

PEACE JOURNALISM VERSUS EMBEDDED JOURNALISM IN PAKISTAN WITH A DETAILED HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract. Announcing “war on terrorism” by United States had dire consequences upon independent Pakistani journalists. Pakistan army has carried out several military operations against local and foreign militants those expected to be hidden in these regions. During these operations journalists were restricted from objective and free coverage and therefore they remained embedded with military in FATA. The embedding process created by the Pentagon and implemented for the first time in Iraq, was highly criticized by American citizens for not showing real casualties in Iraq war. Similarly, Pakistani journalists experienced this practice of being embedded in FATA after 9/11 attacks and the coverage went pro-military where civilian casualties were misrepresented. On one side this practice was praised by some journalists for their security and protection while on the other side it was highly criticized by public for violation of human rights. The method of analysis of choice was descriptive and explanatory. For the purpose different journals, research articles, existence literature and books were consulted. This paper shows that in the present age of media galore conflicts are viewed not just from the opposing parties ‘perspective but media is also considered a party to the conflicts. Moreover, the paper finds that it becomes very difficult for a journalist to report independently while staying 24/7 with an army unit in a conflict zone. And if they go against the commandments of army they could be killed, and nobody would report this big tragedy. By considering the above facts it has become crystal clear that media portrayals of conflict all over the world including Pakistan have seen major concern to media professionals, combatants and public.

Keywords: *military operations, embedded journalism, FATA, terrorism, human rights*

Introduction

‘Reporters carry fear with them just like their pens and notebooks’. This statement become popular in Pakistan’s mainstream media when hundreds of Pakistani journalists were being killed, kidnapped, threatened, beaten and sometimes bribed during their coverage in war-conflict zone known as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) that is bordered with Afghanistan. As Pakistan was in the grip of terrorism after 9/11 attacks, many of the regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA were declared high risky zones (Abasi, 2018). Announcing “war on terrorism” by United States had dire consequences upon independent Pakistani journalists. Pakistan army has carried out several military operations against local and foreign militants those expected to be hidden in these regions. During these operations journalists were restricted from objective and free coverage and therefore they remained embedded with military in FATA. The embedding process created by the Pentagon and implemented for the first time in Iraq, was highly criticized by American citizens for not showing real casualties in Iraq war (Leblance, 2013). Similarly Pakistani journalists experienced this practice of being embedded in FATA after 9/11 attacks and the coverage went pro-military where civilian casualties were misrepresented. On one side this practice was praised by some

journalists for their security and protection while on the other side it was highly criticized by public for violation of human rights.

This paper aims to deal with one major analytical question that whether embedded journalism should be considered professional journalism or not with the context of Iraq and Pakistan's situation? This paper is an initiative to briefly, precisely and clearly define and analyze the role of embedded journalism in Pakistan with most recent examples. In order to answer this question, this paper will also briefly discuss the background of embedded journalism in Iraq and experiences of journalists. This paper considers a variety of existing secondary literature to answer the proposed question. The method of analysis of choice will be descriptive and explanatory. For the purpose different books, journals, research articles and existence literature will be consulted.

Insights of embedded journalism

In the invasion of Iraq war 2003, American media was losing its credibility and acceptance to the general mass audiences and Americans media coverage has generated criticism for their emphasis on the military strategy and lack of focus on civilian casualties in contrast to the U.S. soldier's casualties. Hence, large news agencies have noticeably lost credibility with their failure to challenge assertions of the Bush Administration (Dodge and Schechter, 2006). That causes loss of moral in terms of ethical issues in journalistic view for the news agencies. Only because, combat always try to escape from press like *"If a [soldier or a] unit is going to go rogue, they will find a way to get rid of the media...unless they're filled with hubris or they think they are in for the take."* (Bhatia 2016)".

