

RELEASE IN FULL

From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, May 4, 2011 8:47 AM
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: FW: Pakistan media

FYI, much more detail

jm

From: Davidson, Mark J
Sent: Wednesday, May 04, 2011 8:09 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Schwartz, Larry R/PPR; Douglas, Walter T; Rodriguez, Alberto; Beale, Courtney A.; DiMartino, Kitty
Subject: RE: media

Judith,

As promised, here is our fuller Media Analysis. Lengthier, but no change in our basic analysis from the earlier message.

Best,

Mark

PAKISTAN MEDIA ANALYSIS May 4, 2011

- **Pak media uncharacteristically critical of the "Establishment"**
- **Complicity or incompetence? the unanswered question**
- **No widespread show of support for OBL legacy**

The dominant focus of Pakistani media has shifted from initial reaction to Osama Bin Laden's death to criticism of the Pakistani military/intelligence establishment's awareness (or lack thereof) of his whereabouts and the U.S. operation to kill him. This sense of embarrassment or even anger over the performance of Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies has filtered into both Urdu broadcast and print media. A sense of national chagrin has permeated discussion everywhere, defying ISI's well-honed ability to spin the media to protect itself.

Urdu media is uncharacteristically – perhaps unprecedentedly – critical of the military and ISI "intelligence failure." There is also widespread if muted, almost pro-forma, disapproval of the unilateral U.S. action to kill him. The top television story on Wednesday morning was CIA Director Panetta's public questioning of whether the Pakistani government was complicit in hiding bin Laden's, or merely incompetent. The print media focused on the Foreign Office's statement, which appeared to be written by the military, denying knowledge of or involvement in the operation and expressing "reservations" about the "unauthorized" action. Newspapers also reported on Congressional threats to suspend aid if evidence emerges that Pakistani intelligence helped

conceal bin Laden in Abbottabad. Several papers recycled President Zardari's op-ed in the Washington Post yesterday underlining that the Pakistan-U.S. partnership led to bin Laden's killing.

Throughout, the sense of anti-American rage and rancor we have seen after Ray Davis was released or alleged major drone strikes was absent. It is also notable that forty-eight hours after the announcement of bin Laden's death, there is almost no show of support for bin Laden or his legacy. TV and English print media have virtually ignored the few small "in absentia" funerals for bin Laden in Karachi and Quetta, and Urdu papers have published only tiny articles, most without photos. There have been no other public demonstrations covered by the media

While Urdu editorials criticized the U.S. operation as a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, major Urdu daily "Express" grudgingly admitted that "the U.S. has proved that Al Qaeda leadership may be in Pakistan." A few minor writers wrote opinion pieces extolling bin Laden as a Muslim "hero." The mass circulation Urdu daily, "Jang," in its editorial observed that the "government and its various departments are deliberately keeping the nation in darkness," and "it seems that the U.S. efforts to increase pressure on Pakistan are making headway and the enemies are weaving a network of conspiracies around it." Mirroring several op-eds, the rightist "Nawa-i-Waqt," jumped on the lack of physical evidence surrounding bin Laden's death and claimed that his burial at sea was a "concoction to conceal the truth."

On Tuesday night's television talk shows, even pro-military and pro-ISI hosts Hamid Mir and Kamran Khan and their guests slammed the Pakistani military for not knowing that American helicopters had violated Pakistan's airspace and flown to a military town near the capital. Many talk shows guests rejected Pakistan's stand that it did not cooperate with the U.S. in the operation. Najam Sethi, in his program on Geo TV, noted that "The U.S. wants to take full credit of this operation in order to appease the public and get recognition. Pakistan doesn't want to get any credit for this operation because it fears a bitter response from the masses. There must have been some cooperation. Neither party is telling the truth." He further added that "we should be aware that this operation was carried out by our friend, not our foe." Nevertheless, Dr. Moeed Pirzada maintained that the "Pakistani leaders were caught unaware," while, former Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar also observed that the "operation exposed the capability of our air defense system and our government system, which had been completely paralyzed."

