

International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US



Author

Maria Fakhar

Regn Number

NUST201664813MCIPS7951F

Supervisor

Dr. Ahmed Waqas Waheed

DEPARTMENT

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCES AND TECHNOLOGY

ISLAMABAD

SEPTEMBER, 2018

International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying
Efforts in the US

Author

Maria Fakhar

NUST201664813MCIPS7951F

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MS Peace and Conflict Studies

Thesis Supervisor:

Dr. Ahmed Waqas Waheed

Thesis Supervisor's Signature: _____

DEPARTMENT
CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCES AND TECHNOLOGY,
ISLAMABAD
SEPTEMBER, 2018

Declaration

I certify that this research work titled “*International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*” is my own work. The work has not been presented elsewhere for assessment. The material that has been used from other sources it has been properly acknowledged / referred.

Signature of Student

Maria Fakhar

NUST201664813MCIPS7951F

Plagiarism Certificate (Turnitin Report)

This thesis has been checked for Plagiarism. Turnitin report endorsed by Supervisor is attached.

Signature of Student

Maria Fakhar

Registration Number

NUST201664813MCIPS7951F

Signature of Supervisor

Copyright Statement

- Copyright in text of this thesis rests with the student author. Copies (by any process) either in full, or of extracts, may be made only in accordance with instructions given by the author and lodged in the Library of NUST Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS). Details may be obtained by the Librarian. This page must form part of any such copies made. Further copies (by any process) may not be made without the permission (in writing) of the author.
- The ownership of any intellectual property rights which may be described in this thesis is vested in NUST Centre for International Peace and Stability, subject to any prior agreement to the contrary, and may not be made available for use by third parties without the written permission of the CIPS, which will prescribe the terms and conditions of any such agreement.
- Further information on the conditions under which disclosures and exploitation may take place is available from the Library of NUST Centre for International Peace and Stability, Islamabad.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to all those who helped me to make my thesis a great success. First and foremost, I would like to thank Allah Almighty who sought me capable enough to pursue this dissertation. It was undeniably His blessing upon me that I was able to research eloquently despite the tribulation of time. It is indeed He who provided me with the strength, the chance and endurance to complete this study.

I express my deepest gratitude and dedicate this success to my parents. It was because of their undaunted support that I have been able to complete this dissertation. My father, who told me to never give up; my adorable mother who took care of my kids throughout my studies are the reason it all became possible. I cannot fathom a life without these two people I love the most in this world.

I would express my utmost and sincerest thanks to my husband Hamid, who has been a pillar throughout my studies. Despite a tight schedule he drove me every week to Islamabad for my classes/ research work, took care of the house and kids whilst I studied. He is indeed my better half, my pride, best friend, my mentor and even my greatest critic. Thank you for tolerating my stress throughout my work.

Foremost, this thesis is also dedicated to the two biggest blessings in my life, my adorable daughters Hoorayn Hamid and Harmayn Hamid. They have been the driving force behind my work and I cannot wait for them to grow up and read their mama's thesis and be proud.

I would also like to pay special thanks to Hooriya, Muhammad Ahmed and Fatima my darling yet annoying siblings who inspired and encouraged me throughout my tenure.

Last but not the least; I would like to express my gratitude to my professors who rendered valuable assistance to my study

Dedicated

to my inspiring parents, my husband,

daughters and siblings,

for being the pillows, role models, catapults,

cheerleading squad and sounding boards

I have needed

Abstract

The thesis explores the politics of lobbying and propaganda by using a comparative case study of Pakistan and Indian efforts to influence US policy. The thesis looks at the conceptual grounding of lobbying and propaganda, both distinctively and complementarily. The thesis is qualitative in approach and uses case study method informed by elite individuals to deliver its argument. The thesis argues that because Pakistan has always found itself strategically converging within US at various temporal intervals, its lobbying efforts have not developed fully. On the other hand, because Indians have always had to rely on lobbying efforts to further their propaganda against Pakistan, they have remained more successful in their efforts. The thesis looks at various contributions that have contributed to the argument presented above. Considering the marginal research and the scant attention paid to propaganda and lobbying as tools of foreign policy, this research aims to bring to light the significance of these tools.

Key Words: *propaganda, lobbying, elite, foreign policy*

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	i
Plagiarism Certificate	ii
Copyright Statement	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abstract.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Tables	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	01
Chapter 2: Propaganda & Lobbying: Literature Review	04
Chapter 3: Indian Propaganda & Lobbying in US	23
Chapter 4: Cold War & US-Pakistan Relations	39
Chapter 5: Conclusion	44
References	
Appendix	

List of Figures

Figure 1: Model of Propaganda.....	05
Figure 2: Process of Advocacy and Lobby.....	08

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Propaganda and lobbying are not novel terms for International Relations and Political Sciences' students and researchers. These terms have often been used to validate the influence one actor has on other states by disseminating information: both true and false (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999, pp. 12-15; Szanto, 1978, p. 10). The intended end product of these influences is to affect policies and decision-making processes in one's own favor or against the conflicting actor (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Sproule, 1994). Over the years, during both World Wars and the Cold War, propaganda has remained a major policy tool employed in winning wars or demoralizing the opponents. To that extent, it is also termed 'soft power' (Jr., 1990; Edney, 2012). Despite the use of several tools and techniques in the art of spreading propaganda, mass media has contemporaneously been employed as a vital technique to reach the masses and influence decision makers (Sproule, 1994). At the same time, the US's position as a Super Power, capable to influence other states, has attracted lobbying efforts by various nations over time. In that regard Israel, Saudi Arabia and Russia have emerged as the strongest lobbying campaigners (Gulf News, 2017; Ho, 2016; Tau & Ballhaus, 2017; Herb, 2017). These three countries still run the most influential campaigns in US and spend enormous amount of money to influence decision making processes in the US, in favor of their respective national interests (Ho, 2016; Tau & Ballhaus, 2017; Herb, 2017). Even though both Pakistan and India have used their lobbying efforts to influence US policies in their favor vis-à-vis each other, however research around this has remained scant and marginal. Furthermore, both states have tried to fuse their lobbying efforts through propaganda in the White House and the US Congress, yet again research has treated this fusion with negligible attention. This research, hence, aims to explore the dynamics of the propaganda and lobbying campaigns run by India against Pakistan in the US and the counter strategies Pakistan employs to deal with those campaigns.

India and Pakistan are considered archrivals. This is because while India has often been found to challenge the existence of Pakistan, Pakistan has often been found to be a major roadblock in Indian aspirations to establish regional hegemony. Consequently, Indian focus on Pakistan, works to systematically undermine Pakistan's development efforts and sabotage its image; nationally and internationally (Roychowdhury, 2016; Hashmi, 2014; Shah, 2017). To that end, the Indian propaganda machinery has been busy since its inception in trying to

influence US to design policies against Pakistan (PTI(c), 2017; Dawn(c), 2016). India has been propagating and lobbying on several issues including the Kashmir dispute, defaming Pakistan security agencies and military, working against CPEC, and trying to declare Pakistan a terrorist state (Hanif, 2016; Raja, 2016; Ashiq, 2017; Haq, 2017; AFP, 2017). On many instances, these efforts to defame Pakistan and to influence US in forming a policy opinion against Pakistan have been successful. Recent examples include the current tweet by President Trump against Pakistan (Sen, 2018) cuts on Pakistan's military aid (Mohammed & Landay, 2018; BBC(b), 2018) and inclusion of Pakistan in FATF are included (Irfan, 2018). All these examples as well as many others shared in this research demonstrate the strength of Indian lobbying efforts against Pakistan in the US and exhibit the grave impact that Indian lobbying and propaganda in the US have on US and Pakistan relations (Monnoo, 2018). Further, India has been continuously trying to sabotage Pakistan's image through propaganda on Pakistan's ostensible mismanagement of its internal affairs (Shaukat(a), 2017) which most of the times, have known to be a byproduct of Indian interference in the country: A case in point is the disclosure of Kalbhushan Yadev, an Indian spy, who was caught fomenting terror in Baluchistan. By creating precarious situations that consequently ends up engaging Pakistan Army on the border (Malik, 2018), India also endeavors to demonstrate to the International Community, especially the US, that Pakistan is incapable of securing its borders and poses a threat to the region in specific, and the world in general. Instances like this and many other efforts by Indian lobbyists portend to sow seeds of discord between US and Pakistan. It thus becomes important to explore how Pakistan counters Indian propaganda and lobbying efforts against Pakistan in the US.

Indian lobbying and propaganda efforts have traditionally involved considerable investments in terms of money as well as human resource. Nevertheless, regrettably, Pakistan's lack of resourcefulness culminates into unsuccessful attempts in countering India's influencing campaigns due to its weak lobbying system in the US (ARY News, 2016). In many instances Pakistani lobbyists are almost unknown (ARY News, 2016) in the Capitol Hill and for that reason Pakistan's perspective is not projected successfully. However, that is not to say that the situation was always the same. During the Cold War, despite its initial days of independence Pakistan maintained its status as an important country due to its strategic location and influenced US policies to its benefit (Cohen, 2010; Hussain, 2016). However, despite the convergence of interests that both states have witnessed over the years, US and Pakistan

relations were never quite stable and relations between both countries often remained strained (Sunawar & Coutto, 2015). The current situation of Pakistan's lobbying efforts is not very promising either, which is showcased through Pakistan's addition in the grey list of FATF where China and other friendly nations have also reneged over the voting issue (Irfan, 2018; Idris, 2018).

This research explores propaganda and lobbying as two separate entities initially before moving on to analyze how lobbying and propaganda are interrelated or in other words how lobbying is done through propaganda in International Relations and politics. The research also intends to describe several propaganda and lobbying campaigns systematically produced by different countries against each other, in order to provide a context to the main discussion. The study primarily aims to understand India's role in lobbying and propaganda against Pakistan in the US and to examine the means through which Pakistan counters Indian influence on US policies against Pakistan. This research further investigates the weaknesses prevailing in Pakistan's counter strategy against India's lobbying in the US, and in addition aims to recommend ways through which Pakistan can strengthen its position at the Capitol Hill. The research will serve as one of the initial studies in this field where Indian lobbying and propaganda against Pakistan in the US and Pakistan's response to it has been researched upon. Since there is only one book on this topic written by an Indian author, which is more Indian centric therefore, further exploration about Pakistan perspective is required. For further researchers and savants, this dissertation will serve as an initial research which will open avenues for further research. For the researcher, this study helped in uncovering critical areas where attention by the decision makers of Pakistan is essential for lobbying US in favor of Pakistan. The methodology which was adopted for this research was comprised of both primary and secondary data collection. Wherein, qualitative interviews were conducted from personnel having vast experience in their respective fields. However, most of the data was collected through secondary research and refereed sources were mentioned to ensure authenticity of the information.

The research revolves around the following questions:

- How is propaganda spread through lobbying efforts?
- How has India used lobbying to influence US policy through propaganda?

- How has Pakistan used lobbying to influence US policy through propaganda?
- Which of the states have been more successful in disseminating propaganda through lobbying consequently affecting US policy?

This dissertation has been divided into five chapters. These chapters have been divided carefully to ensure the flow of information and better understanding of the reader. Chapter one is the Introduction where contextual background of the dissertation, thesis statement, significance and objectives and flow of the research works has been explained. Chapter two deals with the definitions of propaganda and also describes the channels and types of propaganda practiced globally, wherein, mass media serves as the strongest tool. In addition to this, the chapter also states the eight characteristics of propaganda. This chapter also sheds light on the interrelation of the terms propaganda and persuasion and how both of them are conceptually independent. To understand the interrelation and disconnection between both propaganda and persuasion the model of propaganda by Jowett & O'Donnell has also been included. Considering the importance of mass media as a greatest tool of propaganda, case studies have been included showing how radio, pamphlets, magazines, news and other sources can affect or demoralize the opponent. These case studies include the referred literature regarding Voice of America, Magazines from World War II and the most recent campaign against the White Helmets of Syria through social media especially twitter. The chapter then interlinks propaganda and lobbying. This chapter also includes definitions and types along the steps generally involved in lobbying. Subsequently, efforts are made to discard the prevailing confusion between the terms lobbying and advocacy through examples. While explaining lobbying, it was important to concentrate on the lobbyists, most of whom are a by-product of 'revolving door'. Case studies focusing on the lobbying efforts include Israel lobby in USA, Saudi lobby in USA and Russia's lobbying in the USA. Since the dissertation is focusing on the lobbying efforts undertaken by India in US to influence its policies against Pakistan, therefore, second chapter of the dissertation is about this aspect.

Third chapter focuses on the lobbying efforts targeted to Pakistan by Indian propagandists and lobbyists in US. The chapter starts off with the identification of important themes on which India influences US policies against Pakistan, these include Kashmir dispute, Indian propaganda against Balochistan, Pakistan Army, Pakistan nuclear weapons and for

labelling Pakistan as a terrorist country. After the identification of the main themes, the chapter then progresses toward explaining each theme and how India has spread propaganda against Pakistan, but the reasons of this Indian antagonism has also been shared which gives a clear picture of the whole scenario. These reasons include the Indian atrocities in Kashmir, Indian reservations against CPEC, Indian dream of maintaining its hegemony in the region, Indian fear for the security forces of Pakistan and to influence US to put sanctions on Pakistan's nuclear programs / weapons and stop its aid for Pakistan security. After this, the US policies which have been molded or influenced against Pakistan by systematic Indian lobbying over the years have been briefly discussed. Later in the chapter, Pakistan's effort of countering the lobbying campaigns of India in US have been discussed, it has revealed that Pakistan does not invest much in countering Indian lobbying hence, the relations between US and Pakistan are influenced. The strengths of India's successful lobbying and propaganda have been discussed along with the weaknesses from Pakistan side; a brief comparison of both strengths and weaknesses has also been made. Despite the weak counter lobbying efforts by Pakistan, few instances have also been shared where Pakistan was successful in lobbying US in its favor. While conducting the literature review, it has been observed that during the Cold War, Pakistan has been successful in influencing US in its own favor, chapter four has been intended to describe this era.

Chapter four of this dissertation has discussed the Cold War times when Pakistan and US had a very strong collaboration between them. It has been discussed that during the Cold War, both nations had their interests, which were addressed by mutual collaboration. During this era, Pakistan needed US attention and aid to seek out its low military weaponry and US needed Pakistan to support its agenda in USSR. Pakistan laid its first stone of friendship with the US when its first premier accepted USA's invitation for the visit instead of USSR's. In this chapter, it has been discussed with references that from 1954 till the 9/11, Pakistan and US had been collaborating, however, both countries have bitter and sweet relations, where India played an important role in sabotaging many matters. Every time US had given any aid to Pakistan, it was always in the shape of reciprocity of Pakistan's efforts in maintaining USA's interests in the world. Further in this chapter, it has been discussed why Pakistan lacks in lobbying, what are the ways through which lobbying campaigns can be initiated by Pakistan and how sustainable lobbying efforts can be undertaken. Pakistan needs to lobby for its image building in

the US and to do so, it needs to work in a systematic manner. On conclusion, which is chapter number five of this dissertation, it focuses on summarizing the argument. The chapter also identifies few future suggestions for additional researchers and identifies the limitations of the study as well.

CHAPTER 2: PROPAGANDA AND LOBBYING: LITERATURE REVIEW

Propaganda is central to International Relations and conflict due to its role in shaping opinions against conflicting party; both state and non-state actors. It is a deliberate, systematic attempt by actors in the international system ‘to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response’ that furthers their desired intent’ (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Sproule, 1994). Contemporaneously, propaganda has emerged as a tool of ‘soft power’, employed to impact social and public opinion via lesser transparent networks and lobbying through powerful political and non-political agencies (Marsili, 2015). Nationally and internationally, it is used to influence social and political spheres by attempting to alter, weaken, or undermine the political, social, and economic systems of conflicting actors. Hence, it is an action or process of inducing others to act in a specific manner, which they will not do in absence of that action or process (Lindley, 1962; Walton, 1997). Since, it is an attempt to impact thinking and behavior (Martin, 1958) of individuals and to incite wars or cold wars, therefore, international propaganda is taken as a negative term to an extent that it was considered as to insult and demeaning someone by calling them propagandists (Powell, 1982; Doob, 1966; Marlin, 1989). Marlin (1989) reinforced by stating that allies during both world wars used to associate their enemies’ opinion shaping activities as propaganda. The aforementioned aims and goals are achieved by using several propaganda channels.

Numerous Propaganda channels are employed by national and international actors, in pursuance of their cause against a conflicting party. These include government actions, research, religion, news, education and mass media (Sproule, 1994). Propaganda may be broadly divided into three different types; white, black and grey. While white propaganda is based on true and exact information, black propaganda is founded on incorrect sources and is employed to spread falsehoods and finally, the grey propaganda lies in-between the white and black (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999, pp. 12-15; Szanto, 1978, p. 10). In addition to this, there are eight characteristics of propaganda described; a) it is related to industrialized societies, b) it is a continuous process, c) it is always present and has interrelated set of techniques, d) it exists in societies where individuals are forced into groups, their identities are associated with mass and

are impersonal, f) international propaganda is the product of ‘propaganda blocs’ such as United States, China, Arab States, Israelis and the Third World, g) in technology based societies it is often totalitarian, every element of social interaction is pervaded with propagandists messages such as patriotic songs in schools and church, h) it provides simple answers to intricate societal queries, separates individuals and labels public opinion and i) it is everywhere in a society (Ellul, 1979; Lattier, 2015). Contemporarily, propaganda is prevalent through advanced modes of mass media and communication where leading media are entrenched in the market system.

Mass media channels serve as the backbone of the propaganda campaigns in the modern world; these include usage of print, electronic and social media. Mass media serve as profit based organization owned by wealthy people or companies and are funded by the propagandists, their information sources includes governments and major business firms (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 14). The news reaches its audience after passing five filters, which alter it as per the demand of propagandists, these five filters are a) size, ownership and profit orientation of mass media, b) funding, c) source, d) flacks, and e) anti-communism (Human Nature, 2003; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; CT, 2010). These filters reinforce that the news which is considered to be fit to print will be the one serving the political and ideological advantages of the powerful (Klaehn, 2009). For that matter, the portrayal of victim in any case including events, issues, groups or conflicting countries, is largely based on the interests of the powerful party or the propagandists (Klaehn, 2009). This five filters propaganda model is US media specific, however, it is being practiced and accepted globally (Edwards & Cromwell, 2005; Everton, 2005). Mullen and Klaehn (2010) emphasized that based on globalization of economy and power, transnational corporate and financial institutions, ever increasing poverty and inequalities of world’s populace, this model of propaganda is more relevant than it was. However, there is a propensity to confuse propaganda with techniques of persuasion. While they are both interrelated, in that they are forms of communication which impact individual, group or government, however they are different techniques.

