” and the “most wanted man”. *The Guardian* stressed that he tried to provoke conflicts between the western and the Muslim societies, produced terror and the Taliban were his followers. *The Guardian* was in favour of wiping out those elements that created terror in the world.

After the collapse of Taliban's government in Afghanistan, it was noted that *The Guardian* and *The Independent* appreciated the early victory of the allied forces. They were praised for their speedy conquest and performance in the battlefield. It was commented that within a month of war, Afghanistan was agreed to form neutral set up under the UNO.

However, during the Iraqi war of 2003, it was observed that the coverage of the British press was not supportive to the war. The British government fully supported the war and its army was in forefront to attack Iraq. Conversely, the British press completely opposed the attack. By analyzing the data on the coverage of Iraq war, only two editorials were noted from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* which hailed the victory in Iraq. It was commented that the attack crushed the 35 years of tyrannic rule of Saddam. His statues were turned down and Iraqi nation celebrated the defeat of Saddam in Baghdad. But the collapse of government set up in Iraq had worsened security situation. There was lawlessness and chaos in Iraq. Nonetheless, in certain editorials *The Independent* discussed Saddam as a threat to the United States, Israel, Iraqis and a breach to UN resolutions. But it was not known for certain whether Saddam had weapons of mass destruction or not but still he posed a threat. It argued that the international community should take action to contain his activities but land invasion was not the only solution.

“There is no doubt that Saddam Hussein is a monstrous, murdering dictator. His history of cruel internal repression and merciless external aggression has cost more than a million lives, and it is meticulously detailed in the dossier. He has invaded his neighbours, deployed nerve gas and tortured opponents. The individual testimonies of victims of Saddam's regime in the dossier are powerful and moving” (*The Independent*, September 25, 2002, p. 20)

*The Independent* argued that it was true that Saddam had a tyrannic regime and after him, there would be a better Iraq. But still the war in Iraq would cause several casualties that could not be justified.

The above mentioned findings revealed those references from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* which supported the British foreign policy in the case of the war on terror. Now the findings below would highlight those aspects which gave oppositional coverage to the war on terror and disapproved British government policy in this respect. The British press was of the opinion that Britain should not give unconditional support to the United States on the war on terror. *The Guardian* criticized Mr. Blair for giving enough support to the United States on the war on terror. It was argued that the British forces participated enough during Afghanistan and Iraq but Britain did not have any authority to take any decision. It was the United States that overall controlled the war. It wrote that:

“The same principle binds the Bush administration, for whom in this crisis Mr Blair is acting as chief aide-de-camp. Unfortunately, this necessary clarity is so far lacking” (*The Guardian*, September 28, 2001, p. 23).

*The Guardian* argued that after 9/11 the British people supported the war on terror but they had some concerns regarding US policies. They were skeptical regarding Bush’s policies of war were a correct response against the 9/11 tragedy? *The Guardian* depicted Bush’s post 9/11 strategies as being extremely overshadowed by conservative Republican domestic agenda and lacking global pragmatism. It argued that the President exploited the 9/11 tragedy. He framed all policies in the context of the 9/11 tragedy and all aggressive measures such as anti-terrorist laws and anti-terrorist campaigns against

other countries were justified for the sake of patriotism. In fact Bush was projecting a conservative agenda after 9/11. It suggested that the Britain should not adopt such policies that distanced itself from the Muslim world. These actions would affect the entire world. It was further suggested that the British government should adopt a sensible approach rather than aggressive policies.

In the case of Afghanistan attack, *The Guardian* cautioned against dangerous consequences of Afghanistan war. It was stated that the war would affect millions of innocent people and cause many civilian casualties in Afghanistan. *The guardian* framed Afghanistan attack as complicated, devastated and least successful. There was no guaranty that the attacks would be accurate and targeted. The people were doubtful about the objectives and goals of the attack. Without having reachable targets, the attacks would be vulnerable for the civilians.

Furthermore, during Afghanistan war, the British press highlighted those aspects that were contrary to the British stand on the war. The press discussed heavy bombings, increasing casualties and humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. During October, November and December 2001, *the Independent* discussed the incidents of heavy bombing in Afghanistan. It was argued that the US and British bombing would be counterproductive and weakened the support for War on Terror. *The guardian* suggested that America should reconsider its policies and focused on peaceful diplomatic options rather than killing people.

Later on, *The Guardian* criticized the government policy of inserting British ground forces in Afghanistan. It was questioned to the British government why the British forces were placed into the dangerous area that would enhance British casualties. The British lives were equally precious as Americans. As *the guardian* stated;

Caught in the middle: If the Americans will not, why should we? (*The Guardian*, April 10, 2002, p. 17)

It was argued that the insertion of 1700 British troops in America's 'War on Terror' would have a dangerous impact on British military. But the US did not give the due credit to the Britain in terms of strong political position that was quite depressing. The Afghanistan campaign was complicated due to unclear objectives and unseen guerrilla fighters. The British army had to face difficult situation in Afghanistan. It seemed that Britain was playing the role of the US's proxy forces in Afghanistan.

Fighting for America: Britain is Bush's new Afghan proxy force (*The Guardian*, May 03, 2002, p. 19).

Nonetheless, in the case of Iraq war 2003, the British press adopted oppositional stance against it. British newspapers criticized the United States' allegations against Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. It was argued that the United States cynically linked Iraq's weapons of mass destruction with 9/11 tragedy. It was stressed that action against Iraq should be based on solid proofs.

Afterwards, the British policy on Iraq was disapproved by *The Independent* and *The Guardian*. It was mentioned that Britain had faced criticism from other countries for supporting Iraq attack such as China, France and Russia. There were many Muslim

countries that had opposed war such as Kuwait, Pakistan, Gulf States, Turkey and Saudi Arabia etc. Even the political and religious circles of the Britain had also expressed their opposition against the attack. The British polls indicated that number of British people were supportive to the attack. The British nation wanted the UNO authorization for the war. The newspaper highlighted anti war rallies in Britain. The protests in other Muslim, Arab and the European countries were also highlighted. Mr. Blair was criticized for his loyalty and assistance to the United States on the war on terror.

“Mr. Blair has proved his loyalty to president bush - but not the case for war” (*The Independent*, September 04, 2002, p. 14)

In the coverage of the Iraqi attack, the British newspapers included the themes related to collateral damages, destruction, theft, humanitarian crisis, killings and collapse of civil order. The American and the British forces were criticized for not stabilizing Iraq after the war. The press argued that sever outcomes of war had made Blair’s position difficult. In post war scenario, *The Independent* stressed on the UN’s central role in Iraq. The United States presence in Iraq was not supported by the British press.

Another aspect that was criticized by the British press was the missing weapons of mass destruction after Iraq war. It was written that after capturing Iraq the allied forces had failed to find weapons of mass destruction.

“Where is Saddam? And where is the evidence that he was such a threat?” (*The Independent*, June23, 2003, 12).

*The Independent* wrote that without weapons of mass destruction, Blair could not justify the war that put him in trouble. It suggested that the idea of war was based on

speculation or perhaps the Prime Minister lied to the public for getting support. It was the wilful deception on weapons of mass destruction which damaged Blair's credibility. Although Blair tried to convince the public that weapons of mass destruction would be found in Iraq but now nobody was ready to trust on him. *The Independent* also proposed an inquiry for prime Minister's decision to war.

By analyzing the above discussion, it could be stated that on Iraq issue, British press did not support Government policy. The newspapers criticized British government supportive policies to the United States and stressed on the role of UNO in Iraq crisis. The Nvivo model presented the pro foreign policy and anti foreign policy themes of the British newspapers on the coverage of war on terror.

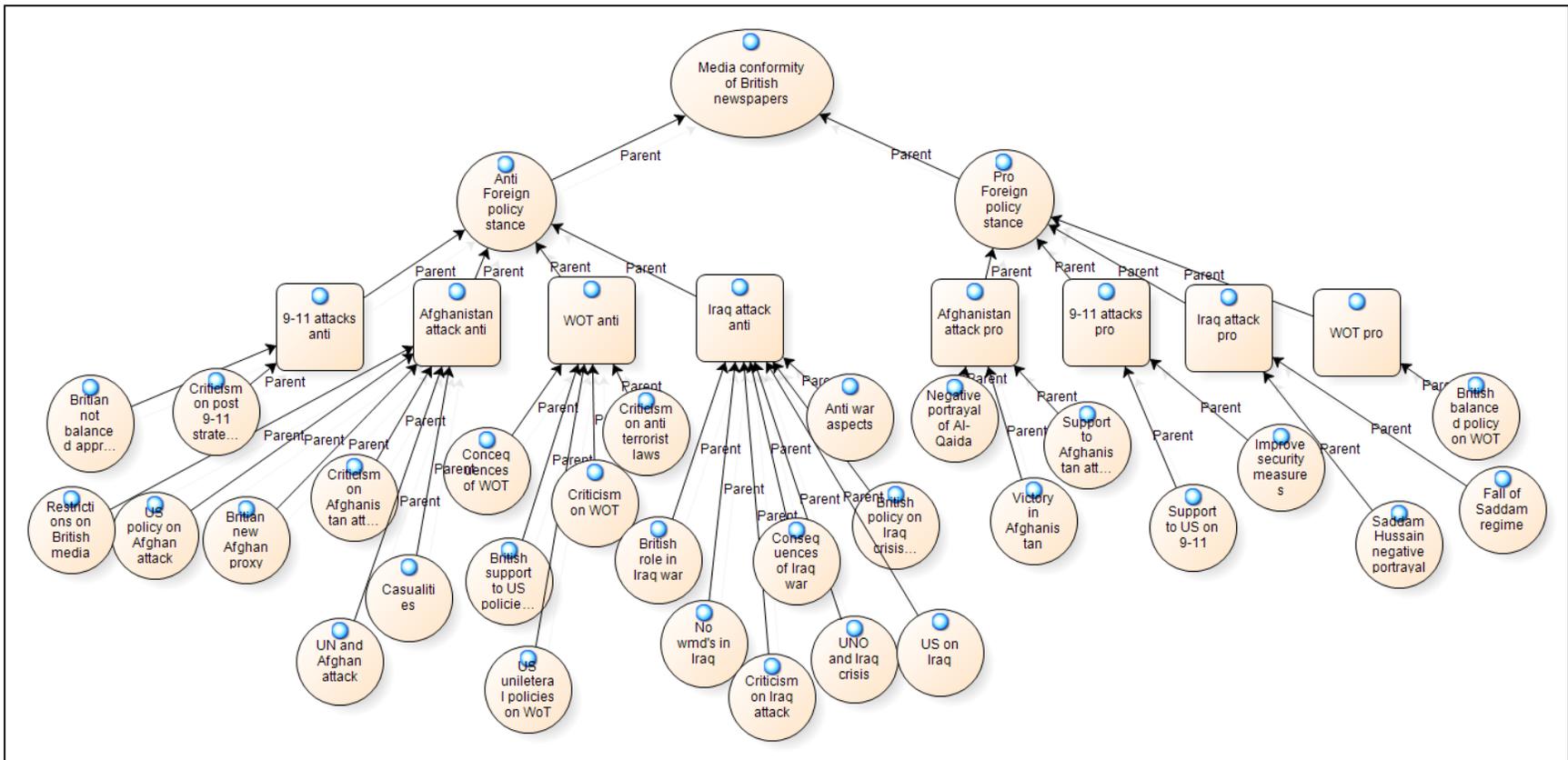


Figure 4.8. Thematic Model of Nvivo on Media Conformity of the British press on the coverage of War on Terror

Concluding, it could be stated that the British press partially supported the British government policy on the War on Terror. During Afghanistan attack, at certain points the British press adopted supportive stance to the war but generally, it stressed to avoid casualties, excessive bombing and to address humanitarian concerns. Furthermore, it suggested strengthening intelligence service and security measures to avoid such incidents in future. But on the Iraqi crisis, the British press completely opposed it. Even the press criticized the Prime Minister for supporting unauthorized war. It was argued that the Iraqi attack would enhance Muslim’s grievances that could inspire al Qaeda for more attacks. On the coverage of the Iraqi attack, the British press did not conform its foreign policy guidelines.

**4.5 Prominent issues highlighted by the British newspapers (*The Guardian and the Independent*) in the coverage of War on Terror**

Analyzing the editorial coverage of two British newspapers yields the following quite prominent issues.

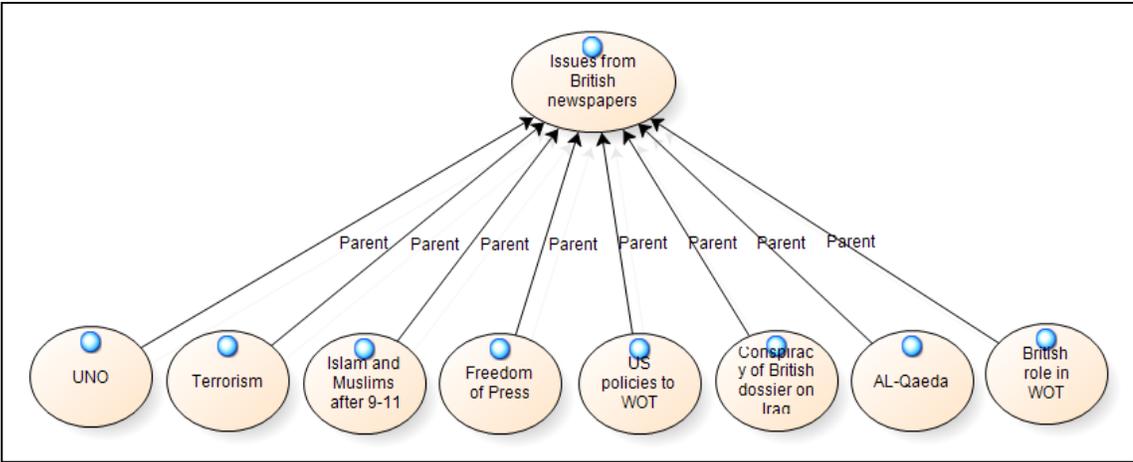


Figure 4.9. Thematic model on the prominent issues identified by the British press

Table: 4.1

*Prominent issues of the War on Terror highlighted by the British press*

Major issues	Sub themes
British role in War on Terror	Strong hold of America on British decisions regarding the war on terror Britain as US proxy in Afghanistan Britain's isolation in Europe
US policies towards War on Terror	US military actions against rogue states Axis of evil Bush's pro war rhetoric after 9/11 US military strategies against Afghanistan and Iraq
UNO	UN role in Afghanistan and Iraq wars
British dossier on Iraq	Fake information in the dossier Inquiry on the conspiracy of the dossier
Terrorism	Causes of terrorism Anti terrorists laws
Al-Qaeda	Forces behind Al Qaeda Portrayal of Osama bin Laden
Islam and the Muslims after 9/11	British public opinion about Islam and the Muslims Hate crime against Muslims
Freedom of press	Restrictions on British media Bias of American media

#### 4.5.1 British Role in War on Terror

The British press highlighted the role of Britain in the War on Terror. The newspapers (*The Guardian* and *The Independent*) discussed the policies of the British Government, participation of British army in Afghanistan and the Iraqi wars, the outcomes of war on Britain, the impact of pro-US policies of the British government on its relations with the European countries, and benefits and threats to the British interests.

Britain played a considerable role in the War on Terror. British troops participated in the Afghanistan war 2001 and the Iraqi war 2003. After September 11 attacks Prime Minister Blair expressed sympathy, solidarity and support for America. That was a considered correct response by the Prime Minister. *The Guardian* supported the Prime Minister's gesture towards the attacks and stressed to support the US in this critical situation. The 9/11 attacks that killed hundreds of innocent people and threatened the entire world could not be justified. It was suggested that now the US and Britain should adopt such policies that could prevent such attacks in future. But later on, *The Guardian* emphasized that Blair should be very careful in his support for the US. Britain should not blindly follow every strategy devised by the US. As it wrote in its editorial on September 13, 2001:

“We must stand, as he said, "shoulder to shoulder" with America in outrage at Tuesday's events. But to stand shoulder to shoulder with whatever America does next is contrary both to their interests and to ours” (*The Guardian*, September 13, 2001, p. 25).

Similarly, *The Independent* commented that,

“Honesty is a better policy than uncritical support for the United States” (*The Independent*, March 11, 2002, p. 3)

“There must be a limit to our support for America” (*The Independent*, March 01, 2002, p. 3)

*The Independent* argued that Mr. Blair should stand for British interest and should not become part of a revengeful campaign. America was determined to fight against those values that did not suit it and the Britain should keep British interests first. *The Guardian* also endorsed the same point that Britain could not make any decision that could hurt its interest.

In the case of the Afghanistan war, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* suggested that the decision to participate in war should be taken by consulting parliament. *The Guardian* criticized the Prime Minister who only consulted his close colleagues in this regard. The situation was quite similar to the pre-democratic era in which few countries decided to attack on particular country. This time the role of parliament was arguably subsidiary. The editorial on September 28, 2001 framed the Prime Minister as “chief aide-de-camp”;

“The same principle binds the Bush administration, for whom in this crisis Mr. Blair is acting as chief aide-de-camp. Unfortunately, this necessary clarity is so far lacking (*The Guardian*, September 28, 2001, p. 23)”.

Later on *the Guardian* criticized the role of Britain in the War on Terror as new US’s proxy force. Although British troops were playing a central role in the dangerous campaign, Pentagon hardly acknowledged it. British forces were fighting on ground and there were many chances of British casualties. At this point, when it was an American struggle against terrorism and British had no control over it, the newspaper questioned: Where were the American ground forces and why were British soldiers put into trouble? It appeared as though Britain and the UN were left behind to handle Afghanistan and the US had moved its guns towards other missions.

Caught in the middle: If the Americans will not, why should we? (*The Guardian*, October, 4, 2002).

Further, the extension of War on Terror towards Iraq was condemned by the British press. *The Guardian* complained that Britain was a major coalition partner of the US but it had no control over this conflict. Every strategy was devised by the US and Britain

was merely following it. *The Guardian* editorials in September 2002, November 2002, January 2003 and March 2003 and *The Independent* editorial in February 2003 criticized British policy over Iraq.

“Battle for Britain: Blair makes a poor case for war” (*The Guardian*, September 04, 2002, p. 19).

“Mr Clarke put his finger on the problem when he said that he could not rid himself of the doubts that Mr Blair's policy was decided "many months ago, primarily in Washington". That is the Prime Minister's highest hurdle in persuading the British public” (*The Independent*, February 28, 2003, p. 20)

The British newspapers mostly pointed that Mr. Blair was very influenced by President Bush. The British policy on Iraq was devised by Washington. Blair did not have an independent policy over Iraq.

*The Independent* highlighted another aspect of Britain's role in the War on Terror. By giving immense support to the United States for its post 9/11 policies Britain had alienated itself from Europe. Particularly, in the case of the Iraqi war, most of the European countries were not supportive of the war. However, Mr. Blair pressed the Iraqi issue in favour of the United States' policies. He stressed that America should not handle this issue alone. He further said that the 9/11 attacks could be directed towards UK. He strengthened his case against Saddam by citing arguments against Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. *The Independent* stressed in its editorial on January 23, 2003 that the extraordinary support to the United States for the Iraqi war had isolated Britain in Europe. British and European public opinion was against the decision. Most of the European and other countries stressed the avoidance of war. In these circumstances Britain had weakened its position. With no UN backing, British position became more

complicated. European countries like France, Germany, Greece and the smaller EU countries, Russia and many Arab countries had opposed the Iraqi war.

Overall, the British press was of the opinion that Britain played a significant role in the War on Terror by participating in the Afghanistan and Iraqi wars. Regrettably, the British had little control over the conflict. It was the United States that made major decisions and Britain followed them. It was stressed that the British Government should make decisions according to British national interests and the policy to participate in the Afghanistan and Iraqi wars should be made through parliament and public consent.

#### **4.5.2 US policies towards War on Terror**

The second set of important issues that were pointed out by the British newspapers were the US policies regarding the war on terror. The press highlighted the post 9/11 policies of Bush Administration, policy of axis of evil, pro war policies towards Afghanistan and Iraq and Bush doctrine. *The Guardian* and *The Independent* were not in favour of pro war policies by America and Britain. Instead the two newspapers stressed the eradication terrorism through other measures such as better intelligence, good police work, security strategies and diplomatic options.

The British press framed the War on Terror as an ‘American war’ in which Britain was supporting America. Although Britain was the major coalition partner, actually America had absolute powers to make decisions about the conduct of “War on Terror”. *The Guardian* editorial on January 31, 2002 denounced Bush’s post September 11 strategies and commented that President Bush was taking political advantage of the 9/11 attacks.

Such policies could not be justified for the sake of US interest. Although Mr. Bush declared that all these policies were adopted for eradicating terrorism after the September 11 attacks, the reality was different. Actually, these were the policies of conservative Republicans who intentionally manipulated the event of September attacks. For example, the allegations against Iran, Iraq or North Korea were not new. America was accusing them for their weapons for years. Such individualistic policies that America was pursuing had dangerous consequences for the world.

In like manner, on January 31, 2002 *The Independent* highlighted Bush's doctrine after 9/11. The newspaper discussed President Bush's State of Union address in which he asserted his axis of evil strategy. In this strategy Iraq, Iran and North Korea were designated as next targets. It was commented that his views were acceptable inside America but outside America, these views were disturbing. Mr. Bush asserted in a unilateral style that America would not wait for events; it would act alone against the terrorists' states if other countries did not participate. Due to the American hegemonic position, many countries already had resentments and such statements would enhance animosities.

“President Bush has earned the praise of America but not the trust of the world”  
(*The Independent*, January 31, 2002, p. 3)

Later, the press discussed the Afghanistan attack of 2001 and remarked that during the initial days of the Afghanistan attack of 2001, President Bush promised that this campaign would focus only on Taliban militant. The Afghan civilians would be protected and food, medicine and other essentials would be provided. But the Bush

administration was more determined to wipe out the terrorists from Afghanistan. As Mr. Rumsfeld said:

"We have to take this battle, this war to the terrorists, where they are. The best defense is an effective offence. That means they have to be rooted out" (*The Guardian*, September 09, 2001, p. 19).

After having an early success in Afghanistan, the United States planned to extend its War on Terror to other countries. *The Independent* suggested that at this time America should pay due attention to rebuilding Afghanistan rather opening other war zones. In August 2002, *The Independent* wrote that the United States had made it clear that it would certainly attack Iraq. The hardliners in the United States had pressed the case for war. The question was whether America would attack alone or with UN and other countries' backing. The British press was not in favour of extending the war on Terror to other countries. Especially, the US intentions towards Iraq were not supported by both newspapers. *The Guardian* many times wrote against the extension of the War on Terror towards Iraq, Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen.

On the issue of the Iraqi war of 2003, both newspapers had their concerns and wanted US-British serious consultation over the issue. It was stressed that the US should not take British support for Afghanistan for granted. America did not have the unilateral right to broaden its anti-terrorist campaign to other countries.

"Likewise, the freeing-up of Arabian Sea carrier groups and other assets consequent on the creation of US land bases inside Afghanistan must not be the occasion for launching new hunts for "war on terrorism" targets in Iraq and beyond" (*The Guardian*, November, 13, 2003, p. 19).

*The Independent* commented that the US policy on Iraq was misguided, divided and

stubborn. It also stated on February 10, 2003 that the United States always pointed towards Iraq as a dangerous state but actual threat had come from the United States that had attacked a country without UN backing. *The Guardian* regarded the War on Iraq as unjustifiable on humanitarian and moral grounds. It was stated that the Bush administration was now trying to justify the attack on ethical grounds such as for the implementation of democracy, dismantling oppressive regime of Saddam or human rights. But these justifications were acceptable not only in the case of Iraq but also in other cases. Consequently, Iraq could set an example for more pre-emptive wars because such wars could bear severe consequences.

*The Guardian* pointed out that in the context of the Iraqi war, the US exhibited non-compliance to the policies of UNO, monopoly of the dossier and failure to provide evidence about the secret weapons of Iraq. Moreover, the US attitude that it could wage war on Iraq with or without UNO was quite disturbing. *The Guardian* wrote in its editorial on March 23, 2002.

“Imperial delusions: America is a threat to global order too”(The Guardian, 2002, 23 March, p. 19).

*The Guardian* commented that US’ unilateral approach to the War on Terror would lead it towards a perilous “Clash of civilization”. However, attacking Iraq or dismantling the Saddam regime would not eradicate terrorism. This approach would increase terrorism. There must be serious attempts to confront terrorism which the US policies lacked.

There were a number of editorials from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* that

commented on the policy of axis of evil. *The Independent* criticized the idea of axis of evil and extension of the War on Terror towards suspected countries in its editorial on May 22, 2002. It commented that America mentioned Iraq, Iran and North Korea as its next target. These countries were dangerous but these justifications did not vindicate military action against them. Moreover, the United States' aggressive policies against Iran and Syria were also particularly discussed by *The Guardian* and *the Independent*.

In a nutshell, the British newspapers (*The Guardian* and *The Independent*) gave immense coverage to the United States policies regarding the War on Terror. The newspapers revealed policy statements by the President and the Bush administration, policies towards al Qaeda, Iraq and other suspected countries, and US policies with the UN. The post 9/11 policies of the United States had remained the prominent issues in the British press coverage of the War on Terror.

#### **4.5.3 United Nations**

The other issue that was prominently discussed by the British press was the role of the UNO in the War on Terror. In both wars, Afghanistan 2001 and Iraq 2003, the British newspapers urged the US and British governments to follow the UN decisions. In the case of the Afghanistan attack, UNO approved the action but it was not actively supported. Later on, it was emphasized that in the post-war scenario, UNO must play a leading role on the diplomatic and humanitarian fronts. Even Mr. Blair himself suggested that UNO and the Middle Eastern countries should be involved in this process.

Subsequently *The Guardian* urged the United States to show some flexibility towards UN participation in Afghanistan. For example, if Osama bin Laden surrendered, he should be handed over to UNO. It should be the UNO that could initiate a legal process against him because it was the world body and had legal apparatus to deal with such cases. If further action against Afghanistan was required, it should be authorized by the UNO. *The Independent* also endorsed the same viewpoint and wrote in its editorial on January 21, 2002 that the trial of al-Qaida leaders for their crimes or harboring terrorists should be through United Nations, not by a single nation.

*The Independent* suggested that the United Nations must have a central role in Afghanistan after the war. However, the domineering attitude of the United States had given the impression that the United Nations' role was undermined. The United Nations was the institution that was developed to resolve such conflicts. In Afghanistan increasing casualties made problems for the United States and Britain. The United Nations could resolve the issues and the people of Afghanistan would consider them peacekeeping and neutral forces. The United Nations could prevent anarchy and mobilize security operations and help to develop the government in Afghanistan.

Comparatively, in the case of the Iraqi attack of 2003, the British newspapers gave immense weight to the UNO decision over war. The press was highly critical of British and US policies regarding the Iraqi issue. They did not support the Iraqi invasion without the UNO's support. *The Independent* also supported Saddam for his offer to

resume United Nations inspection inside Iraq. It stressed that the United States and Britain should respond positively to his offer.

“Saddam's offer should be accepted by western hawks as well as doves” (*The Independent*, September 18, 2002, p. 16)

*The Independent* argued that The United States should adopt a collective approach to deal with countries like Iraq rather than resort to unilateral actions. The United Nations was the best institution to resolve matters related to security. *The Independent* welcomed the return of UN inspectors. It was the success of international diplomacy. At this time Saddam agreed to abide by the United Nations resolutions because now he had no other option. He had to accept inspection to avert war.

There were many editorials from *The Independent* that supported the United Nations inspection process in Iraq and stressed to give more time for inspection. It also stressed that without United Nations backing the United States and Britain would not have moral authority to attack Iraq. Moreover 1441 resolution, did not authorize attack, it should be presented again in the United Nations. On the other hand Mr. Blix worked hard in Iraq and responded that he did not find any smoking gun in Iraq. If still the United States had reservations on his findings, the inspection process could be prolonged and find a diplomatic solution to the problem.

*The Guardian* cautioned in its editorial on March, 11, 2003 that if the US and Britain attacked Iraq without UN backing, it would have sweeping consequences for the UNO itself. Such decision would have grave implications for the credibility of the UNO because the UNO was the only global body that could authorize such action.

Moreover, *The Guardian* mentioned that America's attitude towards UN inspection was quite depressing and it was ignoring UN findings. The chief inspector, Hans Blix presented his report about Iraq's WMD's and disputed with America's allegations against Iraq's weapons. On the other hand, America did not bother about the UN inspection process in Iraq and framed Iraq's positive response towards inspection as a 'cynical ploy'. *The Guardian* discussed Mr. Colin Powell's information regarding Iraq's WMDs in its editorial on February 06, 2003. He stressed that Iraq was trying to evade the inspection process; in this way it was disobeying the UN. However, Powell's allegations were based on anonymous defectors, detainees, third country spooks and US intelligence that could not be overruled altogether but these evidence opened a way forward for expanded inspection in Iraq. But it did not justify that US and Britain should move towards war.

*The Guardian* was highly critical of the Iraqi attack without UN authorization. It discussed this issue many times in its editorials and suggested that the US and British governments follow UN instructions. Later on, in the post-war scenario, the British newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, were big supporters of UN involvement in the reconstruction phase. They discussed British and US government's attitude towards the UN, European nations' concerns regarding the rebuilding process and American public opinion about the issue. *The Guardian* suggested in its editorial on July 03, 2003 that Iraq needed international peace forces under the UNO banner to handle the post war issues. But it seemed that coalition leaders were not ready to give this opportunity to neutral forces.

Overall, the role of the United Nations was frequently discussed by *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. Both newspapers suggested a leading role for the United Nations related to matters of war and post-war setups. In the case of the Iraqi war, the press was annoyed by the policies of the United States that did not consider the United Nations authorization for the war. From the post-war perspective, it was stressed by the both newspapers that the United Nations must have authority in the entire process.

#### **4.5.4 British dossier on Iraq threat**

The other issue that was highlighted by *The Guardian* and *The Independent* was the British dossier on the Iraq threat. The British dossier that was known as the September dossier was presented by the British Government on September 24, 2002. The dossier had number of allegations related to Iraq's chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. The prominent allegation was that Iraq had WMD that could be ready for use within 45 minutes. These were the allegations that strengthened the case of war against Iraq and the British Prime Minister propagated these facts to gather support for his stand. The problem started when the BBC journalist Andrew Gilligan made a broadcast that the British Government had sexed up the Iraqi threat to gain support for the Iraqi war. Mr. David Kelly was reported as a source of the story. He was a British scientist and an expert on biological warfare, employed by the British Ministry of Defence. He was called for the inquiry by the parliamentary foreign affairs select committee for disclosing these facts on July 15 2003. But two days before the inquiry he committed suicide. There was immense discussion in the British media concerning the quality of intelligence regarding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, who was responsible for the

‘sex up’ of the story, whether the Prime Minister knew the facts were twisted and why David Kelly committed suicide.

One day after the presentation of the September dossier, *The Independent* commented that most the facts that were revealed in the dossier were already known. These were intelligence reports but according to previous history, intelligence assessments against Osama and Al Qaeda were not proved. The present dossier revealed that Iraq had the means to produce chemical and biological weapons. That was not the new information. But did Saddam have intention to use these weapons against the United States and the western nations. There was no evidence presented related to this. Without evidence, the action against Iraq was not justified. On this issue Blair had to strengthen his position in parliament and the country. *The Independent* further wrote on February 06, 2003 that the dossier depicted that Saddam had a cruel regime. He had gassed his people; he attacked on the neighbouring countries and tortured his enemies. It was easy to reveal these facts but it was far difficult to make a case that justified war against Iraq.

*The Independent* revealed in its editorial on June 05, 2003 that in the context of Iraq’s WMDs two claims were declared fake. One was that Iraq bought nuclear weapons from Niger. It was universally declared wrong. Even the head of the United Nations Atomic energy Agency condemned the allegation. Secondly the claim by the September dossier that Saddam had the ability to launch a nuclear attack within 45 minutes was also forged. Mr. Blair asked his Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook to correct the records on these points. The newspaper argued that it was better for the Prime Minister to confess

that these flaws were deliberately included to strengthen the case against Iraq. Mr. Blair would have to pay high price if he was proven guilty.

On June 25, 2003 *The Independent* referred to the statement by Mr. Straw who said that the dossier was embarrassing and he also excused Ibrahim al-Marashi, the student whose thesis was plagiarized and used for the dossier without his permission. If Blair already knew that dossier was flawed it was a great damage for his credibility. Foreign Secretary accused that the dossier was not the product of the Foreign office but by Downing Street. However, Mr. Straw said that dossier was compiled by Mr. Campbell. These were different explanations by different people but the Government had to explain the confusion regarding the dossier. *The Independent* wrote;

“Mr. Straw, a dodgy defence, and some questions the government cannot evade”  
(*The Independent*, June 25, 2003, p. 12).

*The Independent* further commented that problem was not that the certain aspects in the dossier were not correct. The issue was that full information about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction was not given to the public. It was not only that Mr. Campbell twisted the facts; in fact Britain could not receive a balanced picture regarding to the Iraqi threat. On this issue Blair had lost support from his party and lost the Commons vote to endorse military action. Due to this threat many innocent people in Iraq lost their lives and international laws were disobeyed. After the end of war in Iraq, the weapons of mass destruction were still not found. These were the troubling issue that the Government was obliged to explain.

The Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee conducted an inquiry into this issue but *The Independent* considered the inquiry as unsatisfactory. It commented that there were a lot of key witnesses absent during the inquiry and the jury could not properly investigate the issue of Iraq threat. However, the committee brought quite disturbing information. Either it was the poor intelligence reports or it was distorted by the Prime Minister's colleagues to support the war on Iraq. It was stressed that there was an urgent need to have an independent inquiry to test the quality of the intelligence and how it was utilized.

According to the findings of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee that Alastair Campbell, the Prime Minister's press secretary was not involved in sexing up the September dossier against Iraq. *The Independent* commented on the findings that the debate should not be personalized who said and what he said in this context. The important thing was to dig out those facts that were organized in the Prime Minister's name to make case for involving British troops in the war. *The Independent* stated regarding the inquiry;

“A tragic ending to a process of inquiry that became more flawed the longer it continued” (*The Independent*, July 19, 2003, p. 18).

The newspaper commented that there were serious charges that should be investigated. The inquiry should also focus on personal questions such as Dr. Kelly's treatment by his boss, Geoff Hoon. There was strong need for an independent judicial inquiry on these issues. *The Independent* discussed Lord Hutton's inquiry in its editorial on August 01, 2003. It stated that the inquiry started on the death of Mr. Kelly. He was the person who

doubted the allegations of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and the information was leaked to the BBC. *The Independent* commented that misleading and corrupt information led to a war in Iraq. Now the politicians were concerned about the issues of reconstruction and least bothered about the false arguments that they made in support of the war. But it was an urgent matter regarding the honesty of British and American politicians. Mr. Blair was of the opinion that the information he received, it vindicated the war option. But the question was that why the politicians did not consider the alternative and skeptical voices. Why did not they question the quality of the intelligence on such an important issue? Now it would be very difficult for the people to trust their leaders. *The Guardian* summarized the Hutton theory into the following points;

“... first, that the Blair government was determined at all costs to go to war with Iraq; second, that it was therefore prepared to twist the facts in order to win public support for the war; and, third, that it was also willing to use strong-arm tactics on institutions and on individuals to get its way, in public as well as in private. ...”  
(*The Guardian*, August 20, 2003, p. 21).

The question was who compiled the dossier and what changes were made. No 10 chief of staff Jonathan Powell said in front of the inquiry that the dossier did not prove Saddam as an imminent threat. Now the Government had to go a long way to prove its case. This was the big challenge for the British Government. *The Independent* stressed that Blair should answer the questions asked by the Hutton inquiry. *The Independent* commented that it was possible that Lord Hutton might not get a specific judgment but this inquiry had provided lot of information to the British public. Mr. Powell responded to the dispute between Downing Street and the BBC as follows:

"If I was Saddam," he says, "I would take a party of Western journalists to the Ibn Sina factory... to demonstrate there is nothing there" (*The Independent*, August 19, 2003, p. 14).

*The Independent* remarked that although it was a good advice for Saddam still these arguments did not help the Government to justify their case against the BBC journalist. These were quite serious issues and the Government should explain its position in front of the inquiry. *The Guardian* commented in September 2003 that there was much evidence on the three aspects of dossier; the compilation of the Iraqi dossier; BBC's allegations that the dossier was sexed up by Downing Street and the identification of David Kelly as the source of allegations. Moreover, the death of Dr. Kelly in the centre of investigation was another important aspect. The report of inquiry would impact British politics and the practice of journalism in Britain. It was suggested that for the public interest the Hutton inquiry should have access to all documents, resources and powers that it required to investigate. The inquiry should make it clear who gave a twist to the dossier on the Iraqi threat.

Overall, the issue of the British dossier was much discussed during the months of June, July, August and September 2003. The British newspapers were concerned about the quality of information regarding the Iraqi threat. After the development of conspiracy regarding the September dossier, the British press stressed the need to dig out the facts regarding Iraq's weapons and identify those figures who were involved in this issue.

#### **4.5.5 Terrorism**

After the September 11 attacks, the British press showed its concern about the threat of terrorism and urged the taking of measures to eradicate it. It mentioned in its editorial on November 21, 2002 that Britain itself was facing threats from terrorists and terrorist

organizations for its support to the US War on Terror. Now it was pertinent for Britain to take safety measures for the security of its citizens.

Further, *the guardian* suggested sorting out the causes of terrorism; for example, to restrict the terrorist's funds and money laundering. It should be investigated from where the terrorists were getting funding. The other important measure was to help displaced Afghans. It would negate the mullah's claim that the War on Terror was actually against Muslims. Moreover, *The Guardian* recommended adopting a collaborative and focused approach to fight terrorism. It was not in favour of attacking particular countries for curtailing terrorism.

“... it is that the defeat of stateless, international terrorism is the most pressing security issue of the day. It is far too important to be misdirected or diverted for dubious, divisive reasons by one country against another. Defeating terrorism must be the shared work of all humankind - for all humankind is its prey. Our common humanity demands that it be so” (*The Guardian*, October 10, 2002, p. 19).

Later on, *The Guardian* criticized some countries in its editorial on November 29, 2002, for their lack of consensus over the issue of eradicating terrorism. It argued that the US war on terror enhanced anti Americanism and anti western sentiments among the Muslim societies. The people were asking lot of questions about the direction of the War on Terror. However, a vulnerable security situation indicated that the US and British approach towards fighting terrorism was not accurate. Terrorism would not be defeated by attacking Iraq or Palestine. It required a long term and conciliatory strategies to inspect the causes of anti- Americanism among the Muslims that promoted terrorism. Therefore a long term course of action was required to address the causes of terrorism,

to sort out the Muslims' grievances and disarm the terrorists. But unfortunately, the US coalition was still lacking this approach.

*The Independent* stressed in many of its editorials the importance of finding out the causes of terrorism. It suggested addressing the grievances of the Muslim countries, resolving Palestine and Chechnya conflicts, and identifying terrorist organizations. Otherwise a pre-emptive strike could not crush terrorism. It questioned in its editorial on September 03, 2002 that since the beginning of the War on Terror, how many terrorist cells were uncovered and how many arrested al-Qaida member demonstrated their links to 9/11. The Governments should stop spreading panic. The issue of terrorism should be dealt by resorting to a vigilant approach not by panic.

For fighting terrorism, it was required to have a better security systems, good intelligence and patient police work. The wars on other countries would be counterproductive. The global nature of the threat of terrorism required more mobile and flexible armed forces, security of important buildings and improved intelligence. The incident of 9/11 was a big challenge which could be avoided through preventive techniques. *The Independent* emphasized the importance of better intelligence. It stated:

“As far as what Americans now call "homeland security" is concerned, the lesson of 11 September is that we need intelligence, intelligence, intelligence. New powers to lock people up on evidence that would be inadmissible in normal courts is poor compensation for paucity of evidence in the first place” (*The Independent*, November 26, 2001, p.3).

With regard to fighting terrorism, the British newspapers discussed the issue of anti

terrorist laws. *The Guardian* in its editorials on September 19, 2001, October 01, 2001, October 16, 2001 and August 01, 2002 criticized the implementation of new anti-terrorist laws in the US and Britain. According to these laws, police and security agencies could screen phone calls, e mails and faxes without having judicial authority. It was argued that such new laws could endanger civil liberties. The consequences of these laws would not be satisfactory in future; they could badly affect criminal justice agencies and produce a two-tier system of justice. Such laws did not have any place in a democratic society. In certain editorials *The Independent* criticized the new anti-terrorists laws that were proposed by the British and the United States Governments. *The Independent* wrote that;

“Tough laws do not often defeat terrorism” (*The Independent*, October 16, 2001, p. 3).

*The Independent* stressed that such laws would enhance oppression and racial minorities would be suppressed. Such laws would also undermine the values for which the War on Terror was fought. The other short coming was the arrest of those people who were not directly linked to terrorism. The home secretary also proposed faster banishment, increased air port security and un-objectionable police powers. *The Guardian* underlined that these laws would provoke racial hostilities and jeopardized civil liberties in the country.

Overall, the British press was in favour of a conciliatory and collaborative approach by the coalition countries for fighting terrorism. It should wipe out the cause of terrorism and sort out grievances of the Muslim countries against the West. Moreover, the anti-terrorist laws should not spearhead the powers of the court and disrupt civil rights.

#### 4.5.6 Al-Qaeda

The other issue that received the attention of the British press was 'Al Qaeda'; however, there were few editorials that dwelt upon it. *The Guardian* highlighted the forces behind al Qaeda, Al Qaeda's links to other countries and the impact of the Afghan war on Al Qaeda.

The editorial on July 5, 2002 pointed out that after the 9/11 attacks, the Western experts generally believed that al Qaeda and anti-western extremists were the product of the Arab world. In fact, the fault lay with the western political and military strategies towards the Arab world. The cultural and political dominance of the West badly affected the conservative cultures of the Arab world. In this scenario, the Arab population thought that their culture, national solidarity and Islam were under threat causing resentment against the west. Likewise, Israel's hostile operations in Palestine also enhanced animosities among the Arabs. However, it was not right to consider the West as a threat for the Arab countries. The threat was coming from their own lack of awareness, inequity, and their despotic and corrupt regimes. It was indispensable for Arab society to sort out their problems and deficiencies by themselves first.

*The Independent* stressed that after 9/11 the United States should not leave al-Qaida; that could be dangerous. It was suggested that the activities of al-Qaeda could be restricted through good police work, intelligence operations and identification of those organizations that supported terrorism. *The Independent* accused Osama and Al Qaeda in its editorial on November 05, 2001 of exploiting the cause of Palestine. Al Qaeda should not be allowed to disrupt the legitimate struggle. Al Qaeda had declared war

against the United States and Israel too. It wanted to fight against the United States and destroy of Israel. Their sympathies towards the Palestinian cause were not genuine. They had their own agenda. *The Guardian* further commented in its editorial on October 2, 2001 that the al Qaeda was not only a threat for the Western world. It could not destroy America but it would certainly attack those Muslim regimes whose leaders were corrupt, having autocratic rule and inclined towards US policies.

*The Guardian* stated that the war in Afghanistan in 2001 impacted the al Qaeda organizations. Now their members were fleeing towards other countries. Al Qaeda had decentralized its organization. Now al Qaeda individuals were tasked to attack anywhere anyone in the world. The editorial on October 14, 2002 wrote that al Qaeda was strengthening its roots in south Asia and especially in Indonesia against its President's support for the war on terror policies. Similarly, Malaysia, Singapore and Philippine also showed their concerns against the organization. In the Philippines and Singapore, there were many al Qaeda members were found and Singapore captured many of them.

*The Independent* emphasized in its editorials during October and November 2001 that Osama had threatened the United States for his conviction to attack the country since few years. Osama's open threat of murder and terrorism could not be ignored. It was pertinent for the United States to take action against Osama and the al-Qaida under international law. President Bush had declared Osama as a prime suspect and declared his arrest dead or alive. Although, there was debate that proof against him was conditional or circumstantial still the action against him was justified. However, proof

was necessary to satisfy the Taliban and Pakistan's public who were against the action. If the military action was to help the Taliban and form neutral Government in Afghanistan, the action was justified. The attack should be under international law and it should avoid civilian casualties. Because increasing casualties could be used by al Qaeda as propaganda against the forces. However, al Qaeda could be crushed by killing one person. For the entire organization to be neutralized, which could take years.

After the Riyadh attacks during May 2003 *The Independent* discussed these attacks and indicated that after two wars, al Qaeda had come back to international agenda that was not a good message for the Governments of the United States and Britain. Although the Afghanistan war had affected al Qaeda it was divided in different cells and working in different countries.

Overall, the British press suggested that terrorism could be restricted through good intelligence, good police work, security measures and restricting nuclear weapon smuggling.

#### **4.5.7 Islam and the Muslims after 9/11**

The other issue that was highlighted by the British press was Islam and the Muslims after 9/11. However, in the context of 9/11 there were very few editorials that discussed the Muslims and Islam. But generally, the British press adopted positive stance and balanced approach towards it. *The Guardian* editorial on January 01, 2003 mentioned Downing Street's Statement that expelled the impression that the British government

had any differences with the Muslims. It was stated by the Downing Street that “The war on terror is not about Islam”. The religion of Islam was distorted by some extremists for their vested interests. It was told that there were many Muslims living in Britain who was law abiding and making their contributions to the country. Similarly, the majority of the British people did not consider Islam or the Muslims as a threat to western ideals.

*The Independent* mentioned Blair’s statement;

“As Mr. Blair said: "This is not a war with Islam." The perpetrators should not be described as "Islamic terrorists" but "terrorists pure and simple” (*The Independent*, October 09, 2001, p.3)

The British and the United States Governments insisted that there was a difference between terrorists and the Muslims generally. Terrorists had hijacked Islam and the Palestinian cause. They were propagating their own agenda in the name of Islam. Earlier, in October 2001, *The Guardian* emphasized that Al Qaeda should not be linked with the Muslims or Islam. It was not a religion that promoted terrorism. The extremists, fanatics or hard liners could be found in any religion or an organization. The best solution was to find out the root causes of their tyranny and to wipe them out. Actually, their societies needed development, and enhanced civil rights. The better solution to resolve the differences between the west and Islam was a mutual dialogue.

*The Independent* highlighted hate crimes against the Muslims in Britain and particularly in the United States. It argued that after 9/11 the Muslim society had faced discrimination and backlash in Britain and the United States. In the US the situation was worse where two people were killed. The lives of the Muslims had become difficult especially for those women who wear the hijab. The Muslims were beaten, bullied and sacked from their jobs. The Muslims need protection against the violence. The people

who think the best response to 9/11 was to beat the nearest Muslim were wrong. The politicians should take serious notice of the prejudice that was practised by the British society. In another editorial *the Independent* argued that the Islam phobia was getting worse in the west. There were attacks on mosques, Arab Muslims and even on Sikhs. Sikhs marched against this attitude and said Sikhs were not Taliban and Sikhs were not Muslims. However, President Bush condemned these hate crimes and considered them as being against humanity. He asked the police to perform their duty effectively to control the situation and to help local Muslim leaders to secure the mosques. The civilized values could not be compromised.

“So President Bush was right to deal with these issues head on, and he delivered one of his better rhetorical flourishes when he declared: "Those who feel like they can intimidate our fellow citizens don't represent the best of America, they represent the worst of humankind." More practically, judges in the United States have wisely postponed the trials of several Muslims because of the climate of rising racial tension” (*The Independent*, September 19, 2001, p. 3).

Overall, the British press framed the Muslims and Islam positively and stressed that the differences between the West and the Muslims could be resolved through mutual understanding and dialogue. The phenomenon of terrorism should not be attached with the religion. It was the ideology of some fanatics who were using it for their interests.

#### **4.5.8 Freedom of Press**

The other issue that was highlighted by the British press was the state of the freedom of press regarding the coverage of ‘War on Terror’, although there were very few editorials that discussed this issue. At the start of the Afghanistan war of 2001, *the guardian* and *the Independent* complained that the media had restricted access to the battle field. The

journalists were not allowed to report directly from the war zone. That's why; the situation inside Afghanistan was unrevealed. There were civilian casualties and other damages but the media could not have access. In these circumstances, the western media was dependent on the Pentagon and the Ministry of Defense for getting the latest updates. But unfortunately, both organizations did not have a good reputation in revealing true facts even in peace times. Consequently, the story from both sides was not clear.

Moreover, the British government showed concerns over the British media coverage of the War on Terror. *The Guardian* editorial on October 16, 2001 expressed its concerns over Alastair Campbell's (Tony Blair's communications chief) remarks that Downing Street had objections to broadcasting Osama bin Laden videos, stories related to the prime minister's security, statements by the Taliban relating to civilian casualties and reservations on "war on Terror". President Bush also put pressure on TV channels and the Voice of America to restrict coverage on the Afghanistan war. *The Guardian* commented that the restrictions on the media could not help to win war, rather it was anti-democratic. As this next *The Guardian* editorial discussed, BBC reporting on the Iraqi war of 2003. The BBC's was criticized by Lord Black and *Times'* journalist Barbara Amiel for its factual coverage on Iraq. BBC' reporting was portrayed as hostile to British institutions and confrontational to the government. Liberal media was blamed for its independent reporting of the conflict by the Government officials and the conservative press. It was instructed by the Government not to include the stories that were contradictory to the Government's policies.

*The Independent* also criticized government censorship and argued that public protests during October 2001 indicated that the British people were not satisfied with British policy towards Afghanistan. Inside Afghanistan due to heavy bombardment, the people had strengthened their support for the Taliban. On the other hand the prime minister had toughened his approach towards the British media regarding the coverage of war. That was a wrong and misguided approach.

The same issue was discussed in the context of American media by *The Guardian*. It pointed out that the American press was hesitant to ask troubling questions of the Bush administration regarding the policies of 'War on terror'. It avoided criticism on US policies and restricted alternative viewpoints due to patriotic concerns. For instance, an editorial on May 08, 2003 described that Fox news used embedded reports from Iraq, portrayed the US army as "our troops" and 'anti war protests' as the "great unwashed". The American media showed bias at the fall of Baghdad and even criticized those people who opposed the attack. The US media lacked impartiality and objectivity in the coverage of the War on Terror. However the British media tried to adopt a balanced approach but it was not highly appreciated by some media circles as well as the British and the US governments.