Urdu Editorials:

"Abbottabad Operation: A Clarion Call," an editorial in the leading mass circulation populist, often sensational Urdu daily "Jang" (cir. 300,000) (05/04)

"Retired security officials and analysts are of the view that it is impossible for a foreign military force to disrupt our defense system and reach the vicinity of the country without the active support and cooperation from our own security agencies. But, they argue, the government and its various departments are deliberately keeping the nation in the dark... It seems that the U.S. efforts to increase pressure on Pakistan are making headway and the enemies are weaving a network of conspiracies around it. It remains to be seen what will be the future strategy of the U.S. and its allies against Pakistan. Americans are publically saying that they would continue this war till the elimination of the last terrorist. Anyhow it is high time for our political and military leadership that adopt a realistic approach towards the country's policies and bring them into conformity with Pakistan's national interests."

"Mounting U.S.-Indian pressure on Pakistan after the Abbottabad operation: is the U.S. war actually shifting to Pakistan?" an editorial in the second largest Urdu daily "Nawa-i-Waqt" (circ. 150,000) (05/04)

"Had Osama's body been buried, the possibility of exhumation would have existed and it would have exposed the fact. The story of his body 'buried' in the sea appears to be a concoction to conceal the truth. This gives rise

to the doubt that someone else was murdered in Abbottabad on the pretext of operation against Osama. Whether Osama was killed in the operation or someone else, American Special Forces operation on our soil is a big question mark over our sovereignty... If the allied forces started action inside Pakistan, then the country's economy and security will be jeopardized... The government should bring before the people all the facts about Osama incident."

"Abbottabad Operation: Something Is Being Cloaked," an editorial in the Karachi-based, pro-Taliban Jihadi Urdu daily "Islam" (cir. 15,000) (05/04)

"In the aftermath of the Abbottabad operation, the U.S. and India have unleashed a barrage of allegations against Pakistan. They are saying that if the 'most dangerous terrorist in the world' could find a safe haven within the highly protected area of the country then how can the possibility of Pakistan's nuclear weapons ending up into the hands of Al-Qaeda operatives can be ruled out. It is quite possible that, on the basis of this assumption, the U.S. can launch direct military operations in our tribal areas. We think that our leadership should give up its dual policies and evolve a national strategy to steer the country out of this dangerous situation."

"Osama's death: will the truth be known?" an editorial note in the populist Urdu daily "Khabrain" (circ. 50,000) (05/04)

"About 75 percent of Afghanistan is under the control of the Taliban, and the American failure in that country can be gauged from the Taliban's success in getting 500 of their companions released from Kandahar jail. This incident brought disrepute to America and President Obama. Observers say that the death of Osama was staged in the aftermath of the Kandahar jail incident... The truth may never be known, for Osama's body was disposed off in the sea... Many Al-Qaeda leaders are still alive and if Osama has really been killed then they could resort to reprisal attacks."

"Usama's death: questions and doubts" an editorial in the liberal Urdu daily "Express" (circ. 25,000) (05/04)

"The need is to review Pakistan's role against terrorism in the situation following Osama's alleged death. Any policy change that is necessary must be made. We feel this is the best time to break terrorists' back so that they are not able to raise their heads again. Pakistan, U.S. and Afghanistan need to adopt a joint strategy in this regard... Moreover, it is important to restore the credibility of Pakistan's intelligence services because for now, the U.S. has demonstrated through this operation that other Al Qaeda leadership could also be present in Pakistan."

"After Shaheed [Martyr] Osama" an op-ed by Abdul Qadir Hasan in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (circ. 25,000)

"This Saudi individual, who surrendered his life to Almighty Allah and stepped into the world of jihad with his family and the sacrifice of billions of rupees, finally attained martyrdom on Pakistani soil. He is the greatest martyr of the present day. But the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan termed this great tragedy as a great victory. Each [of these men] got what was in his fate respectively: one got martyrdom, the other got to please the killers and imperialists... In Muslim memory, he [bin Laden] will live on as a martyr... May our faith remain, and may no one from us would call this tragedy a great victory, and may there be many Osamas amongst us."

"Osama's fate, Obama's future and Pakistan's helplessness" op-ed by Tanweer Qaiser Shahid in the liberal Urdu daily "Express" (circ. 25,000)

"Osama bin Laden's death has raised several important questions. For instance, this successful operation was conducted at a time when there is visible tension in the Pak-U.S. relations and the ISI is being maligned at CIA's behest. The question is: would relations between the two countries and agencies normalize after this

operation?... There are three other important questions: The first is, was his body bathed in the Islamic manner before it was buried at sea? Was an Islamic funeral prayer offered for him, if so where? And is there any proof of this? What kind of reaction can be expected from his heirs and the billionaire Bin Laden family for not handing over the body to them? Not handing over the body to heirs is a heinous crime... The other question is: would the U.S. occupation forces now wrap up their operations from Afghanistan?... Another question is: would the remaining 'Al Qaeda' leadership take any step against Pakistan and does it have the capacity to do so?"

