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From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
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To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: PAKISTAN MEDIA ANALYSIS, May 18, 2011

Fyi, continues to be an almost impossibly difficult situation. Looks like any forward momentum from Kerry trip may have evaporated.

From: Davidson, Mark J
Sent: Wednesday, May 18, 2011 08:51 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: PAKISTAN MEDIA ANALYSIS, May 18, 2011

PAKISTAN MEDIA ANALYSIS
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May 18, 2011

- **Aftermath of Kerry visit on public opinion not yet clear**
- **Kerry claims Pakistan has admitted mistakes/stepping up cooperation with the U.S.**
- **Cross border incident feeds anti-American narrative**
- **Split between English and Urdu editorial coverage of Kerry's visit**
- **Surprise! Anti-American talk show host praises U.S. Fulbright program**

Senator Kerry's visit may have stopped the downward spiral of reporting about U.S.-Pakistan relations in the Pakistani press, but the tone of the Urdu media toward the U.S. and bilateral relations remains hard and sour. Indeed, the bitterness has a new edge. Whatever positive coverage Senator Kerry's trip generated has largely dissipated, and once again the airwaves and editorial pages are juxtaposing strident anti-Americanism with obsequious praise for China and PM Gilani's four-day trip to Beijing. The top television story this morning was Kerry's statement, made just after returning from Pakistan, that Pakistan's leadership has "admitted their mistakes." Meanwhile, the English papers highlighted his comments that Pakistan is stepping up cooperation in the fight against terrorists.

TV and papers also headlined yesterday's cross border incident involving ISAF helicopters that allegedly fired on and wounded two Pakistani military personnel. This is portrayed as yet another violation by the U.S. of Pakistan's sovereignty. Other front page stories include the suicide attack by Chechen fighters on a security checkpoint in Quetta and the arrest of a "senior al Qaeda operative" in Karachi. The story line for both is that Pakistan continues to do more than its part in the fight against violent extremists.

All newspapers reported that the government convinced the IMF to give up its demand that Pakistan impose a reformed general sales tax (RGST) and instead has agreed that Pakistan should withdraw all general sales tax exemptions to increase revenue. Several Urdu dailies re-ran the Wall Street Journal story about the U.S. "rejecting" a large proportion of Pakistan's claims for Coalition Support Fund reimbursements. The short Urdu articles excised the detail of the original, leaving readers with the (mistaken) impression that the U.S. was reneging of its commitment to compensate Pakistan for its contributions to the American-imposed war on terror.

Editorials in the leading Urdu dailies criticize Senator Kerry by name for trying to mollify Pakistani feelings in public while refusing to apologize for Abbottabad and "dictating" terms to the government. The depth of anti-American sentiment is manifested in "Jang's" editorial page, which historically has been somewhat moderate, at least by Pakistani standards. Under the headline "We Should Make Our Own Decisions," today's editorial says in a strident tone, "He [Kerry] did not assure Pakistan in clear terms that the U.S. will not take any action contrary to Pakistan's independence and sovereignty.... Our leadership should make it clear to him, we don't need his advice." Number-two daily "Nawa-i-Waqt," described the Senator's tone as "arrogant" and "haughty," and called his advice to Pakistan a "diktat." It asked, "if the U.S. cares about its national interests, and does not bother about ours, why should we safeguard their interests?" Liberal Urdu paper "Express" advised the United States to "change its attitude towards Pakistan, if it desires to maintain cordial ties with us, which is vital to wipe out terrorism." In sharp contrast, several English editorials praised the visit, with "Dawn" calling the visit a "breakthrough in U.S.-Pakistan relations" and the Express Tribune concluding that the visit "managed the patch-up it promised."

Although some TV talk-shows are starting to turn their focus on issues unrelated to the United States, Kerry's visit remained the dominant topic. Top-rated Geo TV host Kamran Khan said that "some media persons plunged the entire Pakistani nation into a state of utter delusion by claiming that the visiting American official apologized for unilaterally conducting operation in Abbottabad and for launching fresh drone attacks in our tribal areas on Monday." Tariq Fatimi, on Geo's Capital Talk, noted that "Pakistan achieved nothing in Senator Kerry's visit. He publically said that he did not arrive in Islamabad to apologize for the Abbottabad operation." Dr. Farrukh Saleem, in another Geo TV program, commenting on provincial leader Shahbaz Sharif's declaration that Punjab will no longer accept U.S. assistance, said "Punjab cannot survive without foreign or federal assistance," and that "these are sensational remarks." On a rare positive note, Kamran Khan, not normally a fan of the American presence in Pakistan, spent more than two minutes on his top-rated show highlighting a recent press release on the Embassy's webpage about the U.S. Fulbright program, and encouraged more Pakistanis to apply for this opportunity.