Embedded journalism is a systematic way to report war and conflict. Embedded journalism is the practice of placing journalists in the battlefield with the army to get the real time view of the war situation during the conflict as they live with army and cover the live event to give the breaking news that helps combat to control over the war information. Although, they were widely used for softening the brutality of any military occupation and underplay hostile local response to it.

Journalists were secure under the protection of combat in the conflict zone so that they can telecast without fair. In contrast the real scenario were quite different and they can only write and produce report what they could do, but they knew that *"there is nothing but only interpretation (Tuosto, 2008)"*. Iraq was very dangerous for the reporters. There were always a chance to get kidnapped or killed by terrorists as *"Iraqis were told that they would get to keep the cars of American journalist they killed (Santora and Smith, 2003)"*. Hence, journalists choose to remain embedded in the Iraq war. Iraq and Afghanistan were witness of widely used embedded journalism (Pathak, 2017). However, the duration was not so long but *"Both broadcasters and the public are in empathic agreement that a multiplicity of sources and perspectives is essential for objective and balanced war coverage...Embedded reporting may be a useful addition to mix, but...it should remain part of picture that also includes independent reporting (Lewis et al., 2006)"*.

According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines as, *"A journalist who stays with a unit of the armed forces during a war in order to report directly about the fighting are embedded journalist in 2012"*. Generally, pentagon put embedded journalists into the conflict zone with the army and they ate, slept, and witnessed life with a specific unit of the military while unilateral journalists did not. According to Dr. Ramesh *"We can't understand what we don't see and we can't explain*

a conflict if we hear it from one side (Pathak, 2017)". Hence, it's rather giving censored news being an embedded journalist was better than collecting news with life risk. Some journalists asked to travel with military units. If a journalist wants to travel alone or want to use personal vehicle they need special permission. Open School of Journalism reported that *"the resulting coverage had to be approved by the military before reaching the public to protect military assets and tactics that's why a very controlled media coverage was attained, but the results were unsatisfactory* (Haas, 2020)". More precisely, it's evident that there was a large scale of censorship. On the 1st of May 2003, President Bush declared that the operation is over (Paul and Kim, 2004). That's why this embedded process only runs two weeks in Iraq war. After that the operation continues till 2011 but the embedded process was not valid rather traditional journalism. However, according to the Pentagon High official, the program has great success that adds new dimension in the war strategy.

Historical background of embedded journalism

In recent past information plays a very crucial part in the war. Whoever has the more information has the greatest chances to win the war. During the war information and propaganda also plays an important role to dominate the as well as the global attention. For an example, before the invasion of Iraq war 2003 media plays a significant role to make everyone believe that Saddam Hossain is a threat to the world. Reporters on the battle field are not new rather it's an old concept. The background history of embedded system is so long. During WWII reporters also cover conflict staying with the combat however the duration was small, but the name was different then. Later in the Vietnam war was the first living room war viewers watched in the screen first time (LeBlanc, 2013). The story of modern war reporting is almost universally accepted as *beginning at the Battle of Istedt in 1850, when William Howard Russell was the first war reporter being embedded in the conflict zone and published the first direct-from-the battlefield media reports of combat in the Western world*. Four years later, the *Times* of London asked William Howard Russell to accompany the British Army on their "expedition to the East," in the Crimean War (Hood, 2011). Although, embedded reporting has been widely criticized by journalists and scholars alike as biased, as military propaganda, as lacking in objectivity and context, as narrow in perspective and scope, and as undermining to the international reputation of the United States (Casper and Child, 2014; Ignatius, 2010).