Persuasion and propaganda are both forms of communication system, and both are considered to be associated with each other in one way or the other. While delivering a message, persuasion is not necessarily an aim of the communication, however, components of a message i.e. social influence, altering respondent’s minds and intention serves the purpose of

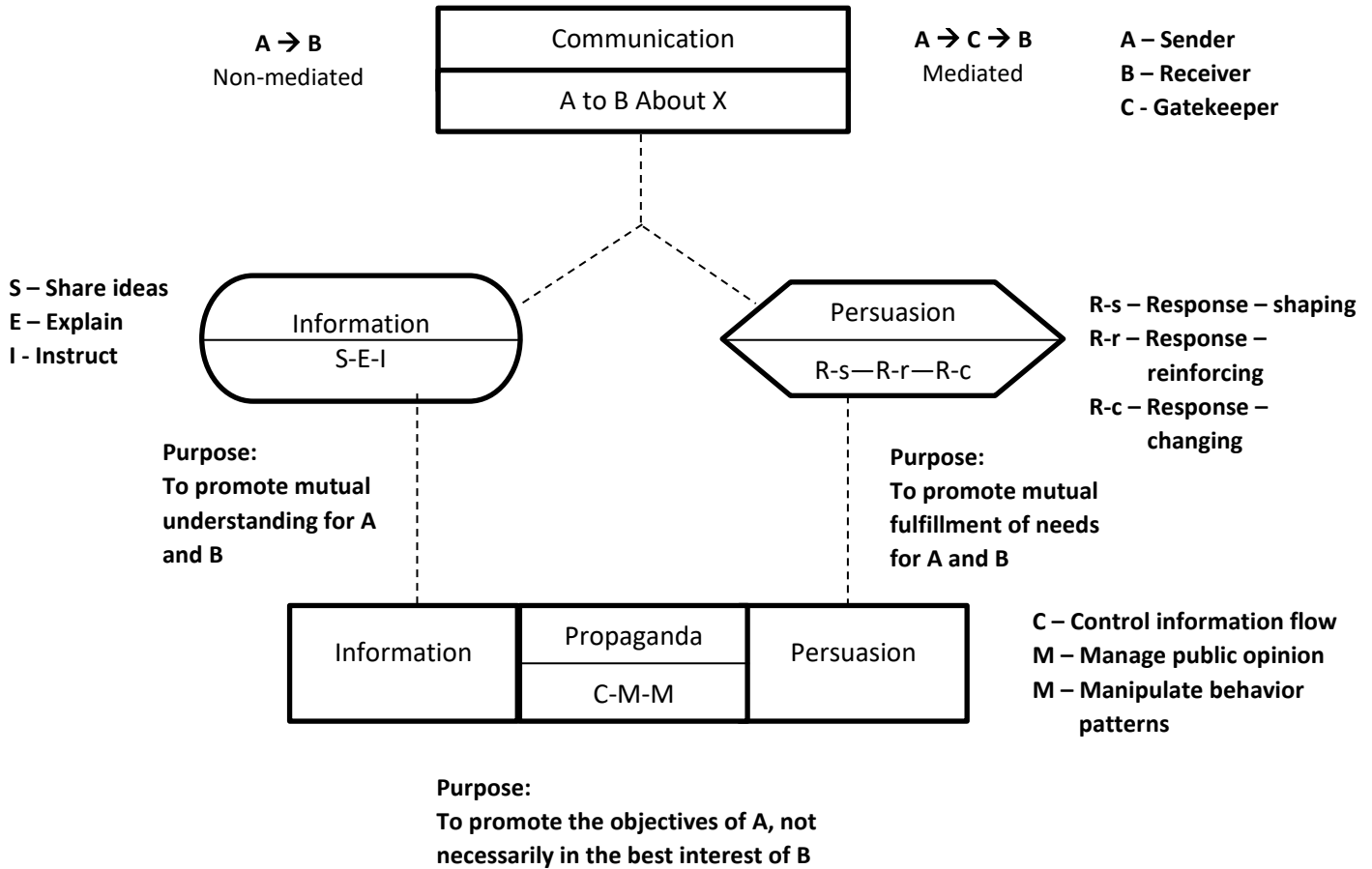
persuasion in general (Markova, 2008). The inter-linked nature of propaganda and persuasion can be slightly disconnected since propaganda is a deliberate effort to influence, whereas, persuasion is an open communication, which is when respondents want their needs to be satisfied by persuader (Jenkins, 2013). For example, as Burke (2009) says that war is also persuasion only if it changes behavior of the enemy, otherwise, it is merely a fight between opponents. Hence, it is believed that propaganda is an art of persuasion, aimed at changing attitudes and ideas of the receiver. Moreover, with globalization and growing literacy, the educated citizen of modern world needs reasons to support a propagandist's view (Cull, et al., 2003), consequently, the usage of social media with facts and figures emerged as a tool of propaganda in modern times (El-Khalili, 2013). Therefore, propaganda and persuasion are inter-related yet, persuasion is not forceful or it does not have a negative connotation attached to it, it is education when taken positively and propaganda when it is negative (Simons, et al., 2001). This communication system and its relationship with persuasion and propaganda are explained in a model of propaganda, where the purpose of both (persuasion and propaganda) is also described.

Persuasion as an individual level psychological process and propaganda being a societal process are the forms of communication, which are used to influence others thoughts and acts in one way or the other. As aforementioned literature suggests that propaganda and persuasion are interrelated and have slight differences, the model of propaganda given by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) tried to show similarities and differences, as shown in Figure 1. Primarily, communication is a process when A (sender) converses with B (receiver) about someone else, say X, where, A can be an individual, group or a social setting likewise B can be any of the categories mentioned earlier (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Westley & MacLean, 1957). Although, communication is a face to face process, however, it can be mediated where A may try to convey something to B through C, wherein, in this scenario, C can be an agent, a gatekeeper or an encoder of the information shared by A (Westley & MacLean, 1957; TRD, 2014). Once the information is disseminated to B, the ideas are shared, explained or instructed, which serves the purpose of promoting mutual understanding for A and B (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). However, in case of propaganda, the effect of mutual understanding is absent and the information shared is not always in the benefit of the receiver (Eysenck, 2000; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Klaehn, 2009). For that matter, it is important to focus on the information

along with its context and the response it attracted, which can be in terms of feedback or the effects on the audience.

Secondly, the contextual background of information shared is important to understand whether the shared information was a form of persuasion or it was propaganda. In case of persuasion, change or alteration can only be from three different response forms, a) response shaping, b) response reinforcing and, c) response changing (Dillard & Pfau, 2002; Roloff & Miller, 1980) and the purpose of promoting mutual needs of A and B is achieved (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). Response is shaped in case the persuader offers positive reinforcement to be received when the audience behaves accordingly. Reinforced response is when the audience already demonstrates a positive attitude towards the message and persuader keeps on reminding and motivating them to stay on the same track. Finally, response changing occurs when people are asked to change into positive or negative from a neutral position (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Stiff & Mongeau, 2016). In most of the cases, the persuader tries to hide its intent and misguides an audience through wrong information and personal interests, this is where the propaganda comes, hence, serving their purpose which may not be in the favor of the receiver (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). It is at this juncture then, that persuasion transforms into propaganda. Over the years, conflicting actors in the international system have undertaken systematic propaganda campaigns using different types and characteristics to influence each other. A series of case studies will explain how propaganda against a certain group or country can further deteriorate their condition and circumstances.

Figure 1 Model of Propaganda



Jowett & O'Donnell (1999, p. 24)

Considering how this dissertation intends to explore the relationship between international conflict and propaganda focusing on the India and Pakistan's lobbying efforts against each other, it becomes all the more important to initially understand how international conflict and propaganda campaigns have prevailed in recent history. Initial contemporary efforts to deploy propaganda witnessed the use of radio as a channel to disseminate false information. During World War II, radio was used as a weapon for the very first time; disinformation and psychological shells were dropped on the opponent citizens (APM, 2018). Soviet Union, United States and other parties involved in World War II initiated radio channels to demoralize each other's armies (APM, 2018). Voice of America was the official radio station initiated by the

strategic department of the country to portray their softer image to others, especially Soviet Union (Uttaro, 1982). The efforts were directed toward responding the hostile attacks by the Soviets to United States (Waggoner, 1985). Since the propaganda campaign was reciprocal, therefore, in response Moscow initiated an effort to ban American programs, which was protested by the American government and was considered an attack on the freedom of information (Whitton, 2017). Both white and black propaganda techniques were used by the US and its opponent's radio presenters. The most common technique to demoralize a soldier was to assure him that his wife back home is not faithful or his fiancée has married someone else. Reporters with the enemy's accents and dialects were hired to give an impression that the radio programs are being broadcasted from home. False attacks on the radio stations were also performed by all the conflicting parties, trying to give a message that they have been attacked by the opponents (APM, 2018). These techniques involved the psychological and emotional wellbeing of the opponents, which were destroyed systematically. Besides the use of radio, print and electronic media played an important role in furthering propaganda against their adversaries.

During Second World War, all the states involved in the war used print and electronic media to disseminate information which benefited them and was not in favor of the opponent. Similarly, Germany appointed special personnel to start an effective and systematic propaganda campaign in which print and electronic media were involved (Stout, 2011). A magazine named 'Signal' was produced by Germany's propagandist to unite European nations under Teutonic name and to endorse and validate Germany's domination over Europe (Zoller, 2002-2010). The reach of this magazine was all over occupied Europe and impartial countries, it was published from 1940 – 1945 in at least 20 languages and the annual budget dedicated for its publication was \$2.5 million (Marsili, 2015). Magazine was dedicated to address the danger of Soviet invasion of Europe and was in high quality having reviews and information with high end photos, which can be seen today on online source (Meyer, 1976). The efforts were made to depict German soldiers fierce and brave against the enemy but very kind and nice to civilians and children (McCain, 2015). This was an immensely successful propaganda campaign which generated admiration and success for Germans and their leaders (Stout, 2011). Eventually, Signal was used to cherish the maximum fruits of propaganda campaigns started by Germans; it had an immense success against Bolshevism (Stout, 2011; Zoller, 2002-2010). Nevertheless, the

propaganda to divide various European nations based on their social and political differences was successful and they started supporting Germany for their 'struggle for freedom' (Zoller, 2002-2010). In addition to this, there are instances when mass media was used to propagate and creating mass killings resulting in massive genocide.

One of the most recent propaganda campaigns was systematically organized by Russia, where Russian government was involved in a complex propaganda campaign against Syrian humanitarian workers (TSC, 2014). The propaganda campaign through the use of social media targeted the White Helmets humanitarian group of Syria. Various social media outlets were used effectively to spread rumors and abusive language was used to shatter volunteers' morale, to the extent that they were stated as terrorists (TSC, 2014). Reasons of this malicious propaganda included the first hand video footages of war crimes by Russians in Syria; video was based on the acid attack on Syria by Russia in April 2017 (Guardian, 2017). The campaign against the White Helmets showcases proof of how false news and rumors affect individuals, groups and countries (Solon, 2017). The false information, associated with the humanitarian workers, around which the propaganda was spun, berated them for being funded by foreign forces, which in effect created a perception that the humanitarian workers were working towards some vested interests (Lucas, 2017). The propaganda became so strong that the social media evidenced significant increase in the number of tweets that bought into this perception and the followers of such twitter accounts readily believed on the false news disseminated against White Helmets (TSC, 2014). Even though few UN reports on the attacks in Syria sought to absolve the White Helmets of this unfortunate misperception, these reports were swiftly rejected by the propagandists labeling those reports as illogical and irrational. The propagandists continued, unabatedly, to argue that the humanitarian workers had been involved in the attack themselves (Jacobson, 2017). It has been observed that ethnic or local communities were also targeted through strong propaganda techniques in the past. The use of mass media for violence propagation against a certain community or group or country has been recorded in history. Means of mass communication were used to enhance the killings in Rwanda through systematic coordination movements, where radio again was used to cause killings (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012). This genocide propaganda campaign was initiated by the government of Rwanda along a powerful majority group Hutu political elite against a minority i.e. Tutsi (Desforges, 1999; Straus, 2007; Verwimp, 2003). A controlled radio named 'Radio

Television Libre des Mille Collines was tasked for hate broadcasts which pushed people to eliminate the minority ethnic group (Smith, 2003). Coordination through radio was initiated where two crime categories were identified; collective forms of violence means violence through organizations such as militia groups, communal police etc. and second category is individual violence where violence was committed by people who were not members of any organized group (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012). Researches show that there were several types of violence mechanisms which were instigated through radio; a) when a large number of people have access to radio, the number of violence also increased, b) the violence used to diffuse from one village to another in the form of collective violence, not individual violence, where violence was higher in ratio when people of other village also have access to radio (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012). The content analysis of these radio programs revealed that the language used for the minority group on air was very demeaning and they were often called as traitors, which created hatred for the minority group (Kimani, 2007). Hence the historical events prove propaganda campaigns as integral part to win wars and divide enemy, furthermore, it is also used to lobby governments' decisions or to satisfy personal interests.

Since propaganda campaigns are initiated and organized by authorities or governments to influence the political, social or economic settings of opponents. For that matter, propaganda is also considered as a field or strategy to do successful lobbying (CEO(b), 2016). The term lobbying holds a very subjective meaning and it is usually difficult to define it in an expansive manner. In literature, lobbying is defined as an 'attempt to influence legislators in the formulation of policy' (Burrell, 2001). Where, influence refers to the capability of an actor to shape a political decision in line with its preferences (Dur, 2008). Lobbying is also considered as a type of political influence and can be described as a method of guiding government and its institutions by informing the public policy agenda (Zetter, 2008). Raffa (2000) stated three types of lobbying efforts, a) direct lobbying is to influence decision makers to enact or not enact a bill, b) grassroots lobbying persuading the community legislators to influence national legislators, and c) political campaigning is to work against candidates' election for the office. Political science researchers have identified 12 types of organized interests or organizations are involved in lobbying governments; business firms, trade associations, professional associations, citizen groups, labor unions, governmental entities, think tanks, charities, universities and colleges, coalitions, hospitals and churches (Nownes(a), 2006). Research undertaken on

European Union lobbying techniques describes lobbying practices in two ways i.e. reactive and proactive (Christian, 2017; Drutman, 2017). Where reactive lobbying occurs in EU when future directive is anticipated, however, proactive lobbying is when pressure groups pressurized EU to develop a proposal for legislation (Cassidy, 1999). It is important to understand the types of lobbying to have a complete picture of the concept, among three types of lobbying mentioned before, most common and practiced are direct and grassroots lobbying.

Direct and grassroots lobbying are the two major types prevailing in the world in one way or the other. Direct lobbying is considered as influencing legislation through communication efforts with a representative of government, whereas, grassroots lobbying is to mobilize general public around any issue needing legislative changes (IRS, 2017; Hojnacki & Kimball, 1999). Few examples of direct lobbying includes asking a law maker or similar government official to take action which requires legislation or an attempt of impacting opinion of general public on election or ballot initiatives. Moreover, example of grassroots lobbying includes mobilizing general public to express opinion before their legislators against a particular legislation proposal or identification of legislators who are against legislation effort or who will vote for a piece of legislation (WWCC, 2014). Lobbyists, such as big companies, pressure or interest groups or influential organizations and individuals who are considered as paid coaxers to influence governments. An interest group is an entity or organization of people who have similar interests and tend to influence a local or international government in policy making (Meissner, 2015). The ten key steps identified in lobbying to influence the government include; control of ground, intelligent use of media, engineering of followers, buying credibility, sponsoring a think tank, listen to your critics, neutralization of opposition, controlling web, access to politicians, reward of future employment (Cave & Rowell, 2014). Hence the types of lobbying vary as per scenarios and the influence lobbyists want to have on the government or legislations, however, considering the overlapping nature of lobbying and advocacy, it is important to differentiate between both.

There is confusion between the terms lobbying and advocacy because of their nature and effects. It is important to comprehend that lobbying is a form of advocacy, where lobbying always involves advocacy but advocacy not essentially involves the former (CLPI, 2011). The major difference between lobbying and advocacy is that the former influences the legislation

(CTNP, 2003). For example, if a group is boycotting a certain shop or store from selling a specific product it is advocacy, however, if the group is not satisfied and successful and urges the local legislators to amend the law, it is called as lobbying (CLPI, 2011). Consequently, advocacy encompasses identification, embracement and promotion of a cause and can be called as a practical usage of knowledge for inducing social change (COD-CSO, 2013). However advocacy and lobbying goes hand in hand, and is considered a continuous process by researchers in the subject field (CLPI, 2011). The self-explanatory diagram of advocacy and lobbying as a continuous and systematic process (COD-CSO, 2013) is given below, figure 2. Where it can be seen that advocacy starts when the problem or need is identified, and it keeps on working until the solution is attained, the solution can be in the form of awareness raising in case of advocacy, whereas, in case of lobbying its change in legislation. The most successful lobbyists are those who were politicians or held important positions in the government, having been revolving between the two professions successfully.

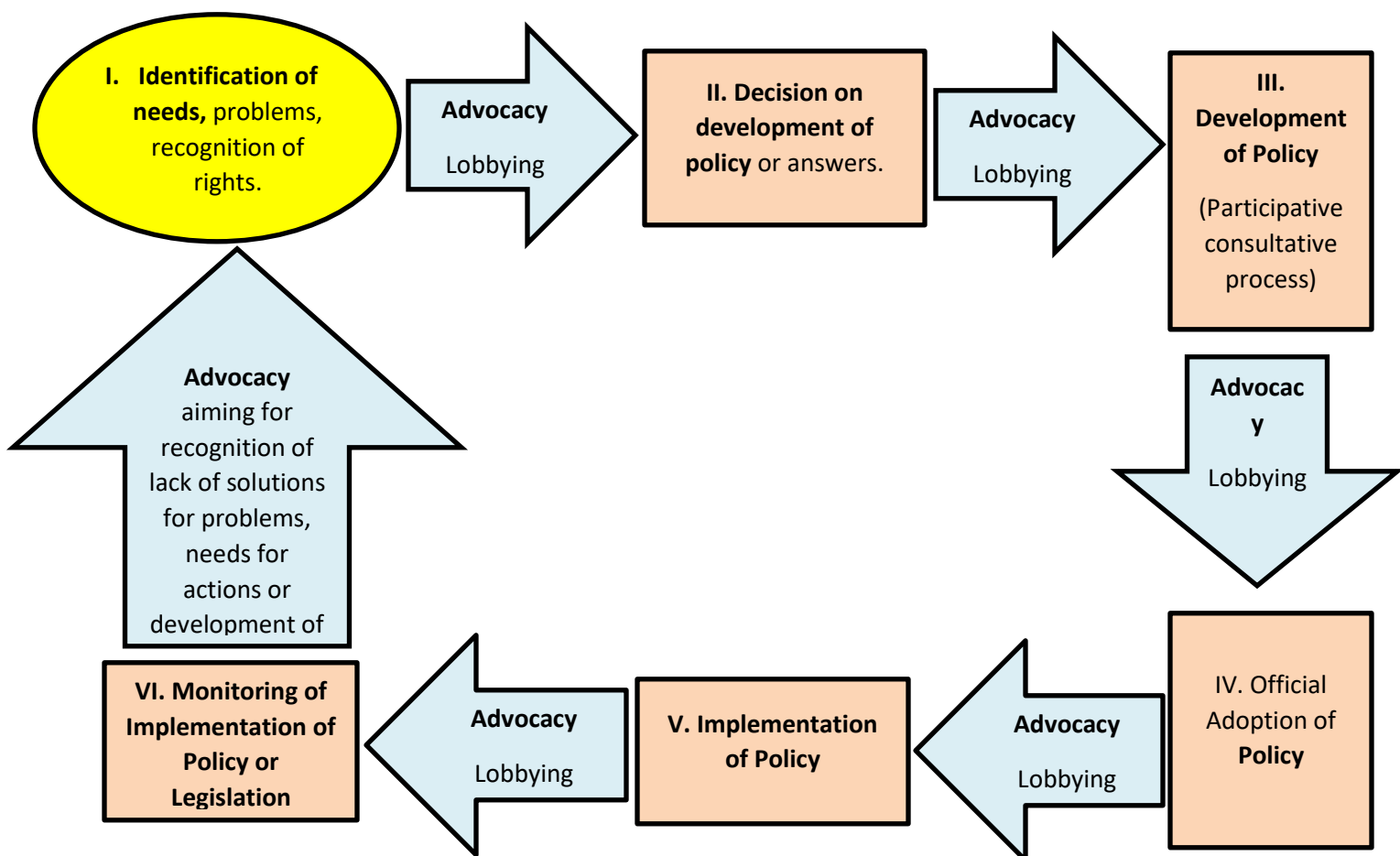


Figure 2: Process of Advocacy and Lobby

(COD-CSO, 2013)

While examining the literature, it has been observed through different researchers and practitioners that often politicians turn into lobbyists and vice versa. Politician turning into lobbyists and lobbyists becoming politicians is denoted by the term ‘revolving door’ (Rennie, 2016; LaPira & III, 2017). It is important to mention here that the notion of revolving door is very old, however, the facts and figures and researches related to it are limited (Luechinger & Moser, 2014). One of the most important reasons for this revolving profession change can be the importance of lobbyists’ access to decision-makers or legislators (Nownes(b), 2013). Having worked with governments and knowing the government officials, gives a huge benefit

to lobbyists to get informed, know them personally, where they even reach out their family functions too (Rennie, 2016; Vidal, et al., 2012). Lobbying firms also attract sharpest individuals who can become potential candidates for the office as well as for their companies. (Luechinger & Moser, 2014). However, this helps foster the corruption in many instances because it hinders many politician to work fairly (LaPira & Thomas, 2017). This is because, most of the politicians turned lobbyists' then start lobbying in the areas where they had influential positions as politicians, hence creates conflict of interest (CEO(a), 2011). To solve the issues of corruption, it has been advised that there should be a ban for the ministers to become lobbyists; this will help in creating fair environment and unbiased decision making (CEO(a), 2011). There have been lobbying campaigns of one country in other to influence policies or legislation in their own favor or against the enemy, such examples will be discussed next in this chapter.