"Theater of war" an op-ed by Abdullah Tariq Suhail in the liberal Urdu daily "Express" (circ. 25,000)

"The PM has declared Usama's death a great victory. This is our second major victory. Our first victory was handing over Raymond Davis. But we must admit that our second victory is even greater than our first. This proves that no country is as victorious as Pakistan."

"Osama: a bigger U.S. enemy than Che Guevara: why was the body buried at sea?" an editorial note in independent Urdu daily "Din" (circ. 5000)

"Why did [the U.S.] feel it fit to dispose of the body of the alleged Osama at sea? Usama was a thousand times bigger enemy of the U.S. than Che Guevara. If the Americans could display his body ... why couldn't they do the same with Osama if indeed he was killed? The act of burying the alleged body of an alleged Osama at sea has made the U.S. operation suspect."

"Osama: an era, an ideology" an op-ed by Hafiz Shafiqur Rehman in the independent Urdu daily "Din" (circ. 5000)

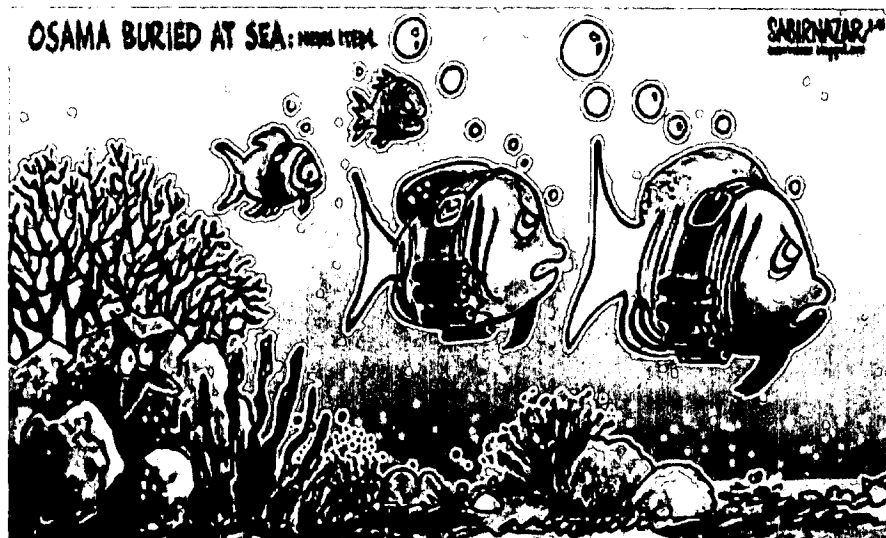
"It is good if Osama is alive, but he will live on even if he has been martyred and will continue to get sustenance from his God. This is something that is beyond comprehension for the Najam Sethis, the Hasan Nisars, the Nazir Najis and the intoxicated Abbas Athars of this Black Label group.... What happened in Abbottabad is a drama staged by actors, directors, creators who are planning to execute a real and horrific act in Pakistan in the days to come... No impure American of suspect paternity can ever target Osama. He was an enemy of imperialism, a sworn enemy."

Editorial Cartoons

Express Tribune" (05/04)



"Pakistan Today" (05/04)



"The News" (05/04)



"Statesman" (05/04)



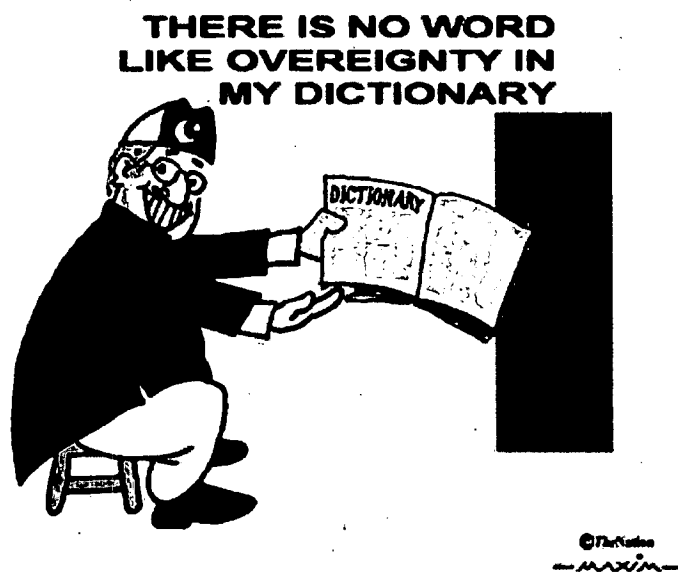
"Daily Times" (05/04)