Embedded also called "Polled Journalism", embedded journalist reports in a poll using the direction from Army in the Vietnam war. In the meantime, *"there were far fewer complaints during this war than seen in the previous major conventional operations, such as in Grenada, Panama and the First Gulf War* (Paul, 2008)". Vietnam war was the first television war. Before that there were no visual journalism exist in terms of war (Hegarty, 2007). Generally, reporters with the combat faces extensive sensor ship covering conflict. Embedded journalism begins officially in the Iraq war March 2003 but it's not the first time. Pentagon and Media specialist sat before Iraq war to introduce officially the embedded system in the war. Again, war journalists are very popular in the world. After 9/11, a few journalists wanted to be war journalist and they also know the consequences of being war correspondent (LeBlanc, 2013). Many journalists were killed, kidnaped, hostile so journalist was losing their interest to cover the war. *Given that al-Qa'ida and the Taliban always target foreign journalists as*

potential hostage so that they can make video to blackmail government and foreign government to fulfill their demand. Hence, it was impossible to roam around Iraq or Afghanistan without extreme danger (Pathak, 2017). Pentagon also wants to win the war at any cost according to Lt. Col. Rick Long the former head of media relations for the U.S. Marine Corps, in 2003 *“Frankly, our job is to win the war. As a Part of that is information warfare. So, we are going to attempt to dominate the information environment (Paul and Kim, 2005:)”*.

Before the invasion of Iraq war, the relationship among Army and journalist were not so cooperative. Journalists had low level of access granted to reporters during the Vietnam, Persian Gulf War (1990-91) and the early years of the Afghanistan war in 2001 (Löffelholz, 2016). That is why, Pentagon planned to introduce a new system to improve the relation with media to control over information environment in the upcoming Iraq war in 2003. Pentagon arranged a meeting with media specialist and they were reached a decision to embedded journalist in the. Pentagon and Media specialists agreed to implement embedding press system for upcoming Iraq war. Hence, it's a joint invention of US army and media. Embedded journalism was introduced by the U.S. Department of Defence and media specialist during the Iraq war (2003-11) officially as a strategic new approach to manipulate the war information. According to Spencer (2003) Iraq war *“in a since allowing journalists to get closer meant the military had more chances to try and manage the messages (Spencer, 2003)”*. According to the plan reporters were expected to live, work, eat, travel as a part of the combat but with some restrictions (Pfau et al., 2004).

The first essential in the military operations is that no information of value shall be given to the enemy and for the newspaper first essential is to give the proper information to the people. That's why Eisenhower (1944) said that *“ it is my job and mine to try to reconcile those sometimes divers considerations (Eisenhower, 1944)”*. So, considering all rules and regulations journalist had to report conflict and censor was obvious. In March 2003, Pentagon officially introduced modern way of war reporting called embedded press system (Tuosto, 2008) and issued 2,700 media credentials to journalists and photographers (Bruscino, 2004) with more than 600 journalists were embedded with a range of American military units, *“nearly 400 journalists were embedded in the Army, 18 in the Air Force, about 150 in the Marines, and 141 in the Navy (Paul and Kim, 2005)”*. The implications of the embedding process with respect to coverage of civilian casualties in Iraq will be explored further throughout with many research works done by freelancer journalist (LeBlanc, 2013). Moreover, the debates are still running all around the world that “Embedded” process is either good or bad. However, in terms of pentagon they used it very effectively and got the benefit from battlefield reporting, that added a new dimension to war coverage.

Human right violation in Iraq war and the role of embedded press

In the war zone civilian casualties, up-rotting locals, Curfew and human right violation are obvious. However, the matter of concerns is how much do journalist cover? Before 2004, the report from CBS news report (Loffelholz, 2006) hardly knew about the brutality in the Iraq war 2003. Embedding allows journalists to gain access deep into the heart of a military access. Viewers wants to know about the real time view or news from the conflict zone if there were some human violation or how much civilian casualties happens. In contrary to that, embedded journalists were not allowed

to cover all news in the battle field, so they cover only those that allowed to cover by the army. However, the report from CBS news in 2004 had changed the view of the Iraq war and catch the eyes of the global authorities that American Armies are not keeping their eyes on human right violations (Loffelholz, 2006). On the other hand, others big media like Fox news, BBC etc. were only focus on terrorist fights in the Iraq war rather than focusing on civilian casualties. For an instance, Abu Ghraib is the best example for explain human right violation and the role played by embedded press during Iraq war 2003.