During the coverage of the Iraqi war of 2003, *The Independent* criticized David Blunkett's (the Home Secretary) remarks against liberal newspapers in its editorial on April 04, 2003. Mr. Blunkett argued that the liberal press was hesitant to include stories

from the journalists embedded with the United States and British troops but gave importance to the stories provided by those journalists who were behind enemy lines. He accused the Al Jazeera channel being linked to the Saddam regime. *The Independent* argued that Mr. Blunkett did not consider that Al Jazeera won an Index of Censorship award the previous week for its independent coverage. Aljazeera had provided news from a different perspective which the western media lacked. It provided Arab point of view, how the Arabs looked at the conflict. Moreover, the British people were media literate, they could differentiate between biased and objective news. The Government officials should not give harsh comments against the liberal press. *The Independent* stated that the media did not have any conflict with the forces but it had certain concerns with the politicians.

However, the issue of freedom of the press was not discussed by many of the editorials but some of the editorials from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* pointed towards it. The press expressed its concerns against the grim mood of the British Government for the independent coverage of the conflict. It was suggested that during war time, the Government should not restrict the media. It should be allowed to give fair reporting on the issue that was according to the democratic norms of society.

#### **4.6 Opinion of British Informants regarding the War on Terror**

For this research, interviews were conducted with the informants of British public regarding their opinion on the War on Terror. These people watched their main stream media and observed the war on terror. It was important to know the country whose

government decided to support war on terror how its public looked at the crisis. There were nine informants selected from Britain. They mostly belonged to Walsall and Birmingham. Their age was between thirty to fifty years old. They belonged to upper middle class and middle class of Britain. They were mostly teachers, research student, executives and one medical practitioner. It was difficult for the researcher to directly interview them. So these people sent their response through e mails. The informants were chosen for their special interest in the concept of the War on Terror, international politics and interest in their mainstream media. Through in-depth interviews with the informants it was tried to answer the following research question: How did the representatives from British public perceive the War on Terror? Thematic model of Nvivo was given below that depicted the emerging themes from interview data.

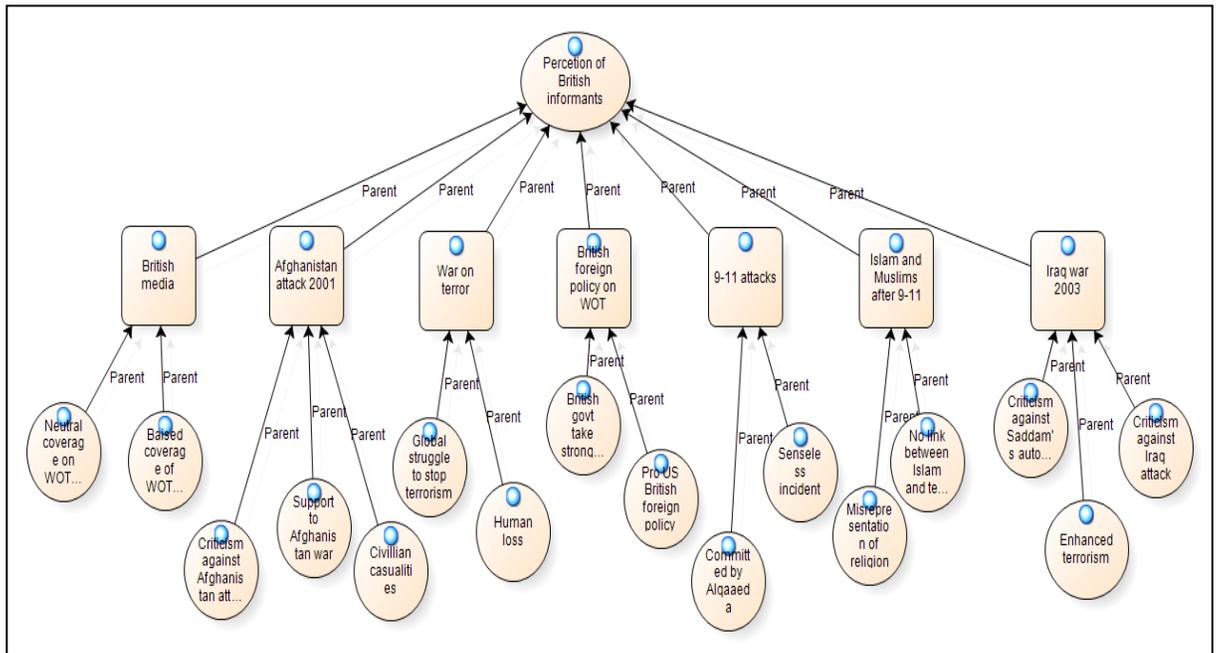


Figure. 4.10. Thematic Model on the interviews of British informants

Sub themes appeared from the data were concerns against Al-Qaida relating to 9/11 attacks, casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq, mixed opinion on war on terror, human and

physical loss during war on terror, misrepresentation of Islam, criticism against Saddam, role of British media in war on terror and pro US British foreign policy on war on terror.

First theme that was appeared from data was about 9/11 attacks. Most of the British interviewees were convinced that the 9/11 attacks were committed by Al Qaeda and Osama was the real culprit. Out of nine interviewees five commented that Al Qaeda was responsible. It was argued that Muslims and fanatics were responsible for the attacks. Some were quite sure that it was Al Qaeda's crime but others were of the opinion that the media made them believe that it was Al Qaeda which was the real culprit. As one interviewee stated:

“We have been made to believe that Al Qaeda are responsible, but who do you believe, I do not trust our Government or the Americans.” (B 4)

The other sub theme appeared from the data was the concerns against human loss during war on terror. The informants argued that these attacks led to greater human loss in Afghanistan. Many innocents who were not responsible for the 9/11 attacks were killed. One informant commented that the 9/11 attacks were the reaction to the bellicose policies of the United States against the Muslims. Another informant argued that it was Islamic extremism and American foreign policy which led to these attacks. However, few expressed that there were some unknown factors behind it such as greed or retaliation. Over all, the British informants framed the 9/11 attacks as a senseless incident that led to many casualties including many innocent people in the United States and Afghanistan.

The British people were much concerned regarding the civilian killings in Afghanistan and Iraq. They condemned the killings and felt sorry for these innocent people and children who were killed in this war. They argued that the war caused massive physical and property damage that could not be justified. They considered it a terrible human and property damage. Although one informant argued that there were less civilian killings during the War on Terror and more willingness to rebuild the countries most of them considered it a great loss.

“There has been a huge loss of life and infrastructure to thousands of innocent people which will take years to rebuild however these are the consequences of war. It is very saddening that so many people have been forced to move house or even country to flee the violence, unfortunately a few individuals have had a huge impact on so many people.”(B 9)

Regarding the War on Terror the British informants were of the opinion that it was a global struggle to stop international terrorism. Through this war, the United States and British tried to capture those groups or individuals who were involved in the September 11 attacks or intended to commit further attacks against Western nations. It was a struggle to resist fundamental ideals, terrorist actions and dictatorship that caused harm to innocent civilians. It was also argued that these extremist groups were not confined to Al Qaeda alone. In fact they were wide ranging and had spread to many other countries. As one informant argued:

“I would like to think of the war on terror being about fighting back and regaining a country’s confidence after an incident of illegal and murderous nature with intent. However, I feel it is the wrong terminology and ideology as why would you enter into war on / with ‘people’ who have created fear, loss and devastation upon your country and retaliate with the same nature? When I think about War on Terror I think about George Bush and his American ideologies of being a super power and no-one, organization or thing will take us down and we will show them

that we can fight harder, stronger and that they will regret their murderous plan against us... (B 7)

The British people were convinced that it was an international effort but some were against war. They considered it vengeance and retaliation. As another informant commented:

“This is a global strategy to try and prevent international terrorism. Ideas that come to mind are the US and Islamic Extremists” (B 5)

One British argued that the War on Terror was ‘another war’ and innocent people were caught up in this. It would cause miseries for those who were not involved in the September 11 attacks. British informants supported the idea of War on Terror and were agreed that it was a struggle to prevent further attacks against the innocent civilians but at the same time, they had certain reservations regarding the strategies of the War on Terror that might lead to further human killing.

The other sub theme appeared from data was informants’ reaction to Afghanistan war 2001. It was observed that most of them did not support the action against Afghanistan. They framed the action as a retaliation in response to the 9/11 attacks. One of the informants argued that he did not believe that war could solve any problem. It was also stressed that there was no certainty that it was Afghanistan that was responsible for the 9/11 tragedy although intelligence agencies made their case against Afghanistan. The informants were of the opinion that there should be some other ways to bring the perpetrators of 9/11 to justice. War was not the way. If America wanted a change of regime in Afghanistan, it was also not the solution to the problem. The mind of the

people could not be changed through war or force. The resentment against the West would increase in the region. One informant stated that it would be a waste of life on both sides. The British framed the Afghanistan attack as retaliation and poorly conceived action. The attack would kill innocent people who did not commit any crime.

However, it was noted that there were a few who supported action against Afghanistan. They were of the opinion that the 9/11 attacks were highly emotive and the United States should respond against it. If the Government had sufficient evidence against the culprits, it should go for action. Although war caused loss of life these acts of terrorist could not be ignored. To prevent such attacks in the future, the Government should take some action and if military force was required, it should be used appropriately.

Next sub theme was informants' reaction to Iraq crisis 2003. It was noted that the extension of the War on Terror to Iraq in 2003 was not supportive by most of the British informants. They were of the opinion that the action against Iraq was based on a pretext and not on solid proofs. The United States Government made allegations that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction that posed a threat to the United States but the weapons were not found after the war. Furthermore it was not strongly proved before the war. If America wanted a regime change in Iraq, the war was not an appropriate method. The "Man at the Top" should be brought down by his own people. As one informant argued:

"The invasion of Iraq was misguided and in the context of war on terror, wrong. I don't believe it helped in this context and probably succeeded in antagonizing those intent on terrorist attacks even further and actually helped their cause and was extremely inflammatory...I don't know whether he had nuclear weapons--I believe that no weapons were found when the US invaded so presumably not."  
(B3)

The war did not solve any problem but in fact, it enhanced extremism and resentment against the West. The British informants also doubted the link between terrorism and Iraq. One informant stated that the speculation that the US was rather more concerned with Iraqi oil than with combating terrorism might be true.

There were certain informants who supported action against Saddam. They stressed that it was a dictator regime. Saddam oppressed his people and committed crime against the people. After the collapse of his Government, the people would be in a better situation rather than under a dictatorship. Whether he had weapons of mass destruction or not was another question but he threatened to use them and there could be a connection between Saddam and Al Qaeda. Moreover, at that time, the available information did not support Saddam. Based on these allegations, the action against him was justified.

It was observed that the British informants had quite negative opinion about Saddam. Sometimes, they did not support the attack on Iraq but they also did not support Saddam. He was framed as a dictator and an extremist who oppressed his own people and committed crimes against his nation. One informant stated that if he was not alive, he did not feel sorry for him. Saddam killed many innocent people in his country to prolong his regime. It was also argued that he might have connections with Al Qaeda and he was also in the process of making dangerous weapons. He was a threat to the United States because he threatened to attack the country. Most of the informants expressed the opinion that they did not like Saddam and his dictatorship. Most of the British informants condemned Saddam for his extremist action against his people.

However regarding his connections with Al Qaeda and the possession of weapons of mass destruction, they had mixed opinion. They responded that he might have weapons of mass destruction or have connection with Al Qaeda but his biggest crime was his dictatorship which caused much civilian death in Iraq.

The other sub theme was the informants' perception regarding war on terror. It was asked of the British informants if the War on Terror curtailed terrorism. There was mixed opinion about it. Some argued that the War on Terror did not curtail terrorism; in fact, it enhanced terrorism. It was propaganda of the British and the US Government to divert attention from other important issues. But they condemned terrorism and argued that it was bad to kill innocent people under the cloak of religion, greed or power. One interview stressed that there should be threat of retaliation against any terrorist attack that might prevent further attacks but every group was not justified to take retaliatory actions. They stressed that the War on Terror did not work to stop terrorism but it should be stopped.

Contrary to this, other informants were of the opinion that the War on Terror certainly curtailed terrorism. Now security was increased, the forces had killed many terrorists, many terrorist leaders were arrested and people were more aware of security measures. Special security units were established that worked to curb terrorism and uncovered certain terrorist plots before a disaster happened. But there was a need for the Government to focus on the causes of terrorism. It was more important to win hearts and minds than get war victories. One informant argued that in this regard media should play

more positive role. Media should not use the War on Terror for selling their newspapers. There was a more critical and serious approach that was required of the Western media.

The other sub theme was relating to British foreign policy on war on terror. The informants were asked to comment on British policy regarding the War on Terror. The majority of them did not endorse the government's policy to support the War on Terror. They were of the opinion that the British government was not in a position to stand against the policies of the United States. The United States policy makers provided false intelligence and compelled the British Government to support them. Britain did not want to spoil its relations with the United States, so they supported them. Another informant commented that the United States had its own priorities, policies and egotism that were different from British interests. The British Government should take steps to safe-guard its citizens against the threats of terrorism but it should be done through global consensus and mutual understanding, not by supporting all US policies. The British Government should be strong enough to take a stand. Moreover, by supporting the policies of the United States the British government did not get favors from the rest of the world. A few interviews commented more harshly on British-US relations, as they stated:

“I think they say ‘jump’ and we say ‘how high’ (hope you understand that??) In other words we are just America’s ‘poodle’ we just do as they say” (B 4)

“We are their bitch, we stand tall to their demands and deliver what they ask...they ask us to jump, we ask how high?!” (B 7)

However, two supported British policy over the War on Terror. They said that it was important for Britain to take some action against terrorism. The country could not stand

back silently. In fact, it should play a more proactive role. Britain also faced the threat of terrorism in the form of London bombings. It was pertinent to take action against terrorism. They also looked at the issue from UK-US relations perspective. They were of the opinion that since the US and UK had strong relationships Britain could not retreat on this issue.

The other sub theme was the role of British media during war on terror. It was noted that regarding the coverage of War on Terror the informants had mixed opinion. Almost half of the interviewees were of the opinion that their media was biased on the coverage of Afghanistan and Iraq wars. They projected biased news and gave one sided coverage; neglecting the point of view of the other side. They also said that the reporting was sensational and of the nature of a propaganda that aimed to fascinate the readers and enhance their financial interests. An interview remarked that he did not come across any balanced reporting on Afghanistan and Iraq issues. Contrary to this opinion, the others remarked that the British press was the freest press in the world. The press was not afraid of tackling British politicians. It reported fairly on the issue but at certain points it was a little biased on the question of British soldiers; that was acceptable. Overall, they covered the war neutrally from the British perspective. However, one interviewee was quite neutral regarding the role of the British press. She was of the opinion that at the start of the campaign the British media was quite balanced in its approach and report all happenings in the battle field. But with the passage of time, the British media lost its neutrality and started to project the point of view which was suitable for them. Overall, it could be stated that generally the informants were not satisfied with the role of the

British media in the coverage of the War on Terror.

Last theme was relating to the portrayal of Islam and Muslims after 9/11. The British interviewees were asked to comment on Islam that was related to extremism or terrorism after 9/11 attacks. All interviewees were of the opinion that there was no link between terrorism and Islam. Islam was a peaceful religion and preaches humanity and love. Most of the informants commented that they had interaction with the Muslim community; they were a very generous and kind hearted people. It was wrong to blame any religion for extremism. None of the religion preaches terrorism. There were good and bad people in all religions. They wanted to use religion for their own interests. The same was true of Islam. There were a small number of people who distorted the teachings of Islam and misrepresented the religion. Religions could not be violent. None of the religions allowed human killings. However, now it was the duty of Muslim nations to stop the misrepresentation of Islam and present the true picture of Islam. As the informant stated:

“I think that all religions have this as a central message. I believe that the message of Islam has been distorted by the corrupt few. That as in many religion that the message has been perverted by the people in power for their own means...I think that only the Muslim people can stop the war on terror by realizing the folly of allowing the message of Islam to be corrupted and manipulated by organizations of Islamic extremist” (B 5)

In conclusion, it could be stated that the British interviewees were not in favour of the War on Terror. They were concerned to eradicate the threat of terrorism but not through waging wars. They were concerned about the number of civilian casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq. They stressed that their Governments should take decisions

according to British national interest. The unconditional support for the War on Terror would not go hand in hand with British interests. Moreover, they had quite a positive opinion about Muslims and Islam and did not link the idea of extremism or terrorism to any of the religions.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

This chapter included the discussion regarding the editorial coverage of ‘War on Terror’ by the two British dailies namely *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. The chapter discussed the stance of coverage, media frames, media conformity and prominent issues from the British press. Regarding the framing of War on Terror, it was noted that the British newspapers generally framed the coverage in a negative stance. Both the newspapers highlighted the stories that gave a negative impact to the War on Terror, for instance, the stories regarding casualties in war, consequences of war, negative public opinion and criticism on War on Terror, the Afghanistan attack and the Iraqi attack. Moreover, four frames emerged from the coverage, namely anti-war frame, rebuilding frame, humanitarian frame and pro war frame. The anti-war frame was most prominently used by the British press. Mostly, the press criticized pro war arguments and stressed on anti war aspects of the conflict. However, the pro war frame was rarely used by the press.

The data on media conformity to foreign policy revealed that the coverage of British newspapers on the War on Terror partially supported their foreign policy guidelines. During the Afghanistan war, the British press mostly criticized the war but at certain

points, it supported Government policy line but in the case of the Iraqi war, the British press completely opposed the Government policy on it. The researcher identified the prominent issues that were frequently discussed by the British newspapers in the context of the War on Terror such as Britain's role in the War on Terror, US policies towards the War on Terror, the UNO, British dossier on Iraq, Terrorism, Al-Qaeda, Islam and the Muslims after 9/11 and Freedom of the press.

Lastly, the researcher described the opinion of British informants regarding war on terror. The major sub themes of the interviews were concerns regarding casualties, consequences of war, perception regarding war on terror, Islam, Muslim, British foreign policy and role of British media during war on terror. This chapter reviewed how the British press looked at the War on Terror whereas the next chapter would discuss the framing of War on Terror from the Pakistani perspective.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **FRAMING OF WAR ON TERROR BY THE PAKISTANI NEWSPAPERS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter analyses the editorial coverage of the War on Terror by two leading English newspapers of Pakistan namely *The Dawn* and *The Nation*. The time period for the study was from September 12, 2001 to September 11, 2003, the most significant time period in which the War on Terror was declared by President Bush, and the Afghanistan war of 2001 and the Iraqi war of 2003 were fought. This chapter analyses how the War on Terror was framed by the Pakistani press, what frames they mostly utilized and what issues were highlighted. Moreover, it explores, if the Pakistani newspapers supported Government policy on the War on Terror during its coverage of war. The chapter would answer the research questions from the perspective of Pakistani news papers.

#### **5.2 Framing of ‘War on Terror’ by Pakistani press**

By investigating the editorial coverage of Pakistani newspapers, it could be stated that the coverage was dominated by a negative stance. From the 9/11 attacks in the United States to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the newspapers were against the United States’ actions. However, after the 9/11 attacks, the Pakistani press commented that it was the heinous acts of terrorism that should be condemned worldwide. The attacks on the twin towers caused great loss to human life and property. The aggression against

humanity could not be justified. But it also stated that it a humiliation for the world power to be challenged in its own land by a small group of terrorists. Pakistani newspapers stressed that the attacks should be condemned by everyone and mentioned the condemnation messages by many different countries such as China, Iran, Libya and many others. Pakistan had also decided to support America to track down the terrorists, because Pakistan considered that terrorism was a threat for the entire world and it should be defeated.

Initially, the Pakistan press discussed world support for the United States after the 9/11 attacks but later on Pakistani newspapers criticized the post 9/11 policies of the US, hate crimes in the US, evidence against Osama and effects on economy. In November 2001, *The Dawn* stated that soon after the 9/11 attacks the Muslim countries gave warm support to War on Terror. America was able to gather world coalition against terrorism and Al Qaeda. The Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Egypt had offered their assistance to fight against Al Qaeda and capture Osama Bin Laden who was declared as the prime suspect for 9/11 attacks by the United States. It was argued if America extended the War on Terror to other countries; it would be difficult for the Muslim states to support the War on Terror in the longer run.

However, *The Nation* argued that the Bush administration had madly started its campaign against the culprits of 9/11 without properly determining the identity of 9/11 terrorists. The War on Terror would cause many casualties and destruction. It was very important to establish the identity of the terrorists. America was a responsible country; it

should not blindly pursue its war objectives. It was not confirmed yet whether Osama was responsible for the 9/11 but the way the American media and high officials had started campaigning against him had caused suspicion. The United States must consider the reaction of the Muslims against the attacks in Afghanistan that would be different from simple condemning of the 9/11 attacks. It should be understood that the United States' action could be misperceived by the Muslim world. Likewise public opinion in Pakistan was not supportive of any action against the Muslim country.

Moreover, *The Dawn* reported on the indiscriminate behaviour and hate crimes against the Muslim population in the United States after 9/11 in some of its editorials during September 2001. On September 22, 2001, *The Dawn* reported that after the 9/11 attacks, there were 300 incidents of hate crimes against Arabs, Asian nationals and those who look like Muslims in the United States. It had become difficult for Muslim females to wear the hijab. Even children had stopped going to school due to humiliation and fear. Many young Muslim men were harassed by the security agencies. In American society the Muslims had become the victims of 9/11. The Muslims were perceived as potential terrorists and were badly treated. It was suggested that the United States Government should take actions against the discriminating attitude of the people; it would affect the campaign against terrorism.

Many editorials noted from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* that criticized US post 9/11 policies. On December 31, 2002 *the Dawn* commented that American actions after 9/11 had affected the world in two ways. First, it set a bad precedent for those states that used

force by state-backed terrorists, for instance Hindutva in Indian Gujrat and Sharon in Palestine. They could kill people without any moral pressures. Secondly, these policies were imperialistic in nature, causing alienation in the entire world. Moreover, the Bush administration by using the doctrine of regime change wanted to install pro-American Governments in those countries that were strategically important for it. The United States utilized economic power through the IMF and the World Bank to achieve global supremacy for American interests. America's foremost interest was oil in Iraq and Central Asian states.

“With the president, the vice-president, the defence secretary and the national security adviser holding personal business interests in the oil industry, it was not surprising that oil was a deciding factor in American foreign policy. If America continues to provoke the rest of the world by its arrogance, this process of regrouping of forces could escalate and alter the configuration of power in world politics in the years to come” (*The Dawn*, December 31, 2002, p. 9).

*The Nation* commented that the 9/11 attacks had changed the world. The United States adopted the aggressive approach to tackle the menace of terrorism and the policies of reason and restraint were muted. The Bush administration did not address the causes of terrorism but rather enhanced them. President Musharraf mentioned the causes of terrorism such as economic deprivation, foreign occupation, repression and the denial of human rights. The Western policy makers were less bothered about these causes. However, their self serving policies had worsened the situation. The criminals who attacked the United States were Arabs. These attacks might be considered as revenge against the United States' presence on Saudi soil and Israeli oppression against Palestinians. It was suggested that there should be mutual dialogues among different

cultures and communities and the United States should address the grievances of the Muslims.

“There is a need to initiate a ‘civilization’ dialogue based on mutual tolerance and respect if the planet is not to be ultimately blown to bits. The West must address the genuine grievances of the Muslims especially, as well as of adherents of other faiths, and also correct its rapacious economic policies which have divided the world into ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’. The tragic 9/11 should also be seen as an ultimate act of desperation against accumulated injustices. A policy of ‘live and let live’ needs to be adopted.” (*The Nation*, September 11, 2002, p. 6)

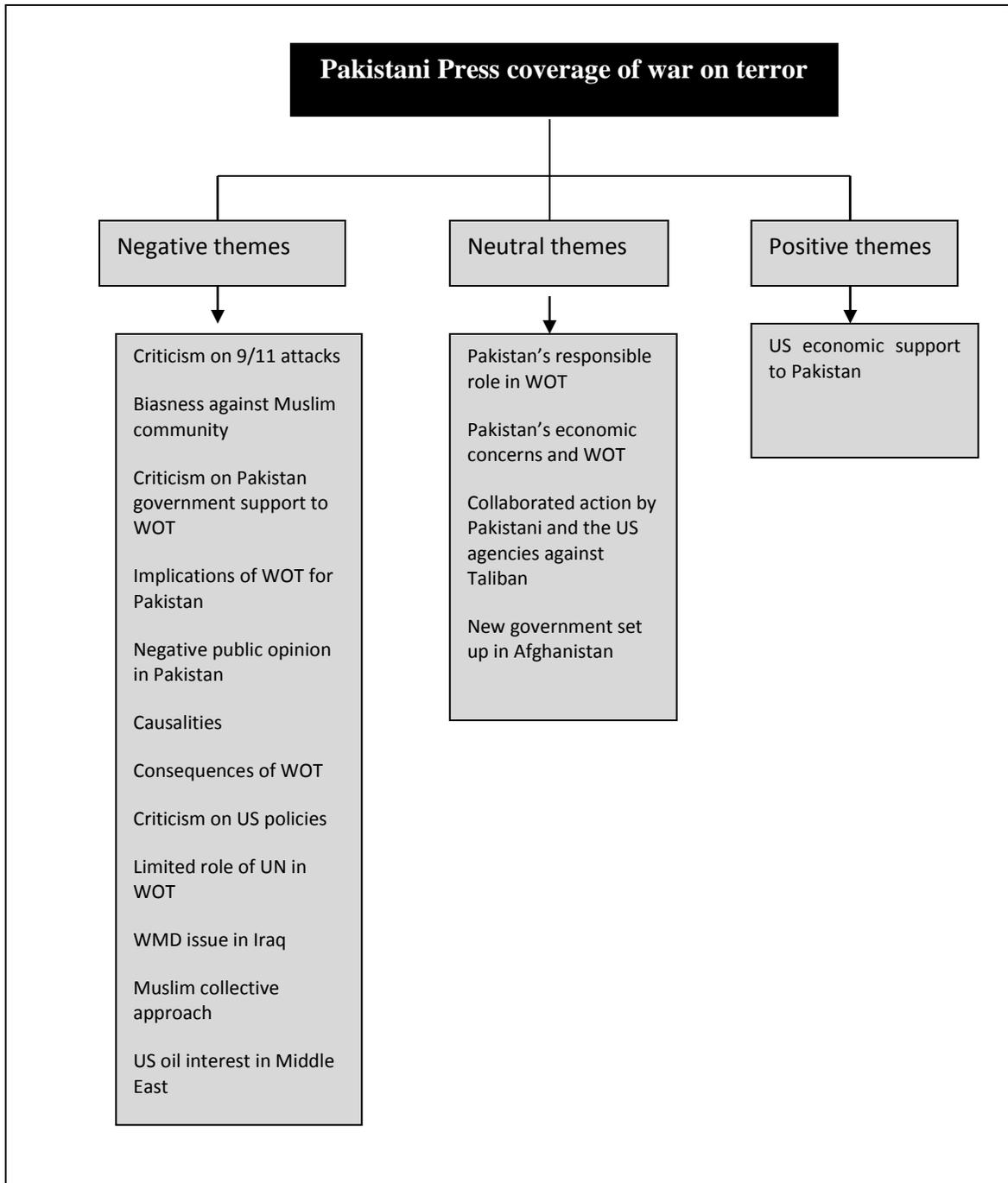
*The Nation* argued that after 9/11 America adopted a monolithic approach “if you are not with us you are against us.” During the cold war, America used the communist ideology but after the end of the cold war, it needed some enemy. After the 9/11 attacks a suitable enemy in the form of Islamic militancy emerged. Threats from the Muslims to the security of the United States were exaggerated. The United States’ unilateralism had made the stable states prone to anarchy. Two years after 9/11, *The Nation* stated that still the United States was worried about its security issues. It had attacked Afghanistan and Iraq and was determined to extend its military ventures to other Muslim countries. The United States lost the sympathy that it got after 9/11. It had brought change to the world but not for the better.

From the economic perspective, *the Nation* pointed out that 9/11 attacks had affected the world economy. Due to attacks the dollar went down. The business of air lines and insurance were worse affected. Moreover, it decreased consumer spending and business confidence. The IMF had indicated these downward trends in the Asian and Pakistani markets in its report.

The IMF has now scaled down the forecast for GDP growth in emerging Asian economies to 5.1 percent in 2001 from the May estimate of 5.6 percent. Pakistan's growth projection is 3.9 percent against a target 4.5 percent, with further downward revision likely. (*The Nation*, September 28, 2001, p. 6)

It was stressed that the Pakistan Government should notice all those indicators that had affected the economic growth of the country. The 9/11 attacks had negatively affected the Pakistani economy. It reduced investor confidence in the Pakistani market. The Government should discuss this situation with those countries which wanted to help Pakistan in the War on Terror. There was an urgent need to restore Pakistan's economy and for this reason foreign help and other measures were required. Moreover it was pertinent to improve the security scene in Pakistan. The terrorists' event in the United States had badly affected the economies of the third world countries.

The figure below described the stance of coverage by Pakistani press regarding the war on terror. Negative, neutral and positive themes were presented below in the figure.



*Figure 5.1. Stance of Coverage by Pakistani press on the War on Terror*

### **5.2.1 War on Terror**

By exploring the editorial coverage of the War on Terror, it was observed that mostly Pakistani press framed the war in a negative stance. 62.5% of references in the editorials of *The Dawn* framed the War on Terror in a negative stance; 13.4% in a neutral and 24.1% in a positive stance. However, 46% of the references of the editorials of *The Nation* framed the War on Terror in a negative stance, 53% in a neutral stance and none of the editorial framed it positively. The negative coverage of the War on Terror mostly included the stories related to criticisms on America, the War on Terror, and implications for Pakistan, internal security issues of Pakistan, hate crimes against the Muslims and the extension of the War on Terror.

*The Dawn* commented that the United States used the incident of 9/11 for its interests. The 9/11 attacks provided an excuse to America to strengthen itself in Afghanistan for realizing its interests. It wanted to extend its War on Terror to those countries where its interests were at stake. The Bush agenda of pre-emptive wars and regime change were disturbing and arrogant. The newspaper remarked that the War on Terror did not have any vision. The United States and Britain were inclined towards war rather than solving world problems through peaceful diplomacy. Their actions such as military action on Afghanistan, treatment of prisoners of war, attacks on Iraqi civilians and support for Israel for killing the Palestinian population indicated that the United States and Britain worked as worst dictators.

“The world coalition the US managed to put together to fight terrorism is all but dead in the face of American unilateralism, which, if it continues to be practised

risks making the world a more dangerous place than ever before” (*The Dawn*, August 27, 2002, p. 9).

The Human Rights watch commented that the War on Terror curtailed individual rights and gave excuse to the autocratic states to vindicate their repressive activities in the name of combating terrorism. This agenda relied on oppression, threats and forestalling political and social problems. In an editorial on January 10, 2002, *The Dawn* pointed out that states like India and Israel hijacked anti terrorism campaign for justifying their national agenda. India justified its brutal activities in Kashmir and Israel in Palestine. On September 19, 2001, *The Nation* wrote that in the pretext of the War on Terror India was ready to attack Pakistan because it accused the country of supporting terrorism in Kashmir. War on Terror had set a bad precedent for oppressed countries that were ready to fulfill their nationalistic agenda in the name of the War on Terror.

Moreover, *The Nation* and *The Dawn* stressed on increasing hate crimes against Muslims in America. *The Nation* wrote on November 20, 2001 that President Bush framed the War on Terror as crusade. The western media portrayed the Muslims as extremists and their rituals as the extremism. That’s why hate crimes against Muslims increased in America. There were thousands of Muslims killed in Afghanistan while Osama was not caught and Al Qaeda was not dismantled. President Bush suspected 50 countries that could have Al Qaeda presences. There were thousands of people who had been killed in Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya and Afghanistan. However, Bush pronounced the War on Terror was not against the Muslims. The Bush administration adopted a hypocritical policy against the Muslims. It did not address the root causes of

Muslim unrest. If America would ignore these causes, more moderate Muslim states would join the extremists. They would believe that the War on Terror was another crusade with another name against the Muslims.

Pakistani newspapers fiercely criticized the extension of the War on Terror towards other countries such as Iraq, Iran, Syria or North Korea. *The Dawn* framed the extension of War on Terror as a dangerous idea. It was commented if America extended War on Terror towards other countries; the world coalition would be divided. Particularly, the war in Iraq would destroy the War on Terror coalition. It would be difficult for the Muslim countries to support America's war, because the Muslim countries believed that Iraq had no link with terrorism. The intention of the United States to target Muslim countries indicated that America had intended to wage wars against the Muslim countries in the name of axis of evil. Such actions would disrupt action against the Taliban and would enhance anti-American sentiments in the Muslim countries.

“Iraq, North Korea, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Chechnya and now Saudi Arabia — one by one, state after state is getting sucked into the vortex of the US-led blizzard against terrorism. American right-wing think-tanks, sections of the media, and administration hawks with links to fundamentalist Christian organizations discover fresh leads implicating now this country, now another in supporting and funding Al Qaeda or in helping develop weapons of mass destruction” (*The Dawn*, November 28, 2002, p. 9).

From the Pakistani perspective *The Nation* argued that major political and religious parties did not support the War on Terror and opposed the Government in supporting to this war. Political parties such as Jamiat-e- Ulama Islam, Jamat-e-Islami, Sipha Sahaba protested against the War on Terror, burnt tires and blocked traffic. There were protests in the big cities of Pakistan like Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad. In Peshawar there was

more sympathy for Afghan because there were a large number of Afghan refugees living there. *The Nation* commented that the newspaper had sympathies with Afghans but it regretted the existing situation. Action against Afghanistan was undesirable. On the other hand *The Nation* condemned the misrepresentation of Islam by the West.

In certain editorials *The Dawn* discussed the implications of the War on Terror for Pakistan. *The Dawn* argued that the Pakistani Government's decision to support the War on Terror would have far reaching impacts on Pakistan. On the domestic front, the situation was not favourable to the Government. There were large numbers of Taliban operators. If Pakistan fought against terrorism, these supporters could make trouble for Pakistan. In this case, Pakistan had to face an internal security crisis and no Pakistani would support this situation. Moreover, the tribes on the border of Pakistan had a soft spot for the Taliban. This situation made Pakistan's task more complicated. The Government had made plans to deal with security issues. The government's priority was that there should be minimum violence in the country. *The Dawn* argued that Pakistan had paid a heavy price for the War on Terror. While sharing 1200km of border with Afghanistan, Pakistan was subject to a direct impact due to the war on terror. As a result of the United States' actions in Afghanistan, many Taliban crossed the Pakistani border and increased the security risks for Pakistan agencies. Furthermore, a lot of refugees from Afghanistan travelled to Pakistan and Baluchistan and the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) provinces were filled with refugees. Pakistan faced an economic burden due to the refugees. Pakistan requested to the world community to help the country with its economic and social problems.

*The Dawn* commented that Pakistan played a front line role in the War on Terror and faced many problems inside the country by supporting the war. It complained that American media adopted an anti-Pakistan policy in its coverage. *The Dawn* wrote in its editorial on September 26, 2001 that CNN showed an Indian army provided film regarding terrorists camps in Pakistan. *The Dawn* remarked that the western media should stop their media sensationalism because such broadcasts would hurt American interests in the Muslim world.

Aspects discussed for so far indicated the negative framing of the War on Terror by the Pakistani press, where it criticized the War on Terror and highlighted its negative effects on Pakistan. However, there were certain editorials which maintained a neutral and positive stance towards the framing of the War on Terror. These editorials commented on Pakistan's support for the War on Terror and Western economic support for Pakistan.

On September 22, 2001, *The Dawn* stated that although previously the Pakistani government had close relations with the Taliban Government, now Pakistan had taken the stand to support the War on Terror. The fact should be admitted that by supporting the United States, Pakistan had to face criticism from Pakistan's religious parties that had a soft spot for the Taliban. But it was admirable that Pakistan was determined in its stand. At the same time, Pakistan would not rule out a diplomatic solution of the problems. When the United States had deployed its forces on the borders, Pakistan's diplomats were in Afghanistan to convince the Taliban Government to comply with the

United States demands. In this situation, Pakistan sent a diplomatic delegation to Afghanistan regarding to convince Osama on the United States demands. Moreover, unofficial channels such as the Ulemas also tried to convince the Taliban to handover Osama to the United States but they were not to be budged on the issue. They were of the opinion that Osama was not involved in the attacks and even threatened those nations that supported the War on Terror.

On September 18, 2001, *The Dawn* endorsed Pakistan's policy regarding the War on Terror and stated that the Pakistani Government was right to make consensus regarding the War on Terror with the United States. It was an important issue for Pakistan. But in another editorial on September 21, 2001, *The Dawn* argued that there were some sections in the country that did not support Government action in supporting the United States. They had called for strikes against the action. Majority of media, politicians, and intellectuals supported the President but a small majority opposed him. But in this crisis, the opposition circles should realize that the major objective should be Pakistan's interests. Pakistan's interests should come first. The stronger Pakistan would be in a better position to help Afghanistan.

Further, the Pakistani press pointed out the availability of economic support for Pakistan from western countries. *The Nation* mentioned that due to Pakistan's support to the War on Terror, the United States removed the Presslor, Glenn and Symington sanctions against Pakistan. Now Pakistan was eligible for military aid and hopefully it would get spare parts for f16. Pakistan could revive fresh flow of funds that would be used for

poverty reduction programs. The IMF and the World Bank would provide aid and in this way, Pakistan could fulfil its economic and defence needs. Pakistan was expecting a debt write off, but it was not accepted by the western countries. For instance Japan turned down the plea of debt write off but it rescheduled \$550 million loan. *The Nation* commented that the Government should not be over-confident over debt rescheduling and getting funds. Other measures should be adopted to improve the economy. *The Nation* stressed that the aid Pakistan received should be used for infrastructure development and to the benefit of the masses. There should be a trickle-down effect on the Pakistani economy, so that the common man could get some benefit.

*The Dawn* also looked at the economic support for Pakistan with positive gestures and certain editorials discussed the impacts of US economic support to Pakistan but *The Dawn* was not completely satisfied with the economic impacts on Pakistan after 9/11 in the form of aid, waiving of sanctions and other economic benefits. It stated that Pakistan received a few million dollars from European countries and the United States, they removed democracy related sanctions and Britain promised military cooperation. It was a good gesture but these were cosmetic measures that would temporarily relieve the economic situation. The United States was not ready to give tariff to Pakistan and trade concessions that was more urgently needed. One could hope that these aid packages would support Pakistan and the Government would use them on developmental projects and would not spend on wasteful projects. Money would be spent on industry, health projects, sanitation and water supply and education. It was also expected from the donors that they would not abandon Pakistan after Afghanistan. Overall, the Pakistani

press was not much satisfied by the economic support provided with the United States to Pakistan for participating in the War on Terror but it was considered as a good gesture from the West.

### **5.2.2 Afghanistan Attack 2001**

The Afghanistan war that was started on October 07, 2001 was not framed positively by Pakistani newspapers. It was mostly framed in a neutral and negative stance. There were 36.7% references from the editorials of *The Dawn* framed the conflict negatively and 63.3% neutrally. Similarly, there were 60% references from the editorials of *The Nation* that framed the war in a negative stance, 40% neutral in a neutral frame and none of the editorial framed it positively. The editorials which framed the Afghanistan war in a negative stance included discussions related to negative public opinion, protests, consequences, criticism on the United States policies, collateral damages, casualties, government process in Afghanistan, the United States' lack of interest in the reconstruction process and the extension of the War on Terror.

In certain editorials *The Nation* turned its attention to protests and negative public opinion against the Afghanistan war. *The Nation* wrote in its editorial on October 14, 2001 that after the start of the Afghanistan war, there were many protests in different cities of the world such as Kathmandu, Rio de Janeiro, Srinagar, Chennai, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Tehran, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Dhaka and large processions in Pakistan. The protestors framed the attacks as terrorism. The protestors in Palestine called the United States as “the head of terrorism” and the protestors from Tehran called President

Bush as the “father of terrorism”. Likewise on March 01, 2002, *The Nation* mentioned the largest Gallup survey conducted from nine Muslim countries like Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, Kuwait, Pakistan, the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Pakistan and Iran. These countries expressed anti-American opinion and in Pakistan which was participating in the War on Terror, there were only 5% of the population supportive of the United States. This was even less than the support from the people of Iran. *The Nation* argued that the implications of the survey implied that even the best intentioned US action would be framed negatively in the Muslim countries. It would create hatred against America. The reasons of hostilities between the United States and the third world countries were massive economic discrepancies. It was pertinent that the West should equalize the political and economic imbalances.

*The Nation* argued that the Afghanistan war would bring unpredictable consequences for the region. It would boost civilian casualties, regional insatiability, enhance anti-Americanism, further destruction of the country, poppy cultivation and heroin culture. The achievement of the United States’ objectives was uncertain. America wanted to capture Osama and dismantle Al Qaeda but after the fall of the Taliban there would be a dangerous political vacuum. The Taliban controlled 95% of Afghanistan and after their Government, if the new Government did not get popular support, it would worsen the security conditions of the country and the region. The new set up could be successful if it was representative and some moderate members of Taliban were of the part of it.

Moreover, there were a number of editorials from *The Nation* that criticized the

authenticity of evidence against Osama. It was stressed that the evidence the United States had against Osama should be exposed to the international community. The evidences provided to Pakistan, convinced the Pakistan Government but not the Taliban. When Pakistan officials visited Kabul to negotiate over Osama, the Taliban demanded sound evidences of Osama's involvement in the 9/11 attacks. They said that they are ready to surrender Osama if the evidence was credible. The European Union also demanded credible proofs against Osama. However, the Pakistan Government did not object on the evidence. In fact when Pakistan had decided to give uncritical support for the War on Terror, there was no other option left than to accept the United States evidences. The United States told Pakistan: "either you are with us or with the enemies" and Pakistan gave its willingness to support America. But there was another thought debated in Pakistan that the Government should give support to the United States on the basis of solid proofs against Osama; that's why there was criticism in Pakistan against the Government's decision. *The Nation* stated;

“...But, then, Washington's ruthless military operation against Afghanistan has been going on for exactly a month without definitive proof of Osama's guilt in the September 11 attacks being cited. The argument that its revelation would compromise sensitive sources involved is generally regarded as a little lame. As for the world at large, the only evidence the United States has of his involvement is the repetitive chorus of the western media pointing finger at him.” (*The Nation*, November 08, 2001, p. 6)

*The Nation* argued that after 9/11 President Bush adopted a vengeful mood against Al Qaeda and Osama. It was stressed if the United States was determined to attack Afghanistan, it had to provide concrete evidence and should make it clear whether its campaign was limited to Osama or extended to wipe out Al Qaeda.

In many editorials *The Nation* and *The Dawn* discussed the rising casualties in Afghanistan and mentioned worldwide concerns against it. It was argued that the aim of the campaign should be to restrict terrorism not to take revenge. Due to civilian casualties, powerful resistance was emerging in the Muslim world and also in the European world. There were protests and anti-war allies that killing of people should be stopped. The United States used cluster bombs in Afghanistan. The world community had raised questions regarding the terrorism campaign. *The Dawn* stated that humanitarian organizations condemned the use of cluster bombs. The United States replied that it was part of the technical and tactical planning of the action. The cluster bombs that were used to weaken the Taliban in Kabul had doubled civilian casualties. Such actions were against the people of Afghanistan and also against the War on Terror. On July 09, 2002, *The Nation* reported an incident, stating that after doing aerial bombardment the United States forces tied the hands of those people who wanted to attend to the injured people; it raised the number of casualties. Such brutal incidents had given rise to anti- American sentiments in the country.

After the collapse of the Taliban Government in Afghanistan, *The Dawn* showed its concerns about the deteriorating security conditions in Afghanistan. On February 04, 2003, *The Dawn* highlighted the United Nations' apprehensions against the chaotic conditions of the country. It argued that the 4000 strong international peacekeeping force that was stationed in Kabul and the rest of the country was unprotected. The war lords had become strong and did not accept the writ of Kabul Government. In these

conditions the aid agencies were unable to provide relief to the civilians. Lawlessness, attacks on the United Nations personnel, incidents of violence, robberies and bomb blasts were rampant. After the attack there was no progress made. The donors gave only a fraction of the aid they promised to give Afghanistan. If the same situation prevailed, Afghanistan would become again the safe haven for the terrorists.

*The Nation* stressed on the United Nations' role in the post-war reconstruction of the country. France, Russia and China also wanted a strong United Nations presence in Afghanistan. These countries were of the opinion that forces should be used to fight terrorism but later on diplomatic and economic options should be adopted to root out terrorism. Pakistan was of the opinion that in Afghanistan a multi ethnic and broad-based Government should be formed. So that none of the faction will feel deprived or develop any resentment. Such type of Government could give prosperity to Afghanistan and all factions could coexist. But the United States' inclination towards the Northern Alliance aroused concerns from the Pakistan Government.

*The Nation* stressed if the Northern Alliance got dominance in Afghanistan, its soldiers would loot and kill the people. In the past they had mistreated the prisoners of war and it could be repeated. To prevent bloodshed, it was important that United States or the United Nations should ensure their presence. On November 16, 2001, *The Nation* wrote that the Northern Alliance wanted to consolidate its position in Afghanistan. After the fall of Kabul they were more interested in acquiring Government offices than in restoring the country. They did not even want the presence of the United States or the

United Nations during the interim set up. They wanted to rule the country according to their will.

“The Northern Alliance forces have lately made swift advances in areas formerly held by the Taliban, under cover of the United States aerial pounding. They have captured large swathes of territory, triggering a panicky exodus of civilians. There have been reports of massacres of Pushtoons in Maza-e-sharif and Kabul, with even the women, children and the elderly not being spared. There are also allegations, substantiated by TV footage, of Taliban prisoners of war being mowed down by their Northern Alliance captors.” (*The Nation*, November 20, 2001, p. 6)

There were certain editorials by *The Dawn* that criticized the extension of the War on Terror to Iraq. *The Dawn* mentioned Colon Powell’s statement in its editorial on November 10, 2001 in which he threatened that America would turn its attention towards terrorism in other countries after completing its military action in Afghanistan. On December 01, 2001, *The Nation* commented that the hawkish elements in the Bush administration had urged President Bush to “seize the opportunity to oust” Saddam. They even knew that there was no logical link between 9/11 and Saddam but they were ready to punish Saddam. It was argued that the Bush administration was not only willing to attack Iraq but also other countries such as Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Syria and the Muslim majority region of the Philippines. *The Nation* wrote:

“Stop it here” (*The Nation*, December 11, 2001, p. 6)

The above mentioned aspects were framed in a negative stance but there were a number of editorials which portrayed the struggle in a neutral stance. These editorials included the discussion regarding the formation of a new Government in Afghanistan, Pakistan’s relations with the new Government and the role of the United Nations. It also suggested that the US should reduce its presence in the post-war scenario and the Pakistan

Government should interfere less in the Government-making process of Afghanistan.

*The Nation* endorsed President Musharraf's viewpoint that the military campaign in Afghanistan should be followed by economic and political rebuilding. It was hoped that after the war, the United States would fulfil its promise regarding the economic and political rehabilitation of Afghanistan. With the start of the Afghanistan campaign president Musharraf suggested that a broad-band and multi ethnic Government should be installed in Afghanistan by including moderate members of the Taliban. The United States did not give a positive response to this suggestion. However, a broad band setup would be beneficial for Afghanistan's integration and unity. If only one faction such as the Northern Alliance made its dominance, it would not be acceptable for others. If the Pushtoons were not represented in the new setup, there would be little chance that the Pushtoon refugees would leave Pakistan. *The Nation* argued that because of the Afghanistan war, Pakistan had to face an extra burden of refugees from Afghanistan, the country already had 2.5 million refugees. If demilitarized zones were demarked along with Pakistan and Afghanistan, it would enable the United Nations agencies to provide humanitarian aid to the refugees and refugees would also prefer to take shelter in those camps.

The Pakistani press argued that the broad band Government could stabilize the country and would discourage fighting between hostile groups. It would be a good opportunity for diverse groups to coexist. Otherwise, the anarchy in Afghanistan would affect Pakistan and would lead to regional instability. It was also stressed that the United

States should reduce its presence and the United Nations should facilitate the process of the formation of a neutral Government in Afghanistan. *The Nation* argued that countries like China and Russia were not happy over the American presence in Afghanistan; they stressed the United Nations' wider role in Afghanistan. Moreover, it was suggested to the Pakistan Government that it should not interfere much in the internal affairs of Afghanistan but the Government should convince the US Government that they should put in their efforts for the establishment of a broad band Government and demilitarize Afghanistan.

In some of its editorials, *The Dawn* stressed that Afghanistan needed stability for the reconstruction of the country. The foreign donors complained about the poor condition of law and order in Afghanistan. Lack of security had become the big hurdle in the way of reconstruction. The problem was that the Karzai Government had writ within Kabul only with the help of international forces. In this scenario, the international community had ceased giving funds to the Karzai Government. If the same situation would prevail, Afghanistan could not be rebuilt. On April 07, 2003, *The Dawn* mentioned an incident in which clashes between Afghanistan forces and Taliban were reported. During the fight eight Taliban leaders were killed. *The Dawn* argued that such incidents indicated that the government had writ only within the capital. With the passage of time Taliban were gaining strength. The peace keeping forces were stationed inside Kabul and the security of President Karzai was the duty of the US guards. It was not a positive development.

Although Pakistan was supportive of a broad-band set up in Afghanistan for the sake of the stability and reconstruction of Afghanistan, Pakistan welcomed the new set up. The head of new Government President Karazai expressed friendly sentiments for Pakistan and announced general amnesty for all in Afghanistan. *The Nation* commented that Karazai gave a positive gesture to Pakistan. It was hoped that his other colleagues, that were previously expressed negative opinions against Pakistan, would change their minds. It was expected that the new setup would work for the reconstruction and stability of Afghanistan and would form friendly relations with the neighbours. The new Government in Afghanistan was not in favour of the presence of international forces in Afghanistan. They wanted the Northern Alliance to rule the country but other countries and Pakistan stressed the presences of an international force. With the formation of a new Government, the international force of 3000 to 5000 was approved to support the new set up. *The Nation* pointed out that the new Government had to face many challenges. There were hostile forces, a depressing law and order situation, devastation in the country and a slow inflow of economic funds. President Karazai had to adopt a conciliatory approach to win over the war lords and convince the international community to give more economic funds to rebuild the country. Otherwise, due to the chaotic situation, the extremist forces would gain upper hand.