"Pakistan Observer" (05/04)



“The Nation” (05/04)



TV Talk Shows:

Program: “Aapas Ki Baat” Geo News (05/03)

Host: Muneeb Farooq

Participants: Najam Sethi

Topic: U.S. Operation in Abbottabad and Foreign Office’s Statement

Excerpts:

Host: The Foreign Office has issued a new statement today (Tuesday). Several questions arise after reading this statement. It says that the helicopters had not operated from Pakistan; rather they came from outside the country. The statement denied any kind of cooperation with the U.S. forces. It says that we did not have any kind of information beforehand. The statement further states that this area (Abbottabad) has been under surveillance of the ISI since 2003, and in 2004 they caught a high-value target from Abbottabad. Now, the question is that why could our agencies not track down Osama bin Laden if they had been monitoring the area for so long?

Najam Sethi: It is worth mentioning here that Pakistan army had conducted an operation in collaboration with the CIA in Abbottabad and caught a wanted Indonesian terrorist Omer Patak. They are saying that they have been monitoring this area since 2003. It is not possible to think that the U.S. knew the whereabouts of Osama but the Pakistani authorities were unaware. We can't believe that our authorities didn't know about this target. I think the Foreign Office should not have said that they have been monitoring the area. We should have said that we didn't expect him to be there.

Host: This statement is very important. There is another question. It is being said that the U.S. troops came in Chinook helicopters and the maximum speed of these copters is 295 per hour. You have said several times that our Air Force's response is always quick. If this is the case, then our Air Force jets could have intercepted them within a minute. Why this did not happen?

Najam Sethi: Yes, you are right. They should have intercepted the Chinooks. If we believe that Pakistan didn't know anything about this operation then it shows our incompetence.

Host: CIA chief Leon Panetta has said that Pakistani authorities didn't know anything about the operation, because they (Americans) thought that any information leaked to the Pakistani officials might have jeopardized the operation. This is a very embarrassing statement. Do you see any flaw in both scenarios?

Najam Sethi: I was analyzing President Obama's statement and Foreign office's statement, and found that they were indicative of a joint operation. The U.S. wants to take the full credit of this operation with an aim to appease its public and get recognition. Pakistan doesn't want to get any credit for this operation because it fears a bitter response from the masses. There must have been some cooperation. Both the parties are not telling the truth. The entire episode has maligned our status. There might be another explanation of this operation. The Americans had stopped talking about Osama bin Laden during past few months. At a time when both countries were discussing North Waziristan, the U.S. might have been planning this operation. They might have told our military at the moment in order to avoid any engagements. We didn't know what that high-value target was and where the operation would take place. When the operation was completed, we came to know where and what had happened. If we had stopped the U.S. military in our airspace that could create a war-like situation or the U.S. might have blamed us for helping Osama by giving him safe haven. So, in both ways we were to get in trouble therefore we avoided any kind of engagement with the Americans. Moreover, we should be aware that this operation was carried out by our friend, not our foe.

Host: What lessons have we learnt from this operation?

Najam Sethi: We have to see what the international community is thinking about us. Are they thinking that we are incompetent? If yes, then the U.S. will not go against us but if we are found guilty that we protected Osama bin Laden then there will be a lot of trouble for Pakistan. The soft statements from President Obama and Secretary of State Hilary Clinton depict that the U.S. wants to forgive us for this mistake, but will make sure that we don't do this again in the future. Now, the question is how the Pakistani government is going to satisfy its own nation?

Program: "Capital Talk" Geo TV (05/03)

Host: Hamid Mir

Participants: Tariq Fatemi (Former Ambassador); Akram Zaki (Former Foreign Secretary); Raheemullah Yousafzai (Journalist); Nazir Naji (Columnist)

Topic: Future of U.S-Pak Relationship

Excerpts:

Host: It is being considered globally that Pakistani media enjoys full freedom. In the aftermath of Osama's killing, the Abbottabad city has virtually been turned into a no-go area for Pakistani media. Through this program and on the eve of the World Press Freedom Day today, I request the government to allow the local media to report from the compound so that it can provide accurate information to the Pakistani masses. In the wake of Abbottabad operation, the international community is raising questions about our national security and defense capabilities. Do you agree with what the international media reports about Pakistan, especially about the alleged linkage of our intelligence agencies with Osama bin Laden and other terrorists?