“Abu Ghraib” comes one-year letter after the invasion of the Iraq war. *“Abu Ghraib”* or Place of *“Ravens prison”* was the formal name of Baghdad Central Prison, is in 32 km far from west of Baghdad city and was built by British contractors in the 1950s. During the Iraq War, human rights violations against prisoners held in the Abu Ghraib prison were so brutal by the American military and the Central Intelligence Agency (American CIA). Physically and sexually abused, tortured, raped, sodomized, and murdered innocent Iraqi Muslim prisoners. According to the documentary of Javed (2013), in April 30, 2004 – “Maj. Gen. Antonio Taguba's report detailing his investigation of the 800th Military Police Brigade is released. Taguba's report stated that the following abuses happened in this incident are Punching, slapping, and kicking detainees; jumping on their naked feet. Videotaping and photographing naked male and female in various sexually explicit positions for photographing are visible. Forcing detainees to remove their clothing and keeping them naked for several days at a time and sometimes male detainees to masturbate themselves while being photographed and videotaped. Positioning a naked detainee on a box, with a sandbag on his head, and attaching wires to his fingers, toes, and penis to simulate electric torture. Again, they also forced to writing *“I am a Rapist (sic)”* on the leg of a detainee accused of rape, and then photographing him naked (Loffelholz, 2016). In interrogation use of dogs was part of the list of techniques transmitted by Major General Miller in August 2003 and included in a list of techniques available to CJTF-720 interrogators in September 2003 in Abu Ghraib prison (Mastroianni, 2013). A male US military guard having sex with a female detainee using military working dogs without muzzles to intimidate and frighten detainees, and in at least one case biting and severely injuring a detainee (Javed, 2013). Most brutal things were taking photographs of dead Iraqi detainees were very common (Loffelholz, 2016). Again, according to a prison guard *“prisoners were shot for minor misbehavior and claimed to have had venomous snake used to bite prisoners, sometimes resulting in their deaths although the guard was in trouble for having thrown rocks at the detainees (Chamberlain, Gethin May 13, 2004)”* that proved the human right violation in Abu Ghraib during war time. The abuses spanned from direct physical assault, such as delivering head blows rendering detainees unconscious, to sexual posing and forced participation in group masturbation. According to Jones and Fay report 2005, at the extremes were the death of a detainee in OGA custody, an alleged rape committed by a US translator and observed by a female Soldier, and the alleged sexual assault of an unknown female.

For an example from the report *“Incident #2. On 7 October 2003, three MI personnel allegedly sexually assaulted female DETAINEE-29. CIVILIAN-06 (Titan) was the assigned interpreter, but there is no indication he was present or involved. DETAINEE-29 alleges as follows: First, the group took her out of her cell and escorted her down the cellblock to an empty cell. One unidentified Soldier stayed outside the cell while another held her hands behind her back, and the other forcibly kissed her. She*

was escorted downstairs to another cell where she was shown a naked male detainee and told the same would happen to her if she did not cooperate. She was then taken back to her cell, forced to kneel and raise her arms while one of the Soldiers removed her shirt. She began to cry, and her shirt was given back as the Soldier cursed at her and said they would be back each night (Jones and Fay, 2005)”. Most interesting part is that Bush government was guilty for that and he never says sorry for that rather giving an interview with an embedded journalist. Finally, embedding still a confusing system that is either good or bad. More precisely its rather an information dominating strategy by the powerful nations to prove one nation good or bad to globe.