Overall, the Pakistani press was much concerned about the rebuilding of Afghanistan. Pakistani newspapers criticized many issues regarding the Afghanistan war such as collateral damages, the United States' lack of interest in rebuilding and the United States' pro-war policies. But overall, *The Dawn* gave immense importance to rebuilding

and the broad band Government in Afghanistan. Although the Pakistani press was not in favour of a Northern Alliance Government it stressed to have good relations with the new Government for the betterment of the region.

### **5.2.3 Framing of Iraq War 2003**

After completing the main operations in Afghanistan, the United States moved its attention the extension of the War on Terror to Iraq. Although the Iraqi war was started on March 20, 2003 the media and the US Government had started its discussions on the issue a year earlier. By analyzing the editorials on the Iraqi attack by *The Dawn*, it was observed that *The Dawn* gave an entirely negative coverage to this issue. There were 99.7% references from the editorials of *The Dawn* framed Iraq war in a negative stance, only 0.28% of the references were framed positively and nothing was neutral. Similarly, the coverage by *The Nation* was also dominated by a negative frame. There were 99% references from the editorials of *The Nation* that framed the Iraqi war in a negative stance. Negative framing of the Iraqi attack included the themes related to President Bush's war rhetoric, consequences of war, anti war sentiments, undermining the authority of the United Nations, killings in Iraq, missing weapons of mass destruction, fake intelligence on weapons of mass destruction, and Bush's indications to attack other countries.

There were a number of editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* that criticized the Iraqi attack. In one of the editorials *The Nation* wrote that the Iraqi attack proved the old metaphor, 'might is right'. It indicated America's arrogance that if even Saddam left

Iraq, the United States would attack Iraq. The United States demanded something more than just a regime change or a solution to the weapons of mass destruction issue. In future, this action would set a bad precedent for other nations. India could use this precedent against Pakistan and Israel against Palestine. Bush and Blair were ready to disobey international law that was detrimental for world order. The United Nations inspectors should do their duty in Iraq and according to their reports further action should be decided. If the United Nations was bypassed, the aggressor nations would follow the same course. It would reduce the world into a situation with no rule of law. As *The Nation* stated;

“Law of Jungle” (*The Nation*, August 11, 2002, p. 6)

*The Nation* denounced America for linking Saddam with the 9/11 incident. It argued that the United States had failed to prove any connection between 9/11 and Iraq but still Iraq was declared as the second target of the War on Terror. On November 15, 2002, *The Nation* questioned why it was possible for America to restrict other countries from developing nuclear weapons when it itself had dangerous weapons. America had used nuclear weapons against the enemy and had huge stockpiles. If the United States wanted to save the world, it had to change its course of action. The attack in Iraq would worsen the already depressive situation due to strict sanctions imposed many years ago. *The Nation* commented that the hawkish elements in the Bush administration had urged President Bush to push the unwilling world towards war.

“The uncompromising nature of anti-Saddam rhetoric, growing in intensity by the moment, which President Bush and his hawkish set-up has been employing especially since he voiced the dreaded axis-of-evil idea, seems, alas, to inexorably drag the Middle East, already in the throes of an unjust and unequal confrontation,

to a catastrophic war.” (*The Nation*, August 11, 2002, p. 6)

*The Nation* argued that if there was an issue of weapons of mass destruction for attacking Iraq, Israel had larger stockpiles of dangerous weapons in the region. Israel should also be punished for these reasons. It had violated the United Nations resolutions in this regard and attacked on its neighbouring countries and continuously persecuted the Palestinians. But in the case of Israel, the United States never objected to its weapons, in fact it was supported by America. Iran was also the next target because it also had anti-Israel policies. Another reason to attack was Iraq’s huge oil reservoir. The United States was the consumer of oil and wanted supportive regimes for its interests. *The Nation* opposed the war and wrote in one of its editorial’s headline as;

“Stop the illegal war.” (*The Nation*, March 28, 2003, p. 6)

There were a number of editorials from *The Nation* and *The Dawn* that mentioned world protests, negative public opinion and oppositional statements against the Iraqi war. *The Nation* and *The Dawn* reported that millions of people from the world protested against the war and many governments demonstrated their opposition. On July 05, 2003, *The Nation* depicted public polls which indicated that a number of Americans and Britons believed that Bush and Blair exaggerated the issue of Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction. On December 13, 2002, *The Nation* wrote that the Europeans considered Mr. Bush more dangerous than Saddam. A historian commented on President Bush as “surely ill tempered and hugely powerful immature person” (*The Nation*, December 13, 2002, p. 6). On February 19, 2003, *The Dawn* mentioned that 30 million people from the European countries protested against war. The people of the European world did not

want to put their sons into the unjust war. This war was just for American interest of oil. The British people pressurized their Government against war and warned against severe consequences.

*The Dawn* reported in many of its editorials about opposition to the Iraqi attack by many countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Iran, Bahrain, Pakistan, China, France, Germany, Russia and many other European countries. The Arab and the Muslim countries had already expressed their opposition. France and Germany consistently stressed United Nations inspections and more time for more detailed report on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Russia and China emphasized United Nations backed action against Iraq. The organizations like NATO, Arab League and Organization of Islamic Conference were deeply divided on the issue. Public opinion in the Muslim countries was very aggressive. Even those countries that did not have good relations with Iraq such as Kuwait and Iran did not endorse war. Pakistan too opposed the Iraqi war as the President of Pakistan, Mr. Pervaiz Musharraf said:

“...that a US attack on Iraq would have “really negative repercussions” in terms of greater turmoil and an upswing in anti-American sentiments in the Muslim world. In an interview with the BBC, he pointed out that many troubling problems in the world today somehow involved, or were being traced to, the Islamic world, and the Muslims felt “they are at the receiving end everywhere.” In such a situation, a US attack on Iraq would not only give rise to anti-American feelings in Pakistan; it would also “alienate the entire Islamic world” (*The Dawn*, August 31, 2002, p. 9)

Later on in certain editorials *The Nation* discussed the consequences of war. The Iraqi attack would cause civilian casualties and economic upheaval. It would raise oil prices and damage the global economy. From the humanitarian perspective a number of people might be killed due to bombardments. Iraq's hospitals were not sufficiently equipped

with medicines and drugs; they were unable to deal with the number of injured and dead people. Moreover, the war would affect the country's infrastructure. It would damage electricity, sanitation system, communication system and other infrastructure. Children and women would suffer the most. Moreover, *The Dawn* argued that the Iraqi attack would cause religious extremism, intolerance, terrorism and hatred against America in the region. It would cause threat for those moderate Muslim regimes that had pro-American policies. The religious extremism would cause chaos and would enhance recruitment for Al Qaeda. There would be some political and financial costs of the action. Iraq might be destabilized and could disintegrate into three states that could threaten the stability of the region. The Iraqi war would also undermine the United Nations and would break the world coalition after 9/11. Moreover, the pre-emptive action would set bad precedent that could be followed by other repressive regimes. The Arab world needed peace no more wars. There were many other problems that should be dealt with first such as disease, deprivation, poverty and political disenfranchisement.

The Pakistani press was in favour of inspection by the United Nations in Iraq. It urged President Saddam to comply with the United Nations inspection. The positive response from Saddam for United Nations inspection was supported by *The Nation*. It stated that Saddam's willingness for an inspection by the United Nations should be taken seriously to avoid war. During the Iraqi crisis *The Dawn* discussed the role of the United Nations in many of its editorials. There were discussions on the reports of Hans Blix, legality of war, the United States' treatment of the United Nations and the United Nations'

credibility on the Iraqi war. *The Dawn* stressed that the decision to attack Iraq should be authorized by the United Nations.

On December 18 and 22, 2002, *The Nation* wrote that according to United Nations resolution 1441, war was the last option if other measures failed to convince Iraq about a full inspection. But the IAEA reported that it did not find any weapons in Iraq. The United Nations agencies IAEA and United Nations Monitoring Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) did inspection for six months in Iraq and reported that they did not find any evidence related to weapons of mass destruction there. But the United States and Britain were not willing to accept their reports. Blix asked the United States if they had evidence against Iraq, they should share with the inspection team. But the United States was not willing to share this information which indicated the hypocrisy of the US. It seemed that the United States had no intentions to support the United Nations inspection process in Iraq, it just wanted war.

*The Dawn* mentioned the statement by Hans Blix in its editorial on January 11, 2003. He said that they did not get evidence regarding the weapons of mass destruction from Iraq yet. Mr. Blix stated:

“We have now been there for some two months and been covering the country in ever wider sweeps, and we haven’t found any smoking gun” (*The Dawn*, January 11, 2003, p. 9).

Mr. Blix negated the statements of the international community to impose “serious consequences” on Iraq. He further said in Security Council that he wanted to interview Iraqi scientists to fill the gaps that he found in the Baghdad declaration. He further

acknowledged that Iraq had fully complied with them. Blix argued if America considered that Iraq posed serious threat, it should present concrete evidence. Without this, the war against Iraq would not be justified.

*The Dawn* commented that the United Nations Security Council wanted a peaceful solution to the Iraqi crisis rather than war. However, close to the Iraqi war on March 17, 2003 *The Dawn* criticized Hans Blix for bringing an unclear report to the Security Council. It argued that the report had material for both pro war and anti war parties. It demanded a swift attack on Iraq as well as asked for more time to clear the Iraqi situation. Blix admitted that Iraq cooperated with inspectors and he did not find evidence of weapons but he also said that there was possibility that Iraq might have something. On these arguments, Bush and Blair justified their position and blamed Saddam for hiding proofs. On the United States and Britain's unilateral attack on Iraq, the chief of United Nations responded in these words;

“Kofi Annan, the United Nations’ secretary-general, not known as a peacenik, has come up with a warning. Talking to reporters the UN chief said the absence of a UN authorization and a common international position on Iraq will impair the legitimacy of any unilateral action” (*The Dawn*, February 19, 2003, p. 9)

“The other day, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said virtually the same thing. Avoiding the word aggression, Annan said a unilateral American attack would lack legitimacy” (*The Dawn*, February 20, 2003, p. 9)

*The Dawn* argued why an inspection drama was staged against Iraq. When Iraq carried out all the demands of the inspectors, and destroyed its weapons, why was there the need for war? Iraqi people were already in crisis due to the United Nations imposed sanctions since many years. The war would multiply their problems. But the United

States had made up its mind to bomb Iraq at any cost. The present attack would damage the principles of morality, truth and international laws.

“This war is against the fundamental principles of the UN. America bypassed the world body in utter contempt, because it knew the UN was not willing to sanction Washington’s aggression against a country that was settling the issue by peaceful means” (*The Dawn*, March 26, 2003, p. 9).

*The Dawn* commented in its editorials on March 23, 25, 2003 that the Iraqi attack had given long term damage to the credibility of the United Nations. The United Nations was the first causality of war. The United States completely bypassed the Security Council and the United Nations seemed like impotent against the might of the United States. The attack had weakened international law and the multilateral organizations. It set a precedent to solve world problems through force rather than dialogues. Not even the dictators played with the United Nations the way the United States did. American predecessors played an important role to build the United Nations after WW II but this time the United States itself undermined it.

On March 20, 2003, the war started in Iraq. The United States army launched massive attacks. Saddam’s army also responded to the attack but it could do little damage to the US army. On March 28, 2003, *The Nation* indicated that with the advancement of the armed forces, they fired more missiles to soften the resistance by Iraqi forces. It caused more collateral damages. It seemed that the forces were less vigilant about civilian casualties. The United States started a misinformation campaign to hide the figure of civilian casualties and use the excuse that Iraqi forces used the human shield to attack the forces. Within seven, days 44 civilians were killed and 1000 were injured. *The*

*Nation* stated that;

“Stop the illegal war.” (*The Nation*, March 28, 2003, p. 6)

On March 23, 2003, *The Dawn* framed the Iraqi attack in these words;

“After months of worrying uncertainty, the people of Baghdad are finally witnessing and experiencing the sheer, awesome horror of war. On Friday night, the Baghdad sky was lit up with flames as hundreds of missiles rained down on the Iraqi capital. Large parts of the city were reduced to rubble as the bombs targeted presidential palaces and government offices. Frightened citizens huddled indoors even during the daytime, with once bustling markets wearing an eerily deserted look” (*The Dawn*, March 23, 2003, p. 9).

*The Dawn* commented that the attack seriously damaged the lives of Iraqi civilians. There was death and destruction in the country. The forces were able to capture the Saddam International Airport, encircling the city and cutting its connection from the other parts of the country. By having extraordinary military superiority, Baghdad did not fall like a ripe apple. The morale of the Saddam forces was quite high and gave heavy resistance to the allied forces.

On April 03, 2003, *The Nation* mentioned that in the last two weeks due to heavy bombardment of the allied forces, around 500 people had been killed. The children and women were also killed. There was much resentment particularly in the Arab world and generally in the world. On the other hand the Iraqi gave a tough resistance to the forces, they did not surrender. The brave resistance had surprised the Pentagon. European countries were alienated and the United Nations was disobeyed. Now the Muslim world had become aggressive towards the United States. The United States forces suffered casualties and injuries as well. If the war continued for months, it would cause more casualties for the United States. It warned that Mr. Bush should understand the

outcomes of barbaric and illegal action in Iraq.

“About 100 invading troops have already been killed, are missing or have been taken POW. In view of the resolve shown by the Iraqi people, the war could continue for months, causing American casualties in the thousands. It is time President Bush realizes the perils of continuing the totally unjustified, illegal and barbaric aggression on Iraq.” (*The Nation*, April 01, 2003, p. 6)

*The Nation* argued that the foreign invaders were met with heavy resistance in Iraq. They were not garlanded as was expected by the Americans. There was immense resentment among the Iraqi society against the United States attacks. There were protests in the major cities of Iraq. These protests had tarnished the image of the United States image as a liberator. *The Nation* commented that if these protestors were Saddam’s supporters, it meant that Saddam was quite popular in Iraq. It was contrary to the United States claims that it attacked Iraq to liberate people from an aggressive ruler. In fact, the people in Iraq did not want foreign rule in their country. They wanted representative Government for their country.

“...America will then be the unwelcome occupier and not the liberator such as the warmongers in the Bush administration would have the world believe...” (*The Dawn*, April 06, 2003, p. 9)

In the post-war scenario, there were a number of editorials which highlighted the post-war chaos, security issues and the humanitarian crisis in Iraq. *The Dawn* pointed out that there was a shortage of medicines, essential goods, electricity and drinking water. It was reported on January 31, 2003 that 900000 refugees fled to Iran, two million would be displaced in the country and 3.6 million people would need emergency shelter due to attack. The humanitarian agencies had already indicated that war could cause an acute humanitarian crisis. It would involve an enormous cost for Iraq whose infrastructure was already in shamble due to the strict sanctions of the United Nations. *The Dawn* wrote on

January 02, 2003 that according to one humanitarian agency prolonged war would cause 100000 civilian deaths. After the war, it was noted that there was a shortage of medicine, electricity, and water and an outbreak of epidemics like gastroenteritis, malaria, cholera and typhoid. The increasing economic problems added to public problems. It argued that instead of solving the problem through diplomacy or politically, the authorities unjustly punished the Iraqi population.

*The Nation* commented that in a post-war scenario, the United States installed Paul Bremer's administration was unable to control the abrupt situation. There were prolonged killings and lootings in Iraq. There was no neutral force to control the situation. The people criticized the United States for attacking Iraq on flimsy evidence and extending its neo-colonial agenda. Now it was difficult to release the actual figure of casualties due to public reaction. On 1 May the United States declared the end of major operations but after this 33 Americans were killed in Iraq. Moreover, the attack had increased the economic burden for the American and Britons. After having caused plenty of damages, the forces wanted to ask for the rationale for the attack.

*The Nation* commented that law and order situation had worsened in Iraq. There were incidents of suicide attacks on the United Nations personnel that were busy with humanitarian activities. The incidents were condemned by the world. These attacks indicated that due to aggressive policies of the United States, the people of Iraq had adopted aggressive measures. Moreover, these suicide attacks pointed out that the United Nations forces under the US would not be acceptable to the Iraqis. The United

States should revise its policies and the rebuilding of the country should be handed over to the United Nations or neutral forces. After the war, the US forces were not able to rebuild the country and restore law and order. Mr. Bush had to face criticisms on the questions of Iraq's rebuilding. Under the United Nations, Iraq could easily be controlled and the people of Iraq would consider them as peacemaking forces not as aggressors. The Iraqi people should have the right to decide on their future, and external power would not be bearable for them. The Pakistani press was supportive of the active role of the United Nations that would facilitate the process of representative Government in Iraq.

The other issue that was much debated by the Pakistani press was the search for missing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. *The Nation* argued that there was the time when America was much obsessed with Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and Saddam's connection with 9/11 but after that the stance had changed. America was trying to downplay the issue of weapons of mass destruction and did not encourage the United Nations inspection in Iraq after the attack. It was argued that its own forces would complete the task. The United States administration very easily changed their statement to suit their interests but their stance over the weapons of mass destruction had diminished the credibility of Mr. Bush and Mr. Blair. *The Dawn* commented that if the weapons of mass destruction were not found, it would lessen the credibility of the attack and would escalate doubts.

“If WMD was not a matter of much importance, what was then the war for? That is a question the US and Britain must ask themselves as they dig themselves in for a long and uncertain stay in Iraq” (*The Dawn*, May 19, 2003, p. 9)

*The Nation* argued that the United States and Britain faced immense criticisms for not finding weapons of mass destruction from Iraq. The allegations of doctoring intelligence on Iraq weapons of mass destruction had given Blair a tough time in Britain. The perception was that the United States deliberately misinformed the international community regarding the WMD issue. Now the United States was giving excuses for attacking Iraq for liberating people. But this excuse could not save America from embarrassment. It was argued that the hypocrisy behind the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction issue had been opened by the western media. President Bush and Mr. Blair were widely criticized by the media. They were accused of attacking a sovereign state without international support. History would not forgive them for this crime. History would call for justice. On August 01, 2003, *The Nation* wrote that the United States media should investigate the issue of weapons of mass destruction. Mr. Bush should be questioned on this issue, and why there was misinformation on this issue. Bush should be answerable or he should go. He was more dangerous than Saddam.

“President Bush is a fit case for impeachment, if he cannot be prevailed upon to do the decent thing and leave the White House on his own. Failure to impeach him would put Congress’ moral credentials in serious doubt. Mr. Bush’s defense that he analyzed “good, solid sound intelligence” is utterly hopeless and a deliberate; for Ambassador Wilson, sent to Niger by his administration, had already called it “likely fraudulent”. United Nations arms inspectors had expressed their doubts, and even many of his own sleuths did not believe the yarn. Its faulty basis was, on fact, being openly debated.” (*The Nation*, August 01, 2003, p. 6)

Later on the Pakistani press criticized America for giving statements on other countries like Iran, Libya, Syria, Sudan and North Korea. These countries were listed as the rough states of the axis of evil. *The Nation* argued that still Iraq was not pacified; America

moved its guns to other Muslim countries. *The Dawn* and *The Nation* were against the stance of the United States stance towards Syria and Iran. America warned them to roll back their nuclear program or they could be attacked. *The Dawn* criticized America for ignoring Israel's stock-piles of weapons of mass destruction. It argued that by ignoring Israel, the United States had lost the right to object to actions by others. These were the western powers that helped Israel to develop weapons of mass destruction and gave financial, technical and diplomatic support to the country. *The Dawn* stated that:

“While Israel, which has the largest stockpile of weapons of mass destruction in the region, has regularly flouted UN resolutions and continues to occupy foreign territory, is singled out for special treatment, countries like Syria and Iran are constantly being accused and direly threatened. There is a widespread view in the region that the US campaign is directed only at those countries that could pose a threat to Israel” (*The Dawn*, May 03, 2003, p. 9)

Further, *The Dawn* argued that the United States should not forget that it was Israel that was the source of tension and destruction in the region. Since its inception, the country has inflicted death and destruction on the region. *The Dawn* argued if America was sincere in bringing peace to the region, it should disarm Israel first. America should support the Arab group's move to declare the Middle East a WMD free zone. The countries and powers that were sincere about Middle East security, they should support the cause.

In some editorials, *The Nation* also argued that Pakistan could be the next target due to its nuclear program in spite of its full support for the War on Terror. Pakistan should try to gather Muslim support on this issue because it was difficult for America to tolerate nuclear weapons in the hands of Muslim countries. On April 02, 2003, *The Nation* stated

that the United States had accused Pakistan Kahuta laboratory for giving support to North Korea for developing nuclear weapons. The Pakistani scientist Abdul Kadeer had been the main figure to support Iran, Iraq or North Korea's nukes. It warned that Pakistan could also be beaten with the same stick that with Iraq. The United States wanted to expand its axis of evil and Pakistan should try to avoid being the next target with a position of strength, not weakness. The Pakistani Government should adopt collaborative approach. The Muslim countries should think over this issue with mutual consensus, otherwise they would be ruined like Afghanistan and Iraq.

The overall coverage of the Iraqi war was dominated by a negative stance. There were only two editorials from *The Nation* and *The Dawn* which framed the war in a neutral and positive stance. At the fall of Saddam's regime *The Dawn* wrote that:

“After 21 days of an unequal fight in which Iraq's impoverished armed forces were pitted against the coalition's formidable war machine, Baghdad has fallen and with it has come to a close a sorry chapter in the life of this beleaguered nation — a chapter made up largely of coups, assassinations, upheavals, tyranny and persecution and latterly of wars and colossal human suffering imposed by an unjust and cruel “sanctions” regime. The scenes of jubilation by a section of the population seen on TV serve to underline the folly of building one's castles in the air. Ultimately, this is the fate of all dictators who tyrannize over their own people” (*The Dawn*, April 11, 2003, p. 9).

It stated that after the fall of Saddam's regime, there were incidents of looting in Baghdad and Basra. The poor Iraqis who were suffering for many years due to strict restrictions by the United Nations and a despotic regime expressed their anger. There were also scenes of happiness. The people were relaxed at the dismantling of Saddam's Government. It commented that autocratic regimes mostly received a bad reaction from their masses. This was the only editorial which criticized Saddam Government for its

tyranny and brutality against its own people. However, the Pakistani press did not support another autocratic rule in the form of foreign rulers. It stressed the formation of a neutral interim Government that should pave the way for a democratic and representative Government in Iraq.

In conclusion, the Iraqi war was framed negatively by the Pakistani press. The newspapers included themes such as opposition to war, US undermining of the United Nations, the process of war, collateral damages, negative reaction of the Iraqis to the United States, post war Iraq, false intelligence against Iraq, US interests in the region and the next targets of the War on Terror.

### **5.3 Media Frames**

The following section identifies the media frames that were mostly employed by Pakistani newspapers in the coverage of the War on Terror. These were stated as:

- Anti-war frame
- Rebuilding frame and
- Humanitarian frame

#### **5.3.1 Anti-war Frame**

It was observed that throughout the coverage of the War on Terror, an anti-war frame was predominantly employed by the Pakistani press. The press portrayed the War on Terror, Afghanistan attack and the Iraqi attack in a negative frame by highlighting its negative aspects. The Pakistani press primarily commented on the consequences of the

War on Terror, criticisms on the War on Terror, public sentiments, protests, collateral damages, the US polices of axis on the evil, role of the United Nations in the attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, missing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and the slow rebuilding process in war-torn areas. The following figure presented the thematic model of Nvivo on anti war frame.

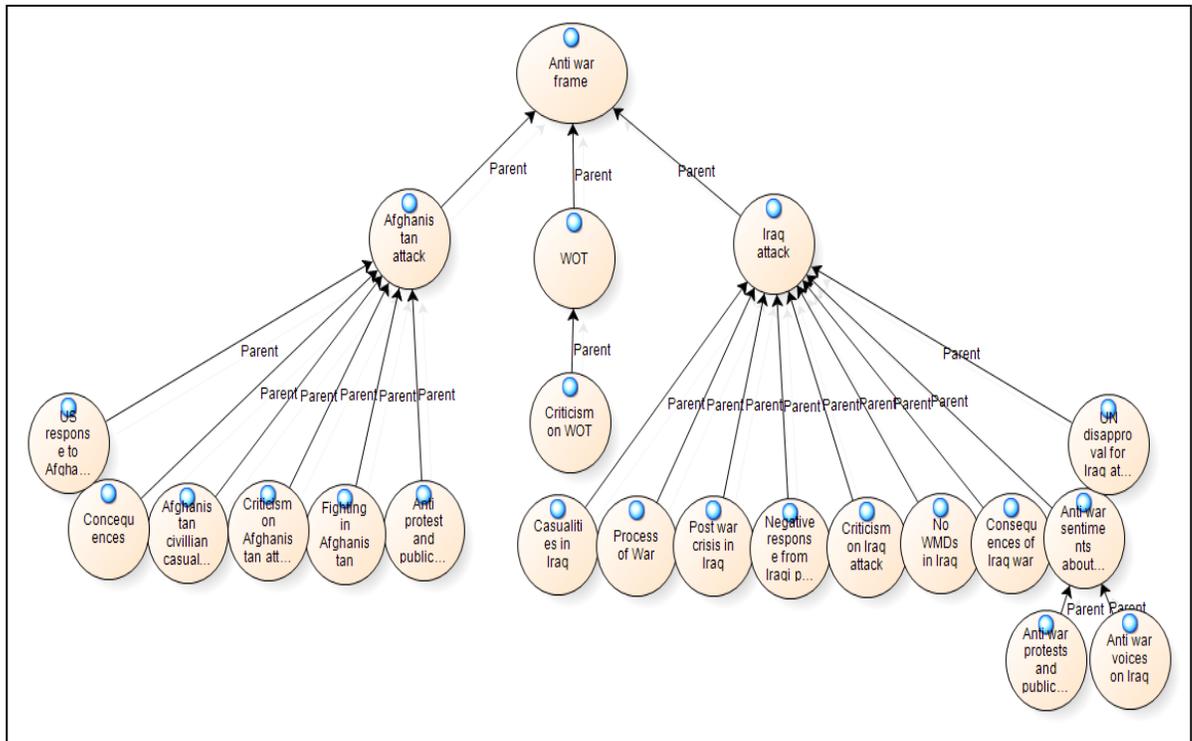


Figure 5.2. Thematic Model of Nvivo regarding Anti-war Frame

*The Dawn* commented that the War on Terror had lack of vision, set a bad precedent for other states and provided a demonstration of America's unilateralism. On August 28, 2002, *The Dawn* commented that 9/11 had provided an opportunity to the United States to strengthen its interests beyond Afghanistan. It was basically an agenda of Bush to influence other countries for its vested interests. *The Dawn* also commented that the War on Terror set a bad precedent for pre-emptive war and other countries could use it for

their interests. The War on Terror provided an opportunity to other countries to accomplish their geopolitical goals under the banner of terrorism, although their ambitions were contrary to the War on Terror.

*The Nation* was of the opinion that the US' harsh policies against the Muslims was giving the impression that the War on Terror was against the Muslims rather than terrorism. The merciless killings in Afghanistan, and the US support for Israel and India for oppression in Palestine and Kashmir exposed America's anti-Muslim policies. The oppressive actions against the Muslim community would raise terrorism and more moderate Muslim regimes would join the extremists. The Muslims would believe that the War on Terror was just a crusade against the Muslim community.

Moreover, America was criticized by Pakistani newspapers for not producing sufficient evidence against Osama. It commented that many had perceived the war as a punishment of the entire nation for the crime of an individual or a group. Many others protested that the United States with its military power attacked a poverty-stricken country. There were protests among the Muslim as well as the European countries. There were also anti-war rallies in Muslim and European world. The protests in the European countries were small but in the Muslim countries the protests were big and more enthusiastic.

With the start of the Afghanistan attack, Pakistani newspapers condemned the heavy bombardment which caused many civilian casualties. There were many editorials which

discussed the use of cluster bombs, civilian killings and heavy bombardment. *The Dawn* argued that several thousands of Afghans were killed and injured while most-wanted Taliban remained uncaught. *The Dawn* pointed out that the Muslim world was much concerned about the killings of the people. There were protests in the Muslim countries against the indiscriminate bombings in Afghanistan. Even the European and American public had criticized the Government for these acts.

*The Nation* reported horrendous incidents in which whole families with women and children were killed. It remarked that the forces continued killings in Afghanistan without considering public opinion. The Pakistani population was more concerned about the killings because they shared ethnicity with the Pushtoon population. *The Nation* expressed its concerns over the fact that the United States bombing had caused casualties by hundreds that could be thousand if bombs fell on mosques, schools or hospitals mistakenly. It argued that the United States might have won the war but it had lost global support. Particularly, the worsening situation in Afghanistan had caused resentment among the Muslims worldwide.

Later on the coverage of the Iraqi war of 2003 was also dominated by an anti-war frame. The Pakistani press highlighted the criticisms on war, anti war sentiments, protests, negative world opinion, collateral damages, undermining of the United Nations by America, a bleak post war scenario and weapons of mass destruction issue. The extension of the War on Terror towards Iraq was framed as a dangerous and risky venture by *The Nation*. It warned that such action would intensify anti-Americanism in the Arab world, increase threat to moderate states in the region and affect oil prices.

The Pakistani public was much concerned about this issue. Although Pakistan had no vested interests the issue could not be neglected. Pakistan must do step up its efforts to restrict America from invading Iraq because its consequences would be negative for Muslim and European nations.

*The Nation* argued that the opposition against the Iraqi attack was strong in the European and the Muslim world. France, Germany, Belgium, Pakistan, Iran, Sudan and many other countries were not ready to support the war. The European countries were not satisfied by the evidence regarding weapons of mass destruction and wanted more time for inspection. The Non Aligned Movement (NAM) discussed the issue of Iraq in its session. They stressed the role of the United Nations in Iraq and condemned those countries which neglected international laws and decided on issues unilaterally. At the NAM session at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysian Mahathir condemned Iraq war. Malaysia's representatives criticized the Iraqi war and framed it as a form of racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia.

Moreover, there was prolonged discussion in the editorials of *The Dawn* and *The Nation* related to the role of the United Nations in the inspection of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. The Pakistani press stressed that United Nations inspectors should give more time to search weapons inside Iraq and war should not be started unless it was approved by the United Nations. *The Dawn* criticized the US for adopting a stubborn attitude towards the United Nations and indications that America could attack war without United Nations. *The Dawn* referred to Kofi Annan's statement in its editorial on

January 04, 2003 that there was no justification to attack Iraq prior to the completion of the United Nations inspection. He condemned America for invading Iraq without waiting for United Nations inspection report. He further said that without the United Nations support and international unanimity, the action against Iraq would lack legitimacy.

The War process was dominated by an anti-war frame. The Pakistani press highlighted collateral damages, perished infrastructure, resistance to military forces, use of cluster bombs and heavy bombardment. *The Dawn* argued that America's forces expected a short war in Iraq. Iraqi forces would soon surrender and the public would greet them but it did not happen. American intelligence underestimated Iraqi nationalism. The Shia population put up a strong resistance that was considered as anti Saddam force. There were suicide attacks on American forces and guerrilla war had started.

*The Dawn* also stressed the increasing civilian casualties in Iraq. On February 19, 2003, *The Dawn* commented that already 500,000 Iraqi children had died due to American-led sanctions on Iraq. The war in Iraq would further aggravate the scenario. It would raise civilian casualties and would destroy the country's infrastructure. *The Nation* reported that there were scenes of corpses of innocents and devastation of the infrastructure in Iraqi cities. There was no electricity, drinking water and medicines. There was a complete breakdown of law and order. The forces were engaged in a merciless and indiscriminate bombing which raised the death toll.

The post-war situation was also depicted in an anti-war frame by highlighting the worsening scenario in Iraq. There was no law and order. There were incidents of looting, killings and rioting. The Garner administration did not succeed in handling the situation. If the present situation would continue for a longer period it would lead the country towards anarchy. Furthermore, *The Dawn* commented that war had affected the civil infrastructure of the country. There was a very slow rehabilitation of the economy by the Americans. There was looting and plundering in the cities. There was an urgent need for United Nations peacekeeping forces to take charge and resolve the post-war problems.

The other issue that received an anti-war frame by the Pakistani press was the missing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. The Pakistani press argued that the United States had failed to find weapons of mass destruction from Iraq after the occupation. Bush's claim that war was waged to disarm Iraq had become a cruel joke. The Bush administration and its supports had faced severe criticism for having fake intelligence regarding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. They had deliberately misled the world community and waged an illegal war. Now they argued that either the weapons of mass destruction were looted or burned by the Iraqis; that was a poor excuse. The Bush administration also stressed that their campaign was to liberate Iraqis from Saddam's tyranny but this claim was already disproved by the Iraqis with their demonstrations and attacks against the United States forces. On May 19, 2003, *The Dawn* critically questioned why the search for weapons of mass destruction was ceased after the occupation, whereas the search for the weapons of mass destruction was the main cause

of conflict. There was lot of discussion and evidence regarding Iraq weapons of mass destruction before war, where was all that? The reality was that the United States found nothing from Iraq after the attack. Now the United States wanted to downplay the issue of weapons of mass destruction. Each passing day had affected the credibility of the attack and people wanted to know if weapons of mass destruction was not the reason to attack Iraq, what was the casus belli? There were a number of editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* which discussed the issue of missing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. In these editorials the Pakistani press criticized the US for having fake intelligence on weapons of mass destruction and waging an illegal war.

In conclusion it could be stated that an anti-war frame was prominently employed by the Pakistani press in its coverage of the War on Terror. The most prominent themes of anti war frame were criticism on the Afghanistan and Iraqi wars, world opposition, negative public opinion, world protests, mounting casualties, indiscriminate bombing by the forces, resistance to the coalition forces in Afghanistan and Iraq, post war chaos, instability of the region, consequences of war, and wrong intelligence on weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

### **5.3.2 Rebuilding Frame**

The coverage of the War on Terror was also dominated by a rebuilding frame particularly in Afghanistan. After the Afghanistan war of 2001, Pakistani newspapers gave immense importance to the rebuilding of the war-trodden country. It argued that the country was at war since many years and the present attack had worsened the

situation. There were no good institutions and form of a government. The newspapers stressed rebuilding activities in Afghanistan and Iraq, the government making process, United Nations' central role in rebuilding and post war chaos in Afghanistan and Iraq. The following figure presented the thematic model of Nvivo on rebuilding frame.

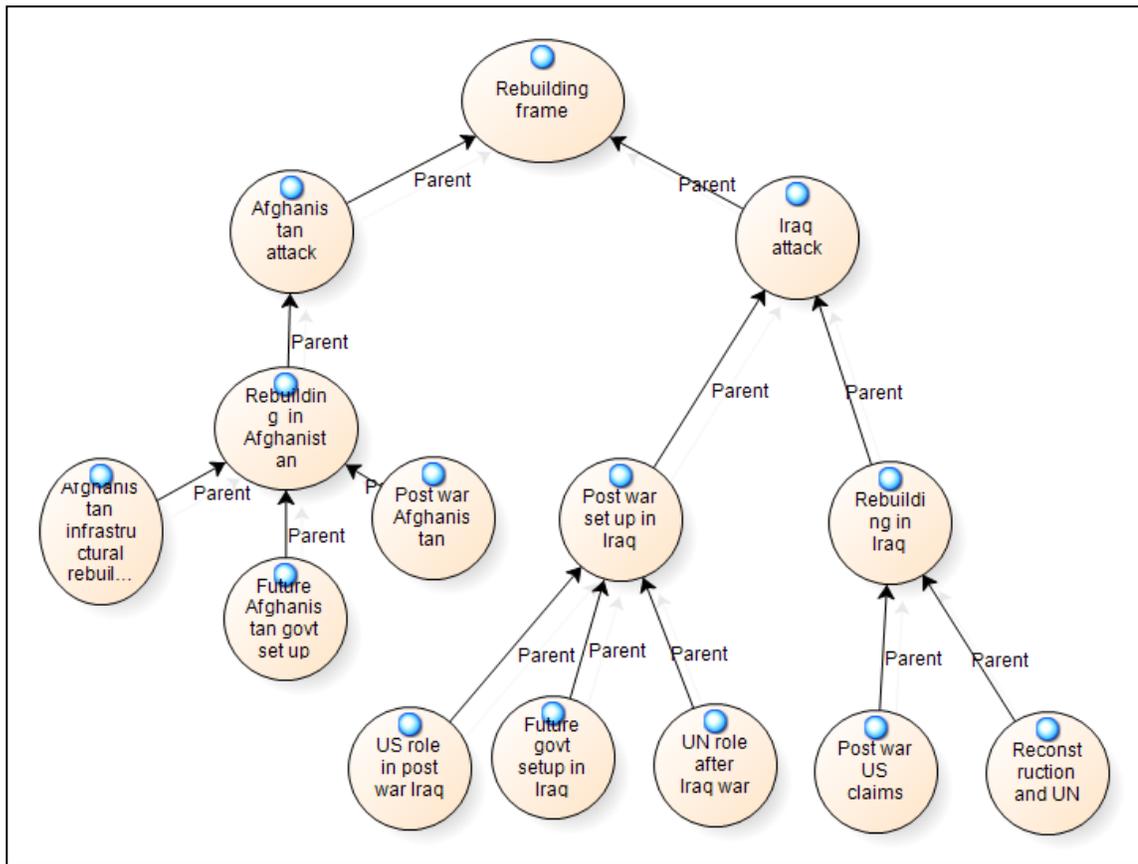


Figure 5.3. Thematic Model of Nvivo regarding Rebuilding Frame

The Pakistani press commented on the post war scenario in Afghanistan that there were acute security problems in the country. There were massive explosions, killings and a fragile law and order situation. The problem was that the new Government did not have its writ beyond Kabul. The rest of the country was under militant war lords who did not accept the writ of the Government. The roads and highways were unsafe; their gin men

received toll taxes from the passengers. It was required that Karazai Government should disarm these warlords first. But the government did not have the required security apparatus. *The Nation* argued that the international media mostly framed these militant elements as the Taliban or Al Qaeda but they could be ordinary Afghans with little political affiliation who expressed their resentment against foreign rule. After the war, there was a chaotic scenario. There was no political setup, no law and order, devastated infrastructure and a lack of essential goods. There was an urgent need to initiate rebuilding process in the country, so the country could be saved from falling into post war anarchy.

*The Dawn* argued that the US did not give due importance to the rebuilding of the country. Afghanistan received very little amount of aid that was sufficient to rebuild the country. It was commented that if the United States left Afghanistan without rebuilding the country, it would bring worse consequences for the region. *The Dawn* also stressed that without the end of warlordism, Afghanistan could not be developed. For securing and reconstructing the country, it was urgent that foreign donors should play an active role. *The Dawn* wrote in its editorial on October 08, 2002 that Tokyo conference promised \$4.5 billion aid for Afghanistan over next five years. This was a generous amount. But the most disappointing fact was that less than 100 million had been received out of 108 billion pledged for the year by the international donors and organizations. Most of the aid was used for humanitarian assistance and no development projects except one highway linking Kabul to Herat was started. The donors were reluctant to give their money due to security concerns. It was quite important that the United States and Britain should make a serious effort to consolidate a new Government

in Afghanistan; otherwise there would be chaos and anarchy in the country.

*The Dawn* referred to President Karzai's statement in which he told the international donors that at least one and a half billion dollars were needed to establish the Government. The next task would be to build an economic infrastructure. War had destroyed roads, highways, and bridges that needed to be rebuilt. The electricity, communication, sanitation systems would be restored. For the development of agriculture, water resources would be developed. For developing human resource there was need to open schools, colleges and technical and professional training centre. These were urgently needed by Afghanistan which required generous support from the international community. However, on August 19, 2002, *The Dawn* commented that the US forces were more concerned with the military aspect of the campaign rather than rebuilding. On the rebuilding side, there was very slow speed. Afghanistan had been in war since many years and for two decades it had faced fratricidal fighting.

*The Nation* supported President Musharraf's stance over the rebuilding of Afghanistan. The president stressed that military campaign in Afghanistan should be followed by political reordering and economic reconstruction. He argued that Afghanistan needed a broad band multi-ethnic Government, so that all factions could be represented. He also emphasized that the United States should increase its rebuilding efforts and should not leave Afghanistan as it did after the Soviet withdrawal. President Musharraf asked the world community to make serious efforts to reconstruct Afghanistan; particularly it needed developed infrastructure, water resources and agriculture. When Afghanistan

was rebuilt, the Afghan refugees would move towards their country. Pakistan already had a heavy burden of refugees. Moreover, *The Nation* suggested to the Pakistan Government that it must develop strong diplomatic relations with the new Government of Afghanistan. Pakistan could also play proactive role in the peacekeeping process under United Nations.

There were certain editorials that stressed the vital role of the United Nations in rebuilding and forming a neutral Government in Afghanistan. Pakistan argued that the United Nations should help Afghanistan to form a neutral multiethnic Government in the country so that none of the group felt deprived. *The Dawn* stressed that without forming a neutral and broad band Government in Afghanistan the United States' victory would be meaningless. Moreover, *The Nation* mentioned that the United Nations wanted to give humanitarian assistance, and construct physical infrastructure and a banking system. The Nation stressed that the world community should pay attention towards human rights agenda, women rights and other social issues.

Regarding the Government making process *The Nation* endorsed Pakistan Government's stance that Afghanistan should have a multi ethnic Government. Pakistan was of the opinion that all powers should not be given to the Northern Alliance or to the United States. The moderate Taliban should also be included in the new political setup. Afghanistan needed representative self Government or United Nations control. The presence of the United States presence would enhance resentment among Afghanistan society.

In the case of the Iraqi war, the Pakistani press was more concerned about the government making process in Iraq. It stressed that the United Nations must have a leading role in the country. It should make an interim set up and should lead the process for a representative political setup in Iraq. Even European countries like France, Germany, the European Union and Russia endorsed the central role of United Nations in Iraq. The United Nations should supervise all humanitarian tasks in the country and pave the way for a political setup. *The Nation* commented that if the United States was sincere in giving freedom to the Iraqis, it should allow the United Nations to play a key role in Iraq.

*The Nation* remarked that the international community and Iraqi population wanted self rule in Iraq. There was no to Saddam and no to America. The United States-implemented Jay Garner Government could not control the chaotic situation in Iraq. There was perception that the United States through the Garner administration, wanted to capture oil resources in Iraq. The explosions near the oil pipe lines indicated that Iraqi had disapproved the United States backed Government in Iraq.

“They (Americans) should realize that as they resort to more oppressive means to keep their hold over the country, the feeling of hatred against them would get reinforced, creating a veritable quagmire for their forces. The sooner they hand over the reins of Government to a popular local administration set up with United Nations help, the better for them as well as the Iraqi people” (*The Nation*, June 16, 2003, p. 6)

The best course for Iraq was to be under the control of the United Nations. The United States should withdraw from Iraq and the United Nations should pave the way for fair elections in the country. By this means, peacekeeping, Government-making and

rebuilding tasks could easily be accomplished.

Overall, with a rebuilding frame, the Pakistani press stressed rebuilding and government making processes in Iraq and Afghanistan. As for Afghanistan, the Pakistani press was more concerned about the construction of physical infrastructure, security apparatus. However, in the case of Iraq, it stressed United Nations' central role. It argued that the United States-backed government could not stabilize Iraq. These forces would be perceived as enemy forces and the Iraqi people would not trust them. There should be control by the United Nations and neutral forces. Such control would facilitate the rebuilding process in Iraq.

### **5.2.3 Humanitarian Frame**

The other frame that was indentified from the data was the humanitarian frame. This frame was not frequently employed by the Pakistani press. However, in certain editorials Pakistani newspapers highlighted the problems of refugees from Afghanistan, prisoners of war, and humanitarian concerns in Afghanistan and Iraq. The following figure presented the thematic model of Nvivo on humanitarian frame.

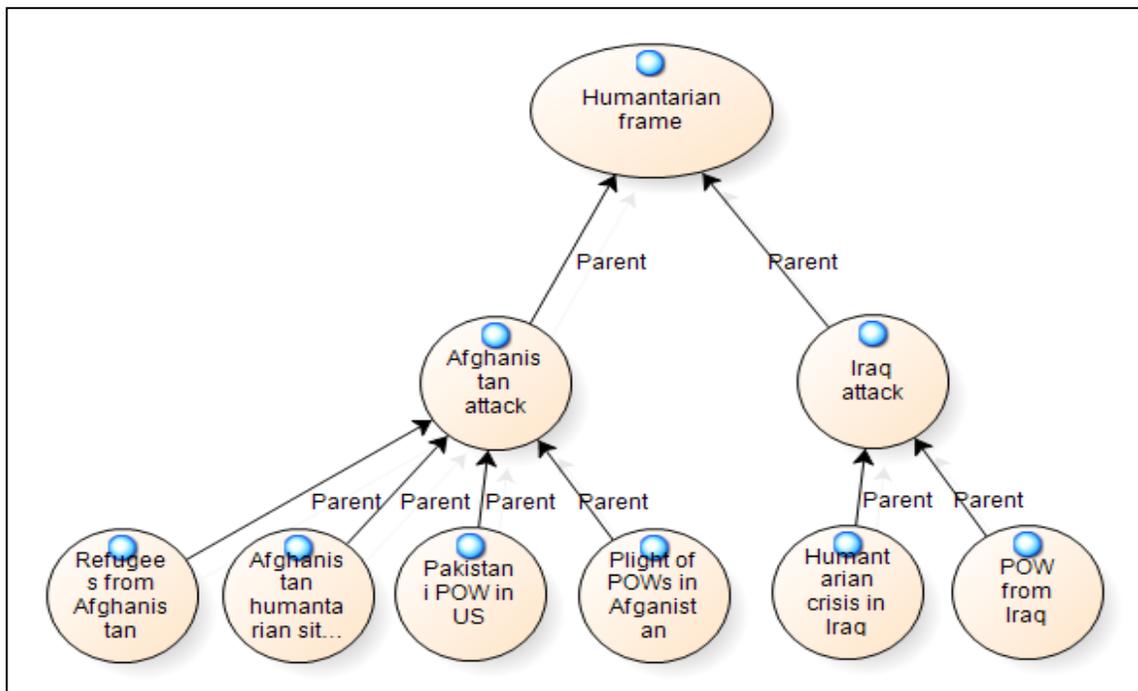


Figure 5.4. Thematic Model of Nvivo regarding Humanitarian Frame

During the Afghanistan war, *The Nation* wrote that there was a shortage of food, water and shelter in Afghanistan due to massive bombing. The United States airlifted food items but these were not sufficient according to the need. There was continued fighting between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance. Women, children and old men suffered a lot in this situation. *The Dawn* reported in November 2001 the fall of the Taliban was welcomed but there were human rights violations and summary executions in Kabul. The Northern Alliance victoriously entered Kabul with the help of the United States forces. It was reported that the 200 Taliban who surrendered were slaughtered. Moreover, the excessive air strikes by the United States had interfered with the relief work carried out by the United Nations relief work. Kofi Anan stressed that air strikes should be halted for few days so that food supply could be provided to the civilians. On

October 18, 2001, *The Dawn* stated that United Nations' Unicef warned that there was threat of the death of 100,000 children due to lack of food in Afghanistan. Pakistan urged United Nations to take notice of increasing humanitarian concerns in Afghanistan.

On September 29, 2001, *the Dawn* drew attention to the increasing number of refugees in Pakistan. It argued that Pakistan already had two million refugees. With this war, more refugees had entered Pakistan. The international community should help Pakistan in dealing with the refugees' crisis. Pakistan would need more than 120 million dollars aid excluding food aid to support more than one million refugees from Afghanistan. Afghanistan had been facing a war for the last two decades and the present war had made the conditions worse for Afghanistan and for Pakistan. Kofi Anan pressed the world community to give 600 million dollar aid to Afghanistan if they wanted to support 7.5 million displaced Afghans in the country.

*The Dawn* expressed its concerns regarding the mistreatment of the prisoners of war from Afghanistan. There were many editorials which discussed the plight of the prisoners of war. On December 22, 2001, *The Dawn* argued that there were 7000 Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters were under US custody. The Afghan interim authority should ensure that the prisoners of the war were accorded rights according to the Geneva Convention. On January 15, 2002, *The Dawn* referred to the statement by US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld who argued that Al Qaeda prisoners had no rights under the Geneva Convention because they were not prisoners but "unlawful combatants". *The Dawn* contradicted him and stated they were captured as the consequence of war. They

must have rights according to the Geneva Convention. They should not be treated like animals. *The Dawn* stated the plight of those prisoners who were flown to Guantanamo Bay in Cuba from Afghanistan.

“After all, what else can one gauge from the way 50 of them were treated when flown in a military transport plane from Kandahar to a US base in Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Bound with iron chains, some were sedated, with no one allowed to answer the call of nature during the flight — bed-pans were placed instead. Even if it is assumed that some of these men had knowledge of the September 11 attacks, or even played a role in them, does that mean that their right to be treated as humans should be taken away?” (*The Dawn*, January 15, 2002, p. 9)

However, the United States senior officials had dismissed the questions regarding the mistreatments of the prisoners of war. The entire world was annoyed on this incident. Their heads and beards were shaved forcefully against religious rights. They were kept in tiny cages with tin roofs. Such inhuman treatment was not justified. *The Nation* urged the Pakistan government to convince the international community that it should pay heed towards the plight of prisoners of war in Afghanistan and that they should be treated in accordance with Geneva Convention laws. In another editorial, *The Nation* wrote about amnesty concerns regarding the killings of civilians and prisoners of war in Afghanistan. Amnesty indicated to President Bush that the prisoners of war were not treated according to the proper process of law and that it was not the correct approach.

The Pakistani press also expressed its concerns related to the plight of Pakistanis in the United States after 9/11. It was argued that those Pakistanis were faced discrimination from the authorities. There were many Pakistanis arrested on minor issues. Intelligence agencies treated with them badly. An incident was noted in the editorial on November

06, 2001, in which two Pakistanis Osama and Omer were arrested due to their names. *The Nation* stressed that the Pakistani government should deal with these issues seriously and should tell its concerns to the United States Government. The Pakistani embassy only protested on the issue and no further action was taken.

*The Dawn* highlighted the cases of those Pakistanis who were held in Guantanamo Bay in connection with the September 11 crimes. On August 22, 2002, *The Dawn* discussed the issue of 58 Pakistanis who were detained in Cuba's Guantanamo Bay. They were denied of legal rights and framed as enemy combatants by the United States. However, the team of five Pakistani intelligence officers was allowed to meet these people. The outcome of this visit is still unknown. These Pakistani officials were allowed to interrogate if these people had links with Al Qaeda. But these people were not allowed legal rights. It was stressed that the government of Pakistan should prevail upon the United States that they should not detain these people unless they were proven guilty.