Urdu Editorials:

"We Should Make our Decisions," an editorial in the leading mass-circulation populist, often sensational Urdu daily "Jang" (cir. 300,000) (05/18)

"Senator John Kerry visited Pakistan to pacify the Pakistani nation over the unilateral U.S. operation in Abbottabad, the violation of the Pakistani land and airspace, and to take the Pakistani political and military leaders into confidence with reference to the Parliament's joint resolution, but he went back without any significant progress in the Pak-U.S. relations. He did not assure Pakistan in clear terms that the U.S. will not take any action contrary to Pakistan's independence and sovereignty. He merely said that sovereignty is a serious issue for Pakistan. But in the same breath, he also said that it was Osama bin Laden who violated Pakistan's sovereignty... Pakistan is victim of a war that is not its own; it is purely a war of Americans and their European allies, but Pakistan owns this war just to protect the world from terrorism... Senator Kerry, in a self-styled way, gave some wise advice to Pakistan, saying it is the Pakistani people who have to decide to make their country a safe haven for terrorists, or a country envisioned by Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Our leadership should make it clear to him that we don't need his advice. It is for Pakistan to decide for how far we can go along with the U.S. in the war on terror."

"U.S. Diktat to Stop Progress on our Nuclear Program and Salute of Drone Strikes to John Kerry," an editorial in the second-largest, nationalist Urdu daily "Nawa-i-Waqt" (cir. 150,000) (05/18)

"Senator Kerry, in a very arrogant way, told the media that he did not come to Pakistan to apologize over the Abbottabad operation. And then he, in a very haughty mode, asked Pakistan to halt development of its nuclear program. This shows what concrete stance our political and military leadership have assumed vis-à-vis our national interests, though the joint statement includes the good news that both Pakistan and the U.S. will take

joint action against any high value target... If the U.S. has a right to take any action for its national security, then Pakistan also has every right to take any step for its national security. And our nuclear program is a strong guarantee of our national security. If we don't make any progress in this field, we will weaken our defense. This is the U.S. plan to weaken Pakistan by its own hands, whereas it is not ready to compromise on its objectives. Hence, if the U.S. cares about its national interests, and does not bother about ours, why should we safeguard of their interests?"

"Pak-U.S. Reconciliation and Future Strategy," an editorial in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (cir. 25,000) (05/18)

"Pakistan has suffered a lot of hardships because of its role in the war on terrorism. Therefore, it is important to focus on the Pakistani economy, and the U.S. must provide financial assistance to Pakistan and give access to its markets. Energy is yet another sector that needs the U.S. attention, and the U.S. should strike a civil nuclear technology deal with Pakistan as it did with India. Last but not least, the U.S. should change its attitude towards Pakistan if it desires to maintain cordial ties with us--these are vital to wipe out terrorism absolutely."

"Pak-U.S. Relations and Our Leadership's Dual Policy," an editorial in the Peshawar-based Urdu-language daily "Mashriq" (cir. 55,000) (05/18)

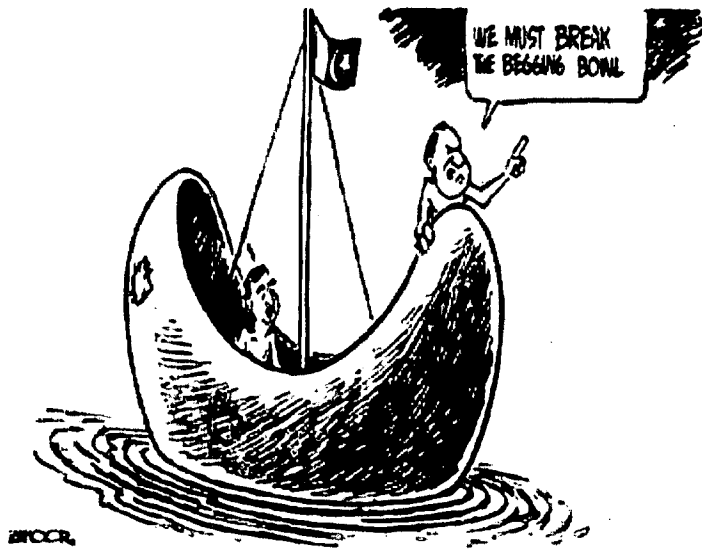
"It is the responsibility of Pakistan to ensure that the need to undertake a joint operation against a high-value target does not arise. At a time when the U.S.-Pakistan relationship has entered a critical phase, the response from our leadership should not be the same as on the Abbottabad operation in case such an incident occurs again. It is time to take a tough stance on all issues of national interest."