Critical aspects of embedded press system

Embedding journalists is currently viewed as an advantageous method to protect journalists from being the target of sniper attacks by enemy forces. In past engagements, some reporters were deliberately targeted due to disagreement with the media coverage they had presented. *“the embedded press system is, in general, likely to produce the greatest number of the most positive outcomes for press-military relations (Paul, 2005)”. Some journalists have been given the opportunity to fly in helicopters, flying right into the action as it occurs (Lewis et al., 2006). This changes their perspective on the events unfolding before their eyes. This immediacy in media coverage, as well as access to areas where journalists formerly would not have been allowed to venture, are both additional positive results of the practice. Embedded journalists can interview military leaders and soldiers on the spot to get immediate and honest reactions to the events taking place during the engagement.*

Allowing embedded journalists to broadcast live from war zones removes some of the perception held by members of the public that news coverage in general is manipulated to present a slanted point of view (LeBlanc, 2013). It is believed that allowing embedded reporters to provide coverage on the spot removes some of the bias that may result when news broadcasts are overly edited to present a desired position, rather than presenting the actual news as it occurred. One of the major criticisms of embedded reporting is the increased risk of inherent bias that naturally develops when the journalists are spending day and night with a military unit. *”Embedded reporting has been widely criticized by journalists and scholars alike as biased, as military propaganda, as lacking in objectivity and context, as narrow in perspective and scope, and as undermining to the international reputation of the United States (Casper and Child, 2014)”. Although it appears that journalists can safely cover news events from deep within the battle theatre, they are operating from within an umbrella of safety provided by the military unit with whom they are traveling. Feelings of camaraderie naturally flow from risking one's life daily with one's comrades, and this is the same with embedded journalists (Lopez, 2010). There were possibility of loss of objectivity and life, as the embedded journalists are witnessing the combat zone from only one side of the military engagement. Hence, often its hard to define actual scenario of the war. War correspondents traveling with military units for the US military are given reasonable restrictions as to how their media coverage is executed to protect the troops with whom they travel (Paul and Kim, 2004). For example, interviews with pilots are often restricted to be undertaken at the completion of a mission rather than at the outset. Use of flash photography or other lighting is often restricted at night for the safety of the troops as well as the journalist. Correspondents who fail to follow the ground rules*

may be immediately removed from embedment with the military unit with their embedment cancelled.

In 2007 a pair of independent journalists working for the Reuters news agency were killed by U.S. forces when the pilot of a helicopter gunship mistook their camera for a rocket-propelled grenade launcher (Löffelholz, 2016). Video footage of the attack was published in 2010, leading some media professionals to question the army's rules of engagement in U.S. Army officials responded by saying that the incident highlighted the dangers to journalists who chose to operate independently in the conflict zone. More precisely, embedded press system shows the most positive relationship among the army and the journalists (Paul, 2008).

Analysis and practices: Media landscape of Pakistan (2002-2017)

The Pakistani media landscape reflects a multi linguistic, multi ethnic and class divided society. Pakistani television channels are completely dependent on advertisements from government sectors and other big private manufacturers and organizations. Advertisements are the only income of media channels in Pakistan. Due to this reason, these organizations and government sometimes control the media content especially news related to state institutions. They can also use media as a propaganda tool for their personal interests rather than national interests. This is one of big reason, that media in Pakistan perform very little function of watch dog journalism.

Military-media relations in Pakistan

Military dictators have ruled Pakistan for 30 years which has disturbed not only democracy but also affected the relations between army and mainstream media on different occasions. In a democratic country like Pakistan, media is supposed to be free and advocate of democracy but due to certain limitations and misuse of some constitutional powers, the freedom remained constraint or limited. First of all it is very important to mention here the press-freedom article in Pakistan's constitution that says:

“Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, [commission of] or incitement to an offence.” (Naqvi, 2013).