In the context of the Afghanistan crisis, Pakistani newspapers significantly commented on the plight of the prisoners of war and particularly stressed Pakistanis who were caught in the United States and Afghanistan. It was emphasised to the Pakistani Government that it should take serious steps to settle the issue of Pakistani prisoners of war.

After the Iraqi war, *The Dawn* pointed out the plight of Iraqi prisoners of war. On July 23, 2003, *The Dawn* wrote that according to Amnesty International, the forces committed severe human rights abuses against them. There were hundreds of Iraqis who

were kept in an appalling conditions in two jails near Baghdad. The forces adopted brutal methods for interrogation. Amnesty international stressed that the United States should form its interim setup in Iraq to oversee the matters. In the case of the Iraqi prisoners of war it was again stressed by the newspaper that the United States did not comply with international standards and by-passed the Geneva Convention.

During the Iraqi war of 2003, *The Nation* highlighted the humanitarian concerns related to the Iraqi population. It was argued that the US bombing had created a humanitarian crisis in Iraq. Due to air strikes a number of people had been killed. The problem was that there was shortage of life saving drugs and other medical apparatus. The hospitals were loaded with the injured people and they did not have medicines. The women, children and old people badly suffered. The plight of these people was getting worse due to massive bombings. The infrastructure was devastated. There was no electricity, water supply, sanitation system, and communication system. It was the urgent need that the United Nations should take charge in Iraq, so that humanitarian issues could be addressed.

On April 08, 2003, *The Dawn* wrote that the United Nations agencies had warned against an appalling health crisis in Iraq. The United States bombing had caused heavy civilian casualties but the hospitals did not have relevant medicines and apparatus. The International Red Cross reported that there were a number of injured people coming to hospitals and it was difficult to count them. Due to the collapse of bridges, it was difficult to provide humanitarian aid to the people.

“On Sunday, at the height of the bombardment, some 100 people an hour were being brought to various hospitals. Not only are the staff working round the clock under the most appalling conditions but vital medicines are rapidly running out.”  
(*The Dawn*, April 08, 2003)

On July 08, 2003, *The Dawn* described a UNICEF report which revealed terrible facts. According to the report since 1991 the economic sanctions had worsened the situation. 12 million children had suffered hunger and diseases like polio, measles, tetanus, diarrhoea and tuberculosis because there was no availability of vaccines. The recent bombing in Iraq had left a large quantity of unexploded munitions lying near the cities. It was argued that recent bombing had destroyed 40% of the health infrastructure in Iraq. Now 4.2 million more children were exposed to the possibilities of death and disease. During the Iraqi conflict, the Pakistani press highlighted the deepening humanitarian crisis in Iraq and urged the international community to support the poor Iraqis.

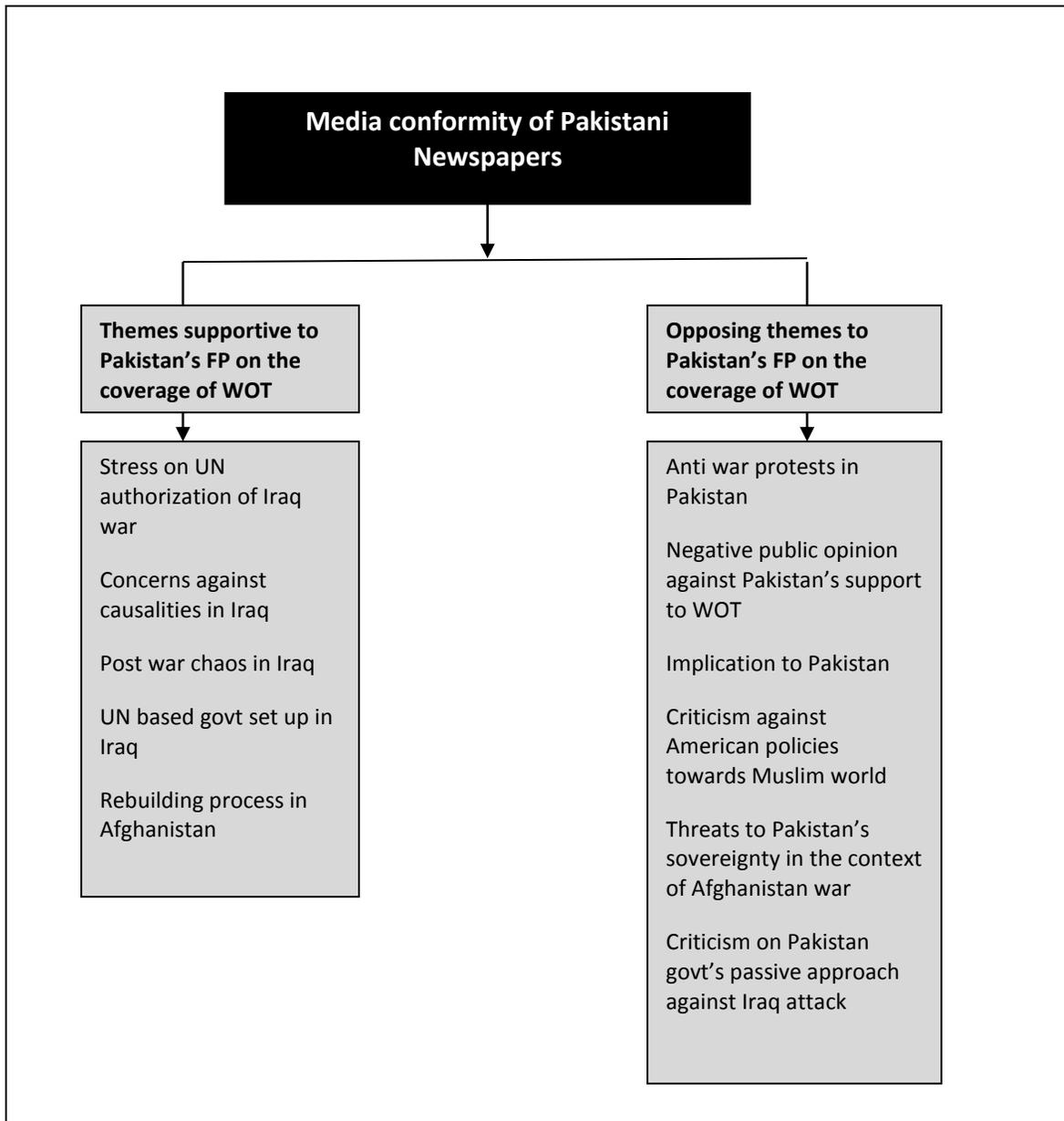
Generally speaking, the humanitarian frame included the stories related to shortage of food, medicine, destruction of health infrastructure, disruption in humanitarian supplies, refugee crisis and the plight of prisoners of war from Afghanistan and Iraq. The Pakistani press stressed that the occupied forces in Afghanistan and Iraq should take serious measures to address the humanitarian concerns and the United Nations and other humanitarian agencies should be allowed to perform these humanitarian tasks.

#### **5.4 Media Conformity to Foreign policy**

This section would answer the research question of to what extent the Pakistani newspapers supported Pakistan's foreign policy guidelines in the coverage of the War on Terror. As it was discussed in the introductory chapter, Pakistan's Government supported the US War on Terror. In the Afghanistan attack Pakistan gave logistic support to the US troops and provided docking facilities to the forces. However, the Pakistan government took a 'U' turn in its foreign policy towards the Taliban Government in Afghanistan. Before 9/11 attacks Pakistan had relations with the Afghanistan Government but after these attacks, Pakistan dismantled all its relations with the Taliban Government and supported the war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. However, in the second phase of the War on Terror, the attack in Iraq was not supported by the Pakistan Government. Although having a coalition with the United States on the War on Terror, was difficult for the Government to resist against the United States policies on Iraq, by acknowledging public opinion in Pakistan and world criticism against Iraq attack, the Pakistan government decided not to endorse the Iraqi war of 2003. By analyzing the coverage on the War on Terror, it was observed that the Pakistani newspapers did not support Government policy on the War on Terror and the Afghanistan attack of 2001. There were a number of editorials which criticized the government's decision to support the Afghanistan war and highlighted negative aspects of the war in Afghanistan but there were certain editorials that were supportive of Government decision; these were few in number. In the case of the Iraqi war of 2003, just as the Pakistan foreign policy was not supportive of the Iraqi attack, so was the coverage was given by the press. It was stated that the Pakistani press did not support

government policy on the Afghanistan attack but on the Iraqi crisis Pakistani newspapers partially conformed with government policy. In fact, the Pakistani press emphasized more proactive foreign policy in the case of Iraq. It argued that the Government should forcefully denounce America's unilateral action against Iraq.

From *The Dawn* and *The Nation*, there were a number of editorials that criticized the War on Terror. *The Dawn* argued that the War on Terror was started to bring justice to the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks but senseless revenge would kill thousands of innocent people in Afghanistan that were not responsible for the attacks. The United States should be very careful in its campaign against terrorism; the War on Terror should not become the 'war of terror'. The decision to punish the perpetrators of 9/11 should be under the United Nations. Further, *The Dawn* pointed out that the global War on Terror lacked vision and clear objectives. The atrocities of 9/11 had provided the opportunity to the United States to consolidate its interests in Afghanistan and the rest of the world. The world looked at Bush agenda as increasingly disturbing and domineering. The following figure summarized supportive and opposing foreign policy themes of Pakistani newspaper editorials on the coverage of war on terror.



*Figure 5.5.*Media Conformity to Foreign Policy on the coverage of War on Terror by the Pakistani newspapers

In many editorials *The Nation* and *The Dawn* revealed the opposition against the War on Terror by Pakistani political parties, religious parties and the general public. There were protests and rallies in the country. Major political parties in Pakistan did not support the government's policy on the Afghanistan war.

During September 2001, *The Nation* mentioned certain statements of President Musharraf in which he stressed Pakistan's support for the War on Terror. He argued that for fighting terrorism, concentrated international effort was required. He further said that the United States wanted Pakistan's full support for its war against terrorism. He was of the opinion that Pakistan had to support the War on Terror, otherwise the country could face repercussions on its strategic interests. *The Nation* stated that:

“One could not disagree with him when he said that acting otherwise would entail repercussions, for, in the face of the sense of outrage and vengeance in the USA, our reluctance to cooperate may indeed have put the very security and integrity of the country and the preservation of the strategic interests at stake. The truth is that having grievously suffered at the hands of terrorists for such a long time, joining the battle against them should have been, even without the compulsions inherent in the present case, but natural reaction for Islamabad” (*The Nation*, September 21, 2001, p. 6).

*The Nation* hoped that the cooperation might lead to better results for Pakistan and Afghanistan. There would be no harm to the civilians and inside Pakistan law and order would be intact. The cooperation between Pakistan and the United States could be summarized into three aspects:

- Intelligence sharing to the United States
- Provision of logistic support and

- Provision of air bases to the US forces (*The Nation*, September 28, 2001, p. 6)

Later on, *The Nation* commented that Pakistan made wrong policy after 9/11. By supporting the War on Terror, the Pakistan Government had to face opposition within the country. Pakistan's forces had to fight against the extremist factions and these Taliban had also threatened Pakistan's integrity. In response to the support, Pakistan had to face a slim chance for its economic revival. There was no surety that Pakistan could have a debt write-off. Already the country had suffered losses of commercial dealings worth \$1.4 billion. Domestic and political front was not easy for the Government and increasing killings in Afghanistan added problems for Pakistan. On the issue of Pakistan air bases, Pakistan's population was much concerned. The people demanded that the Government should clarify to what extent Pakistan had given support to the United States. However, president Musharraf stressed that the silent majority was with him but *The Nation* disagreed with him. It argued that he did not have a broad band Government in the country; so he could not declare it confidently.

“The Government must be wary that its policy may be courageous and correct, but it is not popular. The silent majority is not with the Government merely because it has not run amok. The Government should watch out, for giving martyrs to the hotheads will merely heighten tension” (*The Nation*, November 10, 2001, p. 6).

On October 24, 2001, *The Nation* mentioned President Musharraf's statement in which he argued that Pakistan supported War on Terror in its national interests. If Pakistan did not support the war, India was waiting for the opportunity and it could use this war against Pakistan. In another editorial, *The Nation* referred to President Musharraf statement in which he argued that by supporting the War on Terror, Pakistan could achieve her national interests such as security, strategic interests, Kashmir cause and

progress for the country. *The Nation* was much agreed with the President. It argued that growing casualties in Afghanistan were causing law and order problem in the country. Due to the Taliban issue, the West had pointed fingers at Pakistan's nuclear assets. On the Kashmir cause, India had strengthened its stance that Kashmir was an integral part of India. From the economic perspective too, the situation was not much optimistic. *The Nation* remarked that the realization of national objectives in the context of the War on Terror remained elusive.

It was suggested that Pakistan should reassess its policy over the War on Terror. Musharraf must understand to what extent Pakistan could extend its cooperation to the United States. *The Nation* commented in its editorial on December 31, 2001 that after denouncing support to the Taliban after 9/11, Musharraf became the darling of the West. Pakistan got some economic relief and Musharraf got a chance to crackdown on religious extremists in Pakistan. Such actions might save the country from Indian attack but from the negative perspective Pakistan had to revise its Kashmir policy. It was suggested to the President that before giving support for the War on Terror, Pakistan should be assured that the War on Terror would not affect the Kashmir struggle and the people of Afghanistan. After the war, the United States would help to resolve the Kashmir issue. It did not happen as expected. Pakistan agreed to all demands of the United States; on the other hand India consolidated its position on Kashmir.

*The Nation* commented that after 9/11, Pakistan played a crucial role in the War on Terror. It took a 'U' turn on its policy towards the Taliban and gave substantial support

to the United States. By supporting the War on Terror, Pakistan paid heavy price. The country faced political, social and economic costs for its support. The Taliban threatened the security of Pakistan and killed many innocent people. Militancy increased in the country which affected the life of common people. Pakistan gave air bases to the United States forces and did alternative arrangements for its own requirements. There were 45000 troops deployed on Durid line to control the situation. From Kashmir perspective, Pakistan had to change its stance over this issue. But during this process, India became closer to the United States; it received military technology, not Pakistan. Attempts were also made to change policy on Israel. Pakistan had to compromise its sovereignty and FBI agents got easy access inside Pakistan. Overall, the War on Terror affected the national interests of Pakistan.

With the start of the Afghanistan war, *The Nation* discussed public protests by the religious and political parties of Pakistan. There were rallies in Lahore, Peshawar, Islamabad and Karachi. The Pakistan Government was disturbed due to these protests. Moreover, there were a number of editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* that did not support Pakistan's policy on the Afghanistan attack and highlighted negative aspects of the war. The editorials during October, December 2001, February, June 2002 and April 2003 drew attention to the increasing civilian casualties in Afghanistan due to US attack. It was argued that air strikes had increased the problems for Afghanistan. There were protests in Pakistan on increasing casualties in Afghanistan. On October 28, 2001, *The Nation* mentioned that there were 80% Pakistanis opposed to Afghanistan attack. *The Dawn* argued that United Nations and other humanitarian organizations had criticized

the United States for using bombs and killing civilians in Afghanistan. Cluster bombs were dropped into Herat and Kabul to weaken the Taliban forces but they caused civilian deaths. There was greater international criticism against the attacks. *The Nation* highlighted the incidents in which the Northern Alliance massacred civilians and the Taliban prisoners. It commented that there were scenes of death and destruction in Afghanistan. Such a situation had enraged the Muslim world. As *The Nation* stated;

“The fact is, that the United States Afghanistan operation is a spectacular disaster and if Washington retains its perspective and is genuinely appalled by the civilian casualties, it must wrap it up, before it drives the Afghan people into the arms of the Taliban resistance” (*The Nation*, July 23, 2003, p. 6)

After the war, *The Nation* argued that there were chaos, human sufferings and a weak government. Most of the country was dominated by war lords. The instability in Afghanistan could create security problems for Pakistan in the future. *The Dawn* pointed out that the United States was not in a hurry to establish neutral Government in Afghanistan to stabilize the situation. The United States was more concerned with the military aspects of war and least bothered about humanitarian and rebuilding tasks of the campaign. It was America’s moral responsibility to expedite the rebuilding process in Afghanistan. *The Dawn* stressed that President Musharraf should emphasise to Mr. Bush that there should be the presence of international forces to stabilize the country. Destabilized Afghanistan would be a threat for Pakistan’s security. The United States should take positive measures to politically and economically restore the country for the sake of regional peace.

The discussion so far has indicated how the Pakistani press argued against Pakistan’s

policy on the War on Terror. It was observed that *The Nation* was completely against Pakistan's policy on the War on Terror and the Afghanistan attack but *The Dawn* at certain points supported Pakistan's foreign policy guidelines in its coverage of the War on Terror. There were a few editorials from *The Dawn* which supported Pakistan's role in the War on Terror and discussed improved Pakistan US relations after 9/11. On September 14, 2001, *The Dawn* commented on Pakistan's decision to support War on Terror in these words:

“President Musharraf acted promptly and correctly when he offered Pakistan's full cooperation to the United States in the fight against terrorism. Responding to the American call for the cooperation in the wake of the attacks in New York and Washington, he told President Bush in a message that Pakistan regarded “terrorism as a n evil that threatens the world”, and that all countries must join hands “in this common cause.” (*The Dawn*, September 14, 2001, p. 9)

During the coverage of the War on Terror, there were certain editorials by *The Dawn* which discussed Pakistan-US relations in the wake of September 11 attacks. *The Dawn* stated that by supporting the United States War on Terror, Pakistan got certain economic, political and military advantages. Due to Pakistan's pro-US policies, the United States resumed military sales for Pakistan that would help the country to improve its defence mechanism. In January 2003, *The Dawn* commented that since 9/11 improved relations between Pakistan and the United States had benefitted both countries. Pakistan gave military support and provided air bases to the United States in the War on Terror and the United States supported Pakistan economically. But it cautioned that these relationships should not be for short time period.

Likewise during the Afghanistan war, a few editorials from *The Dawn* highlighted allies' victories in Afghanistan and stressed better relations with Afghanistan's new Government. After the fall of the Taliban Government, *The Dawn* stressed the importance of a broad-band and neutral Government in Afghanistan. Pakistan wanted the presence of international forces inside Afghanistan for peacekeeping and Government-making process.

Moreover, *the Dawn* commented that the frequent visits to Pakistan by the high-ranking Afghan visitors indicated that Islamabad and Kabul had moved towards closer ties. It seemed that Pakistan and Afghanistan were supportive of the United States' policy of War on Terror. It was a positive note. Pakistan and Afghanistan should forget about the previous bitterness and should move on towards the way of prosperity and peace. *The Dawn* also suggested that Pakistan should not interfere in Afghanistan affairs. Although Pakistan bore the burden of three million refugees after soviet war, it adopted interventionist policies that were not liked by some of the factions in Afghanistan. At this time, Pakistan should not dictate any policy to Afghanistan. Pakistan should have peaceful and economically solvent policy towards Afghanistan because helping Afghanistan meant helping Pakistan.

After completing operations in Afghanistan, the United States started to threaten Iraq for its weapons of mass destruction. Before discussing the coverage of the Iraqi war of 2003, it is pertinent to discuss the Pakistan Government's stand on the Iraqi issue. As Pakistan was the coalition partner in the War on Terror, it was difficult for the country to oppose the United States attack in Iraq, but due to public pressure it was not possible

for the Government to support America. In October 2002, President Musharraf expressed his concerns regarding the Iraqi war that denoted Pakistan's policy over the issue;

“A possible attack on Iraq being the hottest current international issue, the subject was bound to come up during General Musharraf's interview with *The Sunday Times*, though what he said may not represent the feelings of the vast majority in Pakistan. According to General Musharraf, if Iraq is attacked by America and Britain without United Nations backing, there would be negative reaction in Pakistan and throughout the Muslim world; but if the United Nations sanctions the action, Pakistan would be obliged to support it” (*The Nation*, October 01, 2002, p. 6).

*The Nation* commented that the Iraqi attack would be widely condemned by Pakistan and the world. It was suggested that Pakistan should not only oppose the action but also under OIC make a united Muslim stand against the aggressive action. Later on September 15, 2002, *The Nation* noted President Musharraf's comments on the Iraqi issue during his speech in the United Nations. He expressed the view that US solo attack on Iraq would have ramifications on Indian military objectives in the region. *The Nation* stressed that Pakistan should activate OIC to restrain America from attacking Iraq. The newspaper argued that Pakistan Government should play active role in preventing the war; otherwise the prevailing situation would lead to chaos and anarchy in the region. A statement by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Jamali, indicated Pakistan's policy on the Iraqi attack. *The Nation* wrote that:

In a long-awaited policy statement, Mr. Jamali finally revealed on Monday on the floor of the House the direction Islamabad intends to take on the United States-Iraq standoff. To quote the PM, “our party and allies have decided unanimously that Pakistan will not support any war intentions against Iraq and its people” (*The Nation*, March 03, 2003, p. 6)

*The Nation* argued that although the policy statement was clear that the government of

Pakistan was not willing to support the United States action against Iraq, some of the opposition parties were still not be satisfied with the statement. They framed it as an unclear and ambiguous stance. The Pakistan Government had decided to abstain from voting in the United Nations on the Iraqi issue to avoid public anger. Although it was a passive resistance and below public expectations the newspaper welcomed the Government's decision.

Likewise, *The Dawn* wrote an editorial on March 12, 2003, titled as "Pakistan's 'no' to war" in which it was stressed that the Pakistan Government was not supportive of this unjust and immoral war. The editorial noted Prime Minister Jamali's statement against the Iraqi crisis which he delivered at the National Assembly. This statement had indicated Pakistan's policy on Iraq crisis.

“(Mr Jamali)..He declared categorically, “I want to ... tell the parliamentarians that Pakistan will not become a party to any decision which leads to bloodshed in Iraq.”(*The Dawn*, March 12, 2003, p. 9)

*The Dawn* commented that Pakistan was a member of the US-led War on Terror coalition and its negative response to the Iraqi war could complicate matters but Prime Minister Jamali had taken the right decision. Pakistan should not support any move that vindicate action against Iraq. The statements by the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan indicated that Pakistan did not support the American attack against Iraq. However, in certain editorials *The Nation* remarked that Pakistan did not adopt a proactive approach to denounce the policies of the United States against Iraq. Although Pakistan wanted to see a peaceful resolution of the Iraqi crisis its reaction was not very much strong and confident. Initially, Pakistan adopted careful neutrality on the issue and

stressed abiding by the Security Council resolution. However, the Pakistan Government should forcefully oppose Iraq attack. Pakistan had its interests in Middle Eastern oil reserves and many Pakistanis were working overseas. These interests could not be served by war. It was not a crime to disapprove the Iraqi war. In Pakistan opposition to the action and anti-Americanism was rising. Pakistan public was of the opinion that Pakistan should be in forefront in opposing the war. It was feared that the Government should realize that it was the beginning of the United States' aggression against the terrorist states. It could have dangerous repercussions for the Islamic world. *The Nation* adopted an aggressive approach against the Iraqi attack and urged the Pakistani government to be more oppositional against the Iraqi war.

By analyzing the coverage on the Iraqi war, it was observed that the Pakistani press complied with Pakistan's foreign policy on Iraq and gave negative coverage on this issue. Pakistani newspapers highlighted negative public opinion, public protests, opposition to the war, consequences of the war, by-passing of the United Nations resolutions by America, civilian casualties and opposition to Pakistan's troops in Iraq.

The Pakistani press argued that unilateral action against Iraq was a dangerous option. America's single-minded obsession with Iraq was massively condemned by many of the countries. The Bush administration did not succeed in convincing public opinion against Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Muslim public opinion was outraged due to the double standards of the United States' policies on Israel and the Muslim countries.

Moreover, the Pakistani press criticized the Iraqi attack because it was not endorsed by the United Nations. Pakistani newspapers stressed that the United States should comply with the United Nations on the weapons of mass destruction issue. There were a number of editorials which condemned America for its dealing with United Nations on the Iraqi crisis. *The Dawn* stated that without the United Nations' authorization, the attack on Iraq would not be justified. However, in March 2003, the United Nations inspectors and the International Atomic Energy Agency reported that they did not find any smoking gun in Iraq. The IAEA also argued that the evidence of the United States against the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction were not authentic. *The Dawn* also argued that the action of the United States in Iraq had undermined the idea of United Nations. The UN had lost its credibility as the sole arbitrator of international conflicts. It was the triumph of the principles of unilateralism and defeat of diplomacy and dialogue.

The Pakistani press wrote about many incidents of civilian killings in Iraq. *The Nation* argued that aerial bombing caused humanitarian disaster in Iraq. There were an enormous number of people killed and injured in Iraq. The infrastructure was devastated and there was an acute shortage of medical facilities for the injured people. On August 13, 2003, *The Nation* estimated that approximately 6000 Iraqi had died in the war. There was a likelihood of an increase in this number. A prolong stay of the United States forces in Iraq would cause more problems for the civilians; there was an urgent need of United Nations forces to restore the situation. The newspaper criticized the United States-backed Government in Iraq. It was argued that the Government could not control the deteriorating situation in Iraq. Iraq wanted neither Saddam nor the United States

rule; they wanted self Government. The United Nations should play a central role in Iraq and should hand over power to the Iraqi Government.

The other issue that was prominently discussed by the Pakistani press in the context of the Iraqi war was the sending of Pakistani troops to Iraq. Both newspapers severely opposed the idea of Pakistani troops in Iraq. It was argued that Pakistan's troops under the United States command would not be acceptable for Iraqis and Pakistanis. In Pakistan too, public opinion was against this option. It was bad to help the colonialist forces to subdue the Iraqis. It would be dangerous for Pakistan's soldiers. In Iraq every day the nationalist forces attacked the United States forces. Pakistan troops would also be looked upon as surrogates of invading forces. It was against Pakistan's national interests. When President Musharraf ruled out the sending of Pakistani troops to Iraq, it was welcomed by the public and the Pakistani press. He said that Pakistan would not send Pakistan troops without Iraqi wish. *The Nation* was of the opinion that America should hand over Iraq to the United Nations and under the United Nations the Muslim peacekeeping forces could work. But without the United Nations presence, Pakistan should not send its forces into a chaotic situation.

The following figure presented the thematic model of Nvivo on media conformity of Pakistani press regarding war on terror.

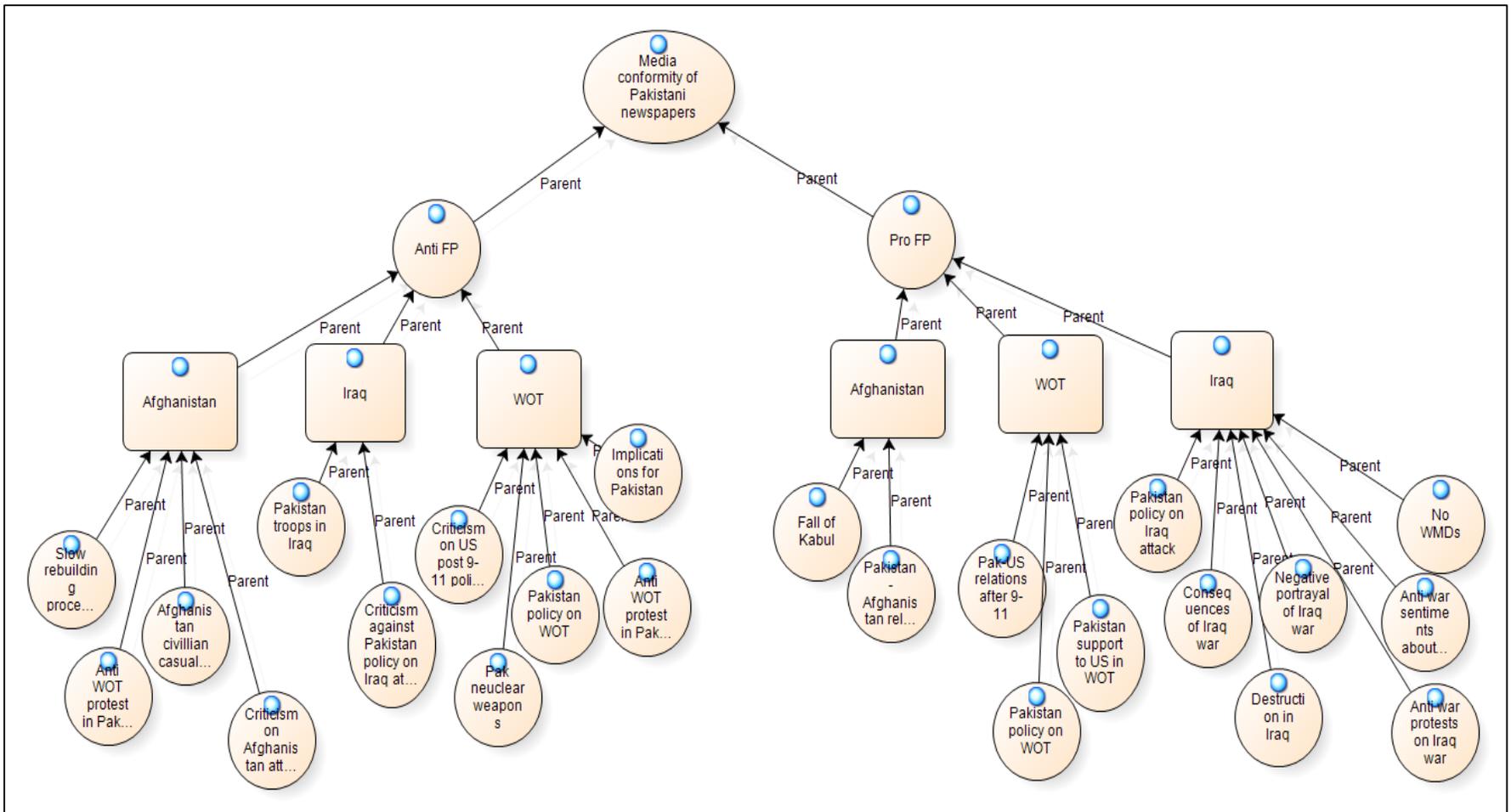


Figure 5.6. Thematic Model of Nvivo on Media Conformity of Pakistani press regarding the coverage of the war on terror

Concluding, it could be stated that in the case of the Iraqi war of 2003, the Pakistani press supported Pakistan Government's policy. The Pakistan Government neither endorsed the Iraqi attack nor approved the sending of Pakistani forces to be under US command. Both policies were supported by Pakistani newspapers. But it was observed that *The Nation* expected a more proactive approach by the Government to condemn the Iraqi attack. In some editorials it was observed that the newspaper criticized the Government for having a passive resistance to the Iraqi war.

Overall, the analysis of data indicated that in the case of the War on Terror and Afghanistan war, *The Dawn* and *The Nation* did not conform to Pakistan's foreign policy. The coverage was dominated by a theme that was contrary to Pakistan's stand on the War on Terror. However, in the case of Iraqi war, the Pakistan Government did not support the war; similarly the Pakistani press also opposed it. So in this case Pakistan's newspapers supported Government policy but they expected a more proactive stand against the Iraqi attack by the Pakistani Government.

### **5.5 Prominent issues highlighted by the Pakistani newspapers (*The Dawn* and *the Nation*) in the coverage of War on Terror**

By analyzing the editorial coverage of two Pakistani newspapers, the following issues were found to be prominent.

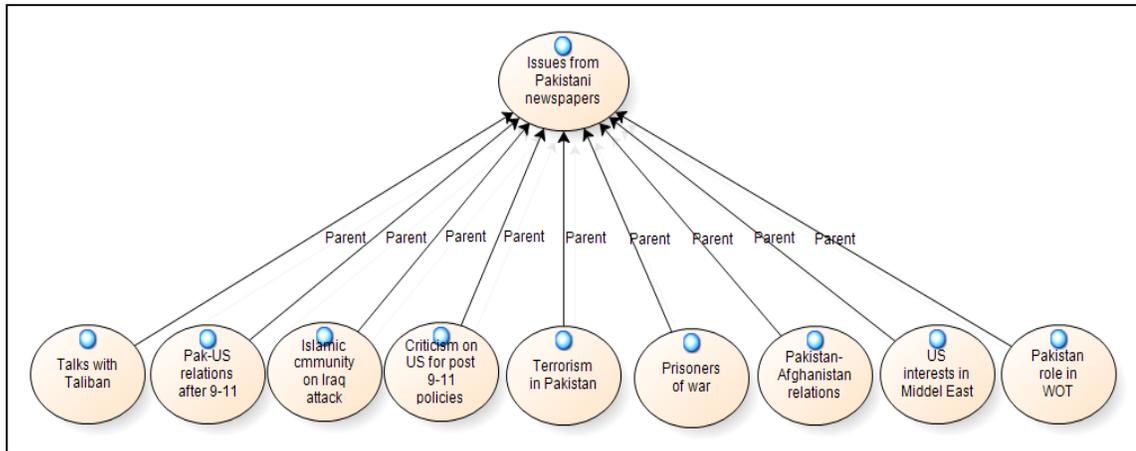


Figure 5.7. Thematic Model on the prominent issues regarding War on Terror by the coverage of Pakistani newspapers

Table: 5.1

*Prominent issues regarding the coverage of the War on Terror by the Pakistani press*

Major issues	Sub themes
Pakistan's role in War on Terror	Economic impact of Pakistan's support to War on Terror Implications for Pakistan US operations inside Pakistan in the pursuit of Al Qaeda members
Criticism on the United States	Criticism on the US anti terrorists laws Post 9/11 US immigration policies US policies to the Muslim countries
Pakistan - US relations after 9/11	Close relations between US and Pakistan after 9/11 Criticism on Pakistan -US relations Skepticism regarding Pakistan's nuclear programme
Terrorism in Pakistan	Incidents of terrorism in Pakistan Government efforts to curb terrorism Definition of terrorism
Pakistan – Afghanistan relations after 9/11	Friendly relations with the new Government of Afghanistan
Talks with Taliban	Convince Taliban with the strong evidence against Osama Stress on diplomatic options

Prisoners of war	Plight of prisoners of war in Afghanistan Pakistan prisoners of war in America and Afghanistan Iraq prisoners of war
US interests in Middle East	Middle East oil resources Strengthening Israel
Islamic Community and War on Terror	Role of OIC in Iraq war 2003 Lack of Muslim unity in the context of War on Terror

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### 5.5.1 Pakistan's role in War on Terror

Pakistan's role in the War on Terror was an issue much debated by the Pakistani newspapers (*The Dawn* and *The Nation*). Pakistan's press argued about the foreign policy of Pakistan on Afghanistan after 9/11, consequences of supporting the War on Terror for Pakistan, threats to Pakistan's sovereignty and economic impact on Pakistan. The Pakistani newspapers were much concerned regarding the role of Pakistan in the War on Terror and its implications for the country.

*The Dawn* and *The Nation* mentioned in their various editorials that Pakistan gave full support to America for its War on Terror. *The Dawn* wrote that Pakistan provided the use of air space, intelligence sharing and logistic support. President Musharraf consulted political leaders, ulemas and media people over the crisis but there were a few factions in Pakistan that did not endorse Pakistan's decision to support the War on Terror. These factions had a soft spot for the Taliban. Pakistan was in a difficult position; at one side America wanted full support and on the other hand those factions supported the Afghanistan Taliban. However, the Pakistani government had taken the stand to fight terrorism.

Later on many of the editorials from *The Nation* and *The Dawn* discussed the impact on Pakistan's economy ensuing for the support on the War on Terror. It was debated if the support for the United States War on Terror was economically beneficial for the country or not. When Pakistan's Government decided to facilitate the war in Afghanistan, the US Government announced economic and military support for Pakistan that was restricted after the collapse of democracy in 1999. *The Nation* wrote that Pakistan's main challenge was to strengthen its economy after the negative impact of 9/11 attacks. It was welcomed that the United States took positive measures to boost Pakistan's economy. On September 24, 2001, *The Nation* stated that the removal of the Pressler, Glenn and Symington sanctions would make Pakistan applicable for military aid. Although this scenario was not certain it was expected that Pakistan might get spare parts for military apparatus and F 16. It was suggested to the Pakistan government that it should not be much delighted over American promises regarding economic support as past experiences did not come to the level of expectations.

However, there were certain number of editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* that framed the United States' economic support after 9/11 as unsatisfactory. *The Nation* commented that Pakistan received a low price for a huge commitment. *The Dawn* stated in its editorial on February 16, 2002 that the United States package of economic assistance was not according to expectations. Pakistan needed substantial write off of the bilateral debt of 2.8 billion dollars, enhanced quota for Pakistan textile goods in the United States markets, tariff preferences for imports from Pakistan and assistance for

developmental projects and military needs. Contrary to this, Pakistan received rescheduling of debts, increased quota for Pakistan's textiles and a few million dollars. There was no sufficient debt relief, no special treatment for Pakistani exports and no loans for development projects. The United States aid package did not bring impressive direct impact on the Pakistani economy. *The Nation* remarked that Pakistan was in a war situation that made negative impact on exports, there was burden of refugees and our army was on borders. In this scenario the United States economic support was not adequate. Our real need was a write off debts from the United States, Japan and other European countries. These promises were not fulfilled. Pakistan paid heavy price for the War on Terror. It was required that the Pakistan government keep Pakistan's interests first and struggle for this genuinely.

The Pakistani press also discussed the implications and consequences of supporting the War on Terror for Pakistan. *The Dawn* and *The Nation* talked about the reaction from religious parties of Pakistan, threats from the Taliban, law and order situation, refugee influx, FBI operations inside Pakistan and America's support for Indian version of cross border terrorism.

*The Dawn* pointed out that there were certain religious parties that had a soft spot for the Taliban. These factions resented Pakistan Government's support for the War on Terror. If war started in Afghanistan, the Taliban could take action against Pakistan and make the security situation vulnerable. Moreover, the tribes men living on border areas of Pakistan might support the Afghanistan Taliban that would make Pakistan's situation

more complicated. This situation would threaten Pakistan's internal security. Moreover, the increasing civilian casualties in Afghanistan resented the Pakistani nation. There were violent protests inside the country. As *The Nation* stated:

“The whole world knows that Pakistan has gone out of its way to side with the US-led coalition operating in Afghanistan and, as a predictable consequence, suffered in the process, as evidenced by several high-profile acts of terrorism in the country which have claimed the lives of over a dozen foreign nationals as well as Pakistani citizens, and could cast a shadow over our relations with the countries concerned. While Islamabad's U-turn in its policy towards the Taliban was resented by a section of opinion, the use of brutal force against Afghanistan, indiscriminately raining death on innocent citizens-notice another cavalier incident of the murder of more than 100 revellers at a wedding party the day before-turned virtually the entire nation against our co-operation with the United States.” (*The Nation*, July 03, 2002, p. 6)

The other problem that was indicated by the Pakistani press was the huge influx of Afghanistan refugees into Pakistan. It was argued that Pakistan already had the burden of 2.5 million refugees after Soviet war and the current war added more than 100 thousand refugees. Province of NWFP and Baluchistan were filled with refugees. it was very difficult for the Government to feed them and provide them shelter. Due to domestic and international pressures Pakistan could not close its borders. *The Dawn* stressed that international agencies should help Pakistan in supporting the refugees in Pakistan. Moreover, there was an urgent need that Afghanistan should be rebuilt and it was the duty of the allied forces to start the nation-building process. Such efforts would encourage refugees to go back to their country.

The other implication that was indicated by *The Nation* was the crossing of Pakistan's border by the allied forces in the pursuit of the Taliban into Pakistan. It stressed that the

action could enrage the Pushtoon population in the country. *The Nation* argued that the Pakistan Government should clarify its policy on this issue. On March 30, 2002, *The Nation* discussed an incident in which the FBI conducted an operation inside Pakistan against 20 Arab nationals, five Afghans and several Pakistani nationals with local police in response to bomb attacks in an Islamabad church. *The Nation* commented that the action indicated that the War on Terror had come into Pakistan. It also showed a policy shift of the Pakistan government that previously declared that the United States would not be allowed to do operations inside Pakistan. The action was against Pakistan's sovereignty and the mistrust of the United States on Pakistani security operations. The operation could not be justified. The operation should have been conducted by Pakistani security agencies under Pakistani laws not by the foreign agencies. *The Nation* expressed its deep concerns over this scenario and also criticized the Pakistan government for not taking principle stand on this issue. The activities of the US and British army inside Pakistan were condemned by Pakistani political parties. It was argued that such incidents had badly affected Pakistan's sovereignty and would reduce country into a banana republic.

Overall, Pakistani newspapers (*The Dawn* and *The Nation*) argued that Pakistan played an important role in the War on Terror. Pakistan brought tremendous change to its foreign policy regarding Afghanistan and discarded its relations with the Taliban Government. By supporting the War on Terror, the Pakistan Government faced criticism from political parties and the Pakistani population. Moreover, Taliban threatened Pakistan against the decision. Pakistan witnessed many suicide attacks inside the

country that killed thousands of innocent Pakistanis. In return the United States promised to give economic and military aid to Pakistan but American aid was not according to expectations. The economic support did little to boost Pakistan's economy. From the military perspective India received more military aid than Pakistan and the United States also accepted their version of cross border terrorism. Pakistan did not succeed in resolving the Kashmir issue. The United States forces intensified their activities inside the country to endanger Pakistan sovereignty. Pakistan's support for the War on Terror did not bring fruitful outcomes for the country.

### **5.5.2 Criticism on the United States**

In many of the editorials the Pakistani newspapers criticized the US policies related to anti-terrorist laws, immigration policies and dealings with the Muslim countries. *The Dawn* and *The Nation* argued that after 9/11 the United States adopted draconian anti terrorist laws. *The Nation* stated that the US Government wanted to establish a military court for the trial of suspected terrorists. However the international detainees had no rights to appeal in civilian courts. It argued that the United States and Britain had adopted harsh measures for dealing with the detainees. Both the Governments had deprived them of their fundamental rights. Such measures would affect on the moral grounds of the war. *The Nation* wrote that:

“The way Washington has assumed the role of a world policeman is becoming increasingly worrisome for many nations. The OIC moot voiced the feelings when it opposed unilateral actions and instead called for seeking assistance from the United Nations “to formulate a joint organized response of the international community to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.” Earlier China and Russia have also expressed reservations regarding the military initiatives taken unilaterally by the United States and have demanded that the United Nations be involved in any future action.” (*The Nation*, April 04, 2002, p. 6)

*The Nation* criticized the US for its unilateral actions in the form of waging wars and adopting strict anti terrorist laws. It stressed that for rooting out terrorism, the serious grievances of the Muslim countries which lead the people towards terrorism should be addressed. It warned that the War on Terror would fail if it did not address the injustices. The United States should restrict Israel and India for their aggressive activities in Palestine and Kashmir.

*The Dawn* argued that American treatment of its own citizens of Middle Eastern origin and the Muslims was quite inconsistent and problematic. The Government could suspect anyone as having ill intentions against America. The Bush administration used its power in discriminating against the Muslims living in the US in the name of safeguarding the security of American people. *The Dawn* commented that September 11 gave authority to the republicans to advance its agenda. They increased security measures at the cost of civil liberties and the people who criticized these actions were considered as un-American or unpatriotic. Moreover, in Guantanamo Bay extremely harsh measures were adopted against the detainees. The new laws specifically targeted the Muslims. On September 22, 2002, *The Dawn* wrote that the implementation of USA Patriot Act was an attack on the civil liberties in America. This controversial law was passed in response to September 11 attacks in the United States. The law allowed the security agencies and FBI to monitor library records, tape telephone calls and conduct other observation operations. The Muslims from the Middle East were the most affected.

*The Nation* pointed out that after 9/11 the United States adopted strict immigration policies specifically against the Muslims. It was depicted that visitors from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen faced strict security checks such as finger prints, photographing and others. Even the diplomats from the Muslim countries also faced humiliating body searches. The new laws fostered the perception that these were only against the Muslims. Moreover, thousands of Pakistani arrests in the United States for minor visa issues had harassed the Pakistani society in America. It was stressed by *The Nation* that Pakistan representatives should be aware of their responsibilities and should address the problems of Pakistanis in the United States.

*The Dawn* argued that the adoption of draconian laws by the United States and Britain had allowed the security agencies to detain anyone suspected to have links with terrorist organizations. *The Dawn* wrote that:

“Hundreds, if not thousands, of mostly Muslim and Arab immigrants to the US continue to be imprisoned thanks to the overzealousness of that country’s Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). According to reports, the vast majority of these people, who were arrested after the events of September 11, do not even show up on official records maintained by the US Justice Department. The authorities continue to mislead everyone by claiming that only six people arrested following the World Trade Centre attacks are still under detention. The reason for this deception is that the American authorities seem to be using a very narrow definition for what constitutes a detainee and hence are able to exclude the overwhelming majority of those in jail from official statistics. The issue does not relate to the repercussions following the much-criticized registration programme for male citizens of 25 mostly Muslim countries. Rather, it reflects the paranoia and overreaction that characterized the response to the events of September 11 and which ruined the lives of even many legal immigrants” (*The Dawn*, January 27, 2003, p. 9)

*The Dawn* and *The Nation* emphasized that the US polices against the Muslim countries were not justified. *The Nation* referred to the statement by Saiful Islam the son of Libyan leader Gaddafi, that international terrorism could not be curtailed unless the

motivating causes were addressed. Injustices were committed against the people of Afghanistan, Kashmir and the Palestinian were suffering at the hands of Israel and India, and the Iraqi situation had enraged the Muslim community. The United States should realize the causes behind terrorism. America should not support those countries that committed atrocities in their occupied lands. Denials of political and economic rights breed extremism in any community. America should change its policies towards the Muslim world. It should restrict Israel and India for their harsh actions; otherwise anti US feelings would increase in the Muslim world.

In conclusion, Pakistan press debated on post 9/11 policies of the US related to the Muslim community. Pakistani newspapers criticized the US post 9/11 anti-terrorists' laws, immigration policies and arrests of the Muslims in America. It was argued that these measures had harassed the Muslim society in the United States and increased alienation. The Pakistani press suggested that the US should review its policies relating to the Muslim community and address the causes of terrorism. Terrorism could not be stopped by the adoption of harsh measures.

### **5.5.3 Pakistan-US relations after 9/11**

After 9/11 Pakistan-US relation was regularly discussed by the Pakistani newspapers. *The Nation* and *The Dawn* frequently published editorials on the different perspectives of Pakistan US relations. It was welcomed that after 9/11 America moved closely towards Pakistan and removed many of the sanctions. It gave economic and military support. However, the Pakistani press expressed its concerns regarding America's closeness with India and skepticism towards Pakistan's nuclear program.

After the September 11 attacks, the Pakistan government decided to support the War on Terror and the US policies towards Afghanistan. However, Pakistan took a “U” turn in its policies towards Afghanistan and discarded its relations with the Taliban Government. President Bush and other US officials expressed warm feelings towards Pakistan and pledged long term relations. On December 15, 2002, *The Dawn* noted official statement by Mr. Powell and Mr. Kasuri in which they “expressed their firm commitment to a structured, long-term relationship, with growing cooperation in diverse fields, and agreed to remain in touch” (*The Dawn*, December 15, 2002, p. 9). *The Dawn* commented that the nature of Pakistan-US relation was doubtful and self serving. Their relations were dependent on the nature of their interests. In the same editorial *The Dawn* mentioned President Bush’s statement while talking with president Musharraf in the White House. He said that his country was determined to have long term relations with Pakistan. Mr. Bush himself acknowledged that many people were doubtful about Pakistan US relations. After the Soviet withdrawal, America left Pakistan and gave the impression of hostility but Bush assured that the United States would be involved with Pakistan for a longer time. He also offered economic and military support to Pakistan. Ms Condoleeza Rice, National Security Advisor to President Bush also stressed strong relationships between America and Pakistan for disproving the impression of Pakistan’s skepticism regarding the warmth of US relations. As *The Nation* referred to her statement;

“Indirectly rebutting the view of some Pakistani skeptics that the present US warmth towards Pakistan will last only till the achievement of US objectives in Afghanistan, Ms Condoleeza Rice, National Security Advisor to President Bush, has said that the United States is working on plans to build a long term

relationship with Pakistan. And that the United States will not turn its back on Pakistan, once the present situation in Afghanistan normalizes. Giving an interview to PTV, she also said that Pakistan was important to the United States security interests, just as it was to the peace and security in South Asia” (*The Nation*, December 03, 2001, p.6)

It argued that Pakistan played a major role in America’s War on Terror. In return the United States was agreed to enable Pakistan to strengthen its conventional arms capability. The United States’ support helped Pakistan to reinforce its defense system. *The Dawn* welcomed that after 9/11 the United States waived democracy-related sanctions against Pakistan. These measures reduced Pakistan’s economic worries and ended diplomatic isolation. The United States announced financial aids, loans and agreed to give access to Pakistan textiles access to international markets. *The Dawn* argued that all these developments were quite positive for Pakistan but the Pakistan Government should be careful in conducting its foreign policy. Its policy should be independent. Pakistan should pursue its economic and political interests with all countries.

As it was discussed that Pakistan US relation remained a prominent issue in the coverage of War on Terror by *The Dawn* and *The Nation* but there were number of editorial noted form both the newspapers which criticized the relationship. Particularly, *The Nation* doubted the nature of relationships between the two countries. As *The Nation* stated:

“The change in US policy towards Pakistan was as unexpected as it was abrupt. Before 11 September Pakistan was the most sanctioned country. Many American think thank had declared it a failed state. Neither the United States nor its European or Japanese allies were ready to talk to General Musharraf on the “principled” plea that he had overthrown the democratic system. After General

Musharraf decided to extend unstinted cooperation to the United States-led coalition, he became the darling of the West overnight. A host of Western dignitaries, including Messrs Powell and Rumsfeld, Prime Minister Blair and Chancellor Schroeder, not to mention assorted foreign ministers, made trips to Islamabad as if they had finally located a long-lost brother (*The Nation*, November 22, 2001, p. 6)

*The Nation* argued that the past record of the United States's dealing with Pakistan was quite unpredictable. During the early days of President Ayub Khan and President Zai ul Haq, the United States expressed warm relationships with Pakistan but when its objectives were fulfilled, America left Pakistan with its problems. Same was the case after 9/11. Due to the geo strategic position of Pakistan, the country was important for the US interests in the region but as America's interests carried out, it would be least concerned about Pakistan.