International relations and politics are largely based on lobbying efforts which is to influence their policies and legislation to create favorable environment. Israel and USA are considered as two of the most powerful lobbyists and a recent case of United States of America's decision to recognize Occupied Jerusalem as Israel's capital is an example of their strong lobbying mechanisms (Gulf News, 2017). When the voting in the General Assembly for the acceptance or rejection of this decision was to held, US government uttered some serious claims like the end of funding for the countries who will vote against this decision (Jone, 2017). Where it was admitted by the Foreign Minister of Israel that US and Israel were involved in 'immense efforts' (AP, 2017) to stop the rejection of this decision of USA, where it was also accepted by a Foreign Ministry official of Israel that they were making 'very vast' lobbying campaigns (AP, 2017) to minimize the impact if the decision was to be against them (Gulf News, 2017). Their affirmation of lobbying efforts claimed that they even asked big Jewish companies to lobby their governments (host countries) to support Israel as well as allies were asked to vote against in case of non-recognition. Although the decision of general assembly went against the will of US and Israel (Beaumont, 2017), however, it proved that US and Israel have strong lobbying mechanisms and they practice it when and where need arises (Smith, 2017). Saudi Arab is also considered a very successful candidate when it comes to lobbying for itself or against any other country it is not happy with.

Saudi Arab spends a massive amount of money on its lobbying efforts in different countries, especially US. It is considered as a result of Saudi lobbyist efforts that Saudi Arabia was the first country Trump decided to give a visit after being elected as president (Frank, 2017). Saudi Arab keeps on expanding its lobbying agents and companies in the US, this expansion reached to 145 individuals' form 25 since 2015 (Ho, 2016; Fang, 2017). Since, Saudi Arabia is considered a country sponsoring humanitarian crisis in Yemen, violating human rights and in spreading intolerant form of Islam, however, Trump's decision of visiting a country who he used to make fun of saying that it tried to control their politicians with 'daddy's money' is a sign of successful lobbying efforts by Saudi Arabia. This is because Saudi Arabia invests in lobbyists who have close connections with both the ruling political parties in the US (Frank, 2017), including ex democratic and republicans elected officials, retired government officials and previous journalists. The themes on which Saudi lobbyists have worked so far includes debate on the issues whether the sufferers of 9/11 will file litigation against them, armament deals in process for the Saudi-led war in Yemen and Trump's visit to Riyadh. Social media was also used by the lobbyists to support the Trump's visit to Saudi Arabia where new websites, hashtags, pictures, reviews etc. were launched (Wilson, 2017). Organizations and companies working in big powers and developed countries also lobby in countries of their interest to save their businesses and revenue.

Russia is one of the examples where banks, corporations and companies are involved in lobbying in the US to lift imposed sanctions. The sanctions on Russia were imposed after their interference in Ukraine and suspected mending of the election campaign of US (Herb, 2017). This raised several issues for Russian government, and one of those was the discontinuing of different companies and individuals to work in US (Harris, 2018; Herb, 2017). Companies from sectors such as oil, energy, banking, aerospace, auto and heavy manufacturing industries became concerned about their business revenues. The methods adopted by the companies to lobby US include direct interaction with the congress or joint ventures with other organizations. The famous lobbying firms especially hired by the banks to lobby against US sanctions included Podesta, the Madison Group and Manatos & Manatos where US\$170,000, US\$ 700,000 and US\$ 17,500 were spent respectively on each lobbyist (Christian, 2017). These companies are trying their best to lobby how these sanctions and sanction bills will affect US business benefits instead of Russia. As stated by Chief Executive of American Petroleum Institute 'This has far-

reaching impacts to a variety of companies and industries' (Bowden, 2017). Henceforth, the propaganda and lobbying are carried out by organizations, companies or governments, but it has been presumed that democratic governments are more likely to have lesser stern actions toward propaganda and lobbying.

Domestic lobbying efforts are always present in a country, however, since the evolution of mass media and other sources of communication, international lobbying and propaganda is of more concern of political scientists and international relations. Propaganda among nations i.e. international propaganda is now of more concern to the researchers and experts (Martin, 1958). One such example is of India and Pakistan, where United States' was propagated by Indian propagandists' and lobbyist to not give F-16 jets to Pakistan, claiming that it can affect sovereignty of India (Raj(b), 2016; Atwal, 2016; Asfandyar, 2018. pers. comm.)). Consequently, it stopped the US government from handing over jets to Pakistan (Atwal, 2016). Similarly, there have been countries that have spent most for lobbying in US; those countries are UAE, Germany, Canada, Saudi Arabia and Mexico (Itkowitz, 2014). Also, it has been noted that the countries that use international lobbying and propaganda in US are those having energy, trade, immigration, agriculture or other prominent businesses in America (Itkowitz, 2014). Moreover, to influence the policies, 'informational conferences' between lobbyists and decision makers are organized at pleasing sites (Mahoney, 2009). Other techniques which are used by US as well as Russian lobbyists to influence each other are focused on social media mostly; where enormous amount of money (Bird, 2013) is spent and sexist, misogynist and hatred based sentiments are aroused in the masses (Kounalakis, 2017). In addition to this, the vested interests of a nation in even electing conflicting country's premiere can also be practiced through propaganda and lobbying.

The struggle for creating coalitions to support one's own interests and policies is possible through an amalgamation of both the concepts. Impartial political representation is challenged by moneyed interests of lobbyists and lobbying countries' (Bird, 2013). Case in point the recent US elections held in 2016, where serious allegations of involvement of Russia in rigging elections were imposed by few very trustworthy institutions of US i.e. CIA, FBI and National Security Agency (Masters, 2017; Date, 2017). This was also considered as a response from the Russian side to the negative influence of US on Russian elections in history, during the

times of Clinton's era (Ramani, 2016). In addition to this, the means involved for propagation included the social media, where it was confirmed from the CEO of Facebook that his agency was used by governments to influence public opinion, case in point US elections (Solon & Siddiqui, 2017). Facebook and twitter also claimed that about 80,000 posts were uploaded by 120 fake Russian sponsored pages on Facebook which reached about 126 million American Facebook users i.e. half of American population eligible to vote (Solon & Siddiqui, 2017). Whereas, Twitter could find 2,752 accounts linked with Russian operators, wherein, Facebook confirmed that advertisements or posts were based on LGBT issues to race to immigration to gun rights (Solon & Siddiqui, 2017; White, 2017). Moreover, hacking attempts were also made during the course of 2016 US elections, which were reported through different newspapers, Democratic National Committee and whistleblower Julian Assange, to name a few (CNNL, 2017). Hence, Russian propaganda and its success in decision making can be gauged by keeping in view the recent decision of not imposing sanctions on Russia by US on meddling 2016 US elections (Logan, 2018). The influence on politics and foreign policy of a nation is also practiced through lobbying by using different means, where countries have tried to mold a stronger country's foreign policy in their own favor.

There are countries who play a dual lobbying strategy which aims at designing foreign policy of stronger nations in their favor and also against their foes. US foreign policy has been influenced by several lobbying campaigns over the years such as Israeli-American, Cuban-American, Greek and Taiwanese-American, Polish-American, Mexican-American, Hindu-American, Chinese-American and Armenian-American lobbies (Brzezinski, 2006). Whereas, Israel is considered among nations having very strong lobbying combination of individuals and organizing influencing US foreign policy in their favor and against Arab world (Mearsheimer & Walt(a), 2007; Mearsheimer & Walt(b), 2006). It is considered that US lobbyists are in favor of Israel and they do not want their elected leaders to utter a single word against it, wherein, both Congress and Republicans fear the lobby's power (Mearsheimer & Walt(a), 2007; Baroud, 2017). The techniques through which Israel propagates US includes supporting its decisions against other countries', training its army personnel, writing letter, opposing anyone who talks against US-Israel support, supporting building wall decision etc. (Baroud(b), 2018; Mearsheimer & Walt(b), 2006). Other ways includes giving an impression to the US policy makers that opting for Israel as an ally is a smart choice, plus they make sure that US public

must see better side of Israel by spreading myths about its emergence (Ahmad, 2007). Although it is considered that now Israel is more than a liability to United States then a strong ally, as US give millions of dollars to financially support Israel on many matters (Baroud, 2017). Also, Israel is now a burden when it come to the supporting US over war on terror and its efforts against rogue nations (Mearsheimer & Walt(b), 2006). Ally nations make bloc against their opponents and countries which may hurt or damage them, their lobby efforts influence the world powers to develop policies against the opponent.

Lobbyists or interest groups influence super powers to go against the countries who they think could be a threat to them or their policies. Israel had strong lobbying tactics and procedures to influence nations against the Iran nuclear deal. There were instances where it was said that allowing Iran to start nuclear weaponry will make it 'more dangerous' (Reuters, 2013). It was presumed that the number one radical groups existing in the world are from Iran, hence making the world more vulnerable in case of any deal regarding Iranian nuclear weaponry (Lewis, 2015). In addition to this, to hurt the economy of Iran, there are lobbyists who are influencing big companies to stop their business with Iran; this propaganda was rooted in newspaper advertisements and public letter (Dyer, 2016). Hence, a multilevel propaganda and lobbying is underway to increase damage to the country (Dyer, 2016). The sanctions which are imposed on Iran in relation to its nuclear proliferation are also a result of Israel's lobbying and repeating statements such as Iran would have its own nuclear armament by 1997 (Rosenberg, 2015). The leading lobbying companies influencing public and the law makers includes American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and Citizens Against Nuclear Iran, who were quite successful in attracting people and law makers to oppose Iran's Nuclear deal (Roberts, 2015). War on terror or war economy? Is the questions focuses on the influence of big war economies pushing different states in war to sell their goods i.e. war armaments.

The lobbying activities of interest groups (war economies) have a strong and long lasting influence on war and peace. Since WWII, war is considered to be a business yielding activity attracting economic wellbeing and growth (Stiglitz, 2003; Stein, 2010). The American's arms industry is famous for designing or influencing US foreign policy by inciting legislatures about the alleged dangers world holds (Stiglitz, 2003; Stein, 2010), sponsored by military suppliers and lobbyists (Turley, 2014; Boehm, 2014). Suppliers are contacted whenever a war is

imposed on any nation to design and create numerous forms of arms (Turley, 2014). Hence, lobbyist make sure that the legislators are convinced regarding production or buying of a specific weapon or scanner by categorizing each as 'tough on terror or soft on terror' (Turley, 2014). Where propagation is based on the statements given by the heads of the industry on several examples such as 'we must respond to the rise of ISIS terrorism, Russian aggression on NATO's doorstep, provocative moves by Iran and North Korea, and an increasingly powerful China', says Aerospace Industry Association (Kinzer, 2016). Moreover, this industry also sponsors lobbyists and think tanks to aware the world and US about the dangers world holds, which ultimately pushes US public and legislatures to spend billions of dollars on armament (Kinzer, 2016). Other ways of propagating includes the studies, rallies showing perils of cutting the defense budget and trying to convince the government that if the budget on the defense sector will be reduced, a lot of people will be jobless (Reich(b), 2013; Pollin, 2012). All the propaganda activities are practiced through one or another medium of mass communication, for example publications, news channels, twitter, Facebook etc., hence media coverage is an important tool to get the message across.

The media coverage of a campaign or opinion or policy is essential for influencing the decision makers, less or no media coverage often leads to unsuccessful lobbying campaigns. Big media channels, cables, publications are now owned and controlled by a handful of influential people, which makes this it more vulnerable to exploitation (Terry, 2005). Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) was brought into the attention of Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) members by Non-governmental Organization (NGO) which was under the carpet after five months due to no lobbying through media coverage (Dodds & Strauss, 2004). Lobbyists propagate their message by repeating same news, images, reviews, publications etc. on media over and over again; this is to influence the mind of public and legislatures (Terry, 2005). Negative presentation of Islam and Muslim world in west's media is an example, where Muslim's are negatively showed and Islam is represented as a violent religion (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016). Several recent researches showed that negative propaganda against Muslims and Islam in western media not only affects the masses opinion, it also mold and develop policies which can hurt and harm Muslims (Saleem, 2017). Recent decision of imposing ban on immigrants and travel ban on six Muslim countries from Trump's administration is a perfect example of how policies are being affected (Mindock, 2017;

McCarthy & Laughland, 2017). In addition to this, veil restrictions on Muslim women across Europe is also a result of propaganda, where Muslim women covering themselves is considered against women rights, forms of oppression, fears of terrorism etc., in countries like Germany, Austria, France, Belgium and The Netherlands to name a few (BBC(a), 2017; Cockburn, 2018; Sanghani, 2017; Foster, 2017). Hence the lobbying and propaganda is to influence policies with respect to economic, legal and political aspects.

From the commentary given earlier in this chapter, the lobbying can be encapsulated into three perspectives. These three perspectives include economic, legal and political influence on the governments impacting policy making through lobbyists (Krsmanovic, 2013). Wherein economic perspective is the strategic economic tool to satisfy economic interests of a company or industry (Wong, 2006), legal perspective is about influencing legal / administrative acts and procedures and political perspective is about influencing for particularly a group's interests in a society (Krsmanovic, 2013). For lobbying in all three perspectives, different means of propaganda are involved including direct communication with legislators, giving suggestions or presentations to officials on immediate or regular basis, developing draft reports, influencing through informal contacts, mass media etc. to influence policy or foreign policy (Haenel, et al., 2013). Wherein, foreign policy or policies can be regarded as an 'opera' where different actors are involved in designing it such as governments, industries, big companies, individual lobbyists and mass media (Terry, 2005). Examples given earlier and available through different scholars also describes that the lobbying and propaganda efforts also differ from the institutional situation of a country (Bird, 2013). Since the US government is considered to be the pioneers of lobbying and being lobbied the most for policy decisions regarding different countries (Burrell, 2001), hence, mostly examples in this chapter circulate around it. Next chapter of this dissertation will focus on the systematic propaganda India has been doing against Pakistan over the years.

CHAPTER 3: INDIAN PROPAGANDA AND LOBBYING IN US

This chapter will draw attention to the propaganda and lobbying efforts by India against Pakistan and Pakistan's efforts to counter these. Since the inception of Pakistan, India and Pakistan have faced several conflicts (Roychowdhury, 2016; Hashmi, 2014; Shah, *India and Its Neighbours: Renewed Threats and New Directions*, 2017). Several propaganda and lobbying campaigns were initiated by India to malign Pakistan's image in the world and even in the eyes of its own citizens (Masood, 2016; Jamil, 2016). Among many issues and locus of conflicts between both states, few upon which Indian propaganda mostly focuses on have traditionally included the Kashmir dispute, Indian propaganda against Baluchistan, Pakistan Army, Pakistan nuclear weapons and Indian propaganda for labeling Pakistan as a terrorist state (Hanif, 2016; Raja, 2016; Ashiq, 2017; Haq, 2017; AFP, 2017; Nazir, 2018. pers. comm.). Since both nations are nuclear powers and are a source of stability or instability in South Asian region, for that matter, US has a strong interest in regional stability, ensuring nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and decreasing the chances of war (COFR-GCT, 2018). Although efforts were made by the international peace agencies as well as different countries to create peace among both nations, nevertheless, media propaganda mainly aired by Indian side is one of the reasons that peace could not prevail (Javaid & Sahrai, 2016). In addition to this, the Indian propaganda machinery is well aware of the benefits it can claim after amassing propaganda and influencing US against Pakistan (Hanif, 2018). Taking one step at a time, among the most prominent propaganda themes against Pakistan, propaganda against Baluchistan is significant for Pakistan these days.

Baluchistan being rich in natural resources with a strategic location, has always been a centre of attention for the world and has been a target of systematic propaganda and lobbying efforts by Indian side. The role of Indian support for so called rebels residing abroad by taking asylum and running sponsored propaganda campaigns to destabilize Pakistan can never be ignored (Shaukat(a), 2017; Asfandyar, 2018. pers. comm.). India's Prime Minister Modi's speech on their national day in 2016 (Sheikh, 2016), arrest of Kulbhushan Yadav and his confessional video (APP, 2016) are strong proofs of India's systematic yet open propaganda against the province. In addition to this, India has also raised issue of Baluchistan in UN General Assembly to propagate internationally, where it proclaimed that Pakistan is a state that

practices terrorism on its own people and the sufferings of the people of Baluchistan are a telling testimony in this regard. Pakistan's human rights record in Occupied Kashmir and Baluchistan is deplorable. It has had no hesitation in using air power and artillery against its own people, not once but repeatedly over the years (Shaukat(a), 2017; Etemaad, 2016). Separatists movements or so called liberation organizations' sponsored by India have been known to use rocket attacks, small arms, social media, posters, threatening journalists to spread their narrative to sabotage Pakistan's image as well as to stir anti-Pakistan sentiments in Pakistan and internationally (Shaukat(b), 2017). In addition to this, in Geneva, posters were advertised on buses and markets stating 'Free Baluchistan' which was a very blunt yet damaging campaign by the rivals (Siddiqui, 2017). It has been observed and backed with the proofs that India's propaganda against Baluchistan and Pakistan generally occurs when it tries to hide its atrocities in Kashmir or tries to hinder Pakistan's development projects.