Pakistan's government claims that it has ensured press freedom in the country. Of course the very first line of this article talks about press freedom but the rest talks about complete restrictions on the name of *glory of Islam* and *morality or decency*. Big question arises here that who will define limits for morality, decency and Islam? Pakistani journalists believe that army misuse and exploit these clauses of Article 19/A against journalists when they expose their corrupt practices. Therefore, due to security reasons and fear of retaliation especially from military, militant groups or political parties, many media persons or journalists have turned to self-censorship. Army as an institution has a high influence in Pakistan and it has controlled journalists. And army has never had a good relation with professional journalists. As Ashraf (2012) has noted

that “The media and military have never had an easy relationship” (Ashraf, 2012). And some scholars like Siraj (2009) are of the view that Army is responsible for restricting and suppressing journalists and snatching their rights of freedom especially in conflict zones. “Journalism as an institution suffers especially in conflict areas where the need to understand the real causes of the conflict are most important. This is only possible when journalists have complete freedom of expression and access to information without any fear” (Siraj, 2009).

In fact journalists are allowed to cover conflict zones but they rely only on the information they get from the military persons in these areas. However, Army does not take them to the places where they want, but they are briefed about the situations in closed rooms or army units. This approach is not only opposite to standard journalism but also a big threat to freedom of press and human rights violations. The main purpose of army and media is supposed to be same within the state, if army is fighting against terrorists or militants in any region; the aim is to maintain peace in the region. Similarly journalists cover conflicts to inform and educate public about the real situation, causes of wars, solutions and provide detailed analysis to spread awareness among citizens and resultantly maintain peace. But in Pakistan, Army still does not let media play its role independently as Ashraf found that “security forces yet to learn how to handle journalists professionally and responsibly” (Ashraf, 2012).

An overview of peace journalism versus embedded journalism in Pakistan

Under high influence of army, Pakistan has experienced dictated war journalism in conflict zones during the period of 2006 to 2013. The word “embedded” was strange for Pakistani journalists before 2006, as the military operations in FATA and different parts of KP were started after this period. The powerful Pakistani military has started feeding journalists during military operations against Taleban. This act of army was not condemned by many unprofessional embedded journalists because of so many factors, it is important to mention here (economic factor) that normally Pakistani journalists work on low salaries with TV channels and newspapers and most of these journalists do not have even journalism degrees. They get excited if someone wants to provide them the expenses of their transportation and take them to new places for reporting, they are unaware of the real duties of a professional journalist, and also they have no idea of how their reports and words could affect their audiences. This clearly speaks about their ignorance and tells that they do not know the power of pen they use on the dictation of army. As one of the Peshawar-based journalist states that “only a fool can afford to skip free chopper rides and the hot food offered on such trips to FATA or Swat.” (Ashraf, 2012: 6). No journalist is allowed to include information without proof what he or she has witnessed. If one does so then he or she will be sent back home and would be no more embedded with army. As it happened to one of the reporter when he was on the visit to FATA, he expressed doubt on the developmental projects and he was responded that “you seem to be friend of terrorists” and later on he was forced to quit his job.

These examples prove that embedded journalism is always different from standard reporting or corresponding. The way of getting or receiving information is totally different and the only source of information is army. Information is not provided in detail, reports are not balanced, and it is considered propaganda where one sided picture is shown to target audience. Embedded journalism is a process where voice of common people is being suppressed and their basic right of freedom of speech is violated in a

democratic country like Pakistan. Now we need to understand which responsibilities basically changes when journalist step into 'Peace Journalism' and how it works.

"Peace Journalism is defined by Lynch and McGoldrick as a set of "choices – of what to report and how to report it – which create opportunities for readers and audiences to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict" (Hussein and Lynch, 2015). Peace journalism in Pakistan is almost unknown to even those journalists who are working for the mainstream media as it is not in practice in Pakistan till date. Despite the fact that it has a great importance for readers according to the above definition of Hussein and Lynch, it is never practiced in conflict zones like FATA or other parts where military has a control. However, the word "peace journalism" was first introduced back in 1970. The most prominent scholar of peace studies, Johan Galtung coined the term 'Peace Journalism' in the 1970s. Peace journalism advocates peace and hence amplifies the dividends of peace. It focuses on analyzing conflict situations. "Sometimes it is also described as 'solutions journalism' or 'constructive journalism' (Babakhel, 2015)." John Galtung said that peace journalism is meant to promote peace and bridge the gap between government and citizens. This type of journalism can bring positive reforms, solutions and ensure stability in the communities. Although, in the light of above mentioned examples, embedded journalism is considered as narrative of an army or state. However, these two types of journalism cultures or reporting is not supposed to be the job of independent journalists as they should not be bound to report only army dictated news or become a peace maker. These two approaches makes journalism subjective, while journalism requires objectivity and balance in reporting. Journalists are deemed to report news what they see, hear or witness by their own or get it from the reliable sources.