The other aspect that was much criticized by the Pakistan press was the allegation against Pakistan's nuclear assets by the United States media and politicians. *The Dawn* argued in its editorial on February 15, 2002, that America had its reservations regarding Pakistan's nuclear program and the growth and spread of religious extremism. But the United States did not express its concerns regarding Indian nuclear program that was bigger than that of Pakistan. *The Nation* argued that it had become a popular theme in the American media that the destabilization of Musharraf Government might lead to the fall of Pakistan nuclear assets to the hands of extremists. The same concerns were expressed by the US Chairman joint staff General Myer. It also accused that some Pakistani scientists had links with the Taliban. *The Nation* argued that the United State's

support to such allegations could affect Pakistan-US relations in the context of the War on Terror.

Overall, it could be stated that the Pakistan press gave substantial coverage to Pakistan-US relations after 9/11. Both the newspapers mentioned that the United States gave Pakistan economic and military aid for supporting the War on Terror. But the relationship between the two countries was much criticized by the press. The newspapers were of the opinion that Pakistan gave enough support to the United States for this war and even its people lost their lives when attacked by the terrorists but the United States did not support Pakistan enough. Pakistan did not succeed in achieving its objectives. Economic aid was not enough, Pakistan had to roll back its stance on the Kashmir issue; Pakistan was blamed for cross border terrorism and Pakistan's nuclear program was criticized by the United States media and politicians.

#### **5.5.4 Terrorism in Pakistan**

The Pakistani newspapers, *The Dawn* and *The Nation* highlighted the problem of terrorism in Pakistan after 9/11. It was argued that the War on Terror was fought to curtail terrorism and Pakistan supported the war but contrary to this terrorism increased in Pakistan. The Taliban threatened Pakistan for supporting the war. There were terrorist incidents in the country that killed many innocent people of Pakistan. The War on Terror added to security concerns for Pakistan.

*The Dawn* commented in its editorial on November 11, 2002 that after the ouster of Al

Qaeda and the Taliban from Afghanistan they started to regroup in the different countries of the world. They were not completely destroyed. It was time that the United States reviewed its policies regarding the Muslim world. The burning issue of Palestine needed American attention. The atrocities against the helpless Palestinians aroused Muslim sentiments and helped to add more recruits for Al Qaeda. If America was sincere in crushing terrorism, it had to address the root causes of terrorism. Terrorism could not be rooted out by guns and bombs alone.

*The Nation* warned in its editorial on May 02, 2003 that after being expelled from Afghanistan, there was the threat that Al Qaeda would reorganize itself in Pakistan. They would recruit those Pakistanis who shared their ideas. The reality was that there were some people that had sympathy for them. Now it was the government's duty to maintain law and order in the country. The government's support for the United States with regard to the War on Terror should not be inimical to the national interests of Pakistan. The Pakistan government had started hunting the Taliban inside the country, but all its actions should be under Pakistan's laws and not under American pressure.

*The Dawn* stressed that although Al Qaeda was weakened after the Afghanistan war it was still alive in Pakistan. Pakistan was trying its best to crush the Taliban inside the country. The Government also handed over some Al Qaeda members to the United States. It was argued that the phenomenon of 'talibanization' went back to the era of 1980's. At that time, the United States supported religious militants against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The US armed and funded Afghan and Pakistani volunteers

who fought against the Soviets. These mujahidin were supported by the United States and Pakistan Governments. But after 9/11 the entire scenario was changed. Jihadi organizations opposed Pakistan's decision to support the War on Terror. Pakistan took a 'U' turn in its policies towards Afghanistan. Pakistan supported the United States policies and banned many of the religious militant groups inside the country. There were certain factions that still had sympathy for them. But Pakistan was determined to operate against the Al Qaeda organization. Terrorism had damaged Pakistan society and killed many people. The terrorists attacked churches, mosques and other places. Due to these incidents Pakistan's image was distorted in the world.

There were many editorials from *The Nation* and *The Dawn* which discussed the terrorist incidents in Pakistan. *The Nation* wrote on September 21, 2001, that after 9/11 the Taliban Government threatened to attack the neighboring countries if they provided assistance to the United States. Pakistan having an easily penetrable border with Afghanistan was in a vulnerable situation. The hostile forces could create chaos in the country. On the other hand India could also be involved in the violence. It was important for the Pakistan Government to strengthen internal security. There should be coordination among intelligence agencies and law enforcement apparatus should be vigilant because Pakistan's security situation was badly affected by the number of bomb blasts in the country. As *The Nation* stated,

“The frequency with which bomb blasts have taken place across Pakistan in recent weeks is a disturbing development, which needs to be properly countered. Thickly populated urban areas have been targeted, the aim seemingly to create an ambience of fear and despondency. In the latest bombing outrage in Sialkot, six persons have been killed and 48 others injured. The explosive device was apparently planted on a bicycle parked near Pul aik, a congested locality. About a

week ago, seven people had sustained injuries in two bombs explosions in a Sailkot border village. Lahore's Dabbi bazaar too has been targeted injured 14 shoppers, mostly women, one of whom later died. Quetta and Peshawar have also had their share of sabotage and mayhem, with Karachi topping the list" (*The Nation*, September 21, 2001, p.6)

*The Nation* suggested that in these circumstances, the Government should act more vigilantly and the religious parties and organizations should also feel their responsibility to control the situation. Moreover, president Musharraf should stress to the United States that the action in Afghanistan should be short and avoid civilian killings.

In responding to anti-terrorist activities, the Pakistan Government banned several militant organizations and many of the suspected people were captured. *The Nation* remarked that the banning of extremist organizations might help in fighting terrorism but these measures were not enough. The government also employed some other measures such as amending the syllabi of religious schools and the government intended to open anti-terrorist courts. It was argued that people who were already fed with hatred and wrong information, it was less likely that by changing cross out lines and trying by military courts they could be restricted to their atrocious deeds. It was required that the Government should have good intelligence work so that these terrorists could be caught before they engaged in any terrorist activities. Besides, there should be sustained media campaign to teach religious tolerance in the society.

*The Nation* argued that there were certain reasons behind this terrorism. The United States support for Israeli oppression in Palestine, the United States hostile intentions towards Iraq and bombing in Afghanistan had caused anti-Americanism among the

Muslim nations. Moreover the presence of the United States in Pakistan and free running of US officials had caused resentment in the Pakistani society. The Pakistan government had to review its policies relating to the War on Terror. The government's support for the United States was perceived as the surrender of sovereignty. There should be some limits to the cooperation. The Government should be careful on these issues.

Overall, the Pakistani newspapers *The Dawn* and *The Nation* were much concerned regarding increasing terrorism in the country. Both the newspapers suggested to the Government that it should take action to curtail terrorism but Government actions should be under Pakistani laws. The Government should support the war on terror but in giving support to the United States, sovereignty of Pakistan should not be compromised. Terrorism was the most burning issue of Pakistan and newspapers mostly highlighted the stories related to it.

#### **5.5.5 Pakistan Afghanistan relations after 9/11**

After the Afghanistan war of 2001, both newspapers were much concerned about the new political developments in Afghanistan. The Pakistan Government was of the opinion that there should be a broad-band and multi ethnic Government formed in Afghanistan. The supremacy of a single faction would not be acceptable to the others. That would lead to further chaos and anarchy. However, the government stressed that Pakistan wanted to have friendly and long term relations with Afghanistan.

At the establishment of a new political interim set up in Afghanistan, *The Dawn* remarked that it was an immense pleasure that Afghanistan had moved towards peace, stability and progress. Afghanistan had spent two decades in anarchy and instability. Anarchy in Afghanistan always affects the situation in Pakistan. So Afghanistan's prosperity was very important for Pakistan. The Government had welcomed the new set-up in Afghanistan and hoped that the set-up would work for national reconstruction. Pakistan wanted enduring peace, internal reconciliation and economic reconstruction of the country. It wanted to help Afghanistan in its reconstruction as a friend but did not want any interference into the internal affairs of Afghanistan. It was hoped that both countries would develop healthy relations and would not repeat the previous mistakes in future.

However, *The Nation* argued that after the Taliban regime, it would not be easy for Pakistan to advance bilateral relations with Afghanistan. Pakistan supported the Taliban Government and the Northern Alliance was its opponent. For winning the hearts of the new Government Pakistan had to prove itself as the true beneficiaries of the people of Afghanistan. Pakistan had to employ tactful diplomacy and develop durable relations with the new Government of Afghanistan. India had started its attempts to seek warm relations with the Northern Alliance. Afghanistan markets were flooded with Indian films; Indian medical supplies had reached Afghanistan. Indian diplomats wanted a big share in Afghanistan's reconstruction. In this competitive situation Pakistan had to adopt an active and meaningful approach.

*The Dawn* and *The Nation* mentioned the visits and the meetings of the heads of both Afghanistan and Pakistan in certain of their editorials. On February 10, 2002, *The Dawn* and *The Nation* discussed the visit of President Karzai with his nine cabinet ministers to Islamabad. It stated that both sides gave importance to each other. At the joint press conference both presidents stressed the principles of sovereignty, fairness, friendship, reverence and cooperation. It was acknowledged that both countries would not repeat the previous mistakes and would pursue healthy relations.

Pakistani newspapers welcomed the developments in foreign relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The visits by Afghanistan officials and politicians were positively framed by the press and it was hoped that friendly relations would further help the two countries. Afghanistan and Pakistan agreed to crush terrorism and pursue friendly relations in the future.

By analyzing the coverage of the Afghanistan war of 2001, it was noted that from the start of the campaign the Pakistani press was concerned about Pakistan's relations with the new Government of Afghanistan. However, both the newspapers stressed a broad band Government in Afghanistan. Pakistan supported the establishment of a new interim set-up in Afghanistan. The Pakistani press urged the Pakistan government to strengthen peaceful and friendly relations with the new government and the Northern Alliance government should also forget previous grievances. Peaceful relations would help to crush terrorism and serve the interests of both countries.

### **5.5.6 Talks with Taliban**

The other issue that was highlighted by *The Nation* was the talks with the Taliban government in Afghanistan. During the Afghanistan crisis of 2001, *The Nation* emphasized to have diplomatic measures with the Taliban government to resolve the issue. After the September 11 attacks, America's main demand was that to handover Osama to the American authorities. It was argued that through diplomacy the issue could be resolved; a number of innocent lives could be saved. However, there were not many editorials but certain editorials debated on it.

On September 19, 2001, *The Nation* wrote that initially, the Taliban agreed to surrender Osama on certain conditions. They wanted to surrender Osama to a neutral country, in return for the removal of sanctions on Afghanistan, recognition of their regime and economic aid for the reconstruction of the distressed country. *The Nation* remarked that Pakistan's public considered these offers quite reasonable and now the action of the United States against Afghanistan with the support of Pakistan could create problems for the Government. The United States should take further step with responsibility. It was important that all parties involved like Pakistan, America, the Taliban and Osama should agree on a solution that could save the lives of innocent Afghans from destruction. The killings of poor Afghans would not bring back the lives of 9/11 victims. In another editorial *The Nation* expressed its concerns regarding the dismantling of the Taliban regime. It argued that it was the only regime that had wide acceptance. It stated that:

“Some European Union members too are supposed to have a soft corner for the anti-Taliban conglomerate. Before any decision is taken on the Taliban, the United States and its allies must decide whether they want Afghanistan to be stable and united. Despite the numerous failings of the religious militia, some quite serious,

the Taliban are the only political group in the country which established effective control over 95 percent of the territory. The cultivation of opium has been successfully banned, warlordism eradicated and there are no threats to public peace in Taliban-ruled areas. The militia represents the largest ethnic group in the country and is a fairly homogeneous organization” (*The Nation*, September 27, 2001, p. 6)

*The Nation* argued that although that Taliban Government was not popular it was acceptable to 90% Afghans. They employed harsh measures but there was no rebellion against them. If America forcefully removed their regime, it would make Taliban government popular. The new Government in Afghanistan could not make its presence felt in Afghanistan without the support of the United States. By waging war, the United States had to pay its price in terms of human lives. Moreover, the people would doubt America’s presence in an oil and gas rich region.

*The Nation* argued that the expected war could destabilize the country. This was not supported by the newspaper. It was more practical to adopt a diplomatic approach to convince Taliban regarding the United States demands. The best solution of the problem was to engage the Taliban in a dialogue rather than wage war against them. By employing patient diplomacy, cooperation and careful pressure the Taliban government could be persuaded. War would destroy the objectives that could be achieved through diplomacy.

*The Nation* stated that the Taliban demanded proof of Osama’s involvement in 9/11 for cooperating with the demands of the United States. If America provided the proof, there would be less chances of Osama’s stay in Afghanistan. The United States was of the

opinion that due to security reasons it could not provide any proof. Such response did not make sense. Pakistan tried its best to convince the Taliban. Pakistan ISI sent its delegate to Afghanistan but did not bring any results because the Taliban's demand was proof. Now Ulemas delegate would visit Afghanistan to persuade the Taliban. *The Nation* suggested that the attack on Afghanistan would not be a successful option. History indicated that the attacks by the British and Soviets did not bring cherished results. The diplomatic approach should be adopted. Moreover, the extended role of the United Nations could also resolve the crisis. The proactive role of the United Nations could preserve international peace. On September 30, 2001, *The Nation* mentioned the statement by Mullah Omer who said:

“Mullah Omar, according to Maulana Muhammad Jamil, who was in the delegation, has expressed the view that “if the United States shuns stubbornness and gives up its anti-Muslim policies, the Taliban would be ready to start the process of talks. The message in response from Washington, which in its present state of outrage and vengeance is in no need to delve into the causes of the dreadful WTC-Pentagon incidents, has been very clear: the Taliban know what is expected of them, that is to hand over the prime suspect and members of his outfit, Al Qaeda, to appropriate authorities, and dismantle the network of terrorist training camps being run by it” (*The Nation* September 30, 2001, p. 6)

*The Nation* stated that in this scenario Pakistan should put in efforts to arrange talks between Afghanistan and the United States. America should not choose war option when the Taliban were ready to hand over Osama and other suspected individuals. If both sides would agree on a solution, the emerging crisis could be diffused. *The Nation* was supportive and hopeful about the outcomes of the talks. It stressed that war always had its drawbacks and could kill many innocents while adopting a diplomatic solution innocent lives could be saved.

In conclusion, it could be stated that *The Nation* supported the diplomatic option very much rather than military action in the Afghanistan crisis. It stressed that Pakistan and the United States government should pursue talks with the Taliban and avoid endangering the stability of the region.

### **5.5.7 Prisoners of war**

Pakistan newspapers (*The Dawn* and *The Nation*) highlighted the issue of prisoners of war from Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan. The plight of the prisoners of war in the United States jails and Guantanamo bay was discussed. It was stressed that these prisoners must be accorded rights according to the Geneva Conventions. The concerns of international organizations on the plight of prisoners were also highlighted. Pakistan newspapers were much critical of the inhuman treatment meted out to the prisoners of war from Afghanistan Iraq and Pakistan.

In the context of Afghanistan both the newspapers argued that the allied forces and the Northern Alliance treated the Taliban prisoners badly. On November 29, 2001, *The Nation* pointed out an incident in which 600 non-Taliban prisoners at Qali Jangi were massacred by the Northern Alliance troops. They argued that the prisoners revolted against the Northern Alliance. That's why they had no other option but to kill them. In this incident heavy bombardment was not justified. The massacre needed an independent enquiry. There were also some Pakistan prisoners. It was pertinent that the Pakistan government should take serious notice of the incident. In another editorial *The Dawn* argued that the United States forces had around 7000 Taliban and Al Qaeda

prisoners. It was very important that these prisoners be treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention. Moreover, there should be an independent enquiry into the various massacres committed by the Northern Alliance and coalition forces.

On January 15, 2002, *The Dawn* discussed the plight of those Al Qaeda prisoners who were flown to the US base in Guantanamo bay from Kandahar. It was depicted that they were iron chained; sedated and were not allowed to answer the call of nature. *The Dawn* argued that even if it was assumed that they had knowledge about September 11 attacks, they should not be treated inhumanly. On the other hand the US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld stated that these people were “unlawful combatants” and had no rights under the Geneva Convention. *The Dawn* criticized his statement and argued that he had imperious way of thinking. He considered them guilty and less than human beings like animals.

*The Dawn* argued that the United States might not overlook the matter of inhumane treatment of the prisoners of war but world opinion had expressed its concerns against it. They were kept in tiny cages with tin roofs. Moreover, they were forcefully shaved that denied their religious rights. It was stressed that such inhuman treatment could not be justified on any ground. The international press, international community, human rights groups, the Red Cross and American and European allies had expressed their resentment against the dehumanizing treatment of the prisoners.

*The Nation* highlighted the issue of Pakistani prisoners of war held in the United States and Afghanistan. It also commented on the plight of Pakistanis living in the United

States after 9/11. It stated that there were number of Pakistanis working in America but after 9/11 they had to face discriminatory treatment by the security agencies in America. There were arrests and investigations of Pakistani nationals which raised anxiety among the Pakistani community in the United States. Those Pakistanis who were doing minor jobs and student were arrested on flimsy grounds. *The Nation* stressed that the Pakistan government should discuss this matter with the US Government and Pakistan embassy should help these Pakistanis.

On August 22, 2002, *The Dawn* pointed out that there were 58 Pakistanis detained by America at Camp X-ray in Cuba's Guantanamo Bay. They were not allowed to seek their legal rights. They were labelled as "enemy combatants". Pakistani intelligence officials' team visited them but what was the outcome of their trip was not yet known. It was not known if they were actually Al Qaeda terrorists. It was against international laws to detain someone without trial or deny them legal rights. Pakistan should stress to the United States Government that they could not hold these people without being proved by a normal court.

In the case of the Iraqi prisoners of war, *The Dawn* criticized Paul Bremer's administration in Iraq. The newspaper referred to the statement by Amnesty International that Bremer's administration had committed ruthless human rights abuses with the Iraqi nation. There was hundreds of Iraqi captured after Saddam's fall. They were kept in terrible conditions and denied of human rights. The forces adopted brutal methods to torture them. It stressed that the role of the United Nations should be

strengthened in Iraq so that human violations could be restricted there. The United Nations should pay exclusive attention towards the worsening situation in Iraq.

In conclusion, *The Nation* and *The Dawn* were much concerned about the plight of prisoners of war in Afghanistan and Iraq. Both the newspapers frequently highlighted this issue in their editorials. They stressed that the Pakistan government take the matter of Pakistan prisoners of war seriously and asked the United States government to give legal rights to Pakistan prisoners who were kept in Guantanamo Bay. Moreover, the press emphasized to world human rights organizations and United Nations that they should come forward and address the issues related to the plight of prisoners of war from Afghanistan and Iraq. An unilateral action by a single country had violated international standards.

#### **5.5.8 US interests in the Middle East**

The other issue that was raised by the Pakistan newspapers was the interests of United States in the Middle Eastern region. In the context of the Iraqi attack of 2003, Pakistan newspapers *The Dawn* and *The Nation* published a certain number of editorials which discussed the objectives of the United States in the Middle East areas. *The Nation* was of the opinion that a weapon of mass destruction issue was the pretext to attack Iraq. As it stated:

“That the issue of weapon of mass destruction was no more than a ruse is becoming increasingly clear to most people all over the world. International defense analysts have ruled out Iraq as anywhere near acquiring nuclear weapons. Washington has not so far provided any positive proof to its allies of a WMD threat from Iraq. The perception is growing that the powerful oil lobby around President Bush is keen to replace Saddam with a docile ruler to have easy access

to Iraq's oil reserves, the world's second largest. Many believe Washington is all set to attack Iraq, weapons or no weapons" (*The Nation*, September 19, 2002, p. 6)

It was argued that the real objective of the United States attack on Iraq was to monopolize Iraq's oil reserves. The other objective was to realize Israel's dream of a Greater Israel. *The Dawn* stated that this war was for oil. Even the people from Europe and North America did not want to send their sons to this war that was immoral, unnecessary and advanced for the sake of American oil multinationals' interests. In many of the editorials, *The Dawn* stressed that the real aim of the United States was capturing Iraq's reserves. The allegations against Iraq that its weapons might fall in the hands of terrorists were just an excuse. *The Dawn* argued that Iraq's dismemberment would also serve the United States interests. Popular reaction against the moderate pro US regimes would make these countries more dependent on the United States. Moreover, Israel would not lose the opportunity to exploit the post-war chaos and use it for its expansionist agenda. It was important that the regional states should make grand policy to save themselves from the outside powers.

*The Nation* wrote in its editorial on February 15, 2003 that in its heart of hearts America knew that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction issue was not true. Its motive was to grab Iraq's oil and strengthen Israel supremacy in the region. It also stated that 9/11 was just an excuse; the plan for capturing Iraq's reserves was already designed. Mr. Powell presented false documents regarding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction to justify his case for attack. However, Saddam declared that he would leave Iraq with his sons but still America's insistence for attack indicated that the United States had other objectives rather than regime change. The allegations against Saddam that he killed his own people

and supported terrorists were excuses to vindicate the attack against Iraq.

*The Dawn* stated Bush's vision for the Middle East in its editorial on March 01, 2003. President Bush said that the removal of Saddam's regime would bring the light of democracy across the Middle East. Moreover, it would facilitate the peace deals between Arabs and Israel. Mr. Powel stated that "overthrow of the Saddam regime could "fundamentally reshape" the map of the Middle East in ways that could "enhance US interests" (*The Dawn*, February 10, 2003, p. 9). *The Dawn* commented that Mr. Bush considered military intervention as a corrective mode to implement democracy forcefully in the Middle Eastern region. However, such attempts were to be perceived as new colonialism and Crusade against Islam by the Arab nationals and the Muslims.

*The Dawn* and *The Nation* many times criticized the United States about its designs over Iraq. *The Nation* wrote on April 22, 2003 that a new interim set-up in Iraq backed by the United States had made plans to reconstruct pipelines from Mosul to Haifa through Jordan. These plans would ensure the supply of oil to Israel. The United States was committed to secure Israel interests in the region. *The Dawn* argued that the delay in giving Iraq to its representative Government indicated that the United States was more concerned about its interests. As it stated:

"The US wants to turn its military victory in Iraq into an opportunity for achieving some of its long-term strategic goals. These include the installation in Baghdad of a pliant regime which would recognize Israel. Once Iraq, one of the most important Arab countries in the Middle East, recognizes Israel, it would not be possible to stop the domino effect of other pro-American Arab regimes following suit. Should this happen, Israeli-American money and technology would be used effectively to create a new Middle East ruled by quislings. This would effectively place the Arab world under a new "mandate." (*The Dawn*, June 15, 2003, p. 9)

*The Nation* commented that America waged an illegal war in Iraq and achieved its objectives. The war did great service for Israel. It eliminated Israel's difficult opponent. However, the emerging scenario in Iraq indicated that nationalist forces inside Iraq were hostile to America's presence on their soil and they had to leave Iraq as soon as possible.

It was argued by *The Nation* that the Bush administration had declared Iran and Syria as its next target. Both countries had oil and gas resources. *The Dawn* noted Donald Rumsfeld's statement in its editorial on March 30, 2003, in which he warned Iran and Syria against supplying military items to Iraq and presence of Iranian volunteers in Iraq. *The Dawn* argued that there were specific reasons for threatening Iran and Syria. Iran was in the list of axis of evil and Syria was a 'rough state'. Syria was targeted for its support for the Palestinian cause. *The Nation* argued that the United States forces had failed to find weapons from Iraq and they started to accuse other countries of having weapons of mass destruction. America wanted to clear all hurdles that posed a threat to Israel. That's why Iran and Syria were accused of having weapons of mass destruction and 'safe haven' for Saddam. It was urged the world community that it should oppose such actions that were too dangerous for the Muslims Ummah. *The Nation* also stressed that the United Nations inspect Israel because it had huge piles of dangerous weapons. On June 07, 2006, *The Nation* mentioned that CIA had listed Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Syria, Sudan, India and Pakistan as having a weapons of mass destruction programme. It was very important for the Muslim countries to get united and take a stand unanimously.

In conclusion, it could be stated that in the coverage of the Iraqi war of 2003 *The Dawn* and *The Nation* argued that the United States attacked Iraq for its own interests. This theme was repeated in a number of editorials. It argued that the United States wanted to capture Iraq's oil resources and reshape the Middle Eastern region. *The Nation* adopted a more aggressive stance and also criticized Israel for its expansion agenda in the Arab world.

#### **5.5.9 Islamic Community and War on Terror**

In the coverage of the War on Terror Pakistani newspapers provided the point of view of Muslim community on this war. The press stressed that the Muslim countries should take a unanimous stand against the US attacks on the Muslim countries and the categorizing of them as axis of evil. However, the newspapers criticized the Muslim countries for not taking a strong stand against the Iraqi war and also criticized the role of the OIC.

In December 2001, *The Nation* wrote that in the case of the US attack on Iraq, there would be a strong action from the Middle Eastern countries. The Arab League and OIC had condemned targeting any Muslim country. Even pro-US regimes like Kuwait did not endorse such war. The attack would destabilize the region and enrage the Muslim population. The United States had listed Muslim countries as its new targets. These attacks would be perceived as war against the world of Islam and the backing for Israel would be viewed as support for state terrorism. The United States media already had a

pro-Israeli tilt in its coverage of Middle Eastern issues. These developments would enrage the Muslims and would increase recruitments to the extremist groups against the War on Terror. As *The Nation* stated:

“The United States is increasingly seen by the Muslims world as targeting Islamic countries and communities. The perception has been strengthened by the unstinted support being extended to Ariel Sharon who continues to exercise the worst type of state terrorism on the Palestinian people. Notice is also being taken of the dubious US role in South Asia, and its blind eye to the sufferings of the Kashmiries. As attack on Iran and Iraq will only exacerbate anti-US sentiment in the Muslim world” (*The Nation*, February 03, 2002, p. 6)

*The Dawn* pointed out that Saudi Arabia that was traditionally the ally of the United States was against the Iraqi attack. It wanted a meaningful dialogue on this issue and to avert war. Speaking on BBC television Foreign Minister Saud al-Faisal stressed that Iraq attack must be authorized by the United Nations. He further said that the Iraqi attack would add to aggression. Another Saudi leader, Deputy Defence Minister Abdulrahman bin Abdel Aziz said that Saudi Arabia would not allow the use of its land for any attack on Iraq. Prince Faisal warned that regime change would not solve the problem but it would bring severe consequences for the region.

There were certain editorials which criticized the Muslim countries for not taking a strong action against the Iraqi attack. For instance, *The Dawn* in its editorial on October 15, 2002 condemned the role of Islamic community in opposing the Iraqi war of 2003. It argued that the Islamic community did not raise a strong voice against the attack. ‘Half-hearted’ resolutions were passed by the Arab League and Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC). They neither forcefully condemned the war nor came up with a strong policy of resistance against this action. Contrarily, some non-Muslim states and

European countries like Germany and France forcefully expressed their resentment against it. Even in Congress 150 legislators opposed the war. It was strange why some Muslim countries were quiet and inactive on this crisis.

In January 2003, *The Dawn* again regretted the fact that the OIC did not take a strong step against the Iraqi attack. It stated that other Muslim countries like Turkey, Malaysia and Indonesia were vocal in their opposition. Even the Turkish President Abdullah Gul visited Muslim countries like Jordan, Egypt and Syria to mobilize regional support against the attack. He said that “Iraq is a Pandora’s box which would be dangerous to open” (*The Dawn*, January 09, 2003, p. 9). The crisis in Iraq would strengthen those forces against which the War on Terror was fought. Turkey had organized a summit of five Muslim countries in Ankara on the Iraqi situation. The summit was attended by Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Iran. The summit stressed the importance of a peaceful solution to the crisis. *The Dawn* asked why the OIC was silent on the crisis. At that time Muslims faced the biggest challenge but the OIC was not much active. The OIC represented one billion Muslims, it was its duty to play an active role in resolving the crisis and acting forcefully against any military action. At this time, the Iraqi people needed the support of the Muslim Ummah. The Muslims from all over the world were deeply concerned about them but the OIC’s inactivity was incomprehensible. *The Nation* argued that the war on Iraq posed a threat to the entire Muslim Ummah. The war was fought for strategic interests; so the attacks would not end here. It was an urgent duty that the Muslim Ummah should act unanimously against such actions by the United States.

However, there were certain editorials that welcomed the initiatives by the Muslim countries to condemn the Iraq war. On March 04, 2003, *The Dawn* hailed the meeting of the Arab League which strongly opposed the Iraqi attack for the first time. The Arab Governments expressed unity and solidarity. It was said that the attack on any Arab country would be a direct threat to Arab national unity. No Arab country would participate in the Iraqi attack. *The Dawn* commented that the meeting drove out the impression that on the Iraqi issue the Arab countries did not act unanimously.

“Through unity and an intelligent coordination of economic, defence and foreign policies they can enhance their clout and better safeguard their interests. Divided, they will always be vulnerable to manipulation, arm twisting and blackmail” (*The Dawn*, March 04, 2003. P. 9)

In April 2003, *The Dawn* appreciated the Saudi initiative for calling a conference of regional countries on the Iraqi issue. *The Dawn* argued that the fall of the Saddam regime was not the end; Syria had received threats from the Bush administration. It was an urgent need of common strategy by the Muslim states to contain the threat. The Arab countries had countless resources, oil reserves, huge land from the Gulf to the Atlantic and an ideal strategic location. It was important that the countries draw a strategy to safeguard their autonomy and resources. *The Nation* argued that the Arab countries were under threat due to Israel’s expansion agenda. The Muslims in Palestine, Kashmir and Iraq were helpless against the United States, Israel and India. There was the question of one billion Muslims. Unless the Muslim Ummah did not evolve a common strategy to safeguard the interests of the Muslims, they would be labelled as terrorists. Moreover, the OIC should be reactivated and Muslim countries should be strengthened through

technological knowledge. The clash of civilizations seemed to be more evident for confronting these challenges; a united front was urgently needed.

Overall, Pakistan newspapers were much concerned regarding the role of the Muslim Ummah during the Iraqi crisis. The press stressed that Muslims should be united for safeguarding their interests. Pakistan newspapers also emphasized to the Pakistan government that it should take a strong stand against the Iraqi attack and persuade other countries too.

## **5.6 Opinion of Pakistani Informants regarding the War on Terror**

For this research, the opinion of Pakistani informants was explored through in-depth interviews. After 9/11 Pakistani government decided to support war on terror and changed its foreign policy on Afghanistan. Previously, Pakistan was the supporter of Taliban government in Afghanistan. Afterwards, it changed its policy against them and facilitated attack against Taliban government. It was important to explore the opinion of Pakistani people who observed war on terror through media what opinion they had about the war and their country's involvement in it. There were ten informants selected from Pakistan. Their age was between 28 to 55 years. They belonged to upper middle and middle class of Pakistan. They were all educated. They were mostly student of international affairs, academicians, civil officer and office going people. They were from Lahore and Multan. These people were selected for their special interests to war on terror, Pakistani media, international affairs and national politics. Face to face interviews were conducted with the Pakistani informants. Thematic model of Nvivo was given below that depicted the emerging themes from interview data.

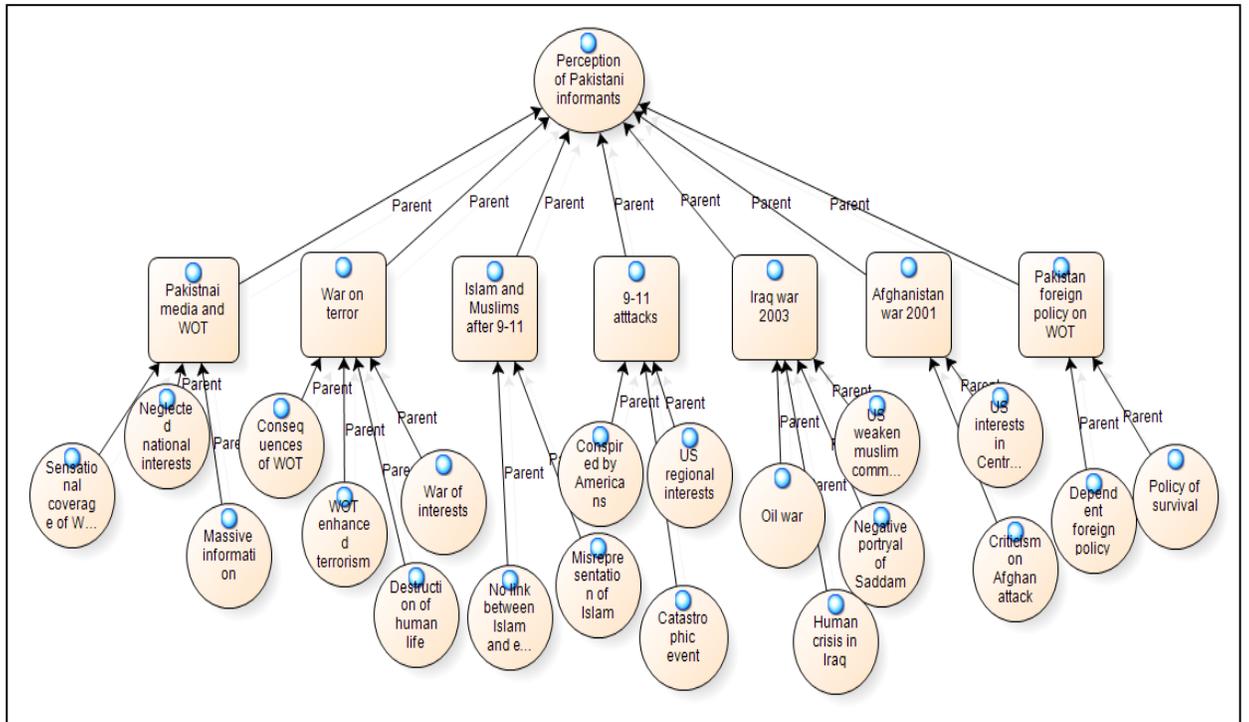


Figure. 5.8. Thematic Model on the interviews of Pakistani informants

Sub themes that emerged from the interviews of Pakistani informants were conspiracy of 9/11 attacks, US interests in Middle East and Central Asian states, oil politics, concerns against Afghanistan and Iraq wars, human and physical loss during war on terror, war on terror enhanced terrorism, misrepresentation of Islam in Western media, Pakistan's dependent foreign policy on war on terror and sensational coverage of war on terror by Pakistani media.

First theme that was appeared from the data was the perception of Pakistani informants regarding 9/11 attacks. Although they considered it as a tragic event which killed many of innocent people, most of them supported the conspiracy theory. They stressed that these attacks were pre planned and conspired by the Americans themselves. Almost

everyone was of the opinion that these attacks were planned by Americans for achieving their interests in the region.

“I think 9/11 tragedy was a concocted attack. It was planned and conspired thing. They were just blamed. The Afghans and Osama bin Laden were just blamed for this” (P 1)

They were of the opinion that the United States came into the region for its interests. Afghanistan and Pakistani areas of Baluchistan were enriched with mineral resources. The Americans wanted to enhance their presence in the area. Moreover, it was an oil war. The basic driving motive was to capture oil reserves of the Middle Eastern area. For all these reasons the United States planned the 9/11 attacks, put the blame on Osama and attacked Afghanistan. Later on Saddam was projected as a threat to attack Iraq and capture its resources. As one interviewee commented:

“There are two things. One who made Osama bin Laden. It is America itself who provided money, resources, weapon and even technology to Osama. A person who is sitting in mountains who has only klashenkov how he could demolish America’s high buildings. Secondly, if I look at it from history point of view, from mid of 18<sup>th</sup> century generally and from the start of 19<sup>th</sup> century particularly, it was decided that that country or that nation will rule the world who will control the supply of oil. It was all excuse, and all drama...So I believe it is all drama due to this US wants to control oil, Afghanistan and Iraq. This time American forces sending plutonium and uranium to their countries from Afghanistan.” (P 6)

The Pakistani informants believed on the conspiracy theory and argued that America used Al Qaeda and Osama to realize its agenda in the region. However, there were a few informants who believed that there were some uncertain factors behind the tragedy. Some complained that although there was much reporting on the issue they lacked real information. They were unsure if it was planned by Al Qaeda or America. There was uncertainty in their response but they did not reject the idea of a conspiracy theory. One

informant replied that it could be the reaction of deprived people. That could be any one of the Muslims, Christians, Hindus and so on. There were a certain number of down-trodden people in the world. There is a possibility that they challenged the world by conducting terrorist attacks. It was suggested that there was a need to deeply probe the issue. The immediate action could be counterproductive. It was not correct to blame any country or organization as being responsible for the attacks.

The other theme appeared from data was the perception about war on terror. Their initial perception was that it was a war against those people that were spreading terrorism in the world and causing the death of innocent people. The people who were spreading terror were emotionally depressed people. The Pakistani informants stressed another perspective saying that it was not a War on Terror, rather it was a 'War of Terror'. They were of the opinion that the War on Terror did not curb terrorism. It enhanced terrorism. The people who were attacked by the United States bombardment became reactionary and started to promote terrorism. As one interviewee commented:

“A young man said when my whole family was bombed in front of me and I only left because I was not in the home. How I could love the entire world. In reaction to the terrorism I could become a suicide attacker. If you analyze the terrorist activities inside Pakistan, you understand the people were doing these activities in a reaction. They became reactive after 9/11 attacks and America's aggressive policies. That's why the war proved to be war for terrorism rather war against terrorism.” (P 8)

The Pakistani informants were of the opinion that the War on Terror scared the people and destroyed their lives. It did not help the society; rather it brought more horrible forms of terrorism. After 9/11 the United States took action against Muslim countries. That was not acceptable to the Muslim community; in reaction they also expressed their

hatred against America. One interviewee suggested that it was important to probe the matter deeply. The prompt action against the Muslim countries was not justified. It endangered more anti-Americanism in Muslim society.

A few informants framed the war as a “war of interests”. They were of the opinion that the war on terror was started to realize the aims of some vested interests. These groups could be political and they did not belong specifically to any country or religion. They could be Muslims, Christians or Jews. They adopted extreme measures to achieve their targets. They did not have any reason; the only driving force against them was their own motives. Some informants looked at the war from the perspective of oil politics. They were of the opinion that war was pre planned. The United States attacked Afghanistan and Iraq for grabbing their oil resources and strengthening its presence in the region. It was a game of the United States and Russia using other countries for their interests. One informant commented that it could be the resentment of the West against the rapid spread of Islam in the world. They wanted to defeat Muslims and wanted to strengthen their dominance.

Another informant questioned why the War on Terror was started without any judicial trial. They did not discuss the evidence against Osama or Al Qaeda. Bush declared that it was a war on terror and Western media endorsed his viewpoint. The informant also stressed that after 9/11 the world came to know that there was an Al Qaeda organization or Osama, before that they did not know about them. It was the Western media that made them aware about the organization. However, another interviewee was of the

opinion that it was the West's claim that it was a War on terror but there was ambiguity in the definition of terrorism. As she commented;

“If one country is defending itself from other country, is that war or terrorism? If we look at with different perspective, America mostly fight for its security concerns. And the countries who were attacked by America like Iraq and Afghanistan. When they defend themselves, they are declared as terrorists. So who will define what is war and what is terrorism? I see it in this perspective.” (P 6)

The Pakistani informants considered the War on Terror as an action against terrorism but they looked at the war from a different perspective. They stressed American oil interests, the definition of terrorism and a deeper probe against the perpetrators of terrorism.

The other sub theme was the portrayal of Afghanistan attack 2001. The Afghanistan war was not supported by the Pakistani informants. They considered it as barbaric, unjustified and prompt action against Afghanistan. They condemned the killings of innocent people there. They stressed the paucity of evidence against Al Qaeda or Osama. One interviewee argued that the war was opposed by most of the countries; it was not even supported by the United Nations. The war produced a negative impact on the affected country but it served the objectives of those countries whose economies depended on oil or weapon construction, particularly America. The war enhanced hostility against the United States and distorted its positive image in the Muslim world.

Other sub theme was the US interests in Afghanistan. The informants also argued that the Afghanistan war was fought for US interests. The United States wanted to access the oil and gas resources of the central Asian states and strengthen its presences in the

region to contain China. Osama was declared as responsible for the 9/11 attacks and to justify its claim America attacked Afghanistan. Osama was used to serve America's objectives. When America's objectives were fulfilled he was killed. The informants were doubtful about the authenticity of Osama's statement in which he confessed his role in the 9/11 attacks. As one informant put it:

“But I personally do not consider Osama and America two different things. It is like this as you link Israel and America together. In international politics this game goes on. -----Secondly, US attack on Afghanistan, is the same course that was started by Russia or America. It is the war of two blocks which is still going on. Both want to have access to central Asian states. CAS producing 60% of oil and gas to the world” (P 6)

The Pakistani informants framed Afghanistan war as fulfilling American objectives in the region. They believed that allegations against Osama and Al Qaeda were not brought to the media. The war had some hidden agenda of the United States. Although Pakistani informants did not support Al Qaeda and their terrorist activities they did not endorse war against Afghanistan.

Iraq war 2003 was another sub theme. In the case of the Iraqi war of 2003, Pakistani informants more aggressively condemned the war. It was argued that there should not be monopoly of particular countries regarding nuclear weapons. The informants stressed that America attacked Iraq for its weapons of mass destruction which were not found after the war. Even United Nations inspectors stressed that there were no weapons in Iraq but America did not bother about any criticism. As one informant stated:

“Iraq war was more illegal than Afghanistan war. In Afghanistan war, some countries like Turkey that were Americanized support the war but about Iraq, Kofi Anan said it was completely illegal war. But after this Obama said it was unnecessary war but Afghanistan was necessary war. This war was carried out on

personal vindictiveness; perhaps Bush has some personal clash over there. However there were no weapons were found” (P 5)

Some informants argued that America used Saddam Hussain for its own interests. When Saddam suited their interests they supported him but when their interests were served the dictator became a threat for them. The Iraqi war was framed as an illegal and unjustified war by the Pakistani informants. Almost every informant was convinced that Iraq was attacked for seizing its oil resources. The Pakistani informants most of the time stressed this viewpoint. They argued that America was an industrial country; oil was its basic requirement. It wanted an excessive supply of oil for its industry. That’s why it wanted to control the oil resources of the world. The Muslim countries were enriched with oil resources and America wanted to dominate them. As the informants argued:

“Just to capture oil resources of Iraq, US attacked it. Now US has their puppet govt and they are doing oil trade freely. It is the prime objective of US to capture oil resources in the world” (P2)

“It was again oil mission. If we see in detail, the name of the operation was “Operation independence liberation” (I guess) its abbreviation is “OIL”. So it is the same mission. After this, the tenders of oil wells in Iraq were given to American or British companies. Within three years, the 75% oil extracted from there” (P 5)

Another informant pointed out another US objective namely that it wanted to weaken Muslim states. After the war, sectarian violence enhanced in Iraq; when a country was weak America would be in a better position to control it. In the end the loss would be for the Muslims. The informant aggressively argued that America had double standards. On the one hand, it talked about democracy, human rights and on the other hand it killed

many innocents in Afghanistan and Iraq. Regarding the Iraqi war Pakistani informants harshly criticized America for its policies and condemned the killings in Iraq.

The Pakistani informants were asked to comment on Saddam. In response to the question they mostly framed Saddam's personality negatively. He was framed as a dictator and a controversial personality but a few interviewees expressed a neutral opinion about him and only one informant considered him a brave leader. They stressed that he adopted oppressive measures against his own nation. Under his regime the issues between Sunni and Shia flared up. He killed many Shia in his country. He also attacked neighbouring countries like Iran and Kuwait for economic imperatives. So he emerged as a controversial personality in the Muslim world. Some informants considered him a dictator who did not work for his masses. It was argued that if he worked for his masses, at the time of war, his masses would have supported him as in the case of Iran. The United States could not attack Iran because its masses supported its leader. Saddam should have been democratic and worked for Iraqi interests. A few informants also argued that Saddam became a tool in the hands of Americans. The United States used Saddam against Iran. The war between Iraq and Iran continued for eleven years. The Muslim countries asked Iraq not to attack Iran but he did not listen to them. He was not a far sighted man and was used for American interests. Some interviewees expressed a neutral opinion about Saddam; they did not consider him a threat for America and they did not believe that he had any weapons of mass destruction. It was only the excuse to attack Iraq. However, one interviewee expressed positive opinion about him and framed him as a brave leader who stood against the big power.

“How I see Saddam he was the leader whatever he was doing, benefit of his own state. That may not be in the favour of other Muslim countries, or other nations but that was in favour of his own nation....what I see he was a strong person who stood against the big power” (P 1)

Consequences of war on terror were another sub theme of the data. Regarding the consequences of the War on Terror, Pakistani informants expressed their deep concerns. They stressed that due to the Afghanistan and Iraqi wars, there were a number of innocent people killed. Their actual number was quite big. The media did not reveal the number. The forces did massive bombings in Afghanistan and Iraq which killed men, women, children and old people. It was argued why the Western media, which reported every incident in the world, kept the actual number of casualties in these areas hidden. There were mass killings that brought horrific consequences. One interviewee stated:

“If you see the facts and figures, according to this 97% civilians were killed in these attacks and drones attacks in Afghanistan and 3% were terrorists. It is an open secret that more civilians were killed who were innocent” (P 2)

The Pakistani informants considered it a criminal act. On the basis of civilian casualties they considered the war illegal and immoral. It was argued that the war caused enormous physical loss. There was a billion and trillion dollar loss in the war. Moreover, the war damaged the infrastructure of the countries. It would take years to rebuild the countries. After the wars, the United States formed puppet Governments in Afghanistan and Iraq that were least interested in the development of the countries. In Iraq the situation was quite depressing; there was no reconstruction but chaos and financial disability. The country was plagued by food crisis, water crisis, energy crises and so on. Likewise the situation in Afghanistan was also bad. It was important that there should be representative Governments in these areas that could work for the benefit of the country.

A destabilized Afghanistan would not be in the interests of any country. The Pakistani informants regretted the massive destruction and stressed the importance of rebuilding.

Failure of war on terror was another sub theme. The Pakistanis stressed that the War on Terror did not help to root out terrorism from the world. In fact, it promoted terrorism, hunger, dissatisfaction, alienation and hatred among different nations. The war took the masses away from education, prosperity, peace and welfare. More terrorism was spread in Pakistan, Afghanistan and other countries. People felt more insecure and terrorized. The War on Terror did not succeed in achieving its targets. It destroyed the countries and did not solve the problem of terrorism. Killing was not a solution to the problem. It was important to have mutual dialogue and to address the root causes of terrorism. By killing people, peace could not be achieved.

Pakistan's foreign policy on war on terror was another sub theme of the data. It was observed that on this perspective the informant expressed their anger and discontent over Pakistan's policy. They strongly condemned Pakistan's policy on War on Terror and also criticized Pakistan's foreign policy in general. After 9/11 attacks Pakistan supported the War on Terror and took a "U" turn in its relations with the Taliban Government. Pakistani informants argued that Pakistan had a dependent foreign policy. Pakistan was not independent to make its policy. Pakistan was not economically a strong country. It had to depend on America and its lending agencies like the IMF and the World Bank for foreign aid. In this situation Pakistan could not take any independent

decision. Its diplomats made the policy that was acceptable to the United States. As an interviewee stated:

“I don’t think that Pakistan foreign policy was Pakistan made. This policy was made in foreign. The country that was run by other’s aid, the country could not be independent. It had to support the interests of those countries from them it got help. We just proclaim that we are independent or have sovereignty but it was not reality” (P 6)

However, a few termed it as the policy of survival. They argued that Pakistan had no other option than to support America on the War on Terror. If Pakistan did not support the War on Terror, the United States could attack Pakistan. They even threatened Pakistan if you were ready to eat grass then fight against America. By supporting the War on Terror Pakistan paid a heavy price; it was not an easy task for the country. The Taliban threatened Pakistan and killed hundreds of Pakistani people and security officials. They declared war against Pakistan. They bombed Pakistan territories to take revenge on the Pakistani government. Overall, Pakistan was in a difficult position at that time but most of interviewees did not support Pakistan decision to support the War on Terror.

Role of Pakistani media during war on terror was an important theme of the data. Regarding the role of Pakistani media with regard to the coverage of the War on Terror, the Pakistani informants were not much satisfied. Most of them expressed negative opinions about it. They argued that Pakistan had a totally free media. It did not have any rules and regulations. However, it was very important to have some rules to run any organization. Without any rules and regulations Pakistan media could not work properly. It was noticed that media most of the time had sensational news for selling

their channel or newspaper. Sometimes, their coverage was biased or served the interests of particular groups. Regarding the War on Terror the media provided a jumble of information, scenes and stories but viewers were not sure whether they were true. It followed the Western channels, provided the same news without verification. Sometimes, the media exploited the issue of terrorism. It sensationalized the news and terrorized the society. Pakistani media considered their financial interests and neglected national interest. Its reporting on the War on Terror could not be taken as objective; rather it was biased. Pakistan media did not bother about the impact of the news. They did not consider how their reporting would impinge on Pakistan's integrity. They revealed such stories that were off the record. Moreover, Pakistani media was run after breaking-news that created sensationalism and affected serious journalism. A few informants termed its reporting as propaganda and interests based reporting. One interviewee commented that there were some factions in Pakistani media that served American interests while reporting on Pakistani channels. Such reporting hurt Pakistan interests.

However, two informants expressed quite positive opinions regarding Pakistani media. They argued that Pakistani private channels provided enough information about the War on Terror to the masses. The state channels presented the picture but private channels critically analyzed the situation. They commented that Western channels were biased against the Muslim countries but Pakistani media adopted a fair and balanced approach.

Lastly, the portrayal of Islam and Muslim after 9/11 was another important theme. It was asked to the Pakistani informants to comment on Islam and why Islam was linked to extremism. All informants stressed that Islam was a religion of peace, humanity and love. It was a complete code of life. It taught tolerance, peace and respect for others. In fact all religions taught peace. No religion allowed killings or harsh measures. All religions were peaceful. If one read the teaching of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), he always stressed on tolerance. As one informant stated:

“Islam means “Salamti” “Protection of others from me” not about my protection— protection for others--- What is the message of Islam.. there was no harshness, strictness in Islam.. We can teach others that Islam was a true religion that’s it. We cannot pressurize others morally or physically” (P 6)

However, Islam was misrepresented by the foreign media and through the actions of some Muslim factions. Cultural traits of certain countries also played its role. For instance, the Afghans termed their culture and practice as Islamic. They also justified all their actions in the name of Islam. In that case, culture and religion was mixed up and wrong picture of Islam was presented to the foreign world. Another thing was that, there were good or bad people in every religion. Unfortunately, some of the bad people used the name of Islam for fulfilling their wrong desires. Those acts of misdeeds of some criminals cannot be considered as acts of Islam or those of Muslims. On the other hand it was argued that the people who spread terrorism were not essentially Muslims. They could belong to any religion. Moreover, there was terrorism against the Kashmiri or Palestinian people. Why did not the western media link the situation to terrorism? Why did it only blame the Muslims?