"Timely Decisions and Actions Became Imperative," an editorial in the Karachi-based, pro-Taliban Jihadi Urdu daily "Islam" (cir. 15,000) (05/18)

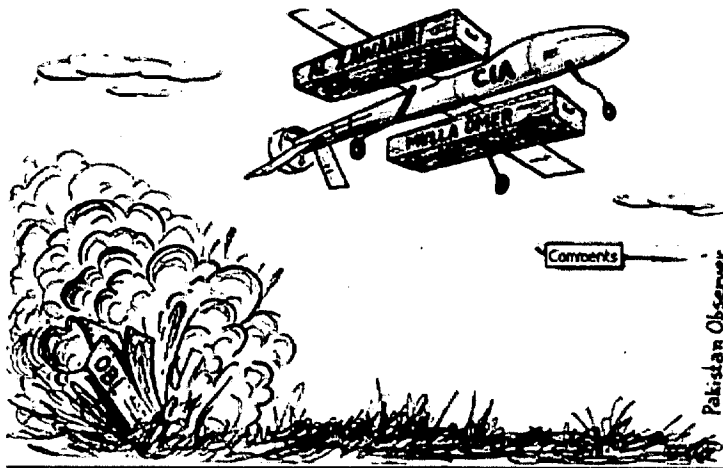
"Irrespective of U.S. intentions, by agreeing to undertake a joint operation against a high-value target on its territory, Pakistan, in fact, has acknowledged the veracity of the American and Indian allegations that Mullah Omer, al-Zawahiri and other al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders are present and hiding in the country. It also means that our security forces and intelligence agencies are too incapable to take out such people on their own."

Editorial Cartoons

"The Express Tribune" (05/18)



"Pakistan Observer" (05/18)



"Daily Times" (05/18)



"The News" (05/18)



"The Statesman" (05/18)



TV Talk Shows:

Program: "Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Saath" Geo News (05/17)

Host: Kamran Khan

Guest: Dr. Ishrat Hussain (Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan)

Topic: Senator John Kerry's Visit and Fresh Drone Strikes

Commentary by the Host: While commenting on Senator John Kerry's visit, some media plunged the entire Pakistani nation into a state of utter delusion by claiming that the visiting American official apologized for unilaterally conducting operation in Abbottabad and for launching fresh drone attacks in our tribal areas on Monday. But let us get rid of this misplaced euphoria as soon as possible. In fact, it was the Pakistani leadership that apologized to the U.S. The Americans consider the Abbottabad operation *their* major success and Senator Kerry himself expressed this while talking to our media. If Pakistan's government was not apologetic, then why did it promise, together with Senator Kerry, that it would do its level best to regain Washington's confidence? Undoubtedly, the government made it clear to the visiting U.S. official that Washington should respect our sovereignty, but the U.S. responded with two fresh drone strikes in North Waziristan. I think that the present situation has provided us a unique opportunity to achieve multiple objectives by taking strict action against the terrorists and extremists who are not only wreaking havoc in our cities, but are also tarnishing Pakistan's image. At present, Pakistan is being linked to the global terrorist organization. Our leadership will have to devise a wise and consensual strategy with an aim to make the country a respectable member of comity of nations. Such a policy also will please the Americans who are reaching out directly to the Pakistani masses. Recently, I visited the U.S. Embassy's Web site where I learnt that, in academic year 2010-2011, the United States is funding 386 Pakistani students for the pursuit of Master's degrees and PhD level education in American universities under Fulbright scholarships. These students will return to Pakistan with incredible insights and teaching skills to contribute to Pakistan's institutions of higher education. Commenting on Punjab Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif's announcement that his provincial government would not accept any foreign assistance in the future, Dr. Ishrat Hussain said that, to achieve this goal, Pakistan needs to formulate a 3-to-4 year consensual national strategy. He said that we cannot eliminate our dependence on foreign assistance overnight. Dr. Ishrat further said that a large group of American intellectuals and several think-tanks believe that Pakistan will cease to exist without U.S. aid. On the other hand, many Americans think that the assistance provided to Pakistan is taxpayers' money and the government should not waste it on Pakistanis. Even a large number of Pakistani people are against accepting U.S. assistance. I think both the Pakistani and the American people will be happy if our government rejects this aid.