In Pakistan most of the Pashtun journalists were being attracted towards conflict reporting after 9/11 attacks. As international media has focused on the Pak-Afghan region to keep an eye and update their audience and viewers on the activities of Taliban and US military operations. It was the first time for Pakistani journalists using the terms like terrorism, suicide attack, bomb blast, explosives, mastermind and extortion etc. Pakistani media persons have frequently used these terms that resultantly multiplied problems of traumatized audience. But journalists continued using such terms only to sensationalize reports and attract more people's attention. The main purpose behind this was to increase ratings of the TV channels and readers of the newspaper. To raise and highlight real issues of people in conflict zones could be seen very rare on TV screens and in newspapers. Peace journalism needs to work on the real sufferings of people, find reasons of their problems and try to contribute to the societies or war-affected and displaced people in Pakistan. Ideally, peace journalists should be striving to highlight the sufferings of the communities caught in conflict, as well as the grievances of the perpetrators (Babakhel, 2015).

This kind of objective journalism would not be easy in the context of Pakistan, when journalists are being embedded during military operations. Many research scholars including Lynch (2006) pointed out rightly that Pakistani media is good at informing people quickly about 'what happened' but they forget to enlighten the audience about the reasons behind the happenings. Pakistani journalists usually miss the required information in there news reports that are known as 5 W's and 1 H (What, when, where, why, who, and how). These six questions are forgotten and unanswered intentionally to take favor of one side or one party. Journalists are compelled to take sides and stick to biased news reports or articles during military operations, even though it is believed that

theoretically, reporters are expected to be against the war. Pakistani civilians, journalists and security personnel have sacrificed their lives in war against terrorism but media failed to highlight and show these people's sufferings to world powers. Giving the example of Pakistani media, it is rightly said that "We shielded the world at the cost of 60,000 innocent souls, but our media failed to apprise the global community regarding the price we paid for global peace." (Babakhel, 2015).

Pakistan's media is still considered immature as many journalists are not properly trained especially for war reporting. They need to be trained properly not only about how to report in a war like situation but also how to escape if they are kidnapped or how to use a pistol if they are arrested. Sometimes professional journalists have no idea how to craft a good and balance message for the diverse group of people living in one society. Also for professional journalist it is challenging to maintain balance and remain objective in their reports while they are reporting from conflict zones, as they live under the direct commandments and pressure of military personnel. Good Journalism always includes fairness, objectivity and balance in reporting. Basic rules of journalism should always be followed to contribute to societies where media can play its objective and positive role. But in almost all national and regional channels the human stories are missing from FATA where Pakistan army led many operations against terrorists. Most importantly, the experiences and troubles of war-affected refugees are not covered by the mainstream media. However, recent boom of social media has given voice to voiceless and helpless up to some extent from these conflict zones but still people are afraid to share such information from their original social media accounts so they use fake accounts for the purpose. The emergence of social media and citizen journalism could be a ray of hope for coming generations to provide accurate, authentic and objective information. Similarly, practice of standard journalism could be possible and this way mainstream media would adopt standard reporting in fear of losing their competition in ratings or viewership with social media sites.