But it was also a reality that not only in the western countries but also in the Muslim countries there were different interpretations of Islam. Misinterpretation of Islam created more frustration; there was a need for integration, need for collaboration, people sitting together and solving the issues. The informant also stressed that a positive image of Islam should be shaped by the scholars. That was the duty of the Muslim countries and media also. However, a few informants said that the West was scared of the rapid spread of Islam. It was a great religion that had many believers. It had given its own system and could create an Islamic empire that was threat to Western ideologies. That's why they purchased bad people from Muslims who distorted the image of Islam and linked it with terrorism. Overall, the Pakistani informants stressed that Islam was a peaceful religion and it was wrongly linked with terrorism by bad people. Now it was the duty of the Muslim community to correct the image of Islam and spread the true teachings of Islam that are based on tolerance, humanity and harmony.

In conclusion, it could be stated that the Pakistani informants expressed their deep concerns regarding the War on Terror and stressed conspiracy theory. Pakistanis did not endorse the government's policy of support for the War on Terror. They did not consider that the War on Terror played any role to curb terrorism. In fact, they stressed that the War on Terror promoted terrorism and they termed it as the War of Terror. Overall, the Pakistani informants used harsh language against the policies of the United States and framed the war in the perspective of the US interests in the region.

## 5.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the framing of the War on Terror by two Pakistan dailies namely *The Dawn* and *the Nation*. It was noted that the coverage of the Pakistani press was dominated by negative themes. Pakistani newspapers commented on negative consequences of the War on Terror, collateral damages, oppositional arguments, negative public opinion, protests, heavy bombardment and the worsening scenario in war-trodden areas. It was noted that an anti war frame was predominantly employed by the Pakistani press. However, the Pakistani press also employed humanitarian and rebuilding frames. Moreover, the Pakistani press did not support the government's policy on the War on Terror. The Pakistani government supported the War on Terror and the Afghanistan attack. Contrary to this, the Pakistani press criticized the War on Terror and also criticized the Pakistan government for supporting the war. In the coverage of the War on Terror, the Pakistani press generally stressed issues related to the Muslim community and Pakistan. For instance, the Pakistani newspapers were concerned about Pakistan-US relation, terrorism in Pakistan, impacts of the War on Terror on Pakistan, the Muslim community and US interests in the Middle East.

Lastly, the chapter discussed the opinions of some Pakistanis on the War on Terror. It was observed that Pakistani informants were against the wars. The Pakistani informants condemned the 9/11 attacks but they were more inclined towards the conspiracy theory. They stressed that the War on Terror was fought for America's interests. The Pakistani press and Pakistani informants emphasized on Muslim unity.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **DISCUSSION**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This is the final chapter of the thesis. The chapter includes the discussion on the findings of the research and its implications. It also discusses the limitations of the study and offers suggestions for future research.

This research project aimed to compare the editorial coverage of the War on Terror by the Pakistani and British newspapers through framing and agenda setting perspectives. The study illustrated how the War on Terror was framed by the Pakistani and British press. It identified the differences between the newspapers of the two countries involved with respect to their reporting on the war. The study pointed out the different media frames and media agendas employed by them. It also investigated to what extent the political policies of both countries affected the coverage of the War on Terror. Lastly, the opinions of Pakistani and British public were also sampled and analyzed regarding the War on Terror.

The findings of the research indicated that the War on Terror was predominantly framed in a negative stance by the Pakistani and British newspapers. The oppositional themes were more dominant than supportive arguments. However, by comparing the coverage

of newspapers from Pakistan and Britain, it was evident that Pakistani newspapers were more aggressive, more critical and more oppositional on the War on Terror than the British press. The coverage was dominated by an anti-war frame. However, there were 'humanitarian frames' and 'Rebuilding frames noted. The editorials it was observed that the British newspapers adopted 'pro-war frames. Before moving towards a discussion on the findings, it is important to review the research questions first.

## **6.2 Review of Research Questions**

- i. How was the War on Terror framed in the editorials of British and Pakistani newspapers?
- ii. What were the dominant frames that emerged in British and Pakistan newspaper editorials regarding the issue of the War on Terror?
- iii. What were the differences in the framing of the war between British and Pakistani newspaper editorials?
- iv. What issues were included in the coverage of the War on Terror by Pakistani and British newspapers?
- v. What agendas were promoted by the Pakistani and British newspapers in the case of war on terror?
- vi. To what extent did the Pakistani and British newspapers follow their respective country's foreign policy in the coverage of the War on Terror?
- vii. How did the representatives from the Pakistan and British public perceive the War on Terror?

As discussed in chapter three, the data for this study was collected from Pakistan and British newspapers. Two British newspapers namely *The Guardian* and *The*

*Independent* and two Pakistani newspapers namely *The Dawn* and *The Nation* were selected for research. The editorials on the issue of the War on Terror were analyzed from these newspapers from September 12, 2001 to September 11, 2003. There were a total of 1041 editorials studied, 444 editorial from British newspapers and 597 from Pakistani newspapers. Further, ten interviews were conducted with the Pakistanis and nine interviews from Britain were analyzed. From Pakistan face to face interviews were conducted but from Britain, the researcher could not access them directly, so they sent their response through emails.

### **6.3 Discussion**

There are a total of seven research questions of the study. The answers to these research questions along with the discussion are presented below.

#### **6.3.1 Stance of coverage**

By analyzing the editorials of Pakistani and British newspapers, it was observed that the War on Terror was mostly framed in a negative stance. The newspapers of both countries included more negative stories, arguments and criticisms on the war. However, the Pakistani newspapers were more aggressive and critical of the War on Terror than the British newspapers. There were 76% references from the editorials of British newspapers that framed the war negatively, 18% neutrally and only 5% positively. However, from the Pakistani newspapers, 81% of the references from the editorials framed the War on Terror in a negative stance, 17% in a neutral and only 0.6% a

positive stance. The findings indicated that the negative stance dominated the coverage of the War on Terror in British and Pakistani newspapers.

#### **6.3.1.1 Negative themes by British newspapers**

The British newspapers criticized the War on Terror by including the themes related to critical arguments against the War on Terror, criticism on American policies, consequences of the war, civilian casualties, post-war chaos, negative public opinion and extension of the War on Terror to other countries.

It was observed that the British government supported the war on terror and many times the British Prime Minister expressed his willingness to stand with the US in this war. From the perspective of the media, it was noted that official sources mostly provided primary information about the issues and also shaped the news agenda in Britain (Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994). Robinson, *et al.* (2009) argued that during the war on terror, the principles of patriotism and official sources farmed the media performance in favor of the UK Government. Contrary to these arguments, the findings of the present study indicated that the British press was not satisfied with the government's decision to support the war on terror. During analysis it was noted that the British press was agreed to supporting the war on terror to some extent but it advised the government to take a more responsible approach. Similarly, the British newspapers were not agreed to supporting all US policies in the context of the war on terror. It was argued that Bush's policies had made the world more dangerous. It argued that pro-war policies were not suitable for British interests. However, the belligerent policies of the US indicated that it wanted to get revenge on the perpetrators of 9/11.

Moreover it was noted that many of the editorials expressed their concerns regarding the consequences of the war such as civilian casualties, physical loss, economic imbalances and resentment among the Muslim community. The British press discussed the issue of evidence against Osama Bin Laden quite seriously. It was stressed that unless Osama was proven guilty, the war should not be started against Afghanistan. It was stressed that the Government should focus on intelligence, good police work and patient diplomacy to resolve the situation rather than wage a war.

With the start of the Afghanistan war of 2001, it was observed that although at certain points the British press supported the war its overall stance was tilted towards negative framing. The editorials frequently discussed negative public opinion, public protests against the war and revealed oppositional statements by leading personalities against the attack. The British press was against the prolonged fight in Afghanistan. It stressed short and targeted operation in Afghanistan. However, during the war process, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* published certain editorials which condemned the civilian casualties and heavy bombardment in Afghanistan.

Henceforth, the post-war scenario in Afghanistan, British press appeared to be very critical of the slow rebuilding process of Afghanistan. The press urged the US government and other world agencies to take serious steps towards rebuilding Afghanistan. Otherwise terrorists would take advantage of the worsening scenario. The British press criticized the US strategies in the battle field. It argued that the US forces

were least concerned regarding humanitarian aspects and the rebuilding crisis in Afghanistan. Likewise, the British press did not support the Northern Alliance, the new proxy force in Afghanistan. Many editorials expressed their reservations against the installation of the Northern Alliance government in Afghanistan. In the context of the Afghanistan war of 2001, it was noted that the British press was more concerned about humanitarian aspects, rebuilding and political implications of the war rather than military achievements. These findings correspond with another study conducted by Papacharissi and Oliveria (2008) regarding the coverage of terrorist attacks and the Afghanistan war of 2001. They found that the British newspapers were concerned about all international players related to the issue of terrorism, diplomatic solution to the crisis and alternative policy options. As Britain had been involved in the Afghanistan war, it was mostly observed that the British press projected both military and diplomatic arguments (Papacharissi & Oliveria, 2008).

Previous researchers identified British media's conformity with the official viewpoint by relying on government sources and notion of patriotism regarding the Iraqi war of 2003 (Robinson, Goddard, Parry & Murray, 2009; Lewis, Brookes, Mosdell & Threadgold, 2006). However, the present study found that the British press condemned the idea of extension of the War on Terror towards Iraq. The British press, particularly *The Independent* was much against Iraq war. There were a number of editorials that urged the British Prime Minister not to support the attack against Iraq. These findings were consistent with a study conducted by Halttu. Halttu (2010) found in his research regarding the coverage of the Iraqi war by *The Independent* that the newspaper gave

critical coverage to the Iraqi war of 2003 and stressed oppositional arguments (Halttu, 2010).

It was observed in the present research that before the start of the Iraqi war, there was significant discussion in the British press regarding the crisis in Iraq. The British press discussed oppositional arguments against the war. The newspapers highlighted public protests against the war in Britain, US and other Muslim and European countries. The oppositional statements by the political, social and religious personalities were published in the editorials. There were a number of editorials which disapproved the government's decision to support the war. The British press was of the opinion that this time Britain should not support the US. The British government should make decisions in the interests of the country. It was argued that British and American governments did not provide the solid evidence that could justify the war. From time to time the British press emphasized to the British government that the Iraqi war was unjustified and illegal. Sometimes, the language of the editorials became more critical and hard against the British government.

The editorials highlighted the negative outcomes of the Iraqi war. The British press asserted that the Iraqi attack would cause economic, humanitarian and security challenges. From the economic perspective, oil prices would rise that would cause a global recession. From the humanitarian perspective, the war could destroy Iraq's infrastructure and there would be a shortage of food, medicine and electricity. Thirdly, with the collapse of the Iraqi government, insecurity would increase in Iraq that would

produce more terrorism and extremism. The framing of the war process was dominated by an anti-war frame and newspapers focused on civilian casualties, resistance and heavy bombardment. These findings were consistent with Parry and Murray's (2009) study which found that the British press gave enough coverage on casualties and humanitarian crisis in the war trodden areas of Afghanistan and Iraq. It was noted that negative themes dominated the coverage of the Iraqi war by the British newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. As compared to some studies which argued that the British press remained objective or supportive of the government stance in the Iraqi crisis of 2003 (Kodama, Kanayama & Shim, 2007; Robinson, Goddard, Parry & Murray, 2009) the present study is a new development.

In the context of the Iraqi war, the US was particularly discussed by the British press. *The Guardian* and *The Independent* discussed the statements by President Bush and other members of Bush administration. Mostly, the policies of the US and the statements of the President about Iraq were criticized by the press. The Bush administration was many times framed as 'US hawks' by the newspapers. Susan (2004) also observed in her study that the British daily, *The Independent* framed America positively and negatively in its coverage of the War on Terror. The US was depicted as a country that took revenge at every cost. Similarly, Hammond (2003) also endorsed the same idea that the British main stream media, for instance, *Channel Four* and *Daily Mirror* criticized America for its imperialist policies and included stories related to anti-war protests and condemnation.

Correspondingly, there was prolonged discussion on the role of UN WMD inspection in Iraq and American response towards it. Even before the start of the Iraqi war of 2003 and during the post war scenario, the British press highlighted the issue of WMD in Iraq. At that time, the British government was totally in support of US policies against Iraq. The British government presented a British dossier on Iraq's WMD which proved Iraq guilty of WMDs. Later on the dossier proved to be faked. The British newspapers criticized the British government, the British fake dossier and urged the UN to play a central role. The British newspapers repeatedly condemned America for bypassing the United Nations on the weapons of mass destruction issue. It was framed that the Iraq war was illegal without endorsement by the United Nations. After the war, British press underlined the importance of United Nations in Iraq. It argued that the United Nations must have a leading in forming a new government in Iraq because the United Nations was the only neutral body and Iraqis trust them.

Another aspect that received negative framing was the issue of missing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq after the war. The British press questioned the British government why the weapons of mass destruction were not found in Iraq after the war. It also wrote that after war the United Nations inspectors should be sent back to Iraq to look for the weapons. The newspapers criticized the British and US governments for not finding weapons of mass destruction from Iraq. Overall, the British newspapers were much against the Iraqi attack. *The Independent* appeared to be more critical than *The Guardian* in the coverage of the Iraqi war. Both the newspapers strongly disapproved the war.

### **6.3.1.2 Neutral themes by British newspapers**

As it was discussed above War on Terror was pre-dominantly framed negatively by the British press but it could not be overlooked that there were certain neutral themes noted by the researcher. On certain issues, the British newspapers maintained their neutral stance. For instance after September 11 attacks, the British press condemned these attacks but also suggested taking responsible steps in response to the tragedy. These findings were consistent with the study of Kodama, Kanayama and Shim (2007) regarding the coverage of BBC. Kodama, Kanayama and Shim (2007) argued in their study that after the September 11 attacks the BBC adopted a neutral and objective policy in its coverage of the War on Terror.

Soon after the 9/11 attacks, the British press framed the attacks as terrible acts of barbarism but it stressed that action against these attacks should be responsible and civilized. It warned that the revengeful action against the perpetrators of the crime should be avoided. However, they should be brought to justice. It was quite a responsible approach adopted by the British press. On the one hand it condemned the attacks and sympathized with the US but on the other, it was not agreed to accepting all demands by the US in the war on terror. It suggested the government look at all political, economic, diplomatic and military outcomes before participating in the war on terror. This is a new finding which was not captured by the previous studies. The previous literature mostly argued that during war time the British media had been nationalistic and compliant to the government policy (The Glasgow University Media

Group, 1985; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; Lewis, Brookes, Mosdell & Threadgold, 2006; Robinson, Goddard, Parry & Murray, 2009).

The responsible approaches of the British press regarding the September 11 attacks were similar to the Chinese media coverage of the incident. As Gao and Liang (2010) found in their study on Chinese media which condemned civilian killings in 9/11 attacks, it stressed that the War on Terror should be fought within the limitations of international rules and regulations. As it was discussed above, the British press suggested to the British Government that it should support the United States at this critical moment but the support should not be contrary to British interests. An unconditional support for the United States would be counterproductive to British interests. The governments should minimize the causes of terrorism but should avoid aggressive action against particular countries or organizations. Papacharissi and Oliveria (2008) also found in their study that British newspapers stressed on the role of international organizations curbing terrorism, use of more global resources and diplomatic options to resolve the issue. During the War on Terror the British media projected military and diplomatic policies and avoided a more pro-war stance (Papacharissi & Oliveria, 2008).

Moreover, the British newspapers discussed the support of different countries for the war such as Pakistan, Russia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel and many other European countries but they also discussed the concerns of Muslim countries that wanted a peaceful solution to the Middle East crisis first. At this point the British press tried to give a balanced coverage to the incident of 9/11 and the War on terror. They expressed

their sympathies for the US and also highlighted alternative arguments on the crisis. It was observed that Osama Bin Laden was condemned by the press but it was emphasized that he should be brought to justice. Al Qaeda organization should be neutralized to crush terrorism.

However, in the case of the Iraq war of 2003, it was discussed above that the British press completely opposed the attack. While discussing the fate of Saddam Hussain, the British newspapers did not support him. The newspapers supported the collapse of the oppressive regime but it was cautioned that tyranny should not be replaced by another tyranny. The newspapers argued that the Iraqis should have the right to form their own representative government. A foreign government should not be imposed on them. These were few aspects on which the British press maintained its neutral position. However, there were certain editorials that had a positive stance regarding the War on Terror.

### **6.3.1.3 Positive themes by British newspapers**

This study found limited themes from the perspective of positive framing of the war on terror by British press. During the Afghanistan war of 2001, the British press mentioned about the European support for the war against Afghanistan. The editorials discussed supportive British polls on the war. The newspapers argued that the British nation and European friends were supportive of the attack on Afghanistan. The British press appeared to be supportive of British forces participating in the war in Afghanistan.

Secondly, on the issue of evidence against Osama Bin Laden, it was noted that to some extent the British press critically commented on the issue and argued that although evidence against Osama could not be proved in the court it justified the attack against Al Qaeda. The United States was badly attacked by the terrorists. It was pertinent for the United States to use force against the perpetrators of terrorist acts. The press revealed that the United Nations had endorsed the war if it was not actively supported. In this way, the action was justified against Afghanistan.

However, on the victory of the allied forces in Afghanistan, there were few editorials from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* which hailed their conquest. They appreciated the early victory against Al Qaeda. It was stated that the allied forces caused few casualties and soon captured the country. The people of Afghanistan celebrated the collapse of the Taliban regime. There was music on the streets and girls were back to schools that were closed during the Taliban regime.

It was observed that although the British press hailed their victories they were equally concerned about the prevailing humanitarian crisis and rebuilding of Afghanistan. The editorials suggested that after the collapse of the regime, it was important to rebuild and form a stable political structure in Afghanistan. Although the attack had brought down the regime in Afghanistan Al Qaeda was still there. Terrorism could not be crushed unless Al Qaeda was neutralized.

Comparatively, in the case of the Iraqi attack only two or three editorials were noted that supported allied victory in Iraq. The British newspapers positively framed the collapse of Saddam's regime in Iraq and mentioned that a certain number of Iraqis hailed the defeat of Saddam. In one editorial *The Independent* anticipated that with the demise of the cruel regime in Iraq, the United States would move forward to resolve regional conflicts in the world. It should be noted that at this point the British press was completely against the attack. The British press supported the victory against Saddam because they considered him as tyrannical and autocratic. The end of his autocratic rule would bring democracy for the people of Iraq. But at the same time, the British press did not consider the Iraqi attack to be justified without UN authorization.

Overall, the framing of War on Terror was negative by the British press; there was small percentage of the editorials that adopted positive or neutral stance. If we made a comparison with the previous literature on the US media which indicated that it adopted pro-war frame and mostly supported the arguments on the War on Terror, Afghanistan and Iraq attacks (Schudson, 2002; Haes, 2003; Entman, 2003; Ryan, 2004; Kellner, 2003; Stevenson, 2004; Kellner, 2004; MacArthur, 2003). The findings of the present study are quite different from US media perspective.

#### **6.3.1.4 Negative themes by Pakistani newspapers**

Now the framing of the War on Terror was discussed by Pakistani newspaper editorials that were also dominated by a negative stance. This study finds that the Pakistani press criticized the war on terror by including themes such as the negative use of 9/11 attacks,

biases against the Muslim community, Pakistan government's support for the War on Terror, US unilateral policies against Muslim countries, implications of the War on Terror for Pakistan, negative public opinion in Pakistan and other countries, casualties, consequences of the war, heavy bombardment, limited role of the United Nations in Afghanistan and Iraqi conflicts, weapons of mass destruction and stress on collective approach by the Muslims.

After the 9/11 attacks, the Pakistani press condemned these attacks but they also stressed that the US used this incident as an opportunity to extend its oppressive policies against the Muslim countries in the Middle East and Central Asia. The Pakistani press again and again argued that the US wanted to capture oil reserves in the Muslim countries. It also argued the possibility that the 9/11 attacks might have been engineered by American agents themselves to achieve their targets. The Pakistani press also expressed their concerns against Israeli activities in Palestine. America was criticized for not restricting Israeli terrorism in Palestine. In the context of the war on terror, the issue of Israel-Palestine conflict was widely discussed by Pakistani press.

Another theme that was much debated by the Pakistani press was America's mistreatment of the Muslim community in the US. It was reported that after 9/11 the United States authorities badly treated the Muslim community in America. Many Pakistanis were badly treated by the FBI in the United States. There were 30,000 Pakistanis who were targeted by the United States authorities. Particularly, *The Nation* seriously raised this issue and urged the Pakistani government to take some action in this context. The

Pakistani press projected a negative image of the US by criticizing its policies towards Muslim countries and particularly Pakistan. These were quite consistent by the findings of Shami (2013) who stated in her study regarding the US image in the Pakistani press that American image was framed negatively in Pakistani newspapers. The press criticized American policies and US actions in the region. Moreover, the Pakistani press highlighted anti-American and anti-war sentiments in the country (Shami, 2013).

The Pakistani press particularly raised those issues that were related to Muslim societies in the context of the war on terror. For instance, this study revealed many incidents related to the arrests of Muslims in the United States and hate crimes against them. It was argued that the American society expressed bias against the Muslims. It was difficult for Muslim women to wear the hijab in the United States. The people had stopped their children from going to school after 9/11. The newspapers stressed that the American Government should put in efforts to stop biased behaviour against the Muslim community. It was suggested that the United States should review its policies against the Muslims. America should consider those causes which enhanced anti Americanism such as threats to Muslim countries like Iran or Syria which caused resentment among the Muslim community. The Palestinian and Kashmir conflicts should be resolved. There should be civilized dialogues among Muslims and other nations.

Another theme that was most repeated in Pakistani newspapers was the criticism against Pakistani government for participating in the war on terror. The Pakistani press criticized Pakistan government's decision from different angles. It was argued that

Pakistan's participation in the war on terror would bring political, military, domestic and economic implications for the country. The newspapers criticized the concept of the War on Terror and argued that other countries had negatively used the War on Terror agenda to justify their terrorist acts in their occupied territories such as India and Israel. Previous studies also suggested that the Pakistan media adopted a negative stance against the framing of America and Pakistan government's support for the War on Terror (Singh, 2003 & Shah, 2010). At the start of the war on terror somehow Pakistani media adopted a positive and neutral stance towards American policies but with the passage of time and the aggressive policies of the US against Afghanistan, Iraq and allegations against Pakistan's relations with the Taliban enraged the media. Furthermore the Pakistani press adopted a stricter stance against the strategies of the US and focused on national interests of the country (Khan & Safdar, 2010).

The Pakistani press argued that the United States neglected international laws and adopted its aggressive policies against the Muslim countries. It commented that the War on Terror lacked vision and achievable goals. After attacking Afghanistan and Iraq, terrorism was still there. The US unilateral policies had made the world a dangerous place. The newspapers wrote that Pakistan's participation in the war on terror brought military and political challenges for their country. The Pakistani army was fighting on borders and terrorists were killing innocent Pakistanis inside the country. Besides that the US was not satisfied with Pakistani efforts to fight against terrorism. At this stage, the war was contrary to Pakistan's interests. These findings were consistent with the study of Terradellas, (2008) who argued that the Pakistani press did not support the

government alliance with the US on the War on Terror and framed America as a constant threat to Pakistani interests.

The present study found many editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* that discussed the implications of supporting the War on Terror for Pakistan. Pakistan had to face security challenges within the country. There were certain factions that had soft corners for the Taliban. They disapproved the Government decision to support the War on Terror. Moreover, the Taliban threatened Pakistan for supporting the United States. Pakistan's internal affairs were a great challenge for the Government whose army was on the border to assist the United States in its attack against Afghanistan. Moreover, there were a number of refugees who had moved to Pakistan. Pakistan already had 2 million refugees after 1980's war. The increase in this number would create economic problems for Pakistan. Pakistan did not have the resources to feed them, provide them shelter and job opportunities. Khan and Imran, (2011) also found that in the coverage of the War on Terror the Pakistani media was more concerned with issues related to security, development projects and peace agreements.

With the start of the Afghanistan war of 2001, it was noted that the Pakistani press was concerned about the worsening consequences of the war. It argued that the war would destabilize Afghanistan. The disturbed security scenario in Afghanistan would increase Pakistan's security concerns. The other aspect that was emphasized by the Pakistani newspapers was the lack of evidence against Osama. It questioned why the United States did not openly discuss the evidence against Osama. The only evidence against

Osama was the allegations of the Western media. It also inquired why the Pakistan Government did not ask for concrete evidence against Osama before supporting the War on Terror. It was noted that *The Nation* discussed this issue very seriously. It published a number of articles which discussed the issue of evidence against Osama in detail. The Pakistani press argued that unless Osama was proven guilty, the war was not justified and Pakistan's government should not support it. However, during the war process the Pakistani press condemned the excessive bombing in Afghanistan. It emphasized that bombing killed many innocent civilians but the United States did not cease bombing. There were many editorials that revealed the incidents of civilian killings in Afghanistan. Paracha, Imran and Khan (2012) also found in their study that the Pakistani press mostly stressed sufferings, civilian casualties, public sentiments, and threats to the sovereignty of Pakistan.

After the war, the Pakistani press discussed the worsening law and order situation in Afghanistan. It pointed out that the incidents of robberies, bomb blasts and other acts of terrorism had increased. There was an urgent need for the Muslim forces under the United Nations to be called to bring order to Afghanistan. It also stressed that the United States should support the new political setup in Afghanistan; so that the worsening scenario could be controlled. Certain editorials criticized the US for not taking interest in the rebuilding of Afghanistan. It argued that the increasing interest of the United States towards Iraq had given the impression that America was least bothered about Afghanistan's re-construction. It was noted from the start of Afghanistan war, the Pakistani press started to express their concerns regarding the rebuilding of Afghanistan.

It was argued that Pakistan shared the border with Afghanistan and if Afghanistan faced any problem, it would directly impact Pakistan's security. That's why the Pakistani press again and again stressed international community should give serious attention towards the rebuilding of Afghanistan.

The extension of the war on terror towards Iraq was much criticized by the Pakistani press and framed negatively. The allegations of the United States against Iraq and the excuse of weapons of mass destruction were condemned by the newspapers. It was stressed that the action against Iraq would be resented by the Muslim community. There were many editorials that discussed the opposition against the Iraqi attack. Public protests in many countries and negative public opinion were noted. The public protests in different countries of the world including European and Muslim countries were highlighted in the coverage. These findings were consistent with previous studies on the coverage of Iraq war 2003 by the media from different countries. Johnston (2004) observed that during the Iraqi war of 2003 the German media gave negative coverage to the US view point. Anti-American demonstrations were widely covered by the German print and electronic media. The framing of the American image in the light of the Iraqi invasion was negative and one-sided. Maslog, Lee and Kim (2006) studied the Asian media from the perspective of the War on Terror. They examined the news coverage of the Iraqi war of 2003 by five Asian countries namely, India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, the Philippines and Pakistan. It was observed that the coverage from the Muslim countries framed the conflict from the humanitarian perspective and were more supportive of the Iraqis. They criticised the oppressive attack against the Iraqis. Similarly, Ravi (2005)

observed in his study that Pakistani and Indian newspapers gave more coverage to Iraqi viewpoints and published news stories about civilian casualties in Iraq.

The present study reveals that most of the time, America and the Bush administration were framed very negatively by the Pakistani press. He was framed as war monger and the Bush administration was framed as 'hawks'. It argued that the United States was in a weak position to attack Iraq because it did not succeed in convincing the United Nations and other leading countries to support Iraq invasion. Pakistan press used very hard language against America and the Bush administration. There were number of editorials in *The Dawn* and *The Nation* that had severe criticism against America. It was stated that European countries and the Muslim world were annoyed at the United States because of its unilateral policies as regards Iraq.

The United Nations was another aspect that was stressed by the Pakistani press in the context of the Iraqi attack. The newspapers appreciated Saddam Hussein for cooperating with United Nations inspectors. It was argued that Saddam did everything to avert war but the US response to inspection by the United Nations was not satisfactory. It seemed that the United States was disappointed over Iraq's positive response to the inspection. The United States wanted only war as a solution to the Iraqi crisis. Till February 2003, the United Nations inspector Hans Blix declared that his team did not find any weapons of mass destruction from Iraq. However, the weapon they found was destroyed. Now there was no justification to attack Iraq. The United States was still determined to attack Iraq. The unilateral move of the United States had affected the credibility of the United

Nations. By attacking Iraq, the United States inflicted an immense damage on the world body. It was framed as a casualty of war. The Pakistani press stressed that UN inspectors should be given more time to find WMD and war should not be started unless it was endorsed by the UNO. Similarly, Ingrid (2005) analyzed the media coverage of pre-war discourse about the UN inspection of WMD in Iraq by the German media. It was found that German media tried to provide a balanced reporting on the issue by including Iraqi sources and advocating that UN inspectors be given more time to probe for WMD.

The process of war was dominated by an anti-war frame. The newspapers discussed increasing civilian casualties in Iraq. The plight of dead and injured people was discussed. The newspapers highlighted the enormous destruction caused to the infrastructure of Iraq. It was noted that hospitals were badly affected. The Iraqis faced terrible hardships. They did not have the basic necessities of life. There was continuous heavy bombing. The forces used lethal bombs in Iraq. Due to bombings, the infrastructure was destroyed and many innocent civilians were killed. There was massacre and destruction in Iraq. The press also noted that there was tough resistance to the American forces. There were casualties of American forces. Iraqi forces did not give them an easy victory as was expected before the war. Similar findings were reported by Nawawy (2006) and Maeshima (2007) who conducted studies on the Al Jazeera channel and Japan's media respectively. It was argued that both media reported on casualties, heavy bombardment and stressed a wider role for the UN in Iraq. Al-Jazeera used terms like "martyrs" versus "suicide bombers" and "insurgents" versus "terrorists." Nawawy

(2006) concluded that the reporting of the Arab channel was dominated by a humanitarian perspective in which the issue of victimization of Iraq was underlined.

The present study observed many editorials that discussed the worsening post-war scenario in Iraq. There was looting, plundering and attacks in Iraq after the war. There was no law and order and a political set up to control the situation. Moreover, there was serious debate on missing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. The Pakistani press criticized America for not finding weapons of mass destruction in Iraq after the war. *The Nation* criticized President Bush by using hard language against him. It was argued that he should answer for all these fake arguments or he should leave. He deliberately misled the world on the issue of weapons of mass destruction. Conversely, Pakistani newspapers condemned Israel for its weapons of mass destruction. It was argued that Israel had a big pile of nuclear weapons; but the United States did not question them. Israel was the actual source of tension in the Middle East. Israel many times ignored resolutions of the United Nations. America was condemned for securing Israel interests in the region by the Pakistani press.

Moreover, America's threat to Iran and Syria were condemned by the press. The United States considered these countries as axis of evil. The Pakistani press wrote that the next target could be Iran, Syria, North Korea or Pakistan. It was time that the Muslim countries should think about this danger collectively. The Muslim countries should devise a collective strategy to prevent America from picking Muslim countries one by one.

In short, it could be stated that the coverage of Iraq by the Pakistani press was dominated by a negative stance. The press discussed the negative themes such as protests, criticisms, negative opinion polls, oppositional arguments, negation of United Nations resolutions, casualties, bombing, post-war chaos, missing weapons of mass destruction and the threats of the United States to other countries. Comparatively, there were few editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* which adopted a neutral and positive stance regarding the War on Terror.

#### **6.3.1.5 Neutral themes by Pakistani newspapers**

In certain editorials Pakistani newspapers framed Pakistan's support for the War on Terror in a neutral stance. It was difficult to find a neutral stance from the Pakistani press over the war on terror. However, there were certain arguments noted that had a positive or negative impression over Pakistan's participation in the war. It was argued that Pakistan offered its support to the United States in spite of having threats from the Taliban. It was expected that in the longer run the United States would consult its allies regarding its military campaign in the region. It was emphasized that the United States should have targeted and precise military campaign in Afghanistan and should consider Pakistan's considerations in this regard.

The Pakistani press also argued that Pakistan's government tried to convince the Taliban over the United States' demands. Pakistan sent its military, diplomatic and religious delegates to Afghanistan to talk with the Taliban. Pakistan tried to resolve the issue through diplomacy. It was important that both sides should respond positively. The

editorials argued that the government of Pakistan brought abrupt changes to its policy towards the Taliban Government. Pakistan seized all relation with Taliban Government and supported the United States policy against Al Qaeda. The military Government in Pakistan tried to reach consensus by consulting the ulema, political leaders and media men on the concerning issue. It was framed as a correct approach by the Pakistani newspapers. Pakistan would be a front line state in the war and the country would face the consequences for this. At the same time, the Pakistan government faced opposition from certain factions from the country. They did not support the government's policy over the War on Terror. The war would also increase economic worries for Pakistan that was already facing economic challenges. The Pakistani press was of the opinion that Pakistan was caught in a difficult situation; on the one hand, there was America that expected full support from Pakistan and not willing to listen any excuse; on the other, there were those faction that had different opinions about the Taliban and Afghanistan. At that time, Pakistan had to adopt a careful policy that should not hurt the national interests of the country.

The Pakistani press discussed Pakistani support for the war on terror. It was mentioned in many editorials that Pakistan provided logistic support to the United States; it provided Pakistani military bases and facilitated the Afghanistan war. In addition, Pakistani security agencies worked with American agencies such as the FBI against Al Qaeda hideouts in Pakistan. In this way, Pakistani security agencies would learn new tactics regarding detecting crimes. It might improve the performance of Pakistani agencies. But it was cautioned that the activities of the FBI should not impinge on

Pakistan sovereignty. FBI activities should be confined to providing training to Pakistani agencies that would be used against the terrorists, not against the political opponents.

In the case of the Afghanistan war, when the Pakistani government was supporting action against Taliban government, there were editorials which framed the fall of the Taliban government in a neutral stance. It was stated that with the help of Northern Alliance the United States forces scored an early victory in Afghanistan. The Northern Alliance captured the cities and annulled previous codes of public morality. The women were free to go to schools or offices, the men went to barber shops to shave their beards. Afghanistan went through a long road of uncertainty. The US-led invasion might bring a ray of hope for Afghanistan. The United States promised before the war that it would rebuild the country. It was hoped that these promises would come true. Pakistani newspapers were much concerned regarding the leading role of the United Nations in Afghanistan in this respect. Any single faction would not make its dominance and the presence of the United Nations would pave the way for political rebuilding. Pakistan Government and media were much worried about the future political set up in Afghanistan. The Pakistan government supported a broad band and neutral government in Afghanistan. There were many editorials which discussed the political set up in Afghanistan. The Pakistani press stressed Pakistan should have positive relations with the new government. It was suggested that a stable and prosperous Afghanistan was in Pakistan's interests. Most of the time, the editorials supported positive relations with Afghanistan and also emphasized that Pakistan was willing to support Afghanistan in its

rebuilding efforts. Overall, the impression of the Pakistani press towards the fall of Kabul was neutral. It stressed rebuilding and restoration of Afghanistan society.

However, in the case of Baghdad's fall, only two editorials were noted which framed Saddam's fall in a neutral stance. These editorials were neither much supportive of the demise of Saddam nor were they against it. It was written that the Baghdad regime came to end which was marked with coups, assassinations and human sufferings. There were few scenes of jubilation noted by the Iraqis at the end of the dictator's regime. However, after Baghdad's fall, Pakistani press highlighted the incidents of looting, plundering and law and crisis in the country. Moreover, it was noted that there was humanitarian crisis; the children died of hunger and lack of medicines. It was argued that the United States objective of regime change was achieved. Now the international community should press the United States to give leading role to the United Nations to rebuild the country. However, there was an enormous number of editorials from the Pakistani newspapers which severely criticized the Iraqi attack and framed it negatively.

#### **6.3.1.6 Positive theme by Pakistani newspapers**

However, it was difficult to find positive themes from the Pakistani press regarding the coverage of war on terror. Pakistani press mostly adopted an anti-war stance while only one theme was observed that could be considered as a positive framing of the war on terror. It was the economic impact of the War on Terror on Pakistan. There were a number of editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* that critically analyzed the economic impact on Pakistan. It was argued that for supporting the War on Terror, the

United States gave economic incentives to the Pakistani government. The sanctions against Pakistan were removed. Pakistan became eligible for economic and military aids from the United States and other European countries. The United States and European countries gave economic aids, loans and other economic packages to Pakistan for supporting its economy. The debts were rescheduled which gave temporarily relief for Pakistan's economic worries. From this perspective, the Pakistani press framed the War on Terror from a positive perspective. But the newspapers were not much satisfied with the economic support. It was argued that Pakistan gave enough support for the War on Terror but in return Pakistan obtained only marginal economic support from the West. It was not according to Pakistan's expectations.

As has been noted, the overall analysis of stance of coverage indicated that the framing of the War on Terror was dominated by a negative frame. The Pakistani and British newspapers mostly framed the coverage in a negative stance. There were three themes from both sides which framed the War on Terror in a neutral or positive stance. In the time period of two years, the coverage of the Pakistani and British press highlighted negative aspects, oppositional statements and negative impacts of the War on Terror. Thus, the successful attempt of this study was to answer first research question and research objective regarding the framing of the war on terror from Pakistani and British newspaper editorials. It had contributed generally to the body of knowledge and specifically to the knowledge and better understanding of media framing of the war on terror from Pakistani and British perspectives.

### **6.3.2 Media Frames**

The next research question inquired what media frames emerged in the British and Pakistani press. The following discussion revealed dominant media frames employed by the British and Pakistani press in the coverage of the war on terror.

#### **6.3.2.1 Media frames employed by British press in the coverage of war on terror**

From the British press it was observed that there were four media frames which dominated the coverage, namely:

- Anti-war frame
- Rebuilding Frame
- Humanitarian frame
- Pro-war frame

By analyzing the data on the British press, it was noted that coverage on the War on Terror was dominated by anti war frame. The British newspapers almost entirely reported the war under an anti-war frame by criticizing the different aspects of the War on Terror. Secondly, British newspapers were concerned regarding political and infrastructural rebuilding of Afghanistan and Iraq. The British press expressed their concerns regarding slow development in war-trodden areas and stressed the importance of a representative or neutral political set up in Afghanistan and Iraq. The newspapers stressed a statement by Tony Blair who said that war on terror had three fronts military, political and diplomatic. It was argued that the US government was more concerned about military gains rather than diplomatic and political fronts of the war. Thirdly, the British press highlighted humanitarian issues in the post-war scenario. Although there were not many editorials observed on this issue, as a rule the press pointed out about

towards shortage of food, medicine, water and shelter for the people of Afghanistan and Iraq. It urged the humanitarian organizations to play their role in these areas. Lastly, a pro-war frame was also identified from the coverage. There were a few editorials which adopted pro-war frame in their coverage. The difference between a pro-war frame and an anti-war frame was enormous. There was an enormous number of editorials that had an anti-war frame whereas a very small percentage framed the war with pro-war framing. The four media frames found by this study were briefly discussed below:

- **Anti war frame** discussed consequences of the War on Terror such as civilian casualties, Muslim resentment, global economic crisis and destabilization of the South Asian region. Moreover, the War on Terror was criticized for lack of clear objectives, lack of evidence against Osama and extension of the War on Terror to other countries.
- Likewise, the coverage of the Afghanistan attack was dominated by criticism on attack, anti-war protests and collateral damages in Afghanistan. There were editorials which revealed civilian casualties and condemned civilian killings.
- The coverage of the Iraqi war of 2003 was also dominated by an anti-war frame. There were a number of editorials which discussed anti war protests in Britain, other European countries, America and the Muslim countries. It presented negative opinion polls and commented on the oppositional statements by political, social and religious personalities of the world.
- The British press strongly endorsed the decision of the United Nations on the Iraqi crisis. It was stressed that the United Nations should pursue its inspection

in Iraq and the United States and British government should follow United Nations resolutions in the case of Iraq.

It was observed that the British press not only criticized the American government for its aggressive policies against Afghanistan and Iraq but also there were a number of editorials which criticized their Prime Minister for supporting the War on Terror and particularly the Iraqi attack of 2003. Moreover, during the Iraqi war, the press highlighted civilian casualties, casualties of American forces, negative reception by the Iraqi nation and heavy resistance from Iraqi forces. After the war, there were many editorials which criticized the British and American governments for not finding weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Overall, it could be stated that an anti-war frame was emerged as the most dominant frame of the British press regarding the coverage of the war on terror.

The other frame that was employed by the British press was the rebuilding frame. Although there were not many editorials which employed this frame, to some extent the British press was concerned about the rebuilding of war trodden areas. In fact, it urged the British government, donor agencies and in particular the US to initiate the rebuilding process in Afghanistan and Iraq.

- **Rebuilding frame** stressed the reconstruction of war-affected areas. In the case of Afghanistan, the British press argued that the country had faced many challenges since many years; moreover, the recent war had damaged the country

badly. It was the duty of international organizations to rebuild the infrastructure in Afghanistan.

- Furthermore, the British press stressed the role of United Nations in Afghanistan. The United Nations was in a better position to facilitate the rebuilding process in Afghanistan. The security forces under the United Nations banner could easily stabilize the country. In this way, the United Nations could move Afghanistan from a war situation to the political rebuilding of the country.
- Moreover, British newspapers emphasized a neutral interim political setup in Afghanistan after the war. Afghanistan's security problem could not be sorted out unless a political or administrative set up was installed. It was argued that the future of Afghanistan should be decided by Afghans themselves.
- Similarly, after the Iraqi war of 2003, it was noted that Iraqi infrastructure had collapsed. There was power deficit, perished infrastructure and people did not have basic necessities of life. There was an urgent need of rebuilding in the country, so that the Iraqi people could get back to their normal life. Moreover, the political rebuilding of Iraq was another important aspect of the coverage. The British press supported a representative political set up in Iraq. It argued that the Iraqi people should be allowed to decide on their future government in Iraq.

It could be stated that the rebuilding frame was the second most important media frame employed by the British press in the coverage of the Afghanistan and Iraqi wars in 2001 and 2003 respectively. It was noted that after the Afghanistan war of 2001, the British press continuously urged the British and American governments to rebuild

Afghanistan's infrastructure and facilitate the political process in the country. This was the way to restrict terrorism in Afghanistan. The British press was in favor of a representative or United Nations-led political set up in Afghanistan. Similarly, after the Iraqi war of 2003, British press expressed concerns towards the rebuilding of Iraq. There were many editorials noted which revealed post-war chaos in Iraq. It frequently criticized a United States-led political set up in Iraq. It was suggested that Iraqis should be allowed to install their own representative political set up in Iraq.

The other frame that was observed from the coverage of the British press was the humanitarian frame. However, there were forty editorials which adopted a humanitarian frame. These editorials were concerned about the humanitarian issues of the Afghani people, plight of prisoner of war and refugees.

- **Humanitarian frame** discussed the poor supply of food items to Afghan population. The British press argued that the Afghan population was starving. It was stressed to the British and the American governments that they should not forget the humanitarian aspect of war.
- Secondly, the press highlighted the plight of the refugees. They had lack of food, water, medicine and shelter. It urged humanitarian agencies to help these refugees.
- Thirdly, the British press also pointed out the plight of the prisoners of war in Afghanistan. It argued that the prisoners that were caught from Afghanistan were denied of basic human rights. The press discussed the plight of those prisoners

that travelled to Guantanamo bay in miserable conditions. It stressed the prisoners must have rights according to international standards.

In the same manner a few editorials commented on the Iraqi humanitarian issues. The British press highlighted the following issues from the Iraqi perspective;

- It argued that there was a lack of law and order in Iraq. There was looting and no basic necessities for the Iraqi population.
- The hospitals had been destroyed or looted. Iraqi children died of lack of food and medicine. It appealed to the occupied forces and humanitarian agencies to play their role in Iraq.
- There were a few editorials from *The Independent* which highlighted the plight of the prisoners of war from Iraq. It argued that they were inhumanly treated in Guantanamo bay.
- Moreover, it was observed that the American forces badly treated Iraqi youth. It argued that the inhuman treatment of the Iraqi nation would erode the American image in Iraq and would increase hostility against the foreign occupation.

By looking at the data from the humanitarian framing of the war on terror, it could be stated that there were a certain number of editorials which discussed the humanitarian perspective of war and expressed their concern regarding the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Afghanistan and Iraq. These findings were consistent with the previous studies on the British press which argued that the British media had considerable data on

casualties, humanitarian issues and diplomatic arguments on war (Hammond, 2003; Goddard, Parry & Murray, 2009; Papacharissi & Oliveria, 2008).

Lastly, another frame that was observed from the coverage of the British press was the pro-war frame. The use of a pro-war frame was limited to a few editorials on Afghanistan conflict 2001 and one or two editorials on the Iraqi conflict of 2003. This finding was contrary to previous studies which generally stressed the British press supported British government on the war on terror and frequently projected military and pro war frames in their coverage (Lewis, Brookes, Mosdell & Threadgold, 2006; Robbinson, *et al.*, 2009; Vliegthart & Schroder, 2010)

- **Pro-war framing** from the coverage of *The Guardian* and *The Independent* highlighted European support for the Afghanistan attack.
- Moreover, the press argued that although the accusations against Osama could not be proved through the judicial process war against Al Qaeda was justified.
- The press hailed the early victory of allied forces in Afghanistan. It was stated that with the collapse of the Taliban Government, the Afghan people welcomed the demise of an oppressive regime. There were no restrictions on female; they could easily go to schools or to their jobs.
- However, it was stressed that the collapse of the Taliban Government, was not the end of terrorism or talibanization. The forces had to fight against the Taliban who were hidden in Afghanistan or outside, moreover, the new government in Afghanistan had to stabilize Afghanistan. That was a big challenge.

- Comparatively, in the case of the Iraqi attack, only two editorials from the British newspapers which framed the collapse of Saddam's regime in a pro-war frame. The collapse of the dictator was hailed by the press. The editorials wrote that the statues of Saddam were destroyed and some people celebrated the collapse of the oppressive regime. However, the editorial expressed its concerns regarding the worsening security situation in Iraq after Saddam.

By looking at the coverage of the war on terror, it could be concluded that the British press used a pro-war frame in a limited number of editorials. Mostly, anti-war frame, a rebuilding frame and humanitarian frames dominated the coverage of the war. The British press was inclined towards a diplomatic and political solution of the crisis in Afghanistan and Iraq and it was sympathetic to those people who were badly affected by the war on terror.

#### **6.3.2.2 Media frames employed by Pakistani press in the coverage of war on terror**

The discussion so far has revealed the prominent frames of the British press during the coverage of the War on Terror. Now the dominant frames employed by the Pakistani press regarding its coverage of the War on Terror are shown below:

- Anti-war frame
- Rebuilding frame
- Humanitarian frame

Similar to the coverage of the British press, the coverage by the Pakistani newspapers was also dominated by the anti-war frame. Since the declaration of the War on Terror,

the Pakistani press adopted a negative stance to the war and included more oppositional and critical arguments.

- **Anti war frame** included the themes that were against the war on terror. In this perspective, America was criticized many times in the editorials of Pakistani newspapers. The press suspected America's hidden objectives in the central Asian region.
- It was argued that the War on Terror would not bring positive outcomes for the South Asian and Middle Eastern regions.
- The western policy makers did not address the cause of terrorism. The war would pave the way for more terrorism and it was unlikely to contain terrorism. The press pointed out that other countries used the War on Terror agenda to justify their aggressive campaign in their occupied areas such as India and Israel. It was argued that the US War on Terror helped these countries to serve their geopolitical goals. Israel and India intensified their oppressive activities in Palestine and Kashmir.
- Similarly, the Afghanistan attack of 2001 was also dominated by an anti-war frame. The press highlighted the negative consequences of war such as destabilization of the region and increase in heroin smuggling from Afghanistan.
- Meanwhile, Pakistani newspapers underlined the public protest in Pakistan and other Muslim countries against the Afghanistan attack. Religious parties in Pakistan were most aggressively against the war and Pakistan Government's support for it.

- Many editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* debated the issue of evidence against Osama. It was argued there was lack of concrete evidence against Osama. The Pakistani government should persuade the American government to provide solid evidence against Osama before getting Pakistani support for the war. The press adopted a critical stance against the Pakistani government on the issue concerned.
- Additionally, the coverage of the process of war was dominated by the incidents of heavy bombings, collateral damages and the casualties of civilian people in Afghanistan. It condemned the United States for its continued heavy bombardment in Afghanistan which caused a humanitarian crisis in the country and killed many innocent people.
- Overall, the coverage of the Afghanistan war was dominated by casualties, bombings, protests, oppositional statements and negative consequences of war.

Likewise, the extension of the War on Terror to Iraq was also forcefully condemned by the Pakistani press. The editorials criticized America and the Bush administration for their unilateral acts against Iraq. It was stressed that Muslim countries should be united against the unjust attack on Iraq. The Iraqi attack of 2003 was framed as the triumph of unilateralism and the defeat of diplomacy and multilateralism. These findings were consistent with the study of Ravi (2005) who observed that Pakistani and Indian newspapers criticized the Iraqi attack and published news stories about civilian casualties in Iraq.

The present study found the anti war frame from the coverage of Iraq attack 2003 under following themes:

- Pakistani newspapers included the editorials related to public protests inside or outside the country, negative public opinion and negative public polls. The press criticized the negative consequences of war, civilian casualties, heavy bombardment and post-war chaos.
- It was observed that the Pakistani press criticized America for bypassing the United Nations on the Iraqi crisis. It was emphasized that the United Nations should decide the further course of action against Iraq. It was against international standards that the United States took unilateral decision on Iraq. The United States attack on Iraq without United Nations authorization was a great threat to the credibility of the UN as a sole international arbitrator.
- Pakistani newspapers questioned when weapons of mass destruction were not found by the United Nations inspectors why was Iraq attacked. Moreover, after the war, a number of editorials criticized the United States for not finding weapons of mass destruction from Iraq. It was argued that weapons of mass destruction were a pretext to attack Iraq and to capture its oil resources.