Program: "Capital Talk" Geo News (05/17)

Host: Hamid Mir

Participants: Imran Khan (PTI); Waseem Akhtar (MQM); Tariq Fatemi (Former Ambassador)

Topic: Why Is Pakistan Silent about the Drone Attacks?

Excerpts:

Host: At a time when our government was demanding of Senator John Kerry that the U.S. should respect Pakistan's sovereignty, two drone aircrafts fired missiles in North Waziristan Agency killing several innocent people. What is your response?

Imran Khan: Those Pakistani leaders, who support drone attacks, are in fact traitors and quislings. I am going to stage a protest sit-in against these strikes on our innocent and unarmed citizens, and invite the PML-N and all other political parties to join us if they are sincere in their opposition to the drone attacks. Our rulers have given the Americans a free hand to kill Pakistani masses in exchange for dollars.

Host: But our parliament has passed a unanimous resolution against the drone attacks. Why doesn't the U.S. respect that resolution?

Waseem Akhtar: Had the Pakistan's ruling classes ever done anything for the masses, there would have been no need to approve any such resolution.

Tariq Fatemi: The street protests and sit-ins cannot stop drone attacks, because these strikes are being launched from our own territory. Pakistan achieved nothing during Senator Kerry's visit and he publicly said that he did not arrive in Islamabad to apologize for the Abbottabad operation.

Imran Khan: It is not true that the Americans have condemned drone attacks. In fact, our relationship with the United States cannot be termed as friendship, because the master and slave can never be friends.

Program: "Aapas Ki Baat" Geo News (05/17)

Host: Muneeb Farooq

Participants: Najam Sethi

Topic: Will the U.S. Drone Attacks Stop?

Excerpts:

Host: There were drone attacks when Senator Kerry was present here in Pakistan yesterday, and NATO forces opened fire on our personnel on our border today. Pakistan has strongly protested the NATO firing and has demanded to hold a flag meeting. Senator Kerry has said that Pakistan has reassured that it will take immediate steps. Can you please tell what immediate steps Pakistan will take and what was decided in the meetings with Senator Kerry?

Najam Sethi: To be honest, I don't think that there is any clarity in the situation. Senator Kerry said, while departing, that the forthcoming visit of U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is not confirmed and Ambassador Marc Grossman and the deputy director of the CIA will come in a day or so to discuss the agenda. When officials like the Secretary of State visit, they come just for signatures, not for negotiations. In my opinion, the U.S. has not changed its position. Even after Kerry's visit, its stance is the same: that in the future they can again take action to protect their national security if Pakistan doesn't support them. They didn't talk about

unilateral action, but they implied it. I can explain it this way: for example, if the U.S. asks us to capture Mullah Omer, we might not do so. I have a feeling that our military is not ready to participate in combined operation with the U.S. We have not handed over Mullah Baradar (brother) either to the U.S. or to Afghanistan. We are not doing so, because we think he is an asset and we will use him when we need to. The U.S. is also pressuring us to carry out an operation in North Waziristan against the Haqqani group, but we are not doing so because of the same reason. If we say right away that we are not going to carry out an operation, then the U.S. will say that it will do it on its own and will increase drone strikes. I have been telling you since day one that the relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan is not strategic at all and is ambiguous.

Host: Has the U.S. really apologized over yesterday's drone attacks?

Najam Sethi: It was a sensitive moment (when Senator Kerry was here) to carry out such strikes. The drone attacks will not stop. You might remember that the U.S. also apologized over Datta Khel attacks. It is a misperception by the media and the public that the drone strikes will stop.