In case of Balochistan, the reasons for Indian propaganda and sorry state of affairs to support propaganda is deeply rooted in its self-created hatred towards Pakistan and its progressive development. Pakistan's stance towards Indian atrocities in occupied Kashmir almost always gives rise to Indian propaganda against Baluchistan (ND, 2016). In a recent event, when Pakistan pointed out the recent atrocities of India in occupied Kashmir, Indian Premier Modi mentioned Baluchistan in his 2016's speech, which itself is an affirmation of Indian involvement in the province (Sheikh, 2016). In addition to this, recent developments happening in Baluchistan in the form of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Gwadar port development has left India in a difficult position, which they are trying to demean through propaganda campaigns (Shaukat(c), 2017). Due to this development, dissident Baloch leaders have put aside their differences with the state due to an understanding of the fruits CPEC and Gwadar port development will hold for them, and recent celebrations of Pakistan day by Baloch people has been hallmarked as a painful situation for India (Hali, 2016). Furthermore, the wariness of Indian government and their propagandists can also be gauged by a statement released by one of Indian commentators that 'it is no secret that India has been supporting the separatists in Baluchistan in their fight against Pakistani military without openly admitting it. Baloch activists have repeatedly admitted of receiving India's moral support and a representative of Baluchistan liberation has been living in New Delhi since 2009' (Ahmed,

2017). In addition to this, propaganda and lobbying by India against Baluchistan has been targeted by different means, which includes maligning the image of Pakistan army as well.

US policies that have been designed after systematic lobbying and propaganda efforts by India have been affecting Pakistan in many ways. India has been influencing US policy makers and government officials to initiate policy measures which can damage or harm Pakistan, where India has been successful in gaining attention of few congressmen but not US government (Hanif, 2018). India has been able to influence two congressmen Dana Rohrabacher and Brad Sherman, who have been active in lobbying and propagating against Pakistan by influencing US government in raising antimilitary concerns (Hanif, 2018). In 2012, Dana Rohrabacher even presented a resolution against Pakistan, which was about the right of independence for Balochistan as a separate state (Hanif, 2018). It can safely be said that these congressmen are Indian sponsored as same propaganda efforts were undertaken by Indian government during 1971 war for East Pakistan (Hanif, 2018). India has been lobbying in case of Balochistan through different propaganda techniques, one of which is to asking Baloch separatists to formally apply for Indian asylum; this gives an impression to US government that most of the Baloch want independence from Pakistan (Hanif, 2018). Indian lobbying efforts and propaganda campaigns against Pakistan in US soared during Obama's presidency; however, the anti-Muslim nature of Trump's government has raised serious issues for Pakistan (Joshi, 2017). The tradition of harming Pakistan by India has spread to great extent, where it has been trying to put Pakistan in the category of a terrorist state.

Pakistan has been a target of all sorts of propaganda by India, where India works on systematic propaganda efforts to sabotage the image of Pakistan internationally, case in point 'declares Pakistan a terrorist country'. Efforts have been invested since many years by Indian propagandists to influence US in imposing allegations on Pakistan to declare it as a terrorist state (Sharma, 2017). In an address to US-India Friendship Council in Washington, spokesperson from US stated that India can help US in keeping an eye on Pakistan, as it cannot bear any government hiding terrorists (Dawn(d), 2017). Voices to label Pakistan as a terrorist country reached US immediately, where a top Senator who was active against Pakistan since 1990 also suggested US government to do so (BL, 2017). Indian lobbyists are spreading propaganda by associating 9/11 terrorist attacks with Pakistan, through references made to the

detention of Osama-bin-laden in Abbottabad (TWS, 2016). To support their allegation, India keeps on blaming Pakistan whenever any terrorist attack or terrorist activity takes place in India (NDTV, 2016; Chandrasekhar, 2016). To gauge the influence of Indian lobbying and propaganda efforts, it is important to mention here that Ted Poe, an influential US law maker presented a bill in congress to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, however, the bill was not accepted (PTI(c), 2017; Dawn(c), 2016). India even tried to pass a bill against Pakistan in its own parliament to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, however, that bill did not pass too (Hindustan Times, 2017). This allegation of considering Pakistan a terrorist state has also reached to new heights when India also started propagating against Pakistan's nuclear weapons.

Secondly, India has been using different strategies to prove its allegations, where it is also lobbying against its nuclear weapons and has been successful to some extent. Such propaganda had a deep rooted impact and US had nominated Pakistan to be added in grey list of FATF (Irfan, 2018; TNN, 2018). Since, the motion have been submitted by US to pressurize Pakistan, which is definitely supported by India as well, Pakistan's ministers have been paying visits to different countries for lobbying against the decision (Guramani, 2018). Meanwhile, Pakistan ministers and diplomats have been trying to influence the decision makers, however, Indian lobbyists are more successful and have convincing China against Pakistan in this decision (Irfan, 2018; Idris, 2018). However, Pakistan has successfully but narrowly escaped being put in the list there and then due to its lobbying efforts, which needs to be sustained and made more effective (Idris, 2018). But this success is short termed as Pakistan was only able to secure time till June 2018, after which sanctions may be imposed or Pakistan may be added in grey list of FATF (Idris, 2018; Yasir, 2018. pers. comm.). In an effort to influence and made US to step back from this motion, Pakistan's Interior Minister has stated that 'Pakistan will expedite its steps to curb terror financing and money laundering' (DW News, 2018). Nevertheless, Indian propaganda to create panic and disseminate wrong information through its media has sustained, where it posed a wrong claim that Pakistan has been included in the grey list (WTP, 2018). Since, the government's efforts for securing Pakistan's image as well as to avoid it getting listed in grey list could not eradicate the notion from its root, but, it did have some positive consequences (Idris, 2018). Indian efforts to declare Pakistan a terrorist state had an impact although it was not fully appreciated by its own parliament and the world, but it has its repercussions.

The false allegations of declaring Pakistan a terrorist state had mixed responses, where policy makers who are in its favor can lobby US against Pakistan. It was said by the Indian parliamentarians that the possibility of developing strong international and diplomatic relations will be hindered due to this labeling (Hindustan Times, 2017; The Hindu, 2017). Indian efforts to influence US to declare Pakistan a terrorist country is because of American interest in the only Muslim country having nuclear assets as well as weaponry deals between both (Parthasarathy, 2017). India is against Pakistan's progress, whether it is in terms of armaments or progress like CPEC, as India has been lobbying against Pakistan's F-16 trade with US, for which it keeps on propagating Pakistan as a terrorist state (Indian Express, 2016). In addition to this, CPEC is a huge project working for the prosperity of Pakistan in many ways; it will significantly work for the betterment of Pakistan as well as whole South Asian region (Sadaf, 2017). CPEC development projects and Gwadar Port development have proved world's trust over Pakistan, and the rejection of India's propaganda for declaring Pakistan a terrorist state (Sadaf, 2017). In addition to this, this is another effort by Indian propagandists and lobbyists to isolate Pakistan and influence US to go against Pakistan to stop progressive measures taking place in the region like CPEC and Gwadar port development (Hanif, 2017). Furthermore, to establish its hegemony over the region and to strengthen its false claim over Occupied Kashmir, India is continuously involved in lobbying against the image of Pakistan (Hanif, 2017). Since the effort of Indian propagandists is to isolate Pakistan did not succeed, however, they are continuously lobbying US to go against Pakistan's nuclear weapons.

India has been inciting Pakistan and its army on different forums and tries its best that statements from Pakistanis may come out which can be manipulated by Indian propagandists, especially against its nuclear weapons. Firstly, India has been using its resources to support terrorist groups in Pakistan and trying to sabotage the Pakistani image by giving reference of an instance where Pakistan said it can use its nuclear weapons against India if time demands (Keck, 2017). The term 'Islamic bomb' was introduced by India to demean Pakistan, its armed forces and the nuclear program (Mustafa, 2018). US, international powers and media has been accused of turning their backs and blind eyes toward Pakistan nuclear proliferation by Indian authors (Dawn(a), 2005). Wherein, the propaganda reached to different sorts where it tried to measure the level and number of nuclear weapons Pakistan can produce and propagating that soon Pakistan will be able to attack every city of India (Dalton & Krepon, 2015; Iqbal(c), 2006).

Larry Pressler has written a book 'Neighbors in Arms: An American Senator Quest for Disarmament on Nuclear Subcontinent' mostly against Pakistan nuclear weapons, is a project of and is being purchased by Penguin Random House of India, while book material and sponsors are likely provided by India (Shaukat(a), 2018). India has influenced US against Pakistan's weaponry by propagating that Pakistan is using its US funded weapons against India.

Furthermore, India has accused Pakistan for using US funded weapons and armaments against them. For that matter, India has been involved in lobbying against Pakistan to prove its claim, which influences US government against Pakistan (Athale, 2018). Where, to support its allegations India has been trying to influence US by showing them several 'proofs' that Pakistan is using its US supported weapons against India (Sen, 2018). Consequently, one of the first tweets of 2018 by President of US came against Pakistan (Sen, 2018; Yasir, 2018. pers. comm.). This has also influenced US in a way that there are statements being issued by the office hoping from Pakistan to be a 'responsible steward' of its nuclear weapons (Iqbal(a), 2017). Statements by US are given stating that 'the common concern about Pakistan nuclear weapons is that they are vulnerable to internal threats. In reality, these weapons are most likely to fall into terrorists hands if forward deployed during a conflict with India' (PTI(b), 2017). US was also lobbied to an extent that it released statements showing their concern regarding the handling of nuclear weapons, where they have mentioned that the weapons will not go in wrong hands (PTI(b), 2017). Correspondingly, US officials have stated that Pakistan is developing new short ranging nuclear weapons and will disturb the regional peace, which is totally against US interests (PTI(a), 2018). However, contrary to the general belief, the nuclear weaponry of Pakistan has different reasons which compelled Pakistan to start making nuclear weapons.

Pakistan's defense was at risk until it created its own nuclear weapons. Pakistan developed its nuclear weapons to discourage India's antagonistic intentions, along the intention to balance the power in the region (Mustafa, 2018). Pakistan has taken policy measures, introduced administrative and legal measures, adopted technical, procedural and physical security measures, participated in relevant international initiatives and proposed several bilateral initiatives to avoid any nuclear trouble in the region (Mustafa, 2018). In addition to this, history has proved that Pakistan was never in favor of nuclear proliferation, however, India's hostile politics and policies and adoption of nuclear weapons made it mandatory for Pakistan to

compete in this race (Raza, 2017). Pakistan's motive of attaining nuclear weapons is not as complex as it is thought to be, its reasons are more conventional and is solely for national security (Abbas, 2018). Since, scholars have identified that any nation who acquires nuclear weapons can have four reasons, if a) state's physical security and existence is directly at risk, b) may be focused to obtain nuclear weapons competences in order to protect its integrity and defense its people, c) located in a risky region and d) threatened by an hostile enemy (Abbas, 2018). Therefore, Pakistan's nuclear weapons are possible outcomes (Abbas, 2018) of aforementioned reasons with respect to India as a hostile neighbor. Indian propaganda efforts are not limited to the aforementioned areas only; it has tried its best to sabotage the image of Pakistan army by lobbying US.

Furthermore, the agenda of sabotaging the image of Pakistan army by Indian propagandists is penetrating in the world and it has a strong influence on US. Indian propaganda and lobbying efforts against the nuclear arsenal of Pakistan and an impression that these weapons will end up in the hands of terrorists has a very strong impact on US (Khan, 2015) which is raising trust issues between US and Pakistan Army (Georgy, 2012). This influence of Indian lobbying efforts has resulted in sanctions imposed by US related to Pakistan's security budget, which was imposed on several occasions (HP, 2014; VOA, 2018). Although, it is an understood phenomenon by both India and US that America needs Pakistan's assistance in tackling with afghan and other issues (Bengali & Sahi, 2017). However, Pakistan usually is ridiculed by the US policy makers by labeling it as a country using its charity money but is not delivering up to the mark (Haider, 2012), which is also due to the lobbying efforts carried out by India in US. US has been influenced in a manner that the relationship between US and Pakistan has been affected in many ways, where US has an impression that Pakistan army is intentionally not attacking few terrorist groups considering them as a no threat to Pakistan (Wilkinson, 2009). In addition to these propagandists, a report was published by Amnesty International (AI) named 'The Hands of Cruelty – Abuses by Armed Forces and Taliban in Pakistan's Tribal Areas', sued that Pakistan army is involved in curbing human rights of its own citizens in north-western tribal areas (Mansoor, 2013). Pakistani military has been blamed by US and others of having close ties with terrorists in Punjab (Rashid, 2015). However, this false lobbying resulting in US mistrust and antagonism against Pakistan army has been hugely rejected by the people and political parties of Pakistan.

Pakistan Army has been actively involved in ensuring security and sovereignty of the country. Pakistan Army and other security agencies have successfully lodged operations against terrorists and terrorist groups sponsored by its neighbors, which has given them nightmares because it will lead for a secure and stable Pakistan (Shaukat(b), 2017). Pakistan is becoming a strong democracy, where its political parties are standing with its army, as political parties' leaders were witnessed saying 'defaming the armed forces is like defaming Pakistan' (TET, 2014). Pakistan army is serving people of Pakistan in tribal areas by fighting against terrorists, helping in eradicating terrorism from the world (Mansoor, 2013). India is constantly trying to isolate Pakistan globally, however, after getting a befitting response every single time; India is propagating against Pakistan army in panic (Yousaf, 2017). India has always propagated against Pakistan and its institutions to hide its own atrocities on Indian Occupied Kashmir. Moreover, jealousy of India against Pakistan getting development and international fame, when China is investing here and international football players are coming and staying, makes it difficult for India to digest (Samaa, 2017). In addition to this, India's obsession with Pakistan and its army has proved that India is paranoid about Pakistan; however, to avoid this India plays dirty games and demean Pakistan army in every possible way (Haq, 2009). Hence, India has been involved in propagating and lobbying against Pakistan in US since many years and to a large extent influencing US policies and relations against Pakistan. For that matter, Indian lobbyists have been propagating against the US decision to give F-16 jets to Pakistan, which had influenced the deal between Pakistan and US.

Obama Administration had made a deal of selling up to eight F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan, which was surely not appreciated by India and anti-Pakistan sentiments. Since the stance of Obama administration was that Pakistan uses these jets against the militants hence avoiding becoming a safe haven, however, Indian government denied this notion and propagated that these jets would be used against India (Pant, 2016). These concerns over F-16 deal with US, India has successfully lobbied the maker of jets Lockheed Martin, where he has supported the 'Make in India' program and is ready to design F-16's on Indian soil (Pant, 2016). In addition to this, the deal between Pakistan and US over F-16 jets has been stalled due to the lobbying efforts where Capitol Hill is now used to hearing anti-Pakistan sentiments (Iqbal(d), 2016). Congressmen who are against Pakistan are also opposing the deal by questioning the end use of the jets, also by propagating that these jets will be used against the people of Pakistan by

Pakistan military and government (Iqbal(d), 2016). Along the F-16 jets deal, Indian lobbying efforts are also invested in stopping US government to have other weaponry exchange programs and deals with Pakistan. Indian government and their lobbyists has been successful in inciting negative image of Pakistan in front of US policy makers, by developing lack of trust on Pakistan's efforts against terrorism (Atwal, 2016). Hence, India has been successful in lobbying US government and policy makers to at least stall the F-16 deal, which they are sure they can even stop (Atwal, 2016). Indian lobbying against Pakistan in US resulted in several policy decisions which have hurt Pakistan, for example recent cut on the security aid of Pakistan by US.

India has been propagating against Pakistan in US by different malicious acts. After Mumbai terror attacks, Indian Americans started lobbying US to put pressure on Pakistan to take stringent action against perpetrators (PTI(d), 2009). These Indian Americans observed a 'Washington Lobby Day' on January 27, to influence US law makers and proposed ban or conditioned security budget for Pakistan (PTI(d), 2009). Congressmen at Capitol Hill gathered to assess if Pakistan is a foe or friend for US. This was a clear indication that India is lobbying against Pakistan (Hanif, 2016). Congressmen were gathered to evaluate the stance of Pakistan, as quoted 'this hearing will give members the opportunity to learn more about Pakistan's longstanding ties to terrorist groups and allow for a more informed reassessment of US foreign policy priorities vis-à-vis Islamabad' (Iqbal(b), 2016). In addition to this, Zalmay Khalilzad has pressurized US government to turn Pakistan into a 'second North Korea' by isolating it for not conforming to US demands regarding Afghanistan (Iqbal(b), 2016). These efforts by Indian lobbyists to isolate and malign Pakistan have resulted in recent ban on Pakistan security aid by US (Mohammed & Landay, 2018; BBC(b), 2018). However, Pakistan has been deeply involved in fighting against terrorism and has been a strong ally for US in War against Terror (Dunya, 2016). To isolate and trigger the harms which can be brought to Pakistan economy by any means, India is also busy lobbying against CPEC.

Pakistan's development and stability intended by any progressive work is a nightmare for its counterpart. Hence, India has been propagating against CPEC, which is a 56 billion dollars development project, with its main focus is Baluchistan (CPEC, 2017; Iqbal(e), 2017). India has propagated against the project and made it controversial in the world, especially in

front of US (Iqbal(e), 2017). US agrees with India's false statement that CPEC goes from the disputed area between India and Pakistan (Iqbal(e), 2017). US also claimed that it can go against China if it goes against any unproductive thing, which was a clear sign from the US toward CPEC was funding and development (Iqbal(e), 2017). This opposition of India and US for CPEC development project is due to the fear that Pakistan will come out of its financial crisis and financially stable countries have more say in international decisions (Arain, 2016). Successful Indian lobbying has reached think tanks of US who are propagating against the project by giving their point of views in favor of India. It has been said that this project will further aggravate India Pakistan relations; also it will hinder India's way to access markets in Central Asia (PTI(e), 2017). Initially, US was not against the development project but it was giving statements that it has nothing against it, however, Indian lobbyists and the visits of Indian Prime Minister to US have made US's mind against Pakistan (Sindhu, 2017). While addressing Indian propaganda and its influence on US policy makers and decision makers Pakistan and China have categorically rejected their anti CPEC statements (Tribune, 2017). India is not only influencing US against Pakistan in US but it also has its roots in the matter of Afghanistan; hence, India has been successful in propagating and influencing US in this matter as well.

The strong Indian lobbying and propaganda against Pakistan in US has also led US to believe that it is Pakistan who is scapegoating for its defeat in Afghanistan. Hence, India is not only limiting its lobbying and propaganda efforts inside US but it is leaving no stone unturned to influence US against Pakistan (Malik, 2018). This helps India in engaging US in Afghanistan for its own vested interests, wherein it reinforces the fact that Pakistan will be kept under pressure and also its army will be kept engaged on western borders (Malik, 2018). Social media has been used as a tool of propaganda by India, where it circulated old pictures of Afghan leaders in Pakistan, trying to give an impression to US that Pakistan is sheltering the Afghan Taliban (Malik, 2018). Consequently, getting influenced by the propaganda and lobbying campaigns by India, US has been accusing Pakistan as a terrorist sponsoring country in the region (Malik, 2018). India has been successful in influencing US against Pakistan in this matter as well as in case of Kashmir as well, which is seen by US through Indian lens (Malik, 2018; Qayyum, 2018). US president Donald Trump has recently admitted that it has an inclination towards India, whereas, the ulterior motives of the India is not unknown, which is to engage

Pakistan on its borders most of the times (Qayyum, 2018). To tackle these issues, it is important for Pakistan to find areas of common interest with US and then lobby for Pakistan's best interest (Masood, 2017). In addition to this, it has been observed and pointed out by many analysts that India has also propagated where it has addressed the grass root level policies of US against Pakistan to maintain its hegemony in the region.