In the case of the Iraqi war, the Pakistani press was more aggressive than the Afghanistan war. It was feared that the United States might extend its aggressive campaign to other Muslim countries such as Iran, Syria or Pakistan. The Pakistani press suggested that it was high time that the Muslim world should be united and should draw up a strategy to avert the crisis.

Overall, it was noted that an anti-war frame was frequently employed by the Pakistani press. However, during the Afghanistan war of 2001, when the Pakistan government fully supported the war, the Pakistani press not only covered the war under an anti-war frame but also criticized the Pakistani government for supporting the war. However, during the Iraqi crisis, Pakistan government policy was not supportive of the Iraqi attack but Pakistani press still was not satisfied by Pakistani government's response. It urged Pakistani government to play more proactive role in criticizing Iraq attack. In conclusion, an anti-war frame dominated the entire coverage of the war on terror by Pakistani newspapers.

The other important frame that was identified through the coverage of Pakistani press was the rebuilding frame. Specifically, in the case of Afghanistan, the Pakistani press was very much concerned about its infrastructural and political rebuilding of the country. There were many editorials noted that discussed the issues related to the rebuilding of Afghanistan.

- **Rebuilding frame** stressed the reconstruction of war-affected areas in Afghanistan and Iraq. It urged the West, the neighbouring countries and particularly the Pakistani government to take serious interest in the reconstruction of Afghanistan.
- It was argued if America wanted to curb terrorism, it was very important to build the infrastructure of the country and provide economic opportunities to the people of Afghanistan. The stability in Afghanistan could restrict terrorism in future.

- The newspapers highlighted that after the war there were many security challenges in Afghanistan. It was required that the United Nations should enhance its presence in Afghanistan and provide for a neutral set up for Afghanistan. It was also proposed that a peacekeeping force should be called from Muslim countries; it would help to stabilize the country.
- Pakistan wanted a broad band neutral Government in Afghanistan. The Pakistani government resented on the support given to the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan by the United States. But after the formation of Northern Alliance Government, the press suggested to the Government to support the new set up in Afghanistan. It was stressed that the stability of Afghanistan was in the interest of Pakistan.

After the Afghanistan war, the rebuilding of Iraq was the pressing issue of the Pakistani press. It wrote that after the slow speed of development in Afghanistan, there was little hope that America would take interest in the reconstruction of Iraq.

- The Pakistani newspapers highlighted looting, plunder, ruined infrastructure, destroyed hospitals and other buildings in Iraq.
- The Pakistani press underlined the leading role of the United Nations in the reconstruction of Iraq.
- American presence in Iraq after the war was condemned by the Pakistani press. It was argued that America wanted to dominate Iraq for its oil reserves. The press stressed that the new administration was unable to control the deteriorating situation in Iraq.

- The Pakistani press stressed that Iraqis should be allowed to form their representative Government.

From the perspective of the rebuilding frame, the Pakistani press was concerned about infrastructural rebuilding as well as political rebuilding of Iraq. There were a number of editorials that discussed the post-war chaos and political set up in Iraq. It was suggested that only a representative government in Iraq could bring the country to the phase of normality. Otherwise, United States-backed government would worsen the scenario and would not be able to reconstruct Iraq.

The other frame that was employed by the Pakistani press was the humanitarian frame. It was noted that during the Afghanistan and Iraqi wars, Pakistani press continuously published editorials on the humanitarian crisis in these countries.

- **Humanitarian frame** discussed the problems related to shortage of food, medicine and shelter for Afghanistan's population.
- It was argued that the United States was less interested in the provision of humanitarian aid to Afghanistan. It was not even ready to stop continuous bombing which worsened the humanitarian crisis.
- Moreover, the Pakistani newspapers were much concerned regarding the increasing number of refugees entering Pakistan. It was argued that Pakistan already was having the burden of refugees since 1980's. The present crisis had increased the economic burden for Pakistan. It asked the international community to support Pakistan for dealing with the crisis.

- Under the humanitarian frame, Pakistani newspapers raised the issue of prisoners of war from Afghanistan. It was argued that there were many prisoners of war who were killed in Afghanistan. Other who travelled to Guantanamo bay were kept in inhumane conditions. The United States officials committed abuse and ill treated them. They were denied of humanitarian rights. It was stressed that the prisoner should be allowed rights according to the Geneva Convention.
- The Pakistani press also highlighted the issue of Pakistani prisoners of war that were arrested from Afghanistan and a certain number were detained from the United States. These people were detained for minor issues. It was stressed to the Pakistani Government that it should raise this issue with the United States government.

There were a certain number of editorials that discussed the increasing humanitarian crisis in Iraq.

- It was mentioned that there was lack of food, medicine and other essential commodities. The children were dying of lack of food and medicine. The United States government was urged to deal with the humanitarian crisis urgently. Otherwise, it would increase more resentment against the foreign occupation of Iraq.

To conclude the discussion, it was observed that an anti-war frame emerged as the dominant frame of the Pakistani and British press regarding the coverage of War on Terror. There were a number of editorials from Pakistan and the British press which

covered the war under anti war frame. Secondly, the rebuilding frame was employed by the newspapers to express their concerns regarding political and infrastructural rebuilding of war-trodden areas. Lastly, it was the humanitarian frame that discussed the humanitarian issues in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, from the perspective of the rebuilding frame, it was more dominantly employed by the Pakistani press in the context of the Afghanistan war than British press. Pakistan has proximity with Afghanistan; the disturbance and chaos in Afghanistan directly affect Pakistan. That's why, the Pakistani press continuously stressed the political and infrastructural rebuilding of Afghanistan. It also asked international organizations and countries to help Afghanistan in its rebuilding. Thus, the research question and objective which sought to probe into "what were the dominant frames that emerged in the British and Pakistani press regarding the coverage of the war on terror?" had been empirically and reasonably answered.

### **6.3.3 Difference between British and Pakistani press regarding the framing of War on Terror**

After 9/11 the Pakistani and British press gave immense coverage to the War on Terror. A number of editorials are analyzed from the British and Pakistani newspapers which discussed the War on Terror, Afghanistan war of 2001, Iraqi war of 2003 and other issues related to 9/11 or the War on Terror. There were certain differences observed between the Pakistani and British press regarding the framing of the War on Terror but at the same time, there was one similarity. The coverage of the War on Terror was dominated by an anti-war frame by both British and Pakistani newspapers. Many negative themes were observed from both British and Pakistani newspapers relating to

the framing of the War on Terror. Although the newspapers in both countries were negative on the War on Terror there were certain differences.

While discussing the War on Terror, the Pakistani newspapers used language, tone and expression different from those of the British. Both newspapers criticized America for its aggressive policies regarding Muslim countries but Pakistani newspapers expressed more anger and annoyances against America. Furthermore the Pakistani newspapers had more editorials that discussed the War on Terror compared to British newspapers. Previous studies on Pakistani press regarding the coverage of the war on terror reported that Pakistani media adopted negative frame and oppositional themes against the war on terror and US policies against Pakistan (Singh, 2003; Shah, 2010; Khan & Safdar, 2010; Khan & Imran, 2011; Paracha, Imran & Khan, 2012).

After the 9/11 attacks, the British press criticized America for its injustices to the Arab world, failure of US intelligence agencies and America's vengeful actions against the Muslim countries. However, the Pakistani newspapers commented on the mistreatment and hate crimes against the Muslim community in America. They also criticized the United States post 9/11 policies and framed them as aggressive actions. Pakistani newspapers argued that the United States used 9/11 to extend its aggressive agenda against the Muslim countries and to serve its interests in oil-enriched areas of Central Asia and the Middle East. Moreover, the United States gave a more free hand to Israel which increased its repression against the Palestinians after 9/11 and framed Palestinian fighting as Palestinian brand of terrorism. This finding corresponded with another study

that was conducted on Arab media in the context of the war on terror by Ayisha (2002). She found that the Arab media mostly criticized America for its pro-Israel policies against Palestine. The Arab coverage was supportive of the Palestine cause and negatively framed America and Israel.

The present study indicated in the context of the War on Terror, the British press was concerned about the consequences of the war that would cause civilian casualties and disrupt world economy. Dangerous areas in Afghanistan could give a tough time to the allied forces. It was also expressed that the War on Terror had no clear objectives and it was a vengeful action against Afghanistan without strong evidence against Osama. However, Pakistani newspapers were more concerned about the implications of the War on Terror for Pakistan. It was argued that by supporting the War on Terror, Pakistan had to face more security challenges from Afghanistan Taliban and from those factions from Pakistan that had a soft corner for Taliban. Secondly, Pakistan had to face the burden of refugees from Afghanistan; that was an extra burden on Pakistan economy. Likewise, the Pakistani press was much concerned regarding the negative framing of Pakistan by the western media. It questioned why the Western media adopted hostile posture against Pakistan's agencies when Pakistan supported the war on terror. The Pakistani press highlighted public protests in Pakistan and hate crimes against Pakistanis in the United States. The Pakistani press stressed the War on Terror had set a bad precedent for other countries. The aggressive countries such as Israel and India justified their oppressive activities in their occupied areas in the name of the War on Terror.

During the Afghanistan attack of 2001, the British press highlighted critical argument against the war, civilian casualties and heavy bombardment in Afghanistan. But there were certain editorials which supported the war and hailed the early victory of allied forces in Afghanistan. They expressed their concerns regarding the evidence against Osama but at the same time, the press considered the attack justified. Nevertheless, from the Pakistani perspective, it was noted that the Pakistani press was more critical against the Afghanistan war than the British press. Pakistani newspapers highlighted public protests inside the country and discussed their impact on Pakistan's stability. Pakistani newspapers debated on the lack of evidence against Osama and criticized the Pakistani Government for supporting the War on Terror without having any strong evidence against Osama. During the war process, it was noted that Pakistani newspapers described more incidents of civilian casualties than British press. Pakistan newspapers described the number of casualties and provided details regarding civilian killings. It was narrated that the US and Northern Alliance massacred many Taliban and Pushtoons in Afghanistan. Moreover, the Pakistani press was more concerned regarding the rebuilding of Afghanistan. From the start of Afghanistan attack, Pakistani press focused on future political set up in Afghanistan. It was continuous theme. During the coverage of the Afghanistan war, there was no pro-war frame was noted by the Pakistani press. The press adopted an anti-war frame, a rebuilding and a humanitarian frame. Similarly, the British press also adopted an anti-war, rebuilding and a humanitarian frame but there were certain editorials which adopted pro-war frame by supporting the war in Afghanistan.

By the same token, during the Iraqi war of 2003, Pakistani and British press highlighted public protest, negative opinion polls, and oppositional statements, consequences of the war, bombardment, civilian killings and weapons of mass destruction issues in their editorials. However, the present study indicated that more or less, on the Iraqi crisis, the coverage by both the newspapers was similar. British and Pakistani newspapers framed the war under an anti-war frame and focused on critical arguments against America and the Bush administration.

But from the British press, it was observed that they adopted a negative frame against Saddam. They framed him as a dictator, aggressor and violator of human rights in Iraq. The British press was not supportive of the war but it was against Saddam. However, Pakistani newspapers did not stress the dictatorial aspect of Saddam's regime. Even the press supported Saddam's offer to the United Nations inspectors to visit Iraq. It was emphasized that his offer should be taken seriously and attack against Iraq should be avoided. Pakistani press also argued that Saddam gave immense support to the United Nations inspectors while they were in Iraq. There was no need to attack Iraq. The Pakistani press framed Saddam's support for the United Nations inspectors positively in their editorials. Pakistani press emphasized that UN inspectors should be given more time to probe for WMD in Iraq. These findings corresponded with other studies that were conducted on German and Japanese media. The media in both countries urged the US government to give more time to UN inspection in Iraq and condemned the aggressive policies of the US against Iraq (Ingrid, 2005; Maeshima, 2007)

On the WMD issue, the Pakistani and British press criticized America and even British newspapers criticized the British Government for providing fake information. However, the Pakistani press strongly condemned the United States and the Bush administration for waging an illegal and immoral war against Iraq. The newspaper adopted a very aggressive stance against President Bush and in one editorial it even argued that he should be impeached for misleading the world community on the Iraqi crisis.

The Pakistani press anticipated that the United States wanted to extend the War on Terror to other Muslim countries such as Syria, Iran and Pakistan. Pakistan could also be the next target. It was proposed that the Muslim countries should be united against the danger and should plan a strategy to avert the threat. Moreover, the Pakistani press expressed their concerns regarding Israel's weapons of mass destruction and criticized America for supporting Israel against Palestine. It stressed that Israel's weapons of mass destruction were a threat for the entire Middle Eastern region. It was noted that the Pakistani newspapers stressed more the Israeli perspective than the British press and Pakistani newspapers framed Israel negatively.

Overall, it could be concluded that the framing of the War on Terror was dominated by an anti-war frame by the newspapers of Pakistan and Britain but Pakistani press adopted a more critical and oppositional stance against the war than the British press. Sometimes, the British press appeared to be neutral or supportive of their government's policies but Pakistani press was completely against the War on Terror and criticized the Pakistani government support to it. However, the press from both countries condemned

civilian killings in Afghanistan and Iraq and emphasized the need to address the root causes of terrorism. However, the findings of previous studies on the coverage of war on terror by the Arab media corresponded with the findings of the present study. It was noted that the Arab media looked at the war on terror as an extension of the power of the US and its influence on the world. Moreover the Arab media focused on collateral damage by the US attacks on civilians, mosques, buildings and infrastructure (Marsden, 2013; Nawawy, 2006).

### 6.3.4 Prominent issues relating to War on Terror

In connection with the war on terror, the study investigated those issues which remained prominent in the coverage of the British and Pakistani press. This study was unique in its approach which not only discussed the framing of the war on terror but also highlighted those issues that were directly or indirectly connected with the war on terror. However, previous studies hardly ever mentioned these aspects. A brief overview of these issues was is below.

Table: 6.1

*Prominent issues from Pakistani and British press*

<b>Issues from British Press</b>	<b>Issues from Pakistani Press</b>
British role in War on Terror	Pakistan's role in War on Terror
US policies towards War on Terror	Criticism on the United States
UNO	Pakistan - US relations after 9/11
Conspiracy of British dossier on Iraq	Pakistan – Afghanistan relations after 9/11
Terrorism	Talks with Taliban
Islam and the Muslims after 9/11	Prisoners of war
Freedom of press	Terrorism in Pakistan
Al Qaeda	US interests in Middle East
-	Islamic Community and War on Terror

In the context of the War on Terror, the study found eight prominent issues which dominated the coverage of the British press. First, the British newspapers highlighted the role of Britain in war on terror. It was noted that the British press supported war on terror but it was much concerned about the British national interests. The newspapers were not in favour of unconditional support for the United States. Particularly, in the case of the Iraqi war, the British press did not endorse the government's decision of participating in the Iraqi war of 2003. There were many editorial which expressed their concerns regarding British national interests. The British press was of the opinion that the decision on the war on terror should be based on British national interests, not American pressures. In this context, the Prime Minister's policy leaning towards America was badly criticized by the press.

Secondly it was noted that the British press was generally critical of America's policies on the war on terror. The US Government was criticized for adopting aggressive policies after 9/11. America's pro-war policies were portrayed as a threat to global peace. Specifically, in the case of the Iraqi attack of 2003, the British press condemned the aggressive stance of President Bush and Bush administration against Iraq. There were number of editorials from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* which directly condemned the US policies on Iraq and weapons of mass destruction. The British press as a rule stressed the Iraqi war should be endorsed by the United Nations.

Thirdly, it was observed that the British press stressed on the leading role of the United Nations in the War on Terror. After Afghanistan war, it was argued that the United

Nations should play a central role in stabilizing the country and carrying out humanitarian operations in Afghanistan. However, in the case of the Iraqi war, British press strongly underscored the importance of UN authorization of the Iraqi attack and its role in the post-war Iraq. The newspapers stressed that the bypassing the United Nations on the Iraqi crisis would affect its credibility. It criticized the United States government for negating the United Nations authorization on the Iraqi crisis. Similarly, after Iraq war, the British press emphasized the importance of a UN backed Government in Iraq. It was argued that United States-backed administration could not control the situation in Iraq. The United Nations was the only neutral body which could pave the way for a representative political set up in Iraq. During the coverage of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, British press gave central importance to the United Nations. It was stressed to the British and United States governments to follow United Nations decisions in the context of the War on Terror.

The other issue that was much debated by the British press was the conspiracy of British dossier on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. The British government presented a dossier in September 2002 regarding Iraq's weapons. There were serious allegations against the Iraqi government. The dossier supported the action against Iraq. But after the war, the dossier proved to be wrong and the information given in the dossier was proved faked. The British press forcefully condemned its government for providing fake information. Many editorials highlighted the conspiracy and the inquiry on the dossier in their coverage. The British press adopted a strict stance against the dossier crisis. The

press also accused their Prime Minister of deliberately providing wrong information and taking the nation to war.

Fifth, the British press discussed the emerging threats of terrorism for Britain and the world. It pointed out the incidents of terrorism in different parts of the world. It was stressed that the Western Governments should focus on the causes of terrorism. By waging wars, terrorism could not be eliminated unless root causes were removed. The British press was not supportive of anti-terrorist laws implemented by the British government. It was argued that these laws were against human liberties. The Government should try to improve intelligence and police work to restrict the incidents of terrorism. Generally, the British press was stressing the need for cooperation to curb terrorism.

Sixth, there were twenty seven editorials which discussed Al Qaeda, the forces behind Al Qaeda and the struggle against Al Qaeda. The British press portrayed Al Qaeda as responsible for the 9/11 attacks and Osama bin Laden was framed as a dangerous man who distorted the image of Islam. Some of the editorials stressed that those forces should be identified who supported or funded Al Qaeda. The British press adopted a strict stance against Taliban and Al Qaeda and suggested that Al Qaeda should be neutralized.

Seventh, there were fifteen editorials from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* that discussed the image of Islam and Muslims after 9/11. As previous literature on the portrayal of Muslims and Islam indicated even before 9/11 Muslims were portrayed in a negative perspective such as aggressive, terrorist, fundamentalist or wicked in the British press. But after 9/11 they were framed negatively to a great extent by both the British and American media (Richardson, 2001). Sain, Law and Sayyid (2012) concluded in their study that in the context of the War on Terror the British press framed Muslims as fundamentalists. The portrayal was hostile and Islam-phobic. Contrary to previous literature, the present study revealed that Britain had a positive public opinion regarding Islam. Moreover, Islam was not related to terrorism or extremism. The press argued that there were certain groups of people who used Islam for their political and financial interests. Moreover, the British newspapers noted some incidents of hate crimes against the Muslims. These were strongly condemned and they appealed to the British Government to control such activities against the Muslim community in Britain. It was noted that the framing of the Muslims and Islam by *The Guardian* and *The Independent* was less hostile and balanced on the issue. *The Guardian* not only framed the Muslims in a positive perspective but also challenged the anti-Islam press in Britain.

Lastly, twelve editorials from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* pointed out the state of freedom of the press in Britain. It was argued that the British media was not given access to battle fields in Afghanistan by the military authorities. Media was kept dependent on official sources for the coverage of war. Moreover, the British government expressed their reservation regarding the British coverage of Afghanistan casualties. The

British press critically remarked that terrorism could not be defeated to restrict media's independence. Similarly, Franks (2003) proclaimed in his study that during the 'War on Terror' the British Army pressed the media to manoeuvre the facts in favour of the war. As Franks (2003) remembered, a British Army Commander told him that the military wanted a 'particular message delivered to particular audiences', and that media is, 'a tool, a weapon, a battle-winning asset'(Franks, 2003). Murray, Parry, Robinson and Goddard (2008) mentioned in their study that it was a practice in Britain that during war, the media most often evades criticism in favour of the government. Likewise, during the Iraq invasion of 2003, the newspapers that adopted oppositional stances were toned down. Even the politicians were condemned for criticizing the Government. However, the present study indicated that the British press also criticized American media for adopting pro war stance and avoiding critical questions of their government. It was stressed that the media in Britain and the United States should adopt a critical stance regarding the coverage of the War on Terror and should not stop to ask hard questions of authorities because it was the duty of an independent media.

The discussion so far has highlighted the prominent issues of the British press regarding the war on terror. The discourse that follows is about Pakistani media and its important issues. There were nine important issues unravelled by the present study in the context of War on Terror.

Like, the British press, the Pakistani press too stressed the role of Pakistan in the War on Terror. The Pakistani press was very much concerned about the reason why Pakistan participated in the War on Terror and what benefits Pakistan would derive by

participating in the war. The Pakistani newspapers highlighted the implications of the War on Terror such as refugee influx, threats from the Taliban and security concerns to Pakistan. In addition, press highlighted the economic support of the United States in supporting War on Terror and expressed their concerns regarding negative portrayal of Pakistan by the Western media. The Pakistani press argued that Pakistan played a crucial role in the War on Terror, faced terrible consequences but the United States' response to Pakistani efforts was not satisfactory. The US did not fully relieve Pakistan of her economic worries but mostly demanded more participation from Pakistan in the War on Terror and its media did not adopt a positive gesture towards the country. All these findings were consistent with the study conducted by Ashfaq (2012) who concluded that Pakistani newspapers gave negative portrayal to the United States in the context of the War on Terror. Pakistani newspapers were not satisfied with the economic support of the United States to Pakistan and further the drone attacks in Pakistan framed negatively. The Bush administration was framed as it had destroyed the world (Ashfaq, 2012).

Secondly, it was observed that the Pakistani newspapers frequently criticized the US post 9/11 policies. Particularly the press condemned the treatment of foreign prisoners by US officials, immigration policies against Muslims, US anti-terrorist laws, American policies for the Muslim community and hate crimes against the Muslims in the United States. It was argued that the Bush administration adopted a hostile stance against specific Muslim countries after 9/11. Within the United States the strict anti-terrorist laws were implemented and the American nation also committed hate crimes against

Muslims. The Pakistani press stressed that the US anti-Muslim policies intensified resentment among the Muslim community.

Thirdly, Pakistani press focused on Pakistan-US relations after 9/11. It was shown that after 9/11 the United States developed closer relations with Pakistan. It helped Pakistan economically and lifted previous sanctions against Pakistan. At certain times, the press highlighted the tensions between the two countries and also discussed the concerns of the United States against Pakistan's nuclear assets. Pakistan-US relations were generally discussed by the press. The visits of high officials from both the countries received much coverage from Pakistani press. Overall, Pakistani press was not satisfied by Pakistan US relations after 9/11. It was stressed that Pakistan played a crucial role in the War on Terror but the US response towards Pakistan was not satisfactory. Pakistan received unsatisfactory economic support, US expressed its reservations against Pakistan's nuclear programme and the US supported Indian version of cross border terrorism. These findings were supported by another study conducted by Sultan (2012). He concluded in his research that the Pakistani press expressed dissatisfaction over Pakistan-US relations. The study argued against the government's policies towards the United States and highlighted the issue of terrorism, drone attacks and US invasion of Pakistani territories (Sultan, 2013).

Fourthly, the present study observed that Pakistani newspapers were concerned about Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. As Pakistan has geographical proximity with Afghanistan, good relations with Afghanistan were quite important for Pakistan. The

newspapers stressed that Pakistan should enhance close relations with the new government in Afghanistan. The Pakistani press argued that healthy relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan were imperative for the stability of the region. It was also stressed that a stable Afghanistan was in Pakistan's interests. Otherwise the chaos in Afghanistan would create law and order problems in Pakistan. There were number of editorials from the Pakistani newspapers which urged the Pakistani government to develop friendly relations with the new administration in Afghanistan.

Fifth, Pakistani press emphasized to resolve the crisis of 9/11 attacks by adopting diplomatic measures rather than adopting military means. Very after 9/11 attacks, certain editorials from *The Nation* stressed emphasized that there should be talks between Taliban and the United States authorities. If Taliban agreed to the United States' demands, the war could be averted that would save the lives of innocent civilians. *The Nation* stressed on anti war options between Al Qaeda and the United States. But unfortunately, diplomatic measures could not resolve the crisis. Archetti (2007) also found the consistent finding in her research on Pakistani media. She argued that Pakistani media stressed on international laws and mediation with Taliban Government in the context of War on Terror.

Sixth, it was observed that the Pakistani press gave immense coverage to the plight of the prisoners of war from Afghanistan and Iraq. There were many editorials which stressed the issue. The editorials discussed mistreatment with the prisoners by the United States officials. It was condemned that these prisoners were denied of basic

rights such as legal trial. However, the Bush administration termed them as unlawful combatant that did not deserve any human rights. The Pakistani newspapers were much concerned about the Pakistani prisoners who were caught from Afghanistan or were arrested in the United States. It was stressed to the Pakistani government that it should discuss this matter with the United States government and the Pakistani authorities should have access to these prisoners.

Seventh, the Pakistani press was concerned about increasing terrorism in Pakistan after 9/11. The press discussed the presence of Al Qaeda in Pakistan and threats to Pakistan's security. Moreover, Pakistani newspapers highlighted the causes of increasing terrorism in Pakistan. At certain points, the press argued that due to Pakistan's support for the Afghanistan war of 2001, Al Qaeda intensified its revengeful activities against Pakistan. The press also underlined the government's efforts to control terrorism. Additionally, the press mentioned the implementation of anti-terrorists law in Pakistan but it had certain reservations regarding the laws. These laws gave extra powers to security agencies that could be misused. For the most part, the issue of terrorism was a frequently discussed issue by the Pakistani press.

Eighth, during the Iraqi crisis, the Pakistani press generally highlighted the fact that America attacked Iraq for its strategic interests. The Pakistani press stressed that the United States wanted to capture oil resources of Iraq. That's why the attack was planned by the Bush administration. It was further stated that the United States had ambitions to reshape the Middle East according to its interests. It wanted to secure an Israeli interest.

That's why weapon of mass destruction crisis was developed. Pakistan newspapers adopted an aggressive stance on this issue and continuously repeated the theme in their coverage of Iraq war. Furthermore, the Pakistani press criticized the Muslim community for lacking unity. It condemned the role of the OIC on the Iraqi crisis.

Lastly, the Pakistani press stressed that there was an urgent need for Muslim unity against the challenges it had faced. It was feared that if the Muslim community did not adopt a united approach, it would face severe consequences in the future as the Bush administration had planned to extend the War on Terror to other Muslim countries. Overall, the Pakistani press highlighted those issues which were related to Pakistan and the Muslim community in the context of the War on Terror.

In brief, it was noted that the British press was generally concerned about the issue of terrorism, humanitarian concerns, British interests and United States policies after 9/11. However, the Pakistani press adopted a more unfavourable stance and was concerned about Pakistani and Muslim perspectives in the context of the War on Terror. These findings answered the fourth research question (RQ-4) which sought to know what issues were included in the coverage of the War on Terror by the Pakistani and British press.

### **6.3.5 Agenda setting by Pakistani and British press regarding War on Terror**

Furthermore, the research investigated those agendas that were promoted by the Pakistani and British press in the coverage of the War on Terror. However, the present

study did not test media agenda with the public agenda on War on Terror; it only investigated what were the media agendas in the context of the War on Terror from the Pakistani and British perspectives. Many scholars define agenda setting as “the amount of press coverage that issues receive gives individuals salience cues with which they learn the relative importance of these issues” (Wanta & Ghanem, 2007, p.37; McCombs, 2004; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004). Similarly Zhu and Blood (1997) argued that agenda setting was a process that facilitated the public in identifying the imperative issues or objects. The present research identified these agendas that were frequently discussed by the Pakistani and Britain press in their coverage of the War on Terror.

It is known that the War on Terror was started after 9/11 attacks in the United States. These attacks were condemned by all European, Muslim and non-Muslim countries of the world. The US Government declared that it would fight against the perpetrators of 9/11. Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden were declared as prime suspects of the attacks. On October 07, 2001, Afghanistan was attacked in pursuit of Osama bin Laden and crushing Al Qaeda. After completing the main operations in Afghanistan, the Bush administration moved towards Iraq. It was argued that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction that posed a great threat to America. Moreover, it was stated that there was connection between 9/11 and Saddam. On the basis of these allegations, America planned an attack against Iraq. On March 20, 2003, Iraq was attacked and Saddam’s regime collapsed within a couple of weeks. But after the attack those weapons of mass destruction for which Iraq was invaded were not found.

In the context of the War on Terror, Britain and Pakistan gave full support to the United States. Particularly, in the case of the Afghanistan war, Pakistan provided logistic support and gave military bases to the United States for the facilitating the attack on Afghanistan. It was a tough time for Pakistan because; the country took a “U” turn in its policies with the Taliban government. Similarly, the British government provided full support for the Afghanistan war and its forces participated in the battle field. British Prime Minister offered should to shoulder support to the United States after 9/11. From the public perspective, British people supported action against Al Qaeda in Afghanistan but they were concerned about increasing casualties in Afghanistan. However, from the Pakistani side, the Pakistani public was not supportive of the Afghanistan war. Even the Pakistani media and Pakistani public criticized the Government support to War on Terror. Pakistani press reported many public protests and negative public opinion in respect to War on Terror. Terradellas (2008) noted that the Pakistani media did not support the government’s alliance with the US in the ‘War on Terror’; it framed America as a constant threat for Pakistani interests.

Correspondingly, in the case of the Iraqi war, the British Government supported the United States policy but the British government faced immense opposition from its public and media. The British press reported many incidents of protests in Britain against the government’s decision. There was much negative public opinion on the Iraqi war as was mentioned by *The Guardian* and *The Independent* in their editorials. Similarly, the Pakistani public was much against the Iraqi war. Although the Pakistani government did not support the Iraqi war it did not openly criticize the prospects of an

Iraqi attack. The media criticized the government for not actively condemning the Iraqi war.

Keeping in mind the above scenario, the present research investigated particular agendas of the Pakistani and British press regarding the coverage of the War on Terror. It was noted that the British press was much interested in the role of Britain in the War on Terror. The British press stressed that while supporting the War on Terror, British interests should not get hurt. It was also argued that shoulder to shoulder support for the United States on the War on Terror would not be according to British national interests. Moreover, the British newspapers argued that the British government should take decisions on the Afghani and Iraqi crisis independently. The policies should not impinge on British sovereignty. British participation in the War on Terror affected British sovereignty and consequences of the War on Terror on Britain had been the prominent agenda of the British press. Comparatively, the Pakistani press was dominated by Pakistan's role in the War on Terror. The Pakistani press discussed the implications of the War on Terror on Pakistan. It discussed the security challenges, refugees influx, threats from the Taliban and threats to Pakistan's sovereignty. It commented on the consequences of the War on Terror such as increasing terrorism in the country and distorted Pakistani image in the international media. Pakistani newspapers generally stressed that Pakistan made immense sacrifices on account of the War on Terror but it did not receive as much positive response from America as it expected. America always remained dissatisfied with Pakistani efforts, asked for more support and did not give adequate economic support to the Pakistani economy. America was able to exert a

stronger influence in Pakistan, which threatened Pakistan's sovereignty. The Pakistani press mostly dominated the agenda of Pakistan's interests in the War on Terror.

Secondly, it was noted that the Pakistani and British press criticized the US post 9/11 policies. The British press framed these policies as aggressive and pro-war. Particularly, the action of the United States against Iraq and threats to Muslim countries like Iran and Syria were criticized by the British press. However, from the Pakistani perspective it was noted that the Pakistani press highlighted the aggressive policies of the US against the Muslim community. It criticized US anti-terrorist laws, US immigration laws against Muslim immigrants, US pro war policies against Muslim countries, and support for Israel against Palestine and hate crimes in America against the Muslim community. The Pakistani press highlighted the agenda of threats and challenges to the Muslim world.

Thirdly, it was observed that the press in Pakistan and Britain discussed the threats of terrorism for the society. In this context, the British press adopted a more critical stance against Al Qaeda. It discussed the factors behind the success of Al Qaeda and how the organization could be neutralized. Moreover, the British press stressed that terrorism could be checked through improving intelligence and better police work. It was not much supportive of the idea of waging wars against particular countries. However, in this context, the Pakistani press was particularly interested in the increase in terrorism in Pakistan after 9/11. It highlighted the Government efforts to reduce terrorism, causes of terrorism and incidents of terrorism in Pakistan. At the same time, the Pakistani press

also did not give a positive portrayal of Al Qaeda activities; in fact, it discussed the threats from Al Qaeda to Pakistan.

Fourthly, it was noticed that in the case of the Iraqi war, the press in both countries condemned the war. The press highlighted the anti-war agenda in their coverage of the Iraqi war. But in this case, the Pakistani press focused on the attack of Iraq by the United States for its strategic interest in the region. The US wanted to capture Iraq's oil, redesign the Middle East and to support Israel. The coverage of Iraq war was dominated by these agendas. However, the British newspapers did not comment on these agendas. Additionally, Pakistani press was more interested in the agendas related to the challenges to the Muslim world, unity of Muslim Ummah and Israel and India's oppressive actions in their occupied areas of Palestine and Kashmir respectively.

Moreover, the British press highlighted the importance of the role of the United Nations in the War on Terror. The role of United Nations was much stressed by the British press in both wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The United Nations had been the dominant agenda of the British press. It was argued that the Iraqi war had badly affected the credibility of the United Nations as the sole institution of arbitration.

The other important agenda that was pointed up by the British press was the conspiracy of the British dossier on Iraq. It was observed that British press significantly stressed the agenda. There were many editorials published on the issue. The press criticized the British government for providing fake information on Iraq's weapons of mass

destruction. The press gave immense coverage to this conspiracy and stressed the need for an enquiry on the concerning issue.

On the other hand, the Pakistani press highlighted the agendas related to the plight of prisoners of war in the United States, mistreatment of prisoners, Pakistani prisoners in America and stressed on humanitarian agencies to consider these issues. Moreover the Pakistani press focused on Pakistan's relations with the United States and Afghanistan after 9/11. Particularly, in the case of Afghanistan, the Pakistani press emphasized friendly relations with Afghanistan. Moreover, the Pakistani press highlighted the agenda of rebuilding Afghanistan. It was noted that from the start of the Afghanistan war, Pakistani newspapers continually highlighted this issue and stressed on international organizations to rebuild Afghanistan. It was argued that if the international community was sincere in curtailing terrorism, it had to support Afghanistan in its rebuilding.

To conclude, it could be stated that the British press set its agenda according to its political, social and national interests of Britain. Similarly, the Pakistani press also dominated those agendas that were according to its interests. According to agenda setting theory that the public mostly got guidance from media regarding important issues in their society (Graber, 1984). There were number of studies conducted from this perspective (De Santos, 2004; Kosicki, 1993; McCombs, 2008). However, Littlejohn and Foss (2008) referred to the power relationships between media and the outside sources. It was argued that if there was positive relationship between high power source

and high power media, both could influence the public agenda. On the other hand, if powerful media and powerful source did not have positive relationship, there would be a struggle between them. In the coverage of the war on terror by the Pakistani and British press, it was observed that the press from both the countries did not have positive relationship with high power sources.

It was noted that the Pakistani media appeared as a powerful medium. During the war on terror, the United States and the Pakistani government also exerted pressures on the Pakistani press. But high power source could not influence the agenda of Pakistani press regarding the war on terror. Pakistani press adopted negative and critical stance against America and the Pakistani government for waging the war on terror. However, there were other external factors observed which influenced the agenda of Pakistani press about the war on terror such as religion, socio economic culture and proximity with Afghanistan. Pakistan had physical proximity with Afghanistan. Moreover, Pushtoon nation lived in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Pakistani Pushtoon community sympathised with the Afghani people. If there were killings and destruction in Afghanistan, it reacted the Pakistani Pushtoon community. Secondly, during 1980's Pakistan supported Afghanistan war against Russia. However, after the 9/11 Pakistan government took 'U' on its policy related to Afghanistan. The change in the government policy was not projected positively by the Pakistani press. Pakistani media analyzed the policy change in a critical manner. Lastly, the religion was the factor. The killings of the Muslims were not acceptable to the Pakistani society. During the war on terror, these external factors influenced agenda of the Pakistani press.

However, in the case of the British press, the British public opinion influenced the news agenda regarding Iraq attack 2003. According to Guardian/ICM polls majority of British voters opposed Iraq attack (*The Guardian*, February 18, 2003). Similarly the British press adopted strict stance against Iraq attack and even criticized British Prime Minister for waging an illegal war against Iraq. The study concluded that these external factors played a role in setting news agendas regarding the coverage the war on terror in the British and Pakistani press.

Moreover as members of the media from a Muslim country, Pakistani newspapers stressed the agendas that were related to Muslim interests. The British on the other hand, generally stressed the eradication of terrorism and supported collaborative efforts to achieve this aim. Thus, these findings, answer the fifth research question of this study.

#### **6.3.6 Media conformity to foreign policy**

On the assessment of media conformity to foreign policy, it was investigated to what extent the Pakistani and British press followed their government policies in the coverage of the War on Terror. As it was discussed in the first chapter Britain and Pakistan supported the US government on the War on Terror. During the Afghanistan war of 2001, Britain and Pakistan gave enormous support and facilitated the US attack. The British Prime Minister and the Pakistani President expressed supportive statements to the War on Terror in their press briefings. Similarly, the British government supported Iraq war of 2003 irrespective of immense public pressure against war in Britain. However, in the case of Pakistan, the Government did not express its policy on Iraq

crisis initially. It was more silent on the issue. Being a part of War on Terror, it was difficult for the government to take any decision when public opinion was very strong against the Iraqi crisis and demanded to the Pakistani government to withdraw its support from the War on Terror. Correspondingly, the Pakistani government decided not to support war against Iraq. The Pakistani media discussed the statements by Pakistan's President and Prime Minister in which they did not endorse the Iraqi attack 2003.

According to the previous research on media conformity to foreign policy, the media mostly supported foreign policy guidelines or government positions in the coverage of international crisis (Bennett, 1990; Entman, 2004; Frenssley, 2002; Grundmann, Smith, & Wright, 2000; Kumar, 2006; Reese & Lewis, 2009). However, in the present study, it was observed that mostly the British press did not follow foreign policy guidelines in the coverage of the War on Terror. But there were limited instances when the British press supported British foreign policy in the reporting of the Afghani war of 2001. However on the Iraqi crisis of 2003, it gave coverage to the issue, contrary to the policies of their Government. Likewise, the Pakistani press also did not endorse Government policy on the War on Terror and Afghanistan war of 2001. It highlighted more oppositional statements in the coverage of the War on Terror and criticized the Government policies on the issue concerned. However, on the Iraqi crisis, the Pakistani government did not support the war and Pakistani press too disapproved Iraq attack. In this case, Pakistan press criticized the Pakistani government for not taking proactive action against the Iraqi attack. On this crisis, the Pakistani press criticized Pakistan's

foreign policy for having a weak opposition against the Iraqi attack. It was suggested that Pakistan should be in the forefront opposing the aggression against Iraq.

It was noted that coverage of the War on Terror by the British press was different to the British government policy on it. British press mostly discussed, outcomes of war, oppositional statements, criticism on British and American policies related to the war on terror and the British anti-terrorist laws. Likewise, during the coverage of the Afghani war, the British press pointed towards merciless killings, bombings, humanitarian concerns and critical statements against the war. Conversely, there were few editorials noted which supported Afghanistan attack and highlighted early victories in Afghanistan and the European support. Moreover, the British press supported British forces that were participating in Afghanistan war.

However, on the Iraqi attack of 2003, the British press was completely against the policy of the British government. The press argued that the British government supported the war which was not approved by the United Nations. *The Guardian* and *The Independent* discussed the themes related to negative public opinion, demonstrations, oppositional arguments, condemnation against the United States for bypassing the United Nations on the Iraqi war and weapons of mass destruction. The British newspapers also denounced the government for bringing false information regarding the Iraqi's weapons of mass destruction. It was noted that on Iraq crisis, British press adopted critical stance against the policies of their government. However, from the previous literature, there was mix opinion on this crisis. A study conducted by Pickerill and Webster (2006) supported the

findings of the present study. They found that during and after Iraq war 2003, the British newspapers, *The Independent* and *Daily Mirror* opposed British support to war and gave more space to dissent (Pickerill & Webster, 2006). However, another study argued that the British media supported government standpoint on Iraq crisis and gave critical coverage to the immorality of Saddam's regime (Lewis, Brookes, Mosdell & Threadgold, 2006).

Likewise, the coverage of the War on Terror by the Pakistani press was also comprised of oppositional and critical arguments against the war and Government policy. Pakistani newspapers discussed anti war protests in the country, criticisms against government policies and implications of the War on Terror on Pakistan. The Pakistani press argued that while supporting War on Terror, the country had face severe consequences in from threats from Al Qaeda, worsening law and order within the country and refugees influx. Moreover, the increasing influence of the United States in Pakistan would endanger Pakistan's sovereignty. As a rule, the editorials from *The Dawn* and *The Nation* criticized America for its pro-war polices against Muslim countries. Accordingly, during the Afghanistan war of 2001, the press focused its coverage on civilian casualties, massacres, heavy bombardment, worsening law and order situation, humanitarian crisis and lack of evidence against Osama. It was argued why the Pakistan government supported the war against Afghanistan without demanding strong evidence against Osama from the United States. On Afghanistan war, the Pakistani press did not conform to government policy in their coverage.

However, the Pakistan Government did not support the extension of the War on Terror to Iraq. In like manner; the coverage of the Pakistani press was also not supportive of the war. It discussed those arguments that were against the war. The Pakistani government stressed the United Nations authorization of the Iraqi war; the press too endorsed the view point. However, it was observed that the Pakistani press was not yet satisfied with the government response. There were certain editorials which expressed the view that the Pakistani government should be in fore-front in opposing the Iraqi attack. The press criticized the government for taking a passive stand on the Iraqi issue. The Pakistani press was much against America for invading Iraq on fragile excuse, likewise it expected that the Pakistani government should also adopt aggressive stance against the policies of the United States.

Overall, the research indicated that British coverage of the War on Terror, the Afghanistan war of 2001 and the Iraqi war of 2003 was dominated by oppositional arguments but during the initial days of 9/11 attacks and Afghanistan war at certain points, the press supported the government policy line. It could be stated that on the Afghanistan war the British press partially conformed with British policy but on Iraq war 2003 it was completely against. Accordingly, Robinson, Goddard, Parry and Murray (2009) found in their study that the British media gave balanced and objective coverage of the War on Terror. At certain levels it conformed with Government policies but on the other hand, there was a huge discussion on casualties and humanitarian issues.

However, the Pakistani press did not endorse Government policy on the War on Terror and the Afghanistan war of 2001. It adopted a critical stance against the war and generally criticized the Government for supporting the War on Terror but on the Iraqi crisis of 2003, the press partially supported the policy of Pakistan government despite being not much satisfied with its approach. Archetti (2008) concluded in her research that in the framing of 9/11 attacks the Pakistani press did not support the government's discourse on this issue but national interest played important role in the selection and framing of the news. Likewise, previous literature on the Pakistani media relating to the coverage of the War on Terror indicated that the Pakistani media did not conform government policies on the War on Terror and condemned Pakistan's support for the war (Singh, 2003; Shah, 2010; Khan & Safdar, 2010; Khan & Imran, 2011; Paracha, Imran & Khan, 2012; Terradellas, 2008). Thus, these findings answer the sixth research question of the study successfully.

### **6.3.7 Opinion of British and Pakistani informants regarding War on Terror**

This research also investigated the opinion of Pakistani and British informants regarding the War on Terror. It was noted that British informants viewed the 9/11 attacks as a tragic event and held responsible Al Qaeda or Islamic extremists for this atrocity. Pakistani informants also condemned the attack but they perceived the 9/11 attacks in the context of the conspiracy theory. They stressed that attacks could have been pre planned. It was important to have looked deeply into the matter and immediate action against any country was not correct.

Regarding the War on Terror, it was observed that British informants considered it an action against terrorism. They also stressed that the war would crush terrorism but it was more important to root out the causes of terrorism. However few were of the opinion that War on Terror did not help to curtail terrorism. Comparatively, on the same issue, Pakistani informants expressed quite different opinions. They framed the War on Terror as another form of terrorism. They emphasized that it was a war for US interests against the Muslim countries. They argued that America came into the region to capture oil and gas resources of central Asian states and contain China and Russia. They were sure that the War on Terror did not help to curtail terrorism but on the contrary, it boosted terrorism.

Similarly, regarding the Afghanistan war and the Iraqi war, the informants from both countries were not much supportive. They were of the opinion that wars did not solve anything. They expressed their concerns regarding increasing civilian casualties and infrastructural damage in Afghanistan and Iraq. The informants from both countries were particularly much against the Iraqi war. They did not consider it as a justified war but it was noted that they did not give a positive opinion regarding Saddam. British informants framed him as a dictator and Pakistani informants framed him as a person who was used for American interests. It was observed that the Pakistani informants stressed American interests in South Asia and the Middle East; British informants did not do so. The Pakistanis adopted more aggressive language and stance against America. Mostly, their language indicated that they were quite sure that America planned all crises for achieving its strategic interests. However, the British approach was more

neutral. They condemned the Afghanistan and Iraq wars but they did not directly criticize America.

On the question of Pakistan's foreign policy on the War on Terror, Pakistani informants were not satisfied. They considered their Government policy negatively and commented that it was a dependent policy. The Pakistani Government did not have an independent policy. It was the policy of survival. The majority of informants condemned the Pakistani Government for supporting US policies. Interestingly, it was noted from British informants that they also did not endorse their Government policies on the War on Terror. Most were annoyed that the British Government always supported US policies. However, few informants were supportive of their government's policy on the War on Terror.

Moreover, the informants were asked to comment on Islam. It was observed that most of them had similar opinions on Islam. The Pakistani and British informants considered Islam as a peaceful religion and both were agreed that there were certain factions among Muslims who used Islam for their political or economical interests. British informants had very positive opinions about Islam and the Muslims. Pakistani informants stressed that Islam was wrongly represented in the West. However, a few Pakistani informants argued that some people framed Islam as an extremist religion; basically they were scared of Islam because it was the only religion that had its own economic, political and social system. These people considered Islam as a threat to their ideologies.

Another interesting finding that was observed through this study is that the opinion of Pakistani and British informants was mostly consistent with the press coverage of the War on Terror by their respective countries. Pakistani and British informants criticized those aspects of the War on Terror that was highlighted by their respective press. The Pakistani press generally looked at the War on Terror from the perspective of the US interests in the region; correspondingly, the Pakistani informants expressed the similar opinion. However, the Pakistani informants expressed their concerns on civilian casualties during the War on Terror but they stressed the taking of measures to eradicate terrorism. Similarly, the British informants also endorsed this viewpoint.

Overall, it was noted that the perception of the Pakistani and British informants had some similarities and differences. Pakistani informants were more aggressively against the War on Terror than the British. They stressed American interests, collateral damages and negative consequences of terrorism war on the Muslims and Pakistan. However, the British informants adopted a balanced approach in expressing their views on the War on Terror. The Pew Research Centre (2011) also came up with the same finding in its polls with the Pakistani public that most Pakistanis considered America as a potential threat and disapproved the US war on terror (Pew Research Centre, 2011). British informants also had certain reservations on the War on Terror but they considered it as an action to restrict terrorism. At the same time British informants were much worried about civilian casualties and had positive opinions regarding Islam and the Muslims. Thus, through these findings, the last research question of the study is answered.

#### **6.4 Contribution to Knowledge**

This study could be considered a worthy contribution to knowledge because some of its findings were consistent with previous studies on the framing of War on Terror generally and particularly from the Pakistani and British perspectives. Simultaneously, some of its findings were different from previous ones. This study was a valuable contribution to knowledge because it not only confirmed previous research on the framing of the War on Terror but also added new knowledge.

This study evaluated how the War on Terror was framed by the newspapers of two different countries. However, Pakistan and Britain were coalition partners in the War on Terror but both countries had different political, social and media approach as towards the war. Specifically, the study contributed to the body of knowledge by including aspects such as, prominent media frames, media agendas of Pakistani and British press on the War on Terror, stance of coverage, government media policies of both countries and media response towards them and British and Pakistani informants viewpoints about the War on Terror.

This study had several findings that were consistent with previous literature. Some of its unique findings are summarized below:

- Comparative analysis of Pakistan and British press on the framing of War on Terror revealed that the stance of coverage from the press of both countries was dominantly negative

- The Pakistani and British press generally employed an anti-war frame, a rebuilding frame, and humanitarian frame in the coverage of the War on Terror
- The Pakistani press appeared to be more critical and hard on the issues of the War on Terror but the British press sometimes adopted a balanced approach
- Media agenda on the coverage of the War on Terror was dominated by the political, social and national interests of both countries
- The Pakistani and British governments supported the War on Terror but their respective press generally did not support their government policies in the coverage of the War on Terror
- This study highlighted different issues that were discussed in the Pakistani and British press in the coverage of the War on Terror such as role of Pakistan and Britain in War on Terror, plight of prisoners of war, implications for Pakistan, threats to Pakistan's sovereignty, British dossier on the Iraqi war and framing of Muslims and Islam after 9/11

Moreover, from the perspective of theoretical contribution, this study addressed media theories such as 'Media Framing' and 'Agenda Setting' and found out to what extent the media supported a country's foreign policy in the coverage of international conflict. The study investigated the dominant media frames and media agendas during the coverage of War on Terror. Previous literature on the coverage of the War on Terror was mostly based on American media (Lipschultz, 2007; Kumar, 2006; Friel & Falk, 2004; Miller, 2004; Barrett, 2003; Ryan; 2004; Stevenson, 2004; Entman, 2003; Kellner, 2003; Domke, 2004). However, the coverage of War on terror from Muslim media perspective was lacking. After September 11 attacks, the US adopted strict policies against Muslim

countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. At this time, it was pertinent to explore Muslim media perspective on the war on terror. Thus the present study discussed the coverage of war on terror by the Pakistani press and also made its comparison with British press which provided Western and Muslim media perspective on the war on terror.

Moreover, the present study applied the theories of media framing and agenda setting. Theoretically, the study contributed to the body of knowledge that how different media frames and media agenda brought changes in the presentation of the issue. The coverage of war on terror was analyzed by Pakistani and British press which highlighted different media agendas and frames that portrayed the conflict with different perspectives.

Relating to agenda setting theory, the study suggested that some external factors such as religion, socio economic culture and proximity to Afghanistan influenced the agenda of Pakistani press and the public opinion from Britain affected the agenda of the British press regarding the coverage of the War on Terror . This is the valuable contribution of this study.