War correspondents are supposed to give proper coverage to all rival parties and focus on casualties as well. This is not their job to tell people just about the number of dead bodies or army progress in war. The statement of Tumber (2006) is perfect fit here when he said that "War reporting is not like which cannon shoots in what directions, and whether or not the frontline has moved a few meters forward or backward (Youngblood, 2017). From the above analysis we have learned that Pakistani journalists were embedded with army not because they wanted to fulfill their professional duties but to enjoy the special protocol they get while visiting places together with army. As we started this paper from the historical context of Iraq, so we got this example from the experience of ABC Pentagon correspondent, John Mcwethy, it is quite similar as on one occasion he told the Washington Post, "*Riding around in the tank is fun but you do not know "what's going on"*" (Dadge, 2006). Embedded journalism is a black dot on the sacred responsibilities of journalists which is why it is considered a black chapter in the history of Pakistan military-press relations.

Peace journalism can greatly contribute in Pakistan

For the last two decades Pakistan has been faced with many conflicts in its four provinces, where the major conflicts include Taleban conflict, Balochistan conflict, Ethnic conflict in Karachi and Shia and Sunni Conflict. Constructive reporting on these issues is need of the hour. Journalists need to fulfill their responsibilities by covering all

the rival parties to maintain balance and prioritize objectivity in their news reports and articles. These conflicts could be resolved only if mainstream media present it in realistic terms. Destructive and debilitating communication, which promotes noises, distortions, interruptions, deceptions, ploys, and false clues, promotes and expedites conflict. In contrast, constructive or beneficial communication relies on honesty, open channels and the effort to align the sent message with the received one. Such a pattern of interaction strives for accommodation and the relaxation of tensions and hostilities.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the discussion this paper has elaborated and analyzed the emergence and historical perspective of embedded journalism in Iraq. And then the paper has briefly analyzed and discussed the media landscape in Pakistan to develop in-depth understanding on how media works differently in parts of the country. After that we have thoroughly discussed and analyzed the interviews and experiences of war correspondents that helped us support the arguments that media is failed to cover and provide authentic information from war zones. And this kind of coverage is considered as propaganda or military-censored reporting. It shows that reporting events that exacerbate conflicts are more newsworthy for mainstream media than those that may help resolve conflicts. This kind of media's approach raises many questions on the professionalism of journalists in Pakistan.

The first hand experiences of journalists in Pakistan indicate that the voice of citizens is suppressed in conflicts zones. And those Pakistani journalists embedded with army lack professional trainings and some even do not bother to understand what could be possible effects of their reports that they are conveying to their target audience. Pakistan needs to adopt standard journalism in conflict areas to resolve issues through mainstream media channels. To make it possible, Pakistan needs to train journalists at grassroots level. As one of the Pakistan's prominent security analyst Babakhel rightly said that our universities and media groups should make efforts towards developing 'peace journalists': those who report on conflicts in a manner that educates the audience regarding the importance of peace (Babakhel, 2015). The main responsibility of every journalist is to report news in a truthful and unbiased way and remain objective in any situation. They should be loyal to their job responsibilities to ensure convey balance, objective and credible reports to the target audience. In most of the cases we see journalists simply cloud facts and sensationalize the news reports in Pakistan; the only purpose is to increase their ratings, viewership or readership or it is intent to divert people's attention from other important issues that could be considered in so called 'better interest of military', politicians or other influential groups.

This paper shows that in the present age of media galore conflicts are viewed not just from the opposing parties 'perspective but media is also considered a party to the conflicts. Moreover, the paper finds that it becomes very difficult for a journalist to report independently while staying 24/7 with an army unit in a conflict zone. And if they go against the commandments of army they could be killed and nobody would report this big tragedy. By considering the above facts it has become crystal clear that media portrayals of conflict all over the world including Pakistan have seen major concern to media professionals, combatants and public. The key findings of this research paper suggests that both embedded journalism and peace journalisms could be biased on one way or the other, as both journalism cultures oppose objective reporting.

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