The Indian efforts for sabotaging Pakistan's image and shaping US policies against Pakistan have long history. India has been against the development projects and progress of Pakistan because India wants to establish its hegemony (Abbas, 2016) in sub-continent with the help of US (Raj(a), 2017; Shafiq, 2017). The growing harmonious relations between India and US must be tackled by Pakistan through effective and powerful lobbying (Monnoo, 2018). Along the above mentioned examples, even small and unnoticed steps are being taken by India and US to malign the image of Pakistan, for instance, US has issued secure travel for its nationals; Pakistan was included in 'reconsider travel' category while India is at 'exercise increased caution' (The News, 2018). The effects of Indian efforts in sabotaging Pakistan and its image can be gauged from a recent move by US where it wanted to add Pakistan in grey list in Financial Action Task Force (FATF) against alleged terror financing (Irfan, 2018). Although, there are countries supporting Pakistan in this move, but India has been found supporting US in this matter and is lobbying other countries to vote against Pakistan (Iqbal(f), 2018). Although India and US have been in a friendly relationship lately, however, Pakistan is trying its best to counter Indian propaganda and lobbying.

Pakistan has been trying to hire lobbyists as well as to task its diplomats to lobby for Pakistan in US, however, few issues were faced by the Pakistan. One of the major issues is the satisfaction of all major power players of Pakistan i.e. civilian government, military and intelligence, which makes it difficult for lobbyists to lobby in favor of Pakistan (Iqbal(g), 2016). Recent loss to F-16 deal with US, the inclusion of India into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and FATF's repercussions has maintained that Pakistan needs a strong and effective lobbying strategy and lobbyists (Iqbal(g), 2016). Pakistan has hired lobbying firm Locke Lord Strategies who were unable to propagate against Pakistan's counter parts as well as to lobby against anti-Pakistan policies of US (Iqbal(g), 2016). Along with this, diplomats as lobbyists could not be more effective because F-16 deal and inclusion of India in NSG was more in the

favor of US, which would reject the lobbying efforts entirely (Iqbal(g), 2016). Accepting its weak and sometimes zero lobbying efforts, Pakistan is now thinking to hire lobbying firms in US to save and sell its image (Malik, 2016). Although, over the years, Pakistan has tried to lobby US against India's anti-Pakistan propaganda and influential strategies, however, Pakistan's lobbying efforts are weak as compared to India.

The weak lobbying from Pakistan has been nearing India to US and has always broadened the gap between Pakistan and US. Analysts have drawn attention to this phenomenon by pointing out an issue of drone strike in 2016 before PM Modi's visit to US, it was considered as an acknowledgement of pro-Indian and anti-Pakistan policies of US (ARY News, 2016). It has been reported and is a known fact that India has been investing huge amount of money in lobbying US and its policy makers against Pakistan, where Pakistani lobbying is very weak that Pakistan's lobbyists in Washington are almost unknown (ARY News, 2016). Therefore, this makes the situation even worse when there is no one in the Washington to influence US policy makers and lobby for the efforts of Pakistan as well as to address anti-Pakistan sentiments penetrated through Indian lobbying (ARY News, 2016). Hence, US has been seen blaming Pakistan for supporting militants and terrorist attacks inside Afghanistan and India on and off (Marlow & Kay, 2017). The ways to propagate and influence the US policies are endless, among which organizing international conference for special briefings can be arranged, but it has not happened yet (ARY News, 2016). In contrast to this, Indian lobbying is very strong; they lobby and propagate US to design its policies against Pakistan and in favor of India, it is important to understand how India has started making its lobbying strong over the years.

The perception war or the war to influence any country through lobbying and propaganda is not new, however, Indian strategy to do, especially to influence US has been very systematic. It is important to understand how India has been so successful in influencing the world especially US policies in its favor and against Pakistan. India has taken systematic and tangible steps during 90s when its Finance Ministry, Reserve Bank and Planning Commission jointly developed a strategy to build and support Indian corporations globally and to show their presence on the global corporate map (Monnoo, 2018). A meeting was held of the top corporates which is now known as London Club to ensure creation of Indian World of Multinationals (Monnoo, 2018). Hence the big names like Birla, Reliance, Godrej to name a

few, went on margining, shopping and linking with bigger names in the countries and developed themselves in the fields of business, IT, politics, textiles, automobiles etc. (Monnoo, 2018). Talking specifically about US, Indian companies alone generate jobs for half a million US citizens and reciprocally US president Trump owns huge real estate and businesses in Mumbai (Monnoo, 2018), hence, both have their stakes in each other's policy making. This step of influencing the market resulted in securing bigger seats in famous US universities, which are not being led by Indian teachers, researchers and deans, resulting in influencing the policy making from grass root level (Monnoo, 2018). Also Indian students studying abroad are more into politics, are more sharp and ask questions related to politics as compared to Pakistani students, hence are growing into think tanks in the US (Mir, 2018. pers. comm.). Although it was a long term investment, but it did help India in getting what it wanted, which is to secure top positions in the US job market to influence their decision making and to have stakes in US market which is also influencing US decision making, hence a strong Indo-American Lobbying Group has emerged (Monnoo, 2018). However, in contrast to this, Pakistan has not invested much in lobbying in its favor or against India in US, a comparison of both countries' weaknesses and strengths can make it easier to understand.

The successful Indian lobbying for its own benefits and against Pakistan in US has many factors, a little comparison of weaknesses of Pakistan and strengths of Indian lobbying yields few facts. The significant success of India and Indian-Americans lies in the fact that India has worked on its professional success in US including medical field and information technology, growing population in United States and opening doors for Indian economy (Sharma, 2017; Kamdar, 2007). Along the aforementioned, the similar world views of American and India over issues related to strategic, security and other global areas have developed a conducive environment for India (Sharma, 2017). In addition to this, the success of India-Americans' successful lobbying and propaganda involves their strategy named as 'Model Minority' (Sharma, 2017). This approach enables them to lobby through institutional channels and without being critical to US political system and also by giving respect to democratic norms prevailing there (Sharma, 2017). However, the weak lobbying and propaganda techniques and campaigns by Pakistan in US have its roots in instances like tracking Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan (Sharma, 2017). In addition to this incident, the Indian lobbying of relating the Mumbai attacks with Pakistan also leads to US anger against Pakistan (Ali, 2018; Mir, 2018; Ali, 2018. pers.

comm.). Therefore, such incidents raise trust issues between Pakistan and American approach towards war on terror (Georgy, 2012), hence, it hinders in lobbying US for benefit of Pakistan. Moreover, the incline of Pakistan-Americans towards Islamic groups in US instead of national groups also hinders the lobbying for national interests, for instance, sometimes Arab and Palestinian issues take over national matters (Eteraz, 2013). The Indian efforts have been generating results for lobbying US against Pakistan since many years and have been proved in recent times as well. Although, Pakistan's efforts to counter Indian lobbying or lobbying in general is very weak, however, there were scenarios and situations where Pakistan has dealt with anti-Pakistan Indian propaganda and lobbying in the US.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Indian propagandists and lobbyists played their role in blocking and limiting F-16 import to Pakistan from US. However, initially, effective lobbying efforts were undertaken by Pakistan to buy US's trust for the supply of F-16 jets (Lakshman, 2016). US had made this decision for supporting its most important ally for war on terror (Lakshman, 2016). However, over Indian concerns and its effective lobbying efforts, the F-16 jets deal has been in a very uncertain situation since its inception (Defence World, 2016). Pakistan has been thinking to hire strong lobbyists for lobbying US over the matter and ensure smooth supply of the jets (Pakistan Today, 2016). Whereas, in 2016, former president of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari was seeing lobbying US decision makers for the supply of F-16 jets to Pakistan, justifying that Pakistan needs these fighting jets for a fight against terrorism (Pakistan Today, 2016) because India has always propagated that Pakistan can use these fighting jets against it. The reason behind the bitter-sweet lobbying results for Pakistan in this matter was due to the issues between military and civil government's decisions. Pakistan army did suggest government to hire an effective lobbyists for the deal, but it was denied presuming that the military might use these lobbyists for their own promotion (Dawn(b), 2016). India and Pakistan are also running anti-conflicting parties' propaganda and lobbying campaigns on the important issue of Occupied Kashmir.

Pakistan and India have conflict over the matter of Kashmir since the inception of Pakistan and Indian occupation over the subject Muslim majority region. India and Pakistan have long history of fighting over the issue of Kashmir, where two out of the three wars between both were fought over Kashmir dispute (Nation(b), 2018). Earlier in the chapter, the

notion of revolving door was mentioned, the phenomenon has been revised when Pakistan hired a retired congressman Robin Raphael to lobby US on the Kashmir issue and Indian lobbying strategies (GK, 2007). The lobbyists hired for supporting the Pakistan stance on Kashmir were already staunch believer of Kashmir's independence and stability (GK, 2007). Pakistan has been propagating and influencing US against India's stance over Kashmir issue through several means, one of which was to raise voice and question US congressmen that why India is not in the watch list of humiliating Human Rights due to its atrocities in Indian Occupied Kashmir (Nation, 2018; Raza, 2018. pers. comm.). This statement was given in a protest against the US decision for including Pakistan in watch list of countries humiliating human rights (Nation, 2018). However, Pakistan has been seen less effective in lobbying for Kashmir as well, this is because of hiring non-registered lobbyists, who was then captured and punished by US government leading to worsen Pakistan and US relations (Shen, 2011). Since the lobbying business is legal in US (Malik, 2017), therefore, Pakistan needs to hire registered firms and individuals to tackle with Indian propaganda and to lobby US for its own benefits. Though Pakistani lobbying to secure American decisions in its favor is not very strong, however, there were instances when Pakistan hired lobbyists who succeeded.

After the incident of 9/11, Pakistan successfully lobbied for securing aid and removing sanctions which were imposed after Pakistan's nuclear tests. Recently, over the issue of America's demand of 'Do More, Pakistan has been effectively lobbied and disseminated its concerns and information (Geo News, 2017) through social media. For that matter, ministers have been actively tweeting their point of views where they supported each other (Geo News, 2017). Whereas, foreign minister of Pakistan has given statements where he denied the notion of 'Do More' and mentioned that the issues of terrorists prevails in Pakistan due to the foreign policy of US sustained in history (Geo News, 2017). Pakistan also hired lobbyists in past, Stephen Payne was a professional lobbyist hired by General Musharraf and he used to consider him as an important part for lobbying US (Alchetron, 2017). Payne worked effectively to secure US aid for Pakistan during Musharraf era, as well as to remove economic and military sanctions imposed on Pakistan several years ago (Alchetron, 2017). Along with this, the effectiveness of Payne lobbying helped Pakistan to secure a status of Non-NATO ally, secured F-16 jets, C-130s and military helicopters (Alchetron, 2017). He was member of a lobbying group named Team Eagle which was formerly known as Team Barakat (Beyerstein, 2008). In addition to this,

during Musharraf's era, lobbyists were hired to influence US policies related to tariff relief on apparel.

Other than the political issues of the country and US policies, Pakistan has also tried to lobby for the tariff relief on apparel during Musharraf era. Fleishman-Hillard was hired by Pakistan to 'win congressional approval for tariff relief' (Ravindran, 2002). Fleishman-Hillard was seen lobbying and promoting 'Pakistan Emergency Economy Development and Trade Support Act', which was to acknowledge Pakistan's efforts and support for war on terror (Ravindran, 2002). However, the campaign was put on hold after US's war on terror and Pakistan being its close allies, moreover, it was also opposed by US apparel manufacturers that Pakistan is already exporting approximately \$2 billion to US (Ravindran, 2002). In addition to this, just before the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan also hired a lobbying firm i.e. Polland & Cook for promotion and creation of conducive relations with US (Berkowitz, 2002). The firm was specifically hired to lobby US and its policy makers to finish US economic sanctions against Pakistan, boost trade and debt restructure (Berkowitz, 2002). Moreover, due to Pakistan's lobbying strategies the Baloch groups living in US have denied the support of separatists and have started supporting Pakistan instead (MP, 2014). Pakistan has also been a strong influencer during cold war and lobbied for pro-Pakistan US policies which were imbedded in its inception, however, it is important to first understand the circumstances which made it necessary for Pakistan to lobby US during Cold War.

CHAPTER 4: COLD WAR & US-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

After partition i.e. 14 August 1947 the advent of Pakistan as an independent state, Pakistan faced several security and economy issues; issues that needed lobbying efforts by the state to deal with a stronger India. Pakistan, as a newly born state, was very much concerned about its security and the power disparity of the region, which was a great security concern for Pakistan (Hussain, 2005). Dealing with as a need of time and to ensure the security and stability of the country, Pakistan had to go to the super power for assistance and support (Hussain, 2005). Wherein, Pakistan decided to become 'most allied ally' to help US fighting against communism (Hussain, 2005). For that matter, due to its geo-strategic-political situation, Pakistan had to play a significant role in establishing stability and peace in Central and South East Asia by supporting US (Soherwordi, 2010). Hence, there was a strong rationale for both countries to become allies, this rationale was driven by the security concerns faced by both countries, for Pakistan it was India and for United States it was USSR (Soherwordi, 2010; Kamran, 2018. pers. comm.). Moreover, the Pakistan lobbying machinery was convinced that its stability, security and aspirations of global legitimacy were only possible with an alliance or 'Pseudo-Friendship' with US (Soherwordi, 2010). The strongest influencing gesture was made by then Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan by accepting United States' invitation instead of USSR; this proved Pakistan support for the US and reinforced US to support Pakistan in terms of military and economic assistance by developing Pakistan centric policies (Soherwordi, 2010). Pakistan served as a strong influencer and was able to enjoy successful results in terms of military and economic assistance from the beginning of its inception and start of Cold War.

During the Cold War period, Pakistan was a new state, however, it managed to become a member of different pacts and lobbied for its benefits, an overview can briefly explain. Initially, in 1954, Pakistan signed a Mutual Defense Agreement with US and also became a member of South Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1955 also named as Manila Pact (Cohen, 2010; Ali, 2014). It served as a regional NATO for more than twenty years and was dissolved in 1977 (Cohen, 2010; Ali, 2014). It had regional and non-regional members and its mission was to block communist successes in Southeast Asia (Cohen, 2010). The benefits during the Cold War era taken by the Pakistan from US included humongous amount of military and economic

assistance often at bargain terms (Cohen, 2010). This military assistance remained intact by US until Pakistan and India fought two wars i.e. 1965 and 1971 war and was stopped until 1975 (Cohen, 2010). Above all the aids were the benefits Pakistan had after developing strong contacts with US and other major allies; it helped in several ways (Cohen, 2010; Ali, 2014). These links helped Pakistanis in getting trained in US where other allies including US had a chance to train in Pakistan and are still called as ‘allied officers’ (Cohen, 2010). Wherein, American training teams visited Pakistan and gave several trainings and presentations including strategic subjects such as nuclear warfare (Cohen, 2010). Due to this influencing power, Pakistan also was able to get US support over Kashmir issue, especially in United Nations, one of the American administration also extended its support in case of any Pakistan and India Conflict (Cohen, 2010). Then the second and third phase of Pakistan and US alliance came into mainstream.

Secondly, Soviet offensive in Afghanistan in 1979 led to a close relationship and Pakistan influence over the policies of US. Pakistan received offers as well as actual benefits which were received in 1981 by Ronald Reagan about \$3.2 billion (Cohen, 2010; Ali, 2014). This aid was equally divided for economic and military assistance of Pakistan. Another package was announced in 1986, which was of over \$4 billion and had a 57% of economic assistance (Cohen, 2010). This war also led to change in other decisions which were against Pakistan including abandonment of legislative restrictions on giving aid to a country having nuclear programs (Cohen, 2010). Therefore, till the end of cold war, then administration of US ran by Reagan and President George H. W. Bush kept on abandoning the restrictions for Pakistan (Cohen, 2010). Thirdly, the 9/11 attacks proved another ground for Pakistan where it lobbied against all the restrictions and then president George. W. Bush eliminated sanctions imposed on Pakistan (Cohen, 2010). This influence of Pakistan helped in getting into the ‘non-NATO’ ally which meant it now can buy military equipment at less prices (Cohen, 2010; Ali, 2014). Moreover, this time the assistance reached sky limits; this money was given to Pakistan as payments of using Pakistani facilities for their own benefits (Cohen, 2010). However, at the end of Cold War the American congressmen and strong Indian lobby started playing its game and criticism on Pakistan and its efforts started getting famous (Cohen, 2010; Ali, 2014). The Pakistan US relationship and their foreign policies have been stayed bitter-sweet until the end of

Cold War which was designed from Pakistan side keeping in view its antagonist neighbors, however, Pakistan was able to lobby US in several matters.

Since its inception, Pakistan has been facing multifaceted conflicts from its neighbors including India and Afghanistan, which needed to be addressed by increasing its military and weaponry situation. For that matter, Pakistan signed its first alliance with US keeping in mind mainly its a) dependence of US for defending against India and Afghanistan and b) Pakistan being a significant military factor for US in South Asia, whereas, US's objective was to block the advancement of Communism in Asia (Hussain, 2016; Kheli, 1982). Due to Pakistan's strategic location, it was mandatory for US to develop cordial relations with Pakistan (Hussain, 2016). US considered Pakistan as a major ally for the above stated objective and upon his visit in 1953, US Vice President stated that 'in the years to come, the US will be proud of stand by Pakistan in industrial development and also against any danger to its security' (Hussain, 2016; Hussain & Rose, 1988)., hence, Pakistan provided US with a support to organize surveillance and communication post near Peshawar (Hussain, 2016). However, in reciprocity of this effort by Pakistan, US gave an aid of nearly \$17.5 million and \$60 million for military and economic concerns, respectively (Hussain, 2016). This eventually, helped Pakistan in strengthening its military and economic situation to deal with the Indian antagonism (Hussain, 2016). Therefore, both Pakistan and US were able to serve their interest in this matter, however, Pakistan being a newly born state was able to lobby for its survival against India and Afghanistan (Hussain, 2016). But, after the change of administration in US, the scenario changed (Kissinger, 1979), US started funding India and Pakistan also in retaliation changed its focus to China, moreover, due to 1965 and 1971 war between Pakistan and India, US imposed sanctions on both countries (Cohen, 2010). This shift in US policies against Pakistan stayed intact till 1979, which was then lifted due to soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and Islamic revolution in Iran.

The soviet military intervention and Islamic revolution in Iran was an alarming situation for US and it was also threatening the internal and external security of Pakistan. Hence, the lobbying efforts of Pakistan came into action and then President Carter in 1980 implored US congress that 'I am asking congress, as the first order of the business, to pass an economic and military aid package designed to assist Pakistan defend itself (Hussain, 2016). In response to his implore, US government proposed \$400 million for Pakistan's assistance which was rejected

by then president General Zia-ul-haq (Hussain, 2016; Cohen, 2010; Kux, 2001). Meanwhile, the US administration changed and Reagan administration came into power, which had a more sympathetic and relaxed attitude towards Pakistan (Hussain, 2016). The new administration signed an agreement of giving \$3.2 billion for Pakistan in 1981 which was extended for a period of 6 years, i.e. 1981-87, another aid package was approved in 1986 which was of \$4.2 billion which also included sale of F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan (Azmi, 1992; Hussain, 2016). Through lobbying and propagating by not accepting first offer of less aid and other efforts, Pakistan was able to achieve its objectives, a) obtained high quality weapons to strengthen its defense capability, b) confidence of Pakistan policy makers that they were able to secure support of a super power, and c) overcoming its economic issues (Hussain, 2016). Moreover, after the 9/11 attacks in 2001, the US-Pakistan relations strengthened and sanctions were taken off. A massive military and economic aid was again given to Pakistan for serving as a Non-NATO ally. Hence, Pakistan was able to influence US policies till the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and the fall of USSR, it has been observed that US always needed Pakistan for its security and defense reasons.