From the methodological dimension, this study employed a qualitative approach to analyze the coverage of the War on Terror and brought rich results. It found out different themes from the data which indicated the similarities or differences in the coverage of the War on Terror by the Pakistan and British press. It was observed that previous literature mostly employed quantitative approach to find out media frames and stance of coverage. However, this study deeply analyzed the data and not only identified

different media frames and stance of coverage but also pointed up those issues which received media attention during the coverage of the War on Terror. By employing qualitative approach this study provides negative, positive and neutral themes regarding the reporting of the war on terror which the previous studies lacked.

This study analyzed the data from the perspective of media conformity. Many studies conducted on American media indicated that during the coverage of any conflict the US media generally supported official policies (Bennett, 1990; Entman, 2004; Frenssley, 2002; Gurevitch, Levy; Roeh, 1991; Zheng; 2006). However, the present study revealed that during War on Terror, the British government completely supported the war and even its troops participated in the Afghanistan and Iraqi attacks. The Pakistani government also supported the War on Terror and the Afghanistan attack of 2001 and provided logistic support to the United States to attack Afghanistan but on the Iraqi crisis, the government policy did not endorse it. The research investigated that either in the coverage of the War on Terror the Pakistan and British press towed the government's policy lines. The findings indicated that there was partial support for Government policy on the War on Terror from the press of both countries but oppositional themes were more dominant. These findings filled practical gap.

Lastly, the study provided a public perspective on War on Terror. The data from the representatives of the public in Pakistan and Britain provided the public viewpoint. The British and Pakistani people mostly talked about those themes that were discussed by their press in the coverage of War on Terror.

The empirical contribution of the study was that it shed light on how the press across different countries framed the War on Terror. The present study on the British dailies, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* revealed that there were more critical themes regarding the coverage of the War on Terror, particularly in the case of *The Independent* which adopted a more oppositional stance against the War on Terror than *The Guardian*. Similarly, the Pakistani press was completely against the War on Terror. Furthermore, the present research was more descriptive and detailed on the issues concerned.

Practically, the study suggested to the media organizations how different media frames and media agendas worked out in the coverage of international conflicts. Government policies, proximity factors and national interests made their impact on the coverage. The media should adopt an objective, balanced and fair approach as it was noted in the case of the British press that adopted critical and balanced approach in the context of the War on Terror. However, it was expected that it would be more supportive of the war than the Pakistani press. Likewise, the Pakistani press covered the conflict with a critical approach and discussed its economic, security, domestic and international impacts.

There was immense literature on the framing of the War on Terror but most of this literature focused on Western media and particularly the US media. There were limited studies from the Eastern perspective and specifically from the Pakistani side. The present study fills this vacuum. It not only provides the Pakistani media perspective on the War on Terror but also compared it with the British media. It is a valuable contribution to the scarce literature on the framing of the War on Terror from the Pakistani perspective.

## **6.5 Limitation of the study**

The first limitation of the study is that it has chosen only quality newspapers from Britain (*The Guardian, The Independent*) and Pakistan (*The Dawn, The Nation*). The rightist newspapers from Britain might have different opinions on the issue. Similarly, the Urdu press in Pakistan might include other themes that were not discussed in the English dailies of Pakistan.

Moreover, the study does not include electronic media (TV and Radio) that were very much vibrant in both countries during the War on Terror. The research only included editorials of the newspapers excluding other news articles, news stories or pictorial displays.

Another, limitation of the study is that it is not a newsroom study. The researcher did not contact news editors or journalists to investigate how they choose or set agendas in the coverage of specific issues. The findings were based on newspaper analysis.

Thirdly, the researcher included the press from only two countries. For getting a more detailed perspective more cross country comparisons could be added. The other limitation of the study is that the researcher could not directly contact British informants. The research had to depend on their e mail replies regarding their opinion on the War on Terror. The researcher conducted nine ‘interviews’ with British and ten from Pakistani informants. In this respect, the research study was not an audience study which included a number of public responses.

## **6.6 Suggestions for further studies**

To understand the media framing of the War on Terror, it was important to analyse TV media content on the issues involved. Particularly, in the case of Pakistan the media got independence after 2000 and as a result of that private TV channels sprang out. These channels for the first time independently covered international conflicts in which Pakistan was also involved. By looking at their coverage, which factors played a role to set agenda and form media frames could be investigated.

Secondly, including the media from different countries could give a more critical approach to the media coverage of the War on Terror. Specifically, the media of those countries which were not involved in the war directly or indirectly should be analyzed. It could be investigated how their governments made their influence on the coverage and what factors framed the coverage.

Thirdly, through interviews with Pakistani journalists, editors and writers, it could be investigated what factors play roles important in the framing of the War on Terror or other international conflicts.

Fourthly, there was a need to explore the media framing of the War on Terror from those countries that had neutral opinions on this conflict such as Malaysia, Indonesia, or Turkey. The studies on the media of such countries would reveal how the media looked at the war and what factors played a role to frame media discourse on the War on Terror.

Finally, interviewing a large number of British and Pakistan informants could strongly depict public opinion from the countries involved. In this way, a more detailed investigation of public opinion could be conducted.

## **6.7 Conclusion**

The purpose of the study was to explore the coverage of the War on Terror from the Pakistani and British press. The study explored the stance of coverage, media frame, media agendas and prominent issues from the Pakistani and British press. The present chapter discussed in detail the findings of the research. It was noted that oppositional and critical themes remained dominant in the Pakistan and British press but sometimes neutral or positive themes were also noted from the British newspapers. The present research has successfully carried out all its research objectives. The objectives were related to stances of converge, dominant media frames, media agendas, media conformity to foreign policy and public perception about war on terror. The research revealed stances of coverage, media frames, media agendas from the coverage of War on Terror by Pakistan and British press. There was partial media conformity to foreign policy on the part of the Pakistani and British press. However, generally the coverage in the newspapers of both the countries was dominated by anti-government policy themes. Through thematic analysis of the newspapers the present research provides a deep insight into the Pakistani and British press regarding their coverage of the War on Terror.

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## Appendix A

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180. A divided world stands on the brink of a war that could have been avoided. (2003, March 18). *The Independent*, p. 18.
181. Whatever the anxieties over this conflict, Mr. Blair has shown himself to be a leader for troubled times. (2003, March 19). *The Independent*, p. 18.
182. When democracies do battle with a despot, they must hold on to their moral superiority. (2003, March 20). *The Independent*, p. 18.
183. After all the doubts, only one aim can justify this war: freedom for the Iraqi people. (2003, March 21). *The Independent*, p. 20.
184. A war in the name of democracy must tolerate some dissent at home. (2003, March 22). *The Independent*, p. 22.
185. European unity cannot be dictated by a bureaucrat's pen. (2003, March 22). *The Independent*, p. 22.
186. The price British forces are paying in Iraq entitles us to a say in the post-war settlement. (2003, March 24). *The Independent*, p. 18.
187. President Bush is right to condemn Iraq's treatment of captured soldiers - but his outrage rings hollow. (2003, March 25). *The Independent*, p. 20.
188. Mr. Blair still needs to justify the considerable risks he has taken by launching this war. (2003, March 26). *The Independent*, p. 18.
189. Arab disunity. (2003, March 26). *The Independent*, p. 18.
190. The Turkish front. (2003, March 27). *The Independent*, p. 18.
191. The mounting list of casualties in this conflict is a salutary corrective to the modern view of war. (2003, March 27). *The Independent*, p. 18.
192. The question remains: what did Mr. Blair achieve by going to Washington? (2003, March 28). *The Independent*, p. 18.

193. There will be a severe political price to pay if the human and financial costs of this conflict mount up. (2003, March 29). *The Independent*, p. 22.
194. Mr. Bush should heed the humble words he spoke in his election campaign. (2003, March 31). *The Independent*, p. 18.
195. Prisoners of war. (2003, April 01). *The Independent*, p. 18.
196. The damage we are doing to our relations with the Middle East could last a generation. (2003, April 01). *The Independent*, p. 18.
197. Civilian deaths occur in war - but that is no excuse for needless belligerence. (2003, April 02). *The Independent*, p. 16.
198. It will take more than Powell's visit to mend the fractured Turkish alliance. (2003, April 03). *The Independent*, p. 18.
199. Mr. Blunkett: reactionary, illiberal and wrong. (2003, April 04). *The Independent*, p. 16.
200. This is proclaimed as a just war. So why are cluster bombs being used? (2003, April 04). *The Independent*, p. 16.
201. We still cannot be sure of the course or outcome of this peculiar conflict. (2003, April 05). *The Independent*, p. 18.
202. A visit to Belfast will give George Bush timely lessons in geography, politics and nation-building. (2003, April 07). *The Independent*, p. 16.
203. The allied forces have a duty to prevent looting. (2003, April 08). *The Independent*, p. 16.
204. When Saddam is ousted, the UN inspectors should be sent back in to Iraq. (2003, April 08). *The Independent*, p. 16.
205. The nation is at war, the economic mood is gloomy - but there is no excuse for caution on the home front. (2003, April 09). *The Independent*, p. 14.
206. After the feelings of relief and celebration, Iraqis must now be allowed to rebuild their own country. (2003, April 10). *The Independent*, p. 12.
207. It may be years before the US and Britain know what they have unleashed in Iraq. (2003, April 11). *The Independent*, p. 18.
208. Now the war is over, the world must put aside its differences and work together to help Iraq. (2003, April 12). *The Independent*, p. 16.
209. Dealers and collectors must return Iraq's looted treasures. (2003, April 14). *The Independent*, p. 16.
210. America's attacks on Syria simply confirm fears of its Middle East intentions. (2003, April 14). *The Independent*, p. 16.
211. Justice should be meted out by the Iraqi people, not by the victors. (2003, April 15). *The Independent*, p. 16.
212. Mr. Blair has proved his alliance with America, but not his role in Europe. (2003, April 16). *The Independent*, p. 14.

213. A terrorist, yes, but no proof of Saddam's links to bin Laden. (2003, April 17). *The Independent*, p. 20.
214. This divergence of views over the war complicates the moves towards peace. (2003, April 18). *The Independent*, p. 18.
215. The Iraqis' idea of democracy may differ from that of Mr. Bush. (2003, April 22). *The Independent*, p. 16.
216. Beware the yawning gap between these homely words and the harsh reality. (2003, April 26). *The Independent*, p. 16.
217. The race to establish security and stability. (2003, April 29). *The Independent*, p. 16.
218. The war may be over, but we will be paying for its consequences over many years to come. (2003, May 01). *The Independent*, p. 18.
219. America has engaged with the world - and there is some ground for optimism. (2003, May 09). *The Independent*, p. 16.
220. Mr. Blair has betrayed two promises he made about post-war Iraq. (2003, May 10). *The Independent*, p. 16.
221. The awful implications of these terrorist attacks in Saudi Arabia. (2003, May 14). *The Independent*, p. 16.
222. We will have to learn to live with the threat of terrorism. (2003, May 17). *The Independent*, p. 16.
223. This litany of carnage explodes the myth that terrorism can be easily defeated. (2003, May 19). *The Independent*, p. 14.
224. This resolution may not be perfect, but it is a start. (2003, May 23). *The Independent*, p. 18.
225. Can the occupation of Iraq be prevented from sliding to disaster? (2003, May 24). *The Independent*, p. 22.
226. This appointment will not justify the invasion of Iraq. (2003, May 27). *The Independent*, p. 14.
227. Mr. Blair may survive this failure to find weapons. But what about his credibility? (2003, May 29). *The Independent*, p. 18.
228. Mr. Blair is right to praise our troops - but he has to justify the war they fought. (2003, May 30). *The Independent*, p. 18.
229. We were duped into war - even the Americans admit it. (2003, June 02). *The Independent*, p. 12.
230. Mr. Blair should beware: trouble lies ahead on this dangerous road. (2003, June 05). *The Independent*, p. 18.
231. Keeping the peace can be harder than winning the war. (2003, June 09). *The Independent*, p. 12.
232. A counter-productive policy towards Iran. (2003, June 16). *The Independent*, p. 12.
233. This search for the truth must continue. (2003, June 18). *The Independent*, p. 14.

234. Where is Saddam? And where is the evidence that he was such a threat? (2003, June 23). *The Independent*, p. 12.
235. Mr. Straw, a dodgy defense, and some questions the government cannot evade. (2003, June 25). *The Independent*, p. 12.
236. The charge against the government is not one of lying, but that it failed to tell the whole truth. (2003, June 26). *The Independent*, p. 18.
237. This victor's justice besmirches the struggle against global terrorism. (2003, July 05). *The Independent*, p. 18.
238. Give thanks that Mr. Bush is now half right about Africa and not all wrong. (2003, July 07). *The Independent*, p. 18.
239. The commons committee has asked the questions, but we need a judicial inquiry to answer them. (2003, July 08). *The Independent*, p. 14.
240. America's dismissal of the Niger connection has damaged Mr. Blair. (2003, July 09). *The Independent*, p. 14.
241. Mr. Blair must face the critics with little help from his American friend. (2003, July 11). *The Independent*, p. 14.
242. Iraq's real rulers need to admit their mistakes and learn from them. (2003, July 14). *The Independent*, p. 14.
243. Britain and America are reaping what they sowed. (2003, July 16). *The Independent*, p. 14.
244. A whistle-stop tour around the world cannot disguise Mr. Blair's problems. (2003, July 17). *The Independent*, p. 14.
245. A tragic ending to a process of inquiry that became more flawed the longer it continued. (2003, July 19). *The Independent*, p. 18.
246. The BBC faces awkward questions, but we must not lose sight of the real issue. (2003, July 21). *The Independent*, p. 14.
247. After several false starts, there is hope of a new beginning for the Iraqis. (2003, July 24). *The Independent*, p. 14.
248. There is no cause for panic over our security precautions. (2003, July 25). *The Independent*, p. 16.
249. The intelligence failures behind 11 September should have led not to Iraq but to Saudi Arabia. (2003, July 26). *The Independent*, p. 18.
250. Lord Hutton's inquiry and the question of whether we can trust our leaders. (2003, August 01). *The Independent*, p. 16.
251. The Americans are trying to build a prosperous, democratic Iraq, but they cannot do it on their own. (2003, August 09). *The Independent*, p. 18.

252. America and Britain must face the growing cost of occupying Iraq. (2003, August 18). *The Independent*, p. 12.
253. Now we know that no 10 did order a rewrite of the dossier to justify war. (2003, August 19). *The Independent*, p. 14.
254. This is the time to strengthen the role of the United Nations in Iraq. (2003, August 20). *The Independent*, p. 14.
255. Dangerous as it is, the United Nations must stay in Iraq - with a wider role. (2003, August 21). *The Independent*, p. 16.
256. Mr. Blair has more questions to answer than he will be asked. (2003, August 25). *The Independent*, p. 12.
257. Mr. Scarlett has some searching questions to answer today. (2003, August 26). *The Independent*, p. 12.
258. President Bush cannot ignore much longer the realities of Iraq. (2003, August 27). *The Independent*, p. 14.
259. Only an international force can prevent a civil war in Iraq. (2003, September 01). *The Independent*, p. 14.
260. A welcome but still uncertain step towards self- rule in Iraq. (2003, September 02). *The Independent*, p. 14.
261. Mr. Bush can lose, but not to these democratic contenders. (2003, September 03). *The Independent*, p. 16.
262. The price of us arrogance in Iraq is growing - and we are paying our share. (2003, September 05). *The independent*, p. 18.
263. A strange unity of purpose, born out of an unforeseen set of circumstances. (2003, September 09). *The independent*, p. 14.
264. Lessons of 11 September, and how the war on terror' has brought only more war and more terror. (2003, September 11). *The independent*, p. 16.

## **Appendix B**

### **Pakistani and British informants**

#### **Pakistani informants**

P1 is 32 years old Pakistani lady. She did her masters in English. She belongs to educational field. She is much interested in the issues regarding the war on terror and its impacts on Pakistan. She is regular reader of Pakistani newspapers in English and Urdu.

P2 is 26 years old lady from Pakistan. She did her masters in Economics. She is working as a teacher in an private academy in Multan. She has particular interests in global politics, foreign polices and impacts of war on terror on Pakistan. She was very keen to speak about war on terror and consequences for Pakistan.

P3 is 33 years old person. He is working as judicial magistrate in Pakistan. He passed exam of civil services in Pakistan and joined government job. Being a civil servant he was much interested in Pakistan's political internal and external policies and had deep knowledge political and civil structure of Pakistan. He made interesting comments on War on Terror and role of Pakistani media.

P4 is 25 years old lady. She is student of political sciences. She was much enthusiastic to speak about the issues related Pakistan foreign policies, Pakistan's participation in war on terror and impacts of US war on terror on the Muslim world. She is a student and also teaching in an private academy.

P5 is 35 years old person. He was civil servant from Pakistani bureaucracy. He did his masters in international relations. He was keen to comment on Pakistan's foreign policy and critical analyze the policies of Pakistani government in the perspective of War on terror.

P6 is 40 years old person. He did his masters in political sciences and computer sciences. He was the principle of an educational institute. He had deep knowledge about

Pakistani internal and external politics, foreign policies and global politics. He deeply commented on US policies towards Muslim world.

P7 is 52 years old lady. She did her PhD from England in Business administration. She is working as a head of department in a public university of Pakistan. She had special interests the issues related to Pakistani media, freedom of expression, image of Islam and impact of war on terror.

P8 is 58 years old person. He is PhD from Pakistan in communication. He is also working as a head of department in a public University of Pakistan. He has deep knowledge about Pakistani media and political history of Pakistan. Moreover, he has keen interest about war on terror and its impacts on Pakistan and the Muslim world. He is interested in international politics, Pakistan domestic political structure and the working of Pakistani media.

P9 is 45 years old person. He is working as lecturer in a public university in Pakistan. He follows political issues of Pakistan and international politics. He mostly gets his news from Pakistani mainstream media. He was more keen to comment on the role of Pakistan during war on terror. He was also critical of biasness of western media during the coverage of war on terror.

P 10 is 50 years old person. He is working as a professor in private university of Pakistan. He was interested in Pakistani media and impact of war on terror on Pakistan. He was regular reader of Pakistani newspapers and mostly spoke on political and social issues of Pakistan. He is very critical of US policies against Pakistan.

### **British informants**

B1 is 63 years old lady living in Walsall England. She works in a government organization. She was interested to speak on the consequences of war on terror. She was regular user of British media and critical to British policies in the perspective of war on terror. She mostly shared her views on collateral damages in Afghanistan and Iraq wars. She also expressed critical remarks against British press.

B2 is 28 years old person have degree in medical and working as doctor in a hospital in London. He was interested to express his view regarding the threats of terrorism. He condemned al-Qaida and its activities around the world. He was also interested to comment on Islam and Muslims. He did not consider Muslims as extremists but had reservations against extremists groups. He was regular user of British media. He commented that British media did not report objectively on war on terror.

B3 is a 36 years old lady living in Birmingham, London. She works an private organization. She has University education. She was interested to speak on the consequences of the war on terror. She did not endorse attacks against Afghanistan and Iraq. She had special interest in British media and international politics.

B4 is a 40 years old lady. She is from Birmingham. She works in a Public University. She has keen interest about war on terror, international politics and British foreign policy. She condemned the 9/11 attacks and held al Qaeda responsible for the attacks. She was also interested to speak about Islam. She argued that the small number of people defamed Islam. She was of the opinion that regarding the coverage of war on terror there was lot of propaganda was involved.

B5 is 40 years old lady. She is a doctor by profession. She was personally present in Iraq during Iraq war 2003. She worked there as a doctor. She commented against Islamic extremists and American foreign policy. She considered war on terror as an effort to curb terrorism and praised American efforts to rebuild war trodden areas.

B6 is a 35 years old lady. She had masters degree in business administration and a PhD scholar. She was interested to comment on war on terror and its consequences. She was from London. She considered war on terror as an effort to fight against extremists and fanatics.

B7 is a 35 years old person. He was from Birmingham. He works as a research administrator in a University. He considers 9/11 as an illegal and murderous nature of an event. He framed war on terror as an effort to combat against extremist factors. However, he was much critical to British foreign policy regarding war on terror and American relations. He condemned British pro American foreign policy.

B8 is 29 years old person. He is from Walsall. He has special interest in British media and British foreign media. He was regular user of British and international media. He considers war on terror as an effort against terrorism and dictatorship. He was quite against the activities of Al Qaeda around the world. Moreover, he commented that during war on terror he followed the coverage of British media that was quite balanced and appropriate.

B9 is 26 years old person. He was graduated from Birmingham University. He was from Birmingham. He considered terrorism a big threat for the world. He stressed that the cause of terrorism should be removed. He was also of the opinion that he has many Muslim friends. Islam and Muslims do not pose any threat. Infact there were certain factions that were promoting terrorism. He argued that British press played neutral role during its coverage of war on terror.

## Appendix C

### Interview Protocol



Dear Informant,

I am a PhD scholar from School of Multimedia Technology and Communication, Universiti Utara Malaysia. This interview is a part of research that is conducted on the topic of “A Comparative study of Pakistani & British press on the coverage of ‘War on Terror’: With Framing and Agenda setting perspective”.

The study stresses on how Pakistani and British press presented the issue of ‘war on terror’ and consequently, what is the public opinion about this war.

Thus, I would like to enlist your help for conducting me this interview. I want to know your opinion about the war and your media. The responses will be used for academic uses only.

After completing the questionnaire, kindly e mail me on the following address: [aasima.safdar@gmail.com](mailto:aasima.safdar@gmail.com)

Thanks for your valuable time in giving the responses.

Yours sincerely,

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Aasima Safdar

Doctoral Candidate

School of Multimedia Technology

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Dr. Adrian Budiman

Dr. Norsiah binti Abdul Hamid

Supervisors

School of Multimedia Technology

and Communication

University Utara Malaysia

***SECTION ONE: Personal Information***

*Name* -----

*Age* -----

*Gender* -----

*Education* -----

*Job designation* -----

**Section TWO Questions:**

- Q no. 1**      What is the War on Terror? When you think about War on Terror what ideas come in your mind?
- Q no. 2**      What do you think who is responsible for 9/11 tragedy?
- Q no. 3**      How do you see the US invasion of Afghanistan in response to 9/11 attacks?
- Q no. 4**      How do you look at the ‘war on terror’ does it really curtail the threats of terrorism from the world?
- Q no. 5**      What is your opinion about the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by US in the context of ‘War on Terror’?
- Q no. 6**      What do you fear the most about Saddam Husain? Did he possess nuclear weapons; he had some connection with Al Qaeda, or any other threat?

- Q no. 7** How do you think about the consequences of war in terms of physical and property damage in Afghanistan and Iraq?
- Q no. 8** Islam gives the lesson of humanity and peace. How do you think about Islam and the Muslims?
- Q no. 9** How do you see UK's foreign relations with the United States in the perspective of 'war on terror'? (From British informants)
- Q no. 10** How do you see Pakistan's foreign relations with the United States in terms of 'war on terror'? (From Pakistani informants)
- Q no. 11** During the war on terror, what do you think, how fairly or objectively your press reported on the issue?

## Appendix D

### Time line events: War on Terror (2001-2003)

#### **Timeline: terror and its aftermath**

#### **A chronology of events since September 11, with links to key Guardian articles**

Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/11/september11.usa24> on May 15, 2014

#### **Tuesday September 11**

- Two hijacked airliners smash into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York. A third hijacked plane slams into the Pentagon in Washington, and a fourth crashes in Pennsylvania, apparently out of control.

The world watches the horrific rapid fire sequence of horror as the WTC towers blaze, then collapse, killing thousands still trapped inside. Within hours, President George Bush addresses the nation, vowing that those responsible will be hunted down.

- The world echoes with condemnation of the suicide bombers. A discordant note is struck by Palestinians, who celebrate the disaster - though their leader, Yasser Arafat, instantly condemns the terrorists, and says he will do all he can to help hunt down those responsible.

- Tony Blair calls for a worldwide campaign against terror, declaring that Britain stands shoulder to shoulder with the American people.

- Meanwhile, the finger of suspicion instantly points to Osama bin Laden, hiding in Afghanistan.

#### **Wednesday September 12**

- The FBI detains several suspects at a Boston hotel. Five more are picked up in southern Florida.

- President Bush calls on America's allies to join a war on terrorism.

- Nato, for the first time in its 52-year history, invokes Article 5 of its foundation charter, declaring that the atrocities were an attack on all 19 member states.

- There are fears that the paralysis of New York could drive the US economy into recession.

- Aid workers rush to leave Afghanistan, as speculation mounts about a US-led invasion.

- Amid the enormous midden of rubble which was once the World Trade Centre, rescue workers toil unceasingly. Their grim task is given urgency by the knowledge that some 250 firefighters and police officers are entombed in the wreckage. It is now feared that several hundred Britons are among the dead.

#### **Thursday September 13**

- President Bush talks of the first war of the 21st century, as he continues to rally support for a global assault on terrorism.

More details emerge of how the hijackers learned - at a US aviation school - to pilot the aircraft they turned into flying bombs.

- In Israel, the prime minister, Ariel Sharon compares Arafat with Osama bin Laden.
- In Britain, the band of the Cold stream Guards plays the US national anthem during the changing of the guard ceremony at Buckingham palace, by command of the Queen.
- Muslim communities and individuals in several countries, including the US, Australia and Canada, come under attack.

### **Friday September 14**

- The Taliban rulers of Afghanistan warn they will retaliate if the country is attacked. A three-minute silence is observed across Europe.
- During an emergency debate in the House of Commons, Labour MP George Galloway issues an impassioned warning against an all-out assault on Afghanistan, warning that such action could create "10,000 Osama bin Ladens".
- Tony Blair talks of Britain's obligation to help bring those responsible for the US outrages to account.
- In America, the FBI names 19 suspects, and for the first time intelligence sources make a direct link between them and Osama bin Laden.
- President Bush establishes a war cabinet of senior administration officials.
- The first cracks appear in the nascent international coalition against terrorism.

### **Saturday September 15**

President Bush names Osama bin Laden as the prime suspect for the September 11 atrocities. He tells Americans to get ready for war.

- Tens of thousands of Afghans are fleeing the country, fearing a western invasion.

### **Sunday September 16**

Tony Blair echoes President Bush in saying "we are at war" with terrorism.

- Pakistan abandons its support for the Taliban and sides with Washington, reportedly demanding huge economic aid in exchange for its cooperation.
- Governments around the world come under heavy pressure to bail out the stricken airline industry, which has lost an estimated \$10bn (£7bn) in less than a week.

### **Monday September 17**

- The New York Stock Exchange reopens, and share prices plummet. The US Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank both cut interest rates by 0.5% to head off recession.
- A high level Pakistani delegation to Taliban leaders in Kandahar demands that Osama bin Laden be handed over, but is rebuffed. Afghanistan's ruling clique of clerics was reported to be preparing to declare a holy war against the US.
- Overseas aid minister Clare Short breaks cabinet ranks by declaring that a military operation which killed civilians would be "unbearable". An Afghan taxi driver in London is beaten up and paralysed from the neck down.

### **Tuesday September 18**

- The Bank of England cuts interest rates by 0.25%, but stock markets continue to slide.

- Amid conflicting reports, Taliban leaders are reported to deny that they have declared a jihad, or holy war, against America - but warn they will do so if Afghanistan is invaded.

### **Wednesday September 19**

- The government announces stern new measures to curb money laundering to cut off terrorist funds. Tony Blair distances himself from President Bush's bombastic declaration that he wants Osama bin Laden "dead or alive".
- Reports from Pakistan say that Osama bin Laden has bade farewell to his followers in Kabul, and ridden off on horseback to a hideaway in the mountains.

### **Friday September 21**

- Afghanistan's Taliban rulers continue to voice defiance in the face of a grim warning from the US president, George Bush, that the "hour is coming" for America to strike.
- The US agrees to lift sanctions imposed on Pakistan and India and to reschedule \$600m (£410m) in bilateral debt with Islamabad.
- Tony Blair arrives in Brussels for an emergency EU summit on the final leg of a 9,000-mile marathon diplomatic mission that has taken him to four countries in less than 48 hours.
- It is announced that Jack Straw is to make the first visit to Iran by a British foreign secretary since the 1979 Islamic revolution in an attempt to build support for a US-led coalition against terrorism
- The Guardian reveals that the US government is pressing its European allies to agree to a military campaign to topple the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and replace it with an interim administration under United Nations auspices.

### **Saturday September 22**

- Anti-terrorist police continue to question three people arrested in London and Birmingham in the wake of the US atrocities. Police across Europe and the US this weekend made a number of further arrests.
- Anti-war campaigners take to the streets of London and Glasgow today to urge the UK and US governments not to launch massive military retaliation.
- In his weekly radio address to Americans, President George Bush stresses the "fundamental strength" of the US economy, but acknowledges the severe economic effect of the attacks on New York and Washington.

### **Sunday September 23**

- In what may prove to be the first shot of the new war in Afghanistan, the country's ruling Taliban militia claims to have downed an unmanned spy plane, and the Pentagon admits that one of its drones is missing.
- Israel's prime minister, Ariel Sharon, defies US and European pressure and cancelled ceasefire talks with the Palestinians.

- President Bush lifts sanctions against Pakistan over the weekend as an apparent reward for its support.
- Saudi Arabia, fearful of stirring up long-suppressed internal conflicts, rejects a US request to use its air bases for an offensive against Osama bin Laden.
- Pope John Paul II, on a visit to central Asia, makes a dramatic plea to the west to pull back from the brink of a war that could pit Christianity against Islam.
- The Yankee Stadium in New York is transformed into an outdoor cathedral where thousands of bereaved mourn the loss of loved ones.

### **Monday September 24**

- Pakistan pulls out all of its diplomatic staff from the Afghan capital of Kabul, in view of the "abnormal situation".
- Mullah Mohammed Omar, the leader of Afghanistan's hard line rulers, says that the United States must withdraw its forces from the Gulf and support the Palestinians in their conflict with Israel if it wants to remove the threat of terrorism.
- World stock markets soar as investors seek bargains after last week's heavy selloff.
- Prime minister Tony Blair calls senior politicians from all parties to Downing Street to brief them ahead of the oncoming "war against terrorism".

### **Tuesday September 25**

- The Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, agrees to meet the foreign secretary, Jack Straw, following a 15-minute phone call between Mr Sharon and the prime minister, Tony Blair.
- Saudi Arabia cuts all ties with Afghanistan's Taliban government, saying Afghan leaders were defaming Islam by harbouring and supporting terrorists. A fax from Osama bin Laden to Muslims in Pakistan calls on them to resist the "new Jewish and Christian crusader campaign that is led by the Chief Crusader Bush under the banner of the cross".
- The Russian president, Vladimir Putin, meets German leaders who seek to solidify Russian support for an international coalition.
- In Britain, the Liberal Democrats continue their truncated and muted annual conference. The Labour and Conservative party conferences are to be cut short as a result of the increasing international crisis.
- Growing fear that the terrorist attacks on the US have pushed the global economy to the brink of recession sends oil prices plunging as traders anticipate sharply reduced demand for energy in the coming months.
- The World Health Organisation urges the UK and other western governments to ensure they are ready to deal with a terrorist attack using biological weapons, such as anthrax, botulin or the smallpox virus.
- The UN world food programme resumes aid shipments into Afghanistan for the first time since the World Trade Centre bombings.

### **Wednesday September 26**

- Nato defence ministers gather in Brussels to discuss the alliance's role in the US-led campaign against terrorism.
- British and American defence ministers attempt to play down speculation on the nature of strikes against Afghanistan, saying any military action against terrorism would not begin with a 'D-day landing'.
- Prime minister Tony Blair calls an emergency cabinet meeting for tomorrow night, and Downing Street says that no special significance should be read into the timing.
- Israeli and Palestinian negotiators, under heavy pressure from Washington agree a series of confidence-building measures aimed at ending a year of fighting.
- In Kabul, thousands of protesters attack the long-abandoned American embassy compound, setting vehicles ablaze and ripping down the US seal above the entrance.
- The International Monetary Fund warns that the global economy stands on the brink of its first recession in almost 10 years. A collapse in profits at Goldman Sachs, together with bad news from other Wall Street banks, triggers fears of a fresh round of job cuts in the City.
- More than half of British consumers now believe the domestic economy will deteriorate over the next year.

### **Thursday September 27**

- Over 1,000 US airborne troops are reported to be deployed to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in preparation for a ground operation against Osama bin Laden's bases and Taliban forces in neighbouring Afghanistan.
- In Kabul the leader of Afghanistan's ruling Taliban militia warns Afghans not to look to America for help in challenging his hard line rule.
- British Airways axes 190 weekly flights, including its Heathrow to Belfast route, which will cause the loss of 160 jobs in Northern Ireland.
- Charles Kennedy, the Liberal Democrat leader, makes an emotional appeal to the British people to "pity the poor people of Afghanistan" as he winds up the party conference in Bournemouth.

### **Friday September 28**

- A delegation of high-ranking Pakistani religious leaders and government officials arrives in Afghanistan for talks with the ruling Taliban militia on the fate of Osama bin Laden.
- The Commonwealth summit scheduled for next month in Brisbane, Australia, is postponed for fear that many leaders would stay at home following the attacks in the United States.
- In America, Pentagon officials say that two air force generals have been authorised to shoot down commercial airliners that appear to be threatening any city in the country.
- The foreign secretary, Jack Straw, warns that Osama bin Laden may be planning further terror attacks - possibly upon Britain.

### **Saturday September 29**

- Independent economic forecasters warn that the chancellor may have to borrow an extra £18bn to underwrite the government's boost to health and education spending, if the US terrorist attacks put the skids under the British economy.
- Some 8000 peace demonstrators from a loose coalition of groups march through Washington DC.
- Former vice-president Al Gore emerges from internal exile at the weekend to declare support for President Bush. To a standing ovation from Democratic party supporters, he announces: "George Bush is my commander-in-chief".

### **Sunday September 30**

- Osama bin Laden is being hidden at a secret location inside Afghanistan "for his safety and security", the Taliban admits in a provocative statement.
- It emerges that the CIA offered Afghanistan's anti-Taliban opposition leader a substantial bounty three years ago for the capture of Osama bin Laden, dead or alive.
- Tony Blair serves notice, at the start of the Labour conference, that his government will take whatever steps it deems necessary to combat the global perils of terrorism and recession.
- Security chiefs across the world make more arrests and continued to question suspects. The latest arrests came in Britain, Germany and the west African state of Mauritania.

## **Terrorism Timeline: Pakistan and the Global War on Terror**

### **Pakistan Plays Friend and Foe to U.S**

Source: Retrieved from <http://terrorism.about.com/od/globalwaronterror/tp/Pakistan---Terror-War-Timeline.htm> on May 15, 2014

Pakistan plays a key and highly conflicted--role in the global war on terror. The country is a U.S. ally in the war, but is often accused of supporting Taliban and Al Qaeda presence in its northern provinces. Pakistan also has nuclear ambitions. This timeline of Pakistan's role in the war tells the story of Pakistan's complex relationship to terrorism and the war on terror since 2001.

#### **1990s: Pakistan Supports Taliban**

- General Pervez Musharraf overthrows Pakistan government, and installs a military dictatorship.
- Pakistan serves as the primary incubator of the Taliban, a faction of the Afghan mujahideen who took refuge in Pakistan during the Soviet-Afghan war. Pakistan is one of two countries that maintains diplomatic ties with the Taliban regime (1996-2001)(the other is Saudi Arabia)

#### **2001: Pakistan Joins the War on Terror, Pakistanis Don't**

- President Musharraf agrees to join forces with United States as an ally in the Global War on Terror, following the 9/11 attacks. This included realigning domestic political institutions to serve U.S. interests; granting the U.S. access to Pakistan's airfields; and overtly pledging support to the U.S. coalition.
- Pakistanis do not necessarily ally with the U.S.: "According to a gallup poll of Pakistanis in urban areas, 83 percent sympathize with the Taliban rather than the US and 82 percent consider Oslama bin Laden a holy warrior not a terrorist, although 64 percent also believe the attack on the US was an act of terrorism" (Christopher de Bellaigue, "The Perils of Pakistan," *The New York Review of Books*, November 15, 2001)

#### **2002: More Counterterrorism ... and More Terrorism**

- Musharraf again condemns terrorism, whether directed against Indian Kashmir or against Westerners. He promises to reduce support for madrasas (religious schools suspected of inculcating extreme views); outlaws a number of militant Pakistani groups; turns over Al Qaeda members to the U.S.; and impounds terrorist assets.

- Anti-Western terrorist attacks are on the rise. A grenade lobbed into a church in March kills five; in May, a car bomb in Karachi kills 14; a bomb set off near U.S. Consulate in June kills 12. Al Qaeda links are suspected. Several attacks in Kashmir are attributed to Pakistan based Lashkar e Tayyiba

Read more: Review of *The Journalist and the Jihadi: the Murder of Daniel Pearl* (HBO Film) |Al Qaeda Profile

### **2003: U.S. & Pakistan Cooperate, but Pakistan "Talibanization" Increases**

- Musharraf cooperates with the U.S. to achieve global war on terror objectives, including permitting U.S. military support operations.
- President Bush links U.S. and Pakistan goals. In July, Bush declares: "Both the United States and Pakistan are threatened by global terror, and we're determined to defeat it. Since [the] September 11th [2001] attacks, Pakistan has apprehended more than five-hundred al-Qaida and Taleban terrorists."
- The U.S. presence in Pakistan (coupled with the Iraq invasion) fosters increased anti-Americanism. Taliban members who've fled Afghanistan and Al Qaeda operatives are reportedly "re-Talibanizing" Pakistan, despite Pakistani disavowals.

Read more: Pakistan Strikes at Terrorism (VOA News, July 2003)

### **2004-2005: U.S. Aborts Plan to Capture Al Qaeda Heads**

- US-Pakistan joint counterterrorism efforts in military and law enforcement spheres continue. The US also says that the Pakistan has not done enough to combat Al Qaeda and the Taliban.
  - Terrorist attacks continue. Several target Western interests; others perpetuate the Pakistani-Indian territorial standoff.
  - Baluchistan's longstanding insurrectionist operations against the Pakistani government gathers steam, creating complications for Pakistani efforts to pursue Al Qaeda in the province
  - The U.S. government scraps a plan to attack to capture top Al Qaeda members in Pakistan's tribal territory, fearing it would endanger delicate relations with Pakistan.
- Read more: Commentary on the aborted Al Qaeda capture plan

### **2006-2007: Pressures on Musharraf Rises as Pursuit of Taliban Continues**

- Terrorist attacks continue, and the Taliban and Al Qaeda gather strength and support in Pakistan's tribal areas.

- The tension between Pakistani military and intelligence support for violent extremists, and popular anti-Anti Americanism begins to strain myth of perfect relationship between Musharraf and the U.S.

Read more: Pakistan and Afghanistan Argue over Who Does Less to Stop Terrorism | "We Are All Al Qaeda Now": How Pakistan Bombings Militarize Pakistanis | The Price of Holding Off Taliban in Afghanistan: Carnage in Pakistan

### **2008: Musharraf Departs, Militants Become Focus of U.S. "War on Terror"**

- President Musharraf resigns. His resignation is largely under pressure from the United States, although substantial local forces are also at work. His resignation signals his perceived failure to halt the activities of violent extremists in the Northwest provinces bordering Afghanistan. Civilian rule replaces Musharraf's military government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani.
- Analysts from the West focus attention on the ISI, Pakistan's Intelligence service. The ISI has long been suspected of supporting jihadist activities against Afghanistan, which would serve Pakistan's strategic interest in quelling potential Afghan power.

## Iraq Timeline (2002-2003)

Source: Retrieved from <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/iraqtimeline2.html> on May 15, 2014

- Jan. 29, 2002** In President George W. Bush's state of the union speech, he identifies Iraq, along with Iran and North Korea, as an "axis of evil." He vows that the U.S. "will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons."
- May 14, 2002** The UN Security Council revamps the sanctions against Iraq, now eleven years old, replacing them with "smart sanctions" meant to allow more civilian goods to enter the country while at the same time more effectively restricting military and dual-use equipment (military and civilian).
- Jun. 2, 2002** President Bush publicly introduces the new defence doctrine of pre-emption in a speech at West Point. In some instances, the president asserts, the U.S. must strike first against another state to prevent a potential threat from growing into an actual one: "Our security will require all Americans...[to] be ready for pre-emptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives."
- Sep. 12, 2002** President Bush addresses the UN, challenging the organization to swiftly enforce its own resolutions against Iraq. If not, Bush contends, the U.S. will have no choice but to act on its own against Iraq.
- Oct. 11, 2002** Congress authorizes an attack on Iraq.
- Nov. 8, 2002** The UN Security Council unanimously approves resolution 1441 imposing tough new arms inspections on Iraq and precise, unambiguous definitions of what constitutes a "material breach" of the resolution. Should Iraq violate the resolution, it faces "serious consequences," which the Security Council would then determine.

- Nov. 18, 2002** UN weapons inspectors return to Iraq, for the first time in almost four years.
- Dec. 7, 2002** Iraq submits a 12,000-page declaration on its chemical, biological and nuclear activities, claiming it has no banned weapons.
- Dec. 21, 2002** President Bush approves the deployment of U.S. troops to the Gulf region. By March an estimated 200,000 troops will be stationed there. British and Australian troops will join them over the coming months.
- Jan. 16, 2003** UN inspectors discover 11 undeclared empty chemical warheads in Iraq.
- Jan. 27, 2003** The UN's formal report on Iraqi inspections is highly critical, though not damning, with chief UN weapons inspector Hans Blix stating that "Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance, not even today, of the disarmament that was demanded of it."
- Jan. 28, 2003** In his state of the union address, President Bush announces that he is ready to attack Iraq even without a UN mandate.
- Feb. 14, 2003** In a February UN report, chief UN inspector Hans Blix indicated that slight progress had been made in Iraq's cooperation. Both pro- and anti-war nations felt the report supported their point of view.
- Feb. 15, 2003** Massive peace demonstrations take place around the world.
- Feb. 22, 2003** Hans Blix orders Iraq to destroy its Al Samoud 2 missiles by March 1. The UN inspectors have determined that the missiles have an illegal range limit. Iraq can have missiles that reach neighbouring countries, but not ones capable of reaching Israel.
- Feb. 24, 2003** The U.S., Britain, and Spain submit a proposed resolution to the UN Security Council that states that "Iraq has failed to take the final opportunity afforded to it in Resolution 1441," and that it is now time to authorize use of military force against the country.

France, Germany, and Russia submit an informal counter-resolution to the UN Security Council that states that inspections should be intensified and extended to ensure that there is "a real chance to the peaceful settlement of this crisis," and that "the military option should only be a last resort."

**Mar.  
1,  
2003**

Iraq begins to destroy its Al Samoud missiles.

**Feb.  
24–  
Mar.  
14,  
2003**

The U.S. and Britain's intense lobbying efforts among the other UN Security Council members yield only four supporters (in addition to the U.S. and Britain, Spain and Bulgaria); nine votes (and no vetoes from the five permanent members) out of fifteen are required for the resolution's passage. The U.S. decides not to call for a vote on the resolution.

**Mar.  
17,  
2003**

All diplomatic efforts cease when President Bush delivers an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein to leave the country within 48 hours or else face an attack.

**Mar.  
19,  
2003**

President Bush declares war on Iraq.

The war against Iraq begins 5:30 AM Baghdad time (9:30 PM EST, March 19), when the U.S. launches Operation Iraqi Freedom. Called a "decapitation attack," the initial air strike of the war attempted to target Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi leaders in Baghdad.

**Mar.  
20,  
2003**

The U.S. launches a second round of air strikes against Baghdad, and ground troops enter the country for the first time, crossing into southern Iraq from Kuwait. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld claims that the initial phase of the war is mild compared to what it to come: "What will follow will not be a repeat of any other conflict. It will be of a force and a scope and a scale that has been beyond what we have seen before."

**Mar.  
21,  
2003**

The major phase of the war begins with heavy aerial attacks on Baghdad and other cities. The campaign, publicized in advance by the Pentagon as an overwhelming barrage meant to instill "shock and awe," is in actuality more restrained.

**Mar.  
24,  
2003**

Troops march within 60 miles of Baghdad. They encounter much stronger resistance from Iraqi soldiers and paramilitary fighters along the way,

particularly in towns such as Nassiriya and Basra.

**Mar.  
26,  
2003** About 1,000 paratroopers land in Kurdish-controlled Iraq to open a northern front.

**Mar.  
30,  
2003** U.S. Marines and Army troops launch first attack on Iraq's Republican Guard, about 65 miles outside Baghdad. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld deflects criticism that the U.S. has not deployed enough Army ground troops in Iraq.

**Apr.  
2,  
2003** Special operations forces rescue Pfc. Jessica Lynch from a hospital in Nasiriya. She was one of 12 members of the 507th Ordnance Maintenance Company captured by Iraqi troops on March 23.

**Apr.  
5,  
2003** U.S. tanks roll into the Iraqi capital and engage in fire fights with Iraqi troops. Resistance weaker than anticipated. Heavy Iraqi casualties.

**Apr.  
7,  
2003** British forces take control of Basra, Iraq's second-largest city.

**Apr.  
9,  
2003** The fall of Baghdad: U.S. forces take control the city, but sporadic fighting continues throughout the capital.

**Apr.  
11,  
2003** Kirkuk falls to Kurdish fighters.

**Apr.  
13,  
2003** Marines rescue five U.S. soldiers captured by Iraqi troops on March 23 in Nasiriya, and two pilots who had been shot down on March 24 near Karbala.

**Apr.  
14,  
2003** Major fighting in Iraq is declared over by the Pentagon, after U.S. forces take control of Tikrit, Saddam Hussein's birthplace and the last city to exhibit strong Iraqi resistance. Saddam Hussein's whereabouts remain unknown.

**Apr.  
15,** Gen. Jay Garner, appointed by the United States to run post-war Iraq until a

**2003** new government is put in place, met with various Iraqi leaders to begin planning the new Iraqi federal government.

**May 1, 2003** The U.S. declares an end to major combat operations.

**May 12, 2003** A new civil administrator takes over in Iraq. Paul Bremer, a diplomat and former head of the counter-terrorism department at the State Department, replaces Jay Garner, who was seen as ineffective in stemming the continuing lawlessness and violence taking place throughout Iraq.

**May 22, 2003** The UN Security Council approves a resolution lifting the economic sanctions against Iraq and supporting the U.S.-led administration in Iraq.

**May 30, 2003** In separate speeches, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell and British prime minister Tony Blair deny that intelligence about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction was distorted or exaggerated to justify an attack on Iraq. Both administrations face mounting questions because no weapons of mass destruction (WMD) have been found. Each had claimed that Iraq's WMD were an imminent threat to world security.

**Jun. 15, 2003** Operation Desert Scorpion launched, a military campaign meant to defeat organized Iraqi resistance against American troops. U.S. and British troops face continued attacks; about one American soldier has been killed per day since the end of combat was declared.

**Jul. 7, 2003** Bush administration concedes that evidence that Iraq was pursuing a nuclear weapons program by seeking to buy uranium from Africa, cited in January State of the Union address and elsewhere, was unsubstantiated and should not have been included in speech. Over summer Tony Blair faces even stronger criticism than his American counterpart concerning flawed intelligence.

**Jul. 13, 2003** Iraq's interim governing council, composed of 25 Iraqis appointed by American and British officials, is inaugurated. The council has power to name ministers and will help draw up a new constitution for the country. The American administrator Paul Bremer, however, retains ultimate authority.

- Jul. 16, 2003** Gen. John Abizaid, commander of allied forces in Iraq who replaced retiring general Tommy Franks on July 7, calls continued attacks on coalition troops a "guerrilla-type campaign" and says soldiers who will replace current troops may be deployed for year-long tours.
- Jul. 17, 2003** U.S. combat deaths in Iraq reach 147, the same number of soldiers who died from hostile fire in the first Gulf War; 32 of those deaths occurred after May 1, the officially declared end of combat.
- Jul. 22, 2003** Saddam Hussein's sons, Uday and Qusay Hussein, die in a firefight in a Mosul palace.
- Aug. 9, 2003** U.S. combat and noncombat casualties reach 255 at 100-day mark after declared end of combat on May 1; 43 British have died.
- Aug. 19, 2003** Suicide bombing destroys UN headquarters in Baghdad, killing 24, including top envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello, and wounding more than 100.
- Aug. 29, 2003** A bomb kills one of Iraq's most important Shi'ite leaders, Ayatollah Muhammad Bakr al-Hakim, as well as about 80 others, and wounds 125.
- Sep. 7, 2003** Continued violence and slow progress in Iraq lead to President Bush's announcement that \$87 billion is needed to cover additional military and reconstruction costs.
- Oct. 2, 2003** According to an interim report by David Kay, the lead investigator searching for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, no WMDs have been found as yet.
- Oct. 5, 2003** White House reorganizes its reconstruction efforts in Iraq, placing National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice in charge and diminishing the role of the Pentagon.
- Oct. 16,** The UN Security Council unanimously approves the U.S. and UK resolution on Iraq's reconstruction, which supports an international force in the country

- 2003** under U.S. authority. Several countries originally opposed the resolution unless Washington agreed to a faster timetable for transferring power to the Iraqis, but in the end voted for the resolution without requiring changes.
- Oct. 23–24, 2003** The Madrid Conference, an international donors' conference of 80 nations to raise funds for the reconstruction of Iraq, yielded \$13 billion in addition to the \$20 billion already pledged by the United States. This amount fell short of the overall target of raising \$56 billion, the figure the World Bank and the UN estimated that Iraq needs over the next four years.
- Oct. 27, 2003** Four coordinated suicide attacks in Baghdad kill 43 and wounded more than 200. Targets included the headquarters of the Red Crescent (Islamic Red Cross) and three police stations.
- Nov. 2, 2003** In the single deadliest strike since the Iraq war began, guerrillas shoot down an American helicopter, killing 16 U.S. soldiers and injuring 21 others. Other attacks over the course of the month make it the bloodiest since the war began: at least 75 U.S. soldiers die.
- Nov. 14, 2003** The Bush Administration reverses policy and in a deal with the Iraqi Governing Council, agrees to transfer power to an interim government in early 2004.
- Dec. 9, 2003** A directive issued by Paul Wolfowitz, deputy secretary of defense, bars France, Germany, Canada, Mexico, China, and Russia from bidding on lucrative contracts for rebuilding Iraq, creating a diplomatic furor.
- Dec. 13, 2003** Iraq's deposed leader Saddam Hussein is captured by American troops. The former dictator was found hiding in a hole near his hometown of Tikrit and surrendered without a fight.