Program: "News Beat" Samaa TV (05/17/2011)

Host: Fareeha Adrees

Participants: Mehreen Anwar Raja (PPP); Tariq Fazal Chaudhry (PML-N); Prof. Khurshid Ahmed (JI); Raza Haroon (MQM)

Topic: Parliament's Resolution and Reality; Nawaz Sharif on Foreign Aid

Host: Parliament has passed a unanimous resolution and its important point is that missile attacks have to be stopped. If attacks continue, then the NATO supply line will be blocked. And the other point is an independent judicial commission to probe the Abbottabad operation. There were drone attacks in South Waziristan only after few hours after this resolution was passed. There were drone attacks while Senator Kerry was meeting the political and military leaders of Pakistan. These are just a few examples that show that our parliament is helpless and has no authority. Questions are being asked whether our parliament can do anything or just pass resolutions.

Secondly, PML-N chief Nawaz Sharif says that his party does not want foreign aid, but if there is no foreign aid, how will the current government work? Nawaz Sharif is again active in Pakistani politics. According to political analysts, Nawaz Sharif has a clear stance on some issues. After the Abbottabad operation, Nawaz Sharif reacted very strongly and criticized this government. He also criticized the military leadership's meddling with politics and the inability of intelligence agencies to see what's under their noses. He also raised the issue of military budget and spending.

Raza Haroon: Parliament has passed the unanimous resolution and now it is the duty of the government to implement this resolution.

Prof. Khurshid Ahmed: I was in the session when this resolution was passed, but recent incidents are a clear deviation from the resolution. After the Abbottabad invasion (that is what I call that), we should have protested but nothing of that sort happened. In fact, Senator Kerry's justification is not right when he said what they did was right. I think there is a difference between state and non-state actors. And there are several non-state actors present in America, which are creating havoc in Colombia and some other places. And United States is not responsible for their actions.

During the session, it was said that Pakistan has not signed an agreement with the U.S. about unilateral attacks on high-value targets in Pakistan and, if there is a verbal agreement, as mentioned by U.S. officials, according to law, the cabinet cannot ratify it. It is unlawful and the U.S. does not have the right to violate our sovereignty. We have to change our policy and send a clear message that we will not tolerate anything like that.

Raza Haroon: Whatever actions America takes are taken in the best interest of its people and nation. Your resolution is not binding on the American nation. Your resolution is binding on your nation; and secondly, the MoUs or agreements between two nations are never signed at the cost of sovereignty. If your sovereignty is challenged, then all treaties stand null and void.

Fareeha Adrees: Nawaz Sharif has said that we do not need aid , and that the Punjab government will not take any foreign assistance. He made that decision when Sen. Kerry was visiting Pakistan. Many analysts are saying that it would be hard for the Pakistani economy without aid and that the statement by Nawaz Sharif was only a political statement.

Tariq Fazal Chaudhry: I want to clarify that Nawaz Sharif has said that Punjab will not take aid, but he did not talk about loans. Both of these are two different things. If you live by aid, you cannot live with grace. We have announced that we will not take assistance at the cost of our sovereignty. But we can take loans as many other countries do.

Prof. Khurshid Ahmed: It is a good decision, but some tough decisions have to be made and good governance is the need of the hour. And a good tax collection mechanism should be formed.

Program: "Laiken" Geo News (05/17)

Host: Sana Buchcha

Guests: Raza Hayat Heraj (Federal Minister); Nazir Naji (veteran journalist); Pervaiz Malik (PML-N); Dr. Farrukh Saleem (analyst)

Topic: Punjab Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif's "No" to Foreign Aid and the Pak-U.S. Ties

Summary: The focus of the program was the Punjab administration's announcement to give up foreign aid and to achieve the goal of self-reliance. Pervaiz Malik, a PML-N member of the National Assembly, observed that the U.S. is breaching Pakistan's sovereignty by conducting drone strikes and that the U.S. acted unilaterally in Abbottabad. Therefore, it is an insult for us to accept U.S. assistance. Instead, we should depend on our internal resources and discipline our growing expenditures. Although we will not accept foreign aid, particularly U.S. assistance, it does not mean that we are severing our ties with the United States. Dr. Farrukh Saleem maintained that Punjab Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif's statement is a sensational statement; the Punjab administration has already overspent its budget and, in fact, has borrowed 174 billion rupees from the State Bank of Pakistan during the current fiscal year. And there has been no progress on the Agricultural Tax during the last three years. That would generate more revenue and bring landlords into the tax net. Dr. Farrukh claimed that Punjab cannot survive without foreign or federal assistance.

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