The strategic location of Pakistan on the World's map is a very strong point for which India lobbies against Pakistan and Pakistan needs to run pro-Pakistan lobbying campaigns. However, to summarize, the relationship between Pakistan and US has been seen negative (Sunawar & Coutto, 2015). There are three types of complaints the overall relationship bears; a) America refused to help Pakistan in 1965 war against India when the support was badly needed, b) United States discarding Pakistan when it was not needed for its strategic gains, and c) discriminatory nuclear sanctions on Pakistan by US (Sunawar & Coutto, 2015). Although Pakistan was able to lobby US for policies in its interest, however, it was not able to lobby against India, since; US did not accept India as a communist country and also wanted it to be influential in dealing with China (Sunawar & Coutto, 2015). It is important to mention that during the Cold War era, Western-educated military personnel were able to lobby US in favor of Pakistan (Sunawar & Coutto, 2015). Therefore, Pakistan was able to bargain with US on the matters of its interest and had got a significant amount of assistance (Sunawar & Coutto, 2015). However, it is important for Pakistan government to think over the matter of anti-American sentiments prevailing in Pakistan to counter trust deficit between both nations (Sunawar &

Coutto, 2015). Hence the issues faced by Pakistani lobbyists in Capitol Hill and how to address them are very important to gain momentum in international relations.

Lobbying countries of interest and especially super power like USA is essential for any country including Pakistan; however, there is a lack of representation on the official Capitol Hill of US where all countries influence US policies and conference men. Pakistani lobbyists, who are in less numbers usually face issues when they try to influence US through initiating discussions to regain trust, these issues arise due to the media campaigns by the conflicting countries (Zia, 2014), such as India. Moreover, the former influencers believe that such influential campaigns can only be possible when the bilateral relationships are more focused on policy rather than personalities (Zia, 2014). Furthermore, the Pakistan influencers in the US Capitol Hill are either blue collar middle class or very rich people based on party identification, unlike India, who always puts forward its best players i.e. the educated middle class (Zia, 2014). The political party or political personality centric lobbying of Pakistan influencers is a matter of concern, where they have turned from 'Pakistan First' motto to 'Political Personality First' (Zia, 2014). Furthermore, it has been observed that during the military regimes, more money has been spent on lobbying instead of democratic days for instance; Musharraf was spending about \$1,300,000 on two different lobbying firms where in 2011 then democratic government was only spending \$900,000 a year on lobbying (Zia, 2014). Experts from different walks of life believe that lack of funds, negligence and reactive nature of Pakistan lobbying efforts have damaged Pakistan's image so far (Rehman, 2018. pers. comm.). Since, it is an understood phenomenon that Pakistan may not afford massive amount of money on lobbying, however, personnel from Pakistani-American community can be mobilized for grass root advocacy (Zia, 2014). Apart from spending more money on lobbying, Pakistan needs to strengthen its lobbying by creating cells, centres and identification of themes where lobbying can be undertaken systematically.

To improve the image of the country, especially in front of US, it is important to invest money as well as to invest in developing proper strategies while addressing different themes. One of the many themes includes eradicating the impression penetrated by Indian lobbyists that Pakistani security agencies support terrorism (Iqbal, 2016). It has been suggested by the experts that establishment of a cell or institution is very important which will promote the positive

image of Pakistan security forces and Pakistan as a whole at international level (Iqbal, 2016). Along with this, a separate mechanism should be designed to only address the propaganda by the adversaries of Pakistan (Iqbal, 2016), especially India. One of the most important image building by the country must include that Pakistan security forces are self-sufficient and are able to deal with any kind of conflicts (Iqbal, 2016). It has also been emphasized by the experts that Pakistan must strengthen its relations with China and other developed countries, which can ultimately help Pakistan lobby super powers or US in particular (Iqbal, 2016). Economically dealing with the country having influence over the world and its economics is the best way, to address this, Pakistan needs to strengthen its relationship with emerging economies like China, Russia as help and support from friends is an important part of lobbying (Nazir, 2018; Munim, 2018. pers. comm.). In addition to this, Pakistan can divide its lobbying efforts to influence US in a) long term objectives and b) short term objectives (Monnoo, 2018). Long term objectives may include promotion of academia linkages, encouraging cross investments, usage of Pakistan entrepreneurs to enhance Pakistan's economy and say in the US; wherein, short term objectives may include reforms in domestic and foreign investments, integration of academia and the corporate world, managing the value of Pakistani rupee and maintaining Pakistan's economy for longer periods (Monnoo, 2018). Hence to conclude, it is important for Pakistan government to hire lobbyists and start responding to the antagonist lobbying undertaken by India as well as to start its own lobbying efforts.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

International conflict and propaganda has its roots in the history, to support the argument, the research has cited few international case studies which prove that propaganda is used to lobby against the conflicting parties all over the world and in US it is a legal business. Most of the countries have tried to influence US through their lobbying campaigns, where they have invested enormous amount of money and have established propaganda and lobbying cells. However, in case of India and Pakistan it is a very complex phenomenon. Being the archrivals over the years and India's bigotry against Pakistan regarding its inception as well as to accept it as an emerging power has made the issues more complicated. India has always tried to obscure the voice of Pakistan on international matters, where its main target is to influence US government and congressmen by molding its policies against Pakistan. Not only the policies of US, but it has tried to influence US governments' over the years to put sanctions on Pakistan by imposing false allegations and running propaganda to prove its allegations right. To attain its motive of imposing sanctions, India has also tried to denounce the name of Pakistan, it has tried to declare it as a terrorist state, defame Pakistan's security forces, propaganda against Baluchistan, Kashmir dispute and against Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Pakistan needs to address these tactics intelligently, however, it has been observed through research and analysis of different sources that Pakistan has a very weak strategy to counter Indian lobbying efforts working in the US. The focus of this research was to address few research questions regarding the aforementioned argument.

The research has focused on addressing few objectives and research questions including defining propaganda and lobbying. Propaganda and lobbying were explained as separate entities as well as an interrelation between both was also established. Examples have been given where successful lobbying had been undertaken in history and is currently organized through propaganda. Special focus was given on the case studies where India has proven itself as an emerging lobbying country through its community, savants, politicians and spokespersons. These efforts by Indian side includes defaming Pakistan and to influence US in going against Pakistan on many areas, few examples may include cut on Pakistan's aid and USA's deal regarding provision of F-16 jets to Pakistan. It was analyzed how Pakistan counters the lobbying and propaganda initiatives undertaken by India, however, it has been observed that

Pakistan was not very successful in this matter and has a weak lobbying as compared to India. Primarily, Pakistan spends less money on lobbying and sometimes has no representation in the Capitol Hill. This makes the situation even worse and has incited gap between US and Pakistan with issues such as trust deficit, security aid, to name a few. Other weaknesses on Pakistan part includes no proper strategy for lobbying US in its favor or countering Indian lobbying efforts, Pakistan's 'Political Personality First' strategy for lobbying instead of 'Pakistan First' strategy. In addition to this, the Pakistan-American community in the US is also not very organized and serious about the issue understudy unlike the Indian-American community. They are usually focusing on the Islam centric lobbying and parties, which widens the gap which needs to be shrunk down for Pakistan.

Moreover, Pakistan does not follow any model like India does i.e. Model Minority, where countries tend to influence each other through proper channel i.e. through institutions. Other than this, Pakistan needs to find areas of common interest where it can show US that both countries have similar thoughts as well as strategies on a particular issue. Along with this, it was observed that during the Cold War era Pakistan was able to influence US policies and decisions in its favor, therefore, for future researches it can be explored that which methods and channels were used during cold war to influence US. Since, this research focuses on the Indian propaganda and lobbying against Pakistan in the US and how Pakistan counters it, therefore, a further study can be conducted where researchers can analyze that which strategies should be adopted by Pakistan to make its case stronger. There is only one study by an Indian author on Pakistan India propaganda and lobbying but it has its focus more on the Indian side, therefore, this study also identifies that a similar study can also be undertaken in Pakistan. The study also raises questions that when Pakistan will be able to secure its position in the capitol hill, not only to counter Indian efforts but also to generate new lobbying campaigns through which it can eliminate the mistrust prevailing in the US congressmen and influencers as a whole. The recommendations which were formulated by the research are as under.

The solutions or recommendations proposed for the betterment of the country and its lobbying strategies include more investment in lobbying US. Along with this, primary and secondary research revealed that Pakistan must introduce its businesses in US so that it can contribute in the economy of the country to influence them. Harmony between military and

democratic government is also required which will help in giving a stable impression of the country to the world. Among all others, it is very important to eliminate anti-American sentiments prevailing in the citizens of Pakistan at national as well as at international level. This will help in eradicating trust deficit between both national i.e. Pakistan and US. Pakistan may also invest its resources in developing think tanks, cells and advocacy centres where lobbying themes should be identified by savants which can influence US in its benefit. Researchers and analysts believe that strong relations with other strong economies like China and Russia will also help Pakistan in making its mark in US policy making. Along with this, efforts should be undertaken where not only lobbying should focus on influencing US policies for its benefit but also to counter the lobbying efforts by its adversaries, especially India. Both long and short term strategies should be adopted to have a long lasting impact. Along with these recommendations, the study has few limitations which are important to identify at this stage.

The limitations faced by the researcher included the lack of information and data available over the issue. Collection of primary data was a huge challenge as well since the relevant and pertinent people did not want to indulge in the nitty gritty of such a sensitive topic. It was observed that the news articles are in abundance than the journal articles, hence at some points, dichotomy between the opinions of the writers needed extra attention. On the topic of international conflict and propaganda there is data in abundance, however, while narrowing down the topic to Indian and Pakistan, the research material seemed insufficient. In addition to this, the further narrowing down of the topic to discuss the propaganda and lobbying campaigns run by the India against Pakistan in the US, the scarcity of the researched material posed some challenges. Unfortunately, there is lesser data available on the means used by Pakistan to counter the Indian propaganda and lobbying efforts, also there are almost no interviews of Pakistan's lobbyists since Pakistan's lobbying and counter lobbying is considered weak. Since the study was focusing on the lobbying efforts and lobbyists representation at the Capitol Hill, therefore there was a limitation to go and see the ground situation because of lack of time and resources. Hence to solve this issue of presence at the Capitol Hill, students studying in American universities can be beneficial for studying this phenomenon by conducting interviews. This study did prove that India has a very strong position in international conflict and propaganda and is also busy in defaming and sabotaging image of Pakistan, but Pakistan needs to focus on dealing with such malicious acts.

REFERENCES

- A&CS, n.d. *Know the Difference Between Lobbying and Advocacy*. [Online]
Available at: http://www.advocacyandcommunication.org/wp-content/themes/acs/docs/resources/redesigned_tools/Difference_in_Lobbying_and_Advocacy.pdf
[Accessed 01 02 2018].
- Abbas, H., 2018. *Countries Build Nuclear Bombs for Four Major Reasons. Did Pakistan Do it Only Because of India?*, Delhi: Scroll In.
- Abbas, H., 2018. *Countries Build Nuclear Bombs for Four Major Reasons. Did Pakistan Do it Only Because of India?*, s.l.: Scroll In.
- Abbas, S. S., 2016. *'India's pursuit of hegemonic policies creating instability in region'*, Geneva: Dawn.
- AFP, 2017. *Pakistan 'Export Factory for Terror', Indian FM Says at UNGA*, Online: Dawn.
- Ahmad, M., 2007. *Book Review: Israeli Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, Farrar: Qurtaba University.
- Ahmad, M., n.d. *Book Review: Israeli Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, s.l.: Qurtaba University.
- Ahmed, S. & Matthes, J., 2016. Media Representation of Muslims and Islam from 2000 - 2015: A Meta-Analysis. *SAGE*, 79(3), pp. 219-244.
- Ahmed, W., 2017. *Sinister Indian Moves on Balochistan, CPEC*, Beijing: The News.
- Ahmed, W., 2017. *Sinister Indian Moves on Balochistan, CPEC*, s.l.: The News.
- Akram, M., 2016. *India's Pakistan Strategy*, Islamabad: Dawn.
- Akram, M., 2016. *India's Pakistan Strategy*, s.l.: Dawn.
- Alchetron, 2017. *Stephen Payne*. [Online]
Available at: [https://alchetron.com/Stephen-Payne-\(lobbyist\)](https://alchetron.com/Stephen-Payne-(lobbyist))
[Accessed 26 February 2018].
- Ali, K. A., 2014. *A century of war, 1914-2014: Pakistan and the Cold War*, Lahore: Dawn.

AP, 2017. *Israel, US Team Up to Block UN Vote on Jerusalem*, Jerusalem: ABC News.

APM, 2018. *Battles of Belief in World War II*. [Online]
Available at: <http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/wwii/b1.html>
[Accessed 29 01 2018].

APP, 2016. *Transcript of RAW Agent Kulbhushan's Confessional Statement*, Online: Dawn.

Arain, I. R., 2016. *Indian Lobbying on Balochistan and Pakistan's Lukewarm Response*, Islamabad: The Nation.

Arain, I. R., 2016. *Indian Lobbying on Balochistan and Pakistan's Lukewarm Response*, s.l.: The Nation.

ARY News, 2016. *Weak Pakistani lobbying helped India near US, say analysts*, Karachi: ARY News.

ARY News, 2016. *Weak Pakistani lobbying helped India near US, say analysts*, s.l.: ARY News.

Ashiq, P., 2017. *Separatists Allege 'Vicious Propaganda' on Kashmir*, Srinagar: The Hindu.

Ashiq, P., 2017. *Separatists Allege 'Vicious Propaganda' on Kashmir*, s.l.: The Hindu.

Athale, C. A. A., 2018. *US Actions Against Pakistan: Win Win for India*, Delhi: Rediff.

Athale, C. A. A., 2018. *US Actions Against Pakistan: Win Win for India*, s.l.: Rediff.

Atwal, R., 2016. *Pakistan's Stalled F-16 Deal is a Win For India*, South Asia: National Interest.

Atwal, R., 2016. *Pakistan's Stalled F-16 Deal is a Win for India*, s.l.: The National Interest.

Azmi, M. R., 1992. Pak-US Relations: Retrospect and Prospect. *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, 10(1), pp. 15-17.

Baroud(b), R., 2018. *How Israel Came to Build America's Walls*, Gulf: Gulf News.

Baroud, R., 2017. *The Uneven Alliance: How America Became Pro-Israel*, Palestine: Aljazeera.

BBC(a), 2017. *The Islami Veil Across Europe*, Europe: BBC News.

BBC(b), 2018. *US Cuts Pakistan Security Assistance Over Terror Groups*, US & Canada: BBC News.

BBC(b), 2018. *US Cuts Pakistan Security Assistance Over Terror Groups*, s.l.: BBC News.

BBC, 2017. *The Islami Veil Across Europe*, Europe: BBC News.

Beaumont, P., 2017. *US Votes Resoundingly to Reject Trump's Recognition of Jerusalem as Capital*, Jerusalem: The Guardian.

Bengali, S. & Sahi, A., 2017. *After tough Trump speech, Pakistan scrambles to answer U.S. demands in Afghanistan*, Islamabad: La Times.

Berkowitz, B., 2002. *Republican Party-rooted PR firms Partnering with Islamabad: Spinning all the bad news about Pakistan, for a price*, Online Journal: South Asian Tribune.

Berkowitz, B., 2002. *Republican Party-rooted PR firms Partnering with Islamabad: Spinning all the bad news about Pakistan, for a price*, s.l.: South Asian Tribune.

Beyerstein, L., 2008. *Who is Stephen Payne?*, Online: Constantine Report.

Beyerstein, L., 2008. *Who is Stephen Payne?*, s.l.: Constantine Report.

Bird, C., 2013. *Lobbying: The Question of Propaganda*. Georgetown, Academia.edu.

BL, 2017. *US Must Declare Pakistan State Sponsor of Terrorism: Pressler*, Washington: The Hindu Business Line.

Boehm, E., 2014. *Defense Contractors Spent Millions Lobbying Congress, Get Billions in New Budget*, Washington: Washington Examiner.

Boehm, E., 2014. *Defense Contractors Spent Millions Lobbying Congress, Get Billions in New Budget*, s.l.: Washington Examiner.

Bowden, J., 2017. *Oil Companies Lobby Against Russia Sanctions*, Washington: The Hill.

Bowden, J., 2017. *Oil Companies Lobby Against Russia Sanctions*, s.l.: The Hill.

Brzezinski, Z., 2006. *A Dangerous Exemption*, s.l.: FP Roundtable.

Brzezinski, Z., 2006. A Dangerous Exemption: Why should the Israel lobby be immune from criticism?. *Foreign Policy*, pp. 63-64.

Burke, H. B., 2009. War is Persuasion. *A Journal of Politics and Society*, 21(1), pp. 1-3.

Burrell, M., 2001. *Lobbying and The Media: Working with Politicians and Journalists*, London: Thorogood.

Cassidy, B., 1999. *European Lobbying Guide: A Guide on Whom and How to Lobby*, London: Thorogood.

Cave, T. & Rowell, A., 2014. *The Truth About Lobbying: 10 Ways Big Business Controls Government*, Online: The Guardian.

Cave, T. & Rowell, A., 2014. *The Truth About Lobbying: 10 Ways Big Business Controls Government*, s.l.: The Guardian.

CEO(a), 2011. *Block the Revolving Door*, EU: Corporate Europe Observatory.

CEO(b), 2016. *Monsanto Lobbying: An Attack on Us, Our Planet and Democracy*. [Online] Available at: https://corporateeurope.org/sites/default/files/attachments/monsanto_v09_web.pdf [Accessed 03 02 2018].

CEO, 2011. *Block the Revolving Door*, s.l.: Corporate Europe Observatory.

Chandrasekhar, R., 2016. *Time for India To Declare Pakistan a Terror State*, Bangalore: The Time of India.

Chandrasekhar, R., 2016. *Time for India To Declare Pakistan a Terror State*, s.l.: The Time os India.

Christian, 2017. *Adopting a Lobbying Strategy*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.aalep.eu/adopting-lobbying-strategy> [Accessed 01 02 2018].

Christian, 2017. *Russian Lobbying Against US Sanctions*, EU: Association of Accredited Public Policy Advocates to the European Union.

Christian, 2017. *Russian Lobbying Against US Sanctions*, s.l.: Association of Accredited Public Policy Advocates to the European Union.

CLPI, 2011. *Lobbying and Advocacy: Similarities and Differences*. [Online]

Available at: <http://caeyc.org/main/caeyc/proposals-2011/pdfs/AnneBrousard.pdf>

[Accessed 01 02 2018].

CNNL, 2017. *2016 Presidential Campaign Hacking Fast Facts*, CNN Library: CNN.

CNNL, 2017. *2016 Presidential Campaign Hacking Fast Facts*, s.l.: CNN.

Cockburn, H., 2018. *Denmark Poised to Ban Islamic Full Face Veils*, Europe: Independent.

COD-CSO, 2013. *Advocacy and Lobbying*. [Online]

Available at: <http://www.cod.rs/en/what-we-do/advocacy-and-lobbying/>

[Accessed 01 02 2018].

COFR-GCT, 2018. *Conflict Between India and Pakistan*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/interactives/global-conflict-tracker#!/conflict/conflict-between-india-and-pakistan>

[Accessed 14 02 2018].

Cohen, S. P., 2010. Pakistan and the Cold War. In: C. Chari, ed. *Super Power Rivalry and Conflict: The Long Shadow of the Cold War on the Twenty First Century*. New York: Routledge, pp. 74-87.