Tariq Fatemi: Yes, indeed this is matter of great concern for our security forces and our intelligence agencies. Pakistan has lost its dignity and self-esteem. A couple of weeks ago, General Ashfaq Kayani addressed the passing-out ceremony of the Pakistan Army's new cadets exactly one kilometer away from the compound where the U.S. forces have carried out a secret operation against Osama bin Laden. It seems highly impossible that our intelligence agencies were unaware about the presence of Al-Qaeda leader there. Our military establishment should take the masses and the country's political leadership into confidence over this issue.

Akram Zaki: President Obama did mention the role of our intelligence in the operation against Osama. I hope he was true. I foresee more such U.S operations on our soil against militants in coming months. Pakistan is passing through very dangerous times as Indians have also begun piling pressure on us.

Host: Why media was not permitted to report from the compound where the operation was carried out against Osama?

Raheemullah Yousafzai: Our entire system is on the way to decline. We took pride in our nuclear assets and our army, but it is the fact that on a number of occasions, foreign forces carried out operations in our territory. I am afraid that other countries, like India, could also pick up courage to use this option.

Host: Do you think that the U.S. and other countries will conduct such operations in Pakistan in near future?

Akram Zaki: Yes, the Indians had planned in the past to launch surgical strikes in Mureedke, the headquarters of Jamaat-ud-Dawa (Lashkar-e-Taiba). Now they can possibly do so. It is the time for our military and civilian leadership to sit together and decide the future line of action and evolve a defense strategy to safeguard the country's sovereignty.

Nazir Naji: If the foreign forces can operate so easily in such sensitive areas of our country, then I am surprise why are we wasting so much money on our defense budget? Under these circumstances, the security of our nuclear assets is also at stake. Is not it?

Host: In a statement today, our Foreign Office spokesperson said that our military and civilian leadership was unaware about this operation. What are your comments on this statement?

Nazir Naji: Our security system has become doubtful now. In retaliation to the Abbottabad operation, we can face serious public reaction and backlash from the militants. The government needs to take a clear-cut stance on its foreign policy, and should take the international community and the Pakistani masses into confidence.

Tariq Fatemi: Instead of pursuing duel strategy of Pervez Musharraf, our leadership should formulate policies based on our national interests.

Akram Zaki: This is a high time for us to reform our tax system and say goodbye to the U.S financial assistance. We can avoid such incidents in future if we increase our tax net. I also urge the government to allow media the access to report from all war-affected areas, especially from North Waziristan, so that it can provide true information about the reality in those areas.

Program: "Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Saath" Geo TV (05/03)

Host: Kamran Khan

Participants: Lt. General (R) Salah-ud-Din Tirmizi (Defense Analyst); Munir Akram (UN Observer)

Topic: Osama's Killing: Who Will Answer the Pakistani Nation's Questions?

Commentary by the Host: Our security forces failed to take action against the American helicopters which entered the country to launch an operation against Osama Bin Laden as the U.S officials are proudly saying that they evaded Pakistan's radar system and only informed the Pakistani authorities once they left the country's airspace after completing this operation successfully. The nation is stunned on the complete failure of our security system during this operation. The people are utterly disappointed. They are asking where our air force was when the U.S. helicopters intruded into Pakistan's airspace. The entire episode showed that our security system had failed to react to this attack. The masses have every justification to ask such questions because we annually spend billions of rupees, collected from our tax payers, on security forces but the military role in this operation was very disappointing. No senior government official, including the president, prime minister, army chief or the interior minister, is ready to face the media or tell the facts to the nation. Prime Minister Gilani, who hardly misses any opportunity of talking with TV channels, has gone to France leaving behind a number of questions unanswered. Could you explain the sensitivity of the situation?

Salah-ud-Din Tirmizi: On the one hand, the international community is pointing fingers at our system, while on the other, our political and military leaders are not ready to tell the people the truth regarding Osama's killing. Pakistani politicians and army generals have disappointed the entire nation. I urge the political and military leadership of the country to take the masses into confidence on this issue otherwise nobody could protect Pakistan from receding into anarchy.