CPEC, 2017. *Introduction*. [Online]

Available at: <http://cpec.gov.pk/introduction/1>

[Accessed 24 02 2018].

CT, 2010. *Propaganda Model*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.communicationtheory.org/propaganda-model/>

[Accessed 29 01 2018].

CTNP, 2003. *Advocacy vs. Lobbying, Coalition Building and Public Engagement*. [Online]

Available at:

<http://www.ctnonprofits.org/ctnonprofits/sites/default/files/fckeditor/file/policy/resources/Advo>

cacyVsLobbying.pdf

[Accessed 01 02 2018].

CTNP, n.d. *Advocacy vs. Lobbying, Coalition Building and Public Engagement*. [Online]

Available at:

<http://www.ctnonprofits.org/ctnonprofits/sites/default/files/fckeditor/file/policy/resources/AdvocacyVsLobbying.pdf>

cacyVsLobbying.pdf

[Accessed 01 02 2018].

Cull, N. J., Culbert, D. & Welch, D., 2003. *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present*. California: Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data.

Dalton, T. & Krepon, M., 2015. *A Normal Nuclear Pakistan*. Washington: Stimson Centre.

Dalton, T. & Krepon, M., 2015. *A Normal Nuclear Pakistan*. s.l.:Stimson Centre.

Date, S., 2017. *Trump Says Russians Didn't Help Him Win. His Intelligence Agencies Say Yes They Did.*, Washington: Huffington Post.

Date, S., 2017. *Trump Says Russians Didn't Help Him Win. His Intelligence Agencies Say Yes They Did.*, s.l.: Huffington Post.

Dawn(a), 2005. *Natwar Accuses Pakistan of N-proliferation*, New Delhi: Dawn.

Dawn(b), 2016. *Pakistan may buy used F-16 jets from Jordan*, Islamabad: Dawn.

Dawn(c), 2016. *US Lawmakers Move Bill to Declare Pakistan 'State Sponsor of Terrorism'*, Washington: Dawn.

Dawn(d), 2017. *US Seeks India's Help to 'Keep An Eye' on Pakistan*, Washington: Dawn.

Dawn, 2005. *Natwar Accuses Pakistan of N-proliferation*, New Delhi: Dawn.

Dawn, 2016. *Pakistan may buy used F-16 jets from Jordan*, Islamabad: Dawn.

Dawn, 2016. *US Lawmakers Move Bill to Declare Pakistan 'State Sponsor of Terrorism'*, Washington: Dawn.

Dawn, 2017. *US Seeks India's Help to 'Keep An Eye' on Pakistan*, Washington: Dawn.

Defence World, 2016. *Pakistan To Hire Lobbying Firm For Easing Defence Procurement from the US*, Online: Defence World.

Defence World, 2016. *Pakistan To Hire Lobbying Firm For Easing Defence Procurement from the US*, s.l.: Defence World.

Desforges, A., 1999. *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*, UK: Essex.

Dillard, P. & Pfau, M., 2002. *The Persuasion Handbook: Developments in Theory and Practice*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Dodds, F. & Strauss, M., 2004. *How To Lobby at Intergovernmental Meetings*. London: EARTHSCAN.

Doob, L. W., 1966. *Public Opinion and Propaganda*. 2nd ed. England: Archon Books.

Doob, L. W., 1966. *Public Opinion and Propaganda*. 2nd ed. s.l.: Archon Books.

DPG, 2017. *Did Pakistan Army Kill Its Own Sons in APS? Outrageous Claim Spread by TTP, Baloch Liberation and MQM-Altaf Social Media Accounts Simultaneously*, Peshawar: Daily Pakistan.

Drutman, L., 2017. *The Business of America Is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dunya, 2016. *Indian Lobby in US Working Against Pakistan: Says Aziz*, Washington: Dunya News.

Dur, A., 2008. Bringing Economic Interests Back into the Study of EU Trade Policy-Making. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 27(45), pp. 27-45.

DW News, 2018. *Pakistan avoids global terror watchlist – for now*, Islamabad: DW.

DW News, 2018. *Pakistan avoids global terror watchlist – for now*, s.l.: DW.

Dyer, G., 2016. *US Lobby Group to Campaign Against Business Investment in Iran*, Washington: Financial Times.

Edney, K., 2012. Soft Power and the Chinese Propaganda System. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 21(78), pp. 899-914.

- Edwards, D. & Cromwell, D., 2005. *Guardian of Power: The Myth of the Liberal Media*. London: Pluto Press.
- El-Khalili, S., 2013. Social media as a government propaganda tool in post-revolutionary Egypt. *Researchgate*, 18(3).
- Ellul, J., 1979. *The Technological Society*. Newyork: Knopf.
- Etemaad, 2016. *India Says Pakistan Is A Nation That Practices Terrorism On Its Own People*, National: Etemaad Daily.
- Etemaad, 2016. *India Says Pakistan Is A Nation That Practices Terrorism On Its Own People*, s.l.: Etemaad Daily.
- Eteraz, A., 2013. *Press Release-USINPAC*. [Online]
Available at: <http://www.usinpac.com/latest-press-release/1452-lobbying-for-pakistan>
[Accessed 27 02 2018].
- Everton, R., 2005. Israel Asper and Israeli Propaganda. In: *Filtering the News: Essays on Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model*. Montreal: Rose Books, pp. 63-94.
- Eysenck, M. W., 2000. *Psychology: A Student's Handbook*. 1 ed. UK: Psychology Press.
- Eysenck, M. W., 2000. *Psychology: A Student's Handbook*. s.l.:Psychology Press.
- Fang, L., 2017. *As Trump Travels to Saudi Arabia, The Kingdom's DC Lobbying Surge is Paying Off*, Online: The Intercept.
- Fang, L., 2017. *As Trump Travels to Saudi Arabia, The Kingdom's DC Lobbying Surge is Paying Off*, s.l.: The Intercept.
- Foster, A., 2017. *Where in The World Are The Burqa and Niqab Banned?*, World: Express.
- Foster, A., 2017. *Where in The World Are The Burqa and Niqab Banned?*, s.l.: Express.
- Frank, T., 2017. *Saudi Arabia ramps up Washington lobbying with former Trump advisers*, Online: CNN Politics.
- Frank, T., 2017. *Saudi Arabia Ramps Up Washington Lobbying with Former Trump Advisors*, s.l.: CNN.

Geo News, 2017. *Khawaja Asif gave befitting reply to US policymakers: Saad Rafique*, Lahore: Geo News.

Georgy, M., 2012. *Pakistan and U.S.: allies without trust*, Islamabad: Reuters.

GK, 2007. *Pakistan Hires Anti-India Diplomat to Lobby in US*, Washington: Greater Kashmir.

Guardian, T., 2017. *How White Helmets became victims of an online propaganda machine*, Middle East & North Africa: Zamanalwsl.

Guardian, T., 2017. *How White Helmets became victims of an online propaganda machine*, s.l.: Zamanalwsl.

Gulf News, 2017. *Israel, US Intensely Lobbying Against UN Vote on Jerusalem, Occupied Jerusalem*: Gulf News.

Gulf News, 2017. *Israel, US Intensely Lobbying Against UN Vote on Jerusalem*, s.l.: Gulf News.

Guramani, N., 2018. *Pakistan on global lobbying campaign against placement on terror-financing watchlist*, Islamabad: Dawn.

Guramani, N., 2018. *Pakistan on global lobbying campaign against placement on terror-financing watchlist*, s.l.: Dawn.

Haenel, H. et al., 2013. *Role of Extra-Institutional Actors in the Democratic System (Lobbying)*, Venice: European Commission for Democracy Through Law.

Haider, M., 2012. *Can Pakistan survive without US aid?*, Toronto: Dawn.

Haider, M., 2012. *Can Pakistan survive without US aid?*, s.l.: Dawn.

Hali, S. M., 2016. *Disappearances & Indian Propaganda*, Islamabad: Pakistan Today.

Hali, S. M., 2016. *Disappearances & Indian Propaganda*, s.l.: Pakistan Today.

Hanif, 2018. *How a Strong Indian Lobby is Active Against Pakistan in US Congress and What Pakistan Needs to Counter It*, Islamabad: Times of Islamabad.

Hanif, 2018. *How a Strong Indian Lobby is Active Against Pakistan in US Congress and What Pakistan Needs to Counter It*, s.l.: Times of Islamabad.

Hanif, A., 2016. *Indian Lobby Doing Propaganda Against Pakistan in US, Says Aziz*, Islamabad: Dawn.

Hanif, A., 2016. *Indian Lobby Doing Propaganda Against Pakistan in US, Says Aziz*, s.l.: Dawn.

Hanif, C. (., 2018. *How a strong Indian lobby is active against Pakistan in US Congress and What Pakistan needs to counter it*, s.l.: Times of Islamabad.

Hanif, C. (. M., 2017. *CPEC: Why India is Opposing the Project?*, Islamabad: Pakistan Observer.

Hanif, C. (. M., 2017. *CPEC: Why India is Opposing the Project?*, s.l.: Pakistan Observer.

Hanif, C. (. M., 2018. *CPEC: Why India Is Opposing the Project?*, s.l.: Pakistan Observer.

Haq, R., 2009. *Haq's Musings*, Online: Riaz Haq.

Haq, R., 2009. *Haq's Musings*, s.l.: Riaz Haq.

Haq, R., 2017. *Govt. Moves to Counter Indian Propaganda*, Islamabad: The Express Tribune.

Haq, R., 2017. *Govt. Moves to Counter Indian Propaganda*, s.l.: The Express Tribune.

Harris, G., 2018. *Coming US List of Oligarchs Linked to Putin Alarms Russia's Rich*, Washington: New York Time.

Harris, G., 2018. *Coming US List of Oligarchs Linked to Putin Alarms Russia's Rich*, s.l.: New York Time.

Hashmi, A., 2014. *Timeline: India-Pakistan Relations*, US & Canada: Al-Jazeera.

Herb, J., 2017. *US conglomerates lobby against Russia sanctions*. [Online]

Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/20/politics/russia-sanctions-legislation-corporations/index.html>

[Accessed 31 03 2018].

- Herb, J., 2017. *US Conglomerates Lobby Against Russia Sanctions*, s.l.: CNN.
- Herman, E. S. & Chomsky, N., 1988. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon.
- Hindustan Times, 2017. *Home Ministry Opposes Private Member's Bill to Declare Pakistan 'Terror State'*, New Delhi: Hindustan Times.
- Ho, C., 2016. *Saudi Government Has Vast Network of PR, Lobby Firms in US*, Washington: Washington Post.
- Ho, C., 2016. *Saudi Government Has Vast Network of PR, Lobby Firms in US*, s.l.: Washington Post.
- Hojnacki, M. & Kimball, D. C., 1999. The Who and how of Organizations' Lobbying Strategies Committee. *The Journal of Politics*, 61(4), pp. 999-1024.
- HP, 2014. *US Sanctions*. [Online]
Available at: <http://historypak.com/u-s-sanctions/>
[Accessed 21 02 2018].
- Human Nature, 2003. Against All Reason. *Propaganda, Politics, Power*, Volume 1, pp. 1-14.
- Hussain, M., 2016. Pak-US Relations: An Historical Overview. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 37(2), pp. 61-76.
- Hussain, N. A. & Rose, L. E., 1988. *Pakistan-US Relations: Social, Political and Economic Factors*. Berkely: Institute of East Indian Asian Studies University of California.
- Hussain, T., 2005. *US-Pakistan Engagement: The War on Terrorism and Beyond*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace.
- Idris, M., 2018. *FATF finally decides to put Pakistan on grey list after China, Saudi Arabia withdraw support for Pakistan: reports*, Paris: Daily Pakistan.
- Imtiaz, H., 2012. *US congressman tables bill for Baloch right to independence*, Washington: The Express Tribune.

Indian Express, 2016. *Pakistan May Use F-16 Fighter Jets Against India, Aay US Lawmakers*, Washington: The Indian Express.

Iqbal(a), A., 2017. *America Urges Pakistan to Prove Responsible Steward of Nukes*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal(b), A., 2016. *Pakistan Friend or Foe, Asks US Congress Panel*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal(c), A., 2006. *US 'Aware' of New N-Plant: Powerful Nuclear Reactor Coming Up In Khushab: ISIS Report*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal(d), A., 2016. *F-16 sale delayed in US Congress*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal(e), A., 2017. *CPEC passes through disputed territory: US*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal(f), A., 2018. *FATF begins today review of move to put Pakistan on grey-list*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal(g), A., 2016. *Pakistan looks for US lobbyist amid diplomatic challenges*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal, A., 2006. *US 'Aware' of New N-Plant: Powerful Nuclear Reactor Coming Up In Khushab: ISIS Report*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal, A., 2016. *F-16 sale delayed in US Congress*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal, A., 2016. *Pakistan Friend or Foe, Asks US Congress Panel*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal, A., 2017. *America Urges Pakistan to Prove Responsible Steward of Nukes*, Washington: Dawn.

Iqbal, N., 2016. *Naseem Calls for International Lobbying to Improve Country's Image*, Islamabad: Dawn.

Irfan, M., 2018. *How India convinced China to vote against Pakistan in FATF*, Islamabad: Daily Pakistan.

IRS, 2017. *Direct and Grass Roots Lobbying Defined*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/direct-and-grass-roots-lobbying-defined>

[Accessed 01 02 2018].

- Itkowitz, C., 2014. *Which Foreign Countries Spent the Most to Influence US Politics?*, Washington: The Washington Post.
- Itkowitz, C., 2014. *Which Foreign Countries Spent the Most to Influence US Politics?*, s.l.: The Washington Post.
- Jacobson, S., 2017. *White Helmets Attacked by Russian-aligned Online Campaign*, MENA: The National.
- Jamil, M., 2016. *Propaganda Blitz Against Pakistan*, Lahore: National Herald Tribune.
- Jamil, M., n.d. *Propaganda Blitz Against Pakistan*, s.l.: National Herald Tribune.
- Javaid, U. & Sahrai, N., 2016. Conflict Management Between Pakistan and India: Challenges and Failures. *South Asian Studies*, 31(1), pp. 245-256.
- Jenkins, R. D., 2013. *The Thin Line Between Propaganda and Persuasion*. Southern Illinois: OpenSIUC.
- Jenkins, R. D., 2013. *The Thin Line Between Propaganda and Persuasion*. s.l.:OpenSIUC.
- Jone, E. M., 2017. *Trump Move on Jerusalem Al-Quds Desperate Attempt to Remain in Office*, US: PressTV.
- Joshi, P., 2017. *Will India's Lobbying Change U.S. Policy Toward Pakistan?*, Delhi: The Diplomat.
- Joshi, P., 2017. *Will India's Lobbying Change U.S. Policy Toward Pakistan?*, s.l.: The Diplomat.
- Jowett, G. S. & O'Donnell, V., 1999. *Propaganda and Persuasion*. 3rd ed. ed. Thousand Oaks(California): SAGE.
- Jr., J. S. N., 1990. *Soft Power*, Washington: Washingtonpost.Newsweek Interactive, LLC.
- Kamdar, M., 2007. *Forget the Israel Lobby. The Hill's Next Big Player Is Made in India.*, New York: Washington Post.
- Kamdar, M., 2007. *Forget the Israel Lobby. The Hill's Next Big Player Is Made in India.*, s.l.: Washington Post.

- Keck, Z., 2017. *Pakistan Says It's Ready to Use Nuclear Weapons—Should India Worry?*, Asia: The National Interest.
- Khan, M. I., 2015. *Pakistan-US relations: What issues does Pakistan's military face?*, Islamabad: BBC.
- Kheli, S. T., 1982. *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of An Influence Relationship*. New York: Praeger.
- Kimani, M., 2007. *RTLM: The Medium that Became a Tool for Mass Murder*. London: Pluto Press.
- Kinzer, S., 2016. *Frustrating the War Lobby*, Washington: Bostong Globe.
- Kinzer, S., 2016. *Frustrating the War Lobby*, s.l.: Bostong Globe.
- Kissinger, H., 1979. *The White House Years*. London: Weidenfeld.
- Klaehn, J., 2009. The Propaganda Model: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 6(2), pp. 43-58.
- Kounalakis, M., 2017. *American Companies are Funding The Kremlin's Info War Against Us.*, Budapest: Ccentre Daily Times.
- Kounalakis, M., 2017. *American Companies are Funding The Kremlin's Info War Against Us.*, s.l.: Ccentre Daily Times.
- Krsmanovic, D., 2013. *A Guidebook on Lobbying*. Beograd: Konard Adenauer Foundation.
- Kux, D., 2001. *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies (The Adst-Dacor Diplomats and Diplomacy Series)*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kux, D., 2001. *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies (The Adst-Dacor Diplomats and Diplomacy Series)*. s.l.:Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lakshman, N., 2016. *Buying influence in Washington*, Delhi: The Hindu.
- Lakshman, N., 2016. *Buying influence in Washington*, s.l.: The Hindu.

LaPira, T. & III, H. F. T., 2017. *Revolving Door Lobbying*. [Online]
Available at: <https://kansaspres.ku.edu/978-0-7006-2450-8.html>
[Accessed 31 03 2018].

LaPira, T. M. & Thomas, H. F., 2017. *Revolving Door Lobbying: Public Service, Private Influence, and The Unequal Representation of Interests*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas.

Lattier, D., 2015. *8 Frightening Characteristics of Propaganda*. [Online]
Available at: <https://popularresistance.org/8-frightening-characteristics-of-propaganda/>

Lewis, A., 2015. *200 Retired US Generals Lobby Congress to Reject Iran Deal*, Online: The Time of Israel.

Lewis, A., 2015. *200 Retired US Generals Lobby Congress to Reject Iran Deal*, s.l.: The Time of Israel.

Lindley, F., 1962. *Propaganda*. London: Oxford University Press.

Lindley, F., 1962. *Propaganda*. s.l.:Oxford University Press.

Lobbyit, 2016. *Advocacy VS. Lobbying: Understanding The Difference*. [Online]
Available at: <http://lobbyit.com/advocacy-vs-lobbying-understanding-difference/>
[Accessed 01 02 2018].

Logan, B., 2018. *Trump Administration Declines to Impose New Sanctions on Russia Hours After the Kremlin Accused the US of Meddling in its Election*, Washington: Business Insider.

Logan, B., 2018. *Trump Administration Declines to Impose New Sanctions on Russia Hours After the Kremlin Accused the US of Meddling in its Election*, s.l.: Business Insider.

Lucas, S., 2017. *Who are the Famous White Helmets of Syria, and Why is There Controversy Surrounding Their Work?*, Birmingham: SBS News.

Luechinger, S. & Moser, C., 2012. *The Value of the Revolving Door: Political Appointees and the Stock Market*, s.l.: Vox CEPR's Policy Portal.

Luechinger, S. & Moser, C., 2014. The Value of the Revolving Door: Political Appointees and the Stock Market. *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 119, pp. 93-107.

- Mahoney, C., 2009. *Why Lobbying in America is Different*, European Voice: Politico.
- Malik, A. R., 2017. *Trump is grossly misled on Pakistan, here it is how?*, Kashmir: Kashmir Valley.
- Malik, A. R., 2017. *Trump is grossly misled on Pakistan, here it is how?*, s.l.: Kashmir Valley.
- Malik, A. R., 2018. *India misleading US on why it is failing in Afghanistan*, Islamabad: Asia Times.
- Malik, A. R., 2018. *India misleading US on why it is failing in Afghanistan*, s.l.: Asia Times.
- Malik, M. Z., 2016. *Pakistan moves to hire Washington lobbyists amid strained U.S. ties*, Islamabad: Reuters.
- Mansoor, A., 2013. *Amnesty International's Propaganda Against Pakistan*, Online: Global Research.
- Mansoor, A., 2013. *Amnesty International's Propaganda Against Pakistan*, s.l.: Global Research.
- Markova, I., 2008. Persuasion and Propaganda. *SAGE*, pp. 37-51.
- Marlin, R. R. A., 1989. Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion. *International Journal of Moral and Social Studies*, Issue 4, pp. 37-72.
- Marlow, L. & Kay, C., 2017. *Pressure on Pakistan's 'University of Jihad' to Preach Peace*, Kabul: Bloomber Politics.
- Marlow, L. & Kay, C., 2017. *Pressure on Pakistan's 'University of Jihad' to Preach Peace*, s.l.: Bloomber Politics.
- Marsili, M., 2015. *Propaganda and International Relations: An Outlook in Wartime*, Minas Gerais: UFVJM.
- Martin, J. L., 1958. *International Propaganda: Its Legal and Diplomatic Control (Minnesota Archive Editions)*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Masood, T., 2017. *Is mending relations with the US possible?*, Islamabad: The Express Tribune.

Masood, T., 2017. *Is mending relations with the US possible?*, s.l.: The Express Tribune.

Masood, Y., 2016. *Standing Up To India*, Islamabad: The Express Tribune.

Masood, Y., 2016. *Standing Up To India*, s.l.: The Express Tribune.

Masters, J., 2017. *Russia, Trump, and the 2016 U.S. Election*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Masters, J., 2017. *Russia, Trump, and the 2016 U.S. Election*, s.l.: Council on Foreign Relations.

McCain, C., 2015. *Charles McCain*. [Online]

Available at: <http://charlesmccain.com/2015/07/signal-the-life-magazine-of-nazi-germany-2/>
[Accessed 30 01 2018].

McCain, C., n.d. *Charles McCain*. [Online]

Available at: <http://charlesmccain.com/2015/07/signal-the-life-magazine-of-nazi-germany-2/>
[Accessed 30 01 2018].

McCarthy, T. & Laughland, O., 2017. *Trump Travel Ban: Supreme Court Allows Enforcement as Appeals Proceed*, New York: The Guardian.

Mearsheimer, J. J. & Walt(a), S. M., 2007. *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*. New York: Amnesty International Publications.

Mearsheimer, J. J. & Walt(b), S. M., 2006. The War Over Israel's Influence. *Foreign Policy*, pp. 56-66.

Mearsheimer, J. J. & Walt(b), S. M., 2006. *The War Over Israel's Influence*, s.l.: FP Roundtable.

Mearsheimer, J. J. & Walt, S. M., 2007. *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*. New York: Amnesty International Publications.

Meissner, R., 2015. Interest Groups, Water Politics and Governance. *Springer Briefs in Environmental Science*, 5(2).

Meyer, S. L., 1976. *Signal: Hitler's Wartime Picture Magazine*. London: Bison Publishing Company.

Mindock, C., 2017. *Trump's Travel Ban on Six Muslim Majority Countries to be Fully Enacted After Supreme Court Ruling*, New York: Independent.

Mir, H., 2018. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US* [Interview] (10 04 2018).

Mohammed, A. & Landay, J., 2018. *US Suspends At Least \$900 Million in Security Aid to Pakistan*, Washington: Reuters.

Monnoo, D. K., 2018. *Why is India Winning the Perception War?*, Online: The Nation.

Monnoo, D. K., 2018. *Why is India Winning the Perception War?*, s.l.: The Nation.

MP, 2014. *Influential Baloch Lobbying in USA Decides to Support Pakistan as Federation*, Balochistan: Media Point.

MP, 2014. *Influential Baloch Lobbying in USA Decides to Support Pakistan as Federation*, s.l.: Media Point.

Mullen, A. & Klaehn, J., 2010. The Herman-Chomsky Propaganda Model: A Critical Approach to Analysing Mass Media Behavior. *Sociology Compass*, 4(4), pp. 215-229.

Mustafa, M. Q., 2018. *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Programme: Criticism, Propaganda and Response*. [Online]
Available at: <http://issi.org.pk/pakistans-nuclear-weapons-programme-criticism-propaganda-and-response/>
[Accessed 16 02 2018].

Nation(b), 2018. *Kashmir fighting escalates between India, Pakistan*, Kashmir: The Nation.

Nation(b), 2018. *Kashmir fighting escalates between India, Pakistan*, s.l.: The Nation.

Nation, 2018. *Kashmir bloodshed: Why India not on 'watch list', Pakistan asks US*, Islamabad: The Nation.

ND, 2016. *Islamabad Slams Delhi's Bid to Raise Balochistan Issue at UN*, Balochistan: The Express Tribune.

NDTV, 2016. *David Headley Testimony: Declare Pakistan 'Terrorist State', Demands BJP*, Allahabad: NDTV.

Nownes(a), A. J., 2006. *Total Lobbying: What Lobbyists Want (and How They Try to Get it)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nownes(b), A. J., 2013. *Interest Groups in American Politics: Pressure and Power*. 2nd ed. Abington: Routledge.

Nownes, A. J., 2006. *Total Lobbying: What Lobbyists Want (and How They Try to Get it)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nownes, A. J., 2013. *Interest Groups in American Politics: Pressure and Power*. 2nd ed. Abington: Routledge.

Pakistan Today, 2016. *Zardari lobbying in US for F-16s, drone technology to Pakistan*, Islamabad/Washington: Pakistan Today.

Pakistan Today, 2016. *Zardari lobbying in US for F-16s, drone technology to Pakistan*, s.l.: Pakistan Today.

Pant, H. V., 2016. *The Important Difference in the US-India and US-Pakistan Relationships*, Delhi: The Diplomat.

Pant, H. V., 2016. *The Important Difference in the US-India and US-Pakistan Relationships*, s.l.: The Diplomat.

Parthasarathy, G., 2015. *Pakistan's Islamic bomb*, Delhi: Tribune India.

Parthasarathy, G., 2015. *Pakistan's Islamic bomb*, s.l.: Tribune India.

Parthasarathy, G., 2017. *Why Us Won't Declare Pakistan a 'Terrorist State'*, India: Rediff News.

Parthasarathy, G., 2017. *Why Us Won't Declare Pakistan a 'Terrorist State'*, s.l.: Rediff News.

Pollin, R., 2012. *Will Military Budget Cuts Weaken Defense and Lost Jobs?*, Massachusetts: The Real News.

Pollin, R., 2012. *Will Military Budget Cuts Weaken Defense and Lost Jobs?*, s.l.: The Real News.

Powell, J. T., 1982. Towards a Negotiable Definition of Propaganda for International Agreements Related to Direct Broadcast Satellites. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 45(1).

PTI(a), 2018. *Pakistan developing new types of nuclear weapons: US*, Washington: Times of India.

PTI(b), 2017. *US Worried Pakistan's Nuclear-Weapons could land up in terrorists hands: Official*, Washington: Economic Times.

PTI(c), 2017. *US Lawmaker Introduces Bill to Declare Pakistan 'State Sponsor of Terrorism'*, Washington: The Hindu.

PTI(d), 2009. *Indian Americans to Lobby Against Pakistan*, India: Rediff.

PTI(e), 2009. *Indian Americans to Lobby Against Pakistan*, s.l.: Rediff.

PTI(e), 2017. *CPEC Will Aggravate India-Pakistan Tension: US Think Tank*, Washington: Times of India.

PTI(f), 2017. *CPEC Will Aggravate India-Pakistan Tension: US Think Tank*, Washington: Times of India.

PTI, 2017. *Pakistan Army Rejects Claim that Indian Commandos Carried Out Cross-Border Raid*, Islamabad: The New Indian Express.

PTI, 2017. *US Lawmaker Introduces Bill to Declare Pakistan 'State Sponsor of Terrorism'*, Washington: The Hindu.

PTI, 2017. *US Worried Pakistan's Nuclear-Weapons could land up in terrorists hands: Official*, Washington: Economic Times.

PTI, 2018. *Pakistan developing new types of nuclear weapons: US*, Washington: Times of India.

Qayyum, Z., 2018. *Escalating border tensions: India's policy objectives*, Islamabad: The Express Tribune.

Qayyum, Z., 2018. *Escalating border tensions: India's policy objectives*, s.l.: The Express Tribune.

Raffa, T., 2000. Advocacy and Lobbying Without Fear: What is Allowed within a 501(c)(3) Charitable Organization. *The Non Profit Quarterly*, Issue 2.

Raj(a), Y., 2017. *Trump strategy calls India 'leading global power', wants Pakistan to take decisive action against terror*, Washington: Hindustan Times.

Raj(b), Y., 2016. *US Congress 'Stalls' Sale of F-16 Fighter Jets to Pakistan*, Washington: Hindustan Times.

Raja, W. K., 2016. *Media Propaganda and the Kashmir Dispute: A Case Study of the Kashmir Floods*, Norham Gardens: Michaelmas and Hilary Terms.

Raja, W. K., 2016. *Media Propaganda and the Kashmir Dispute: A Case Study of the Kashmir Floods*, s.l.: Michaelmas and Hilary Terms.

Raj, Y., 2016. *US Congress 'Stalls' Sale of F-16 Fighter Jets to Pakistan*, s.l.: Hindustan Times.

Raj, Y., 2017. *Trump strategy calls India 'leading global power', wants Pakistan to take decisive action against terror*, s.l.: Hindustan Times.

Ramani, S., 2016. *Why Russia is Interfering in the U.S. Presidential Elections*, Online: Huffington Post.

Ramani, S., 2016. *Why Russia is Interfering in the U.S. Presidential Elections*, s.l.: Huffington Post.

Rashid, A., 2015. *Viewpoint: How Peshawar massacre changed Pakistan*, Lahore: BBC.

Ravindran, P., 2002. *Corporates: Spin cannot turn them popular*, Delhi: Business Line.

Ravindran, P., 2002. *Corporates: Spin cannot turn them popular*, s.l.: Business Line.

Raza, A., 2017. *Pakistan Is A Responsible Nuclear State and The World Needs to Stop Maligning Its Efforts with Baseless Propaganda*, Islamabad: The Express Tribune.

Raza, A., 2017. *Pakistan Is A Responsible Nuclear State and The World Needs to Stop Maligning Its Efforts with Baseless Propaganda*, s.l.: The Express Tribune.

Reich(b), S., 2013. *Budget Cuts: Will American Military Power Suffer?*, New Jersey: The Conversation.

Reich(b), S., 2013. *Budget Cuts: Will American Military Power Suffer?*, s.l.: The Conversation.

Rennie, G., 2016. *The Revolving Door: Why Politicians Become Lobbyists, and Lobbyists Become Politicians*, Melbourne: The Conversation.

Rennie, G., 2016. *The Revolving Door: Why Politicians Become Lobbyists, and Lobbyists Become Politicians*, s.l.: The Conversation.

Reuters, 2013. *Netanyahu to Lobby Against Iran Nuclear Deal*, MENA: The National.

Roberts, W., 2015. *Between War and Peace: Lobbying US Congress on Iran*, Washington: Aljazeera.

Roberts, W., 2015. *Between War and Peace: Lobbying US Congress on Iran*, s.l.: Aljazeera.

Roloff, M. E. & Miller, G. R., 1980. *Persuasion: New Directions*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Rosenberg, M., 2015. *Netanyahu & The Lobby Cowboy Up for War With Iran*, Capitol Hill: Huffington Post.

Rosenberg, M., n.d. *Netanyahu & The Lobby Cowboy Up for War With Iran*, s.l.: Huffington Post.

Roychowdhury, A., 2016. *Here Is a History of India-Pakistan Conflict*, New Delhi: Indian Express.

Sadaf, M., 2017. *CPEC: Reason Behind Indian Propaganda*, Rawalpindi: Pakistan Observer.

Sadaf, M., n.d. *CPEC: Reason Behind Indian Propaganda*, s.l.: Pakistan Observer.

Saleem, M., 2017. *Spreading Islamophobia: Consequences of Negative Media Representations*, Washington: Huffington Post.

Saleem, M., 2017. *Spreading Islamophobia: Consequences of Negative Media Representations*, s.l.: Huffington Post.

Samaa, 2017. *Indian Media Starts Propaganda Against Pakistan After Arrival of Int'l Footballers*, Karachi: Samaa.

Sanghani, R., 2017. *Burka Bans: The Countries Where Muslim Women Can't Wear Veils*, Santiago: Telegraph.

Sanghani, R., 2017. *Burka Bans: The Countries Where Muslim Women Can't Wear Veils*, s.l.: Telegraph.

Sen, S. R., 2018. *Is Pakistan Using US Weapons Meant to Fight Taliban Against India? Army Thinks So*, New Delhi: India Today.

Sen, S. R., 2018. *Is Pakistan Using US Weapons Meant to Fight Taliban Against India? Army Thinks So*, s.l.: India Today.

Shafiq, M., 2017. *US Wants Indian Hegemony In South Asia: Aslam Beg*, Multan: Pakistan Point.

Shah, S. K., 2017. *India and Its Neighbours: Renewed Threats and New Directions*. Illustrated. New Delhi: Vij Books India Private Limited.

Shah, S. K., 2017. *India and Its Neighbours: Renewed Threats and New Directions*. s.l.: Vij Books India Private Limited.

Sharma, A., 2017. *How India Drowned Pakistan's Voice in America*, New Zealand: Rediff News.

Sharma, A., 2017. *How India Drowned Pakistan's Voice in America*, s.l.: Rediff News.

Shaukat(a), R., 2017. *Indian Propaganda on Balochistan*, Balochistan: Pakistan Observer.

Shaukat(a), R., 2017. *Indian Propaganda on Balochistan*, s.l.: Pakistan Observer.

Shaukat(a), S., 2018. *Book: Propaganda Against Pakistan's 'Nukes' Continues*, Online: Readers Supported News.

Shaukat(b), R., 2017. *BLF Intimidating Local Media*, Lahore: Pakistan Observer.

Shaukat(b), R., n.d. *BLF Intimidating Local Media*, s.l.: Pakistan Observer.

Shaukat(b), S., 2017. *India Influences International Entities to Defame Pakistan*, Islamabad: Readers Supported News.

Shaukat(b), S., 2017. *India Influences International Entities to Defame Pakistan*, s.l.: Readers Supported News.

Shaukat(c), R., 2017. *Indian Angst on Balochistan*, Balochistan: Pakistan Observer.

Shaukat(c), R., n.d. *Indian Angst on Balochistan*, s.l.: Pakistan Observer.

Shaukat, S., 2018. *Book: Propaganda Against Pakistan's 'Nukes' Continues*, s.l.: Readers Supported News.

Sheikh, M., 2016. *India's Recent Baloch Obsession*, Lahore: Pakistan Today.

Sheikh, M., 2016. *India's Recent Baloch Obsession*, s.l.: Pakistan Today.

Shen, S., 2011. *Pakistan's K — as in Kashmir — Street*, Washington: Foreign Policy in Focus.

Shen, S., 2011. *Pakistan's K — as in Kashmir — Street*, s.l.: Foreign Policy in Focus.

Siddiqui, N., 2017. *Pakistan's UN Representative Asks Swiss Authorities To Take Action Against 'Free Balochistan' Posters*, Islamabad: Dawn.

Siddiqui, N., 2017. *Pakistan's UN Representative Asks Swiss Authorities To Take Action Against 'Free Balochistan' Posters*, s.l.: Dawn.

Simons, H. W., Morreale, J. & Gronbeck, B., 2001. *Persuasion in Society*. London: International Educational and Professional Publisher.

Sindhu, H. A., 2017. *US comes out publicly against CPEC for the first time, says it passes through 'disputed territory'*, Washington: Daily Pakistan.

Smith, G. F., 2017. *The Israel Lobby's Role in US Recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's Capital*, Israel/Palestine: MPN News.

Smith, R., 2003. *The Impact of Hate Media in Rwanda*, Online: BBC.

Soherwordi, S. H. S., 2010. US Foreign Policy Shift Towards Pakistan Between 1965 & 1971 Pak-India Wars. *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 25(1), pp. 21-37.

Solon, O., 2017. *How Syria's White Helmets Became Victims of an Online Propaganda Machine*, World: The Guardian.

Solon, O., 2017. *How Syria's White Helmets Became Victims of an Online Propaganda Machine*, World: The Guardian.

Solon, O. & Siddiqui, S., 2017. *Russia-backed Facebook Posts 'Reached 126m Americans' During US Election*, San Francisco and Washington: The Guardian.

Sproule, J. M., 1994. *Channels of Propaganda*, Bloomington: ERIC and EDINFO.

Stein, S., 2010. *Top Defense Contractors Spent \$27 Million Lobbying at Time of Afghan Surge Announcement*, Online: Huffington Post.

Stein, S., 2010. *Top Defense Contractors Spent \$27 Million Lobbying at Time of Afghan Surge Announcement*, s.l.: Huffington Post.

Stiff, J. B. & Mongeau, P. A., 2016. *Persuasive Communication*. 3rd ed. New York: The Guilford Press.

Stiglitz, J., 2003. *The Myth of the War Economy*, Iraq: The Guardian.

Stout, M. J., 2011. *The Effectiveness of Nazi Propaganda During Worl War II*. Michigan: DigitalCommons.

Straus, S., 2007. What is the Relationship Between Hate Radio and Violence? Rethinking Rwanda's 'Radio Machete'. *Politics and Society*, 35(4), pp. 609-637.

Sunawar, L. & Coutto, T., 2015. US Pakistan Relations During Cold War. *The Journal of International Relations, Peace Studies and Development*, 1(1).

Szanto, G. H., 1978. *Theatre and Propaganda*. Texas: University of Texas Press.

Tau, B. & Ballhaus, R., 2017. *Trump Hotel Received \$270,000 From Lobbying Campaign Tied to Saudis*, Washington: The Wall Street Journal.

Terry, J. J., 2005. *US Foreign Policy in The Middle East: The Role of Lobbies and Special Interest Groups*. London: Pluto Books.

TET, 2014. *In Solidarity With Armed Forces: Defaming Army Means Defaming Pakistan, Says Shujaat*, Karachi / Lahore: The Express Tribune.

The Hindu, 2017. *We can't declare Pakistan a terror state: Centre*, New Delhi: The Hindu.

The News, 2018. *US issues new travel advisory to its citizens for Pakistan, India*, Washington: The News.

TNN, 2018. *Trouble for Islamabad as Financial Action Task Force decides to put Pakistan on grey list for terror financing*, Islamabad: Times Now News.

TRD, 2014. *Analysis of Media Using Westley and Maclean's Model*. [Online]

Available at: <https://jojosergio.wordpress.com/2014/03/14/analysis-of-media-using-westley-and-macleans-model/>

[Accessed 30 01 2018].

Tribune, 2017. *Pakistan, China Snub US Objection Over CPEC Project*, Islamabad: Tribune.

TSC, 2014. *Killing the Truth - How Russia Is Fuelling a Disinformation Campaign to Cover Up War Crimes in Syria*. [Online]

Available at: <https://diary.thesyriacampaign.org/killing-the-truth/>

Turley, J., 2014. *Big Money Behind War: The Military Industrial Complex*, Washington: Aljazeera.

Turley, J., 2014. *Big Money Behind War: The Military Industrial Complex*, s.l.: Aljazeera.

TWS, 2016. *Pakistan