Munir Akram: We lack a visionary and courageous leadership at the moment. If our leadership takes a courageous stance on any issue, the international community will stop treating Pakistan as a banana republic.

Program: "News Night With Talat" Dawn TV (05/03)

Host: Talat Hussain

Participants: Moeed Pirzada (Anchorperson); Riaz Khokhar (Former Foreign Secretary); Ismail Khan (Security Analyst); Dr. Riffat Hussain (Defense Analyst)

Topic: Osama's killing: What Would Be The Impact on Pakistan?

Host: At last, our Foreign Office issued a detailed press release on the Abbottabad operation. Here, I want to highlight two points mentioned in this press release. First, the Foreign Office has admitted that the killing of Osama is an important milestone in the war against terrorism. Secondly, but in the same vein, the press release says "This was a dangerous operation; we will not want you or other countries to make it as a precedent." The question is why was our government system in shellshock? Why did the Foreign Office mention the most important thing only at the end of this press release? Why has the Pakistani reaction been so belittled?

Dr. Riffat Hussain: In my opinion, this press release was our government's reaction to the domestic and global criticism of Pakistan. As to why they reacted so late on such an important issue, I would say that after having recovered from the initial shock, the Pakistani leadership put its minds together. In my opinion, this paragraph ("This was a dangerous operation, we will not want you or other countries to make it as a precedent.") should be the first one in the Foreign Office press release.

Moeed Pirzada: This was most awkward moment for our military and the civilian leadership. They were caught unaware. The U.S. forces continued violating our airspace for at least 80 minutes, but our security system had been so paralyzed that it failed to react.

Host: Why have we taken so much time to determine our stance on such an important issue?

Riaz Khokhar: This operation exposed the capability of our air defense system and our government system which had been completely paralyzed. In my opinion, the institutions, like foreign office, could not issue a press release on such an important incident independently unless they have the support from the country's top political leadership. I think the FO press release, which we issued on first day after the Abbottabad operation, was a tamed one. I think that our Foreign Office should have issued the press release, which it has issued today, on the first day after the operation against Osama bin Laden.

Host: Do you think that the Abbottabad operation will become a precedent for other countries to attack Pakistan in future?

Riaz Khokhar: This has given an opportunity to our adversaries to mount pressure on us, as you have seen yesterday that Afghan and Indian governments wasted no time in criticizing Pakistan for providing safe havens to militants. I think this incident will prove to be a very hard one for our people to digest.

Ismail Khan: Our government system has become rotten and completely got paralyzed. The Pakistani leadership was shell-shocked. At a time when the people, who were leading this operation, were present in one room to monitor this operation directly while our leadership was divided from top down to the bottom. The time has come for us to come clean on this issue.

Dr. Riffat Hussain: The fact is that the U.S-Pakistan relations are transactional. They (Americans) always use Pakistan for their interests and ditch us when their objectives are achieved. In his interview to Time Magazine, CIA chief Leon Panetta said that they did not inform their Pakistani counterparts about the operation against bin Laden because they were concerned that Pakistani military officials would alert the target.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Davidson, Mark J
Sent: Wednesday, May 04, 2011 12:30 PM
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Schwartz, Larry R/PPR; Douglas, Walter T; Rodriguez, Alberto; Beale, Courtney A.; DiMartino, Kitty
Subject: RE: media

Judith,

Here is our early update for today. This will be followed by our more extensive daily media analysis later; we will aim to have it out by 8 am DC time. Please let us know if you need anything else.

After discussion and consideration among our team, and weighing what we've heard from our Pakistani contacts, we strongly believe that releasing a photo would help drive the final nail into the coffin of "credible" denials conspiracy theories in Pakistan.

Best regards,

Mark

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On Tuesday night's television talk shows, even pro-military and pro-ISI hosts Hamid Mir and Kamran Khan and their guests slammed the Pakistani military for not knowing that American helicopters had violated Pakistan's airspace and flown to a military town near the capital. This sense of embarrassment or even anger over the performance of Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies has filtered into both Urdu broadcast and print media.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Wednesday, May 04, 2011 5:04 AM
To: Douglas, Walter T; Davidson, Mark J
Cc: Schwartz, Larry R/PPR
Subject: media

Walter/ Mark:

I have a 9 a.m. SVTC on post-Bin Laden reactions. Can you pls email me an update no later than 7 a.m. my time on reactions in Pakistan. Also let me know your thoughts on release of pix.

Thx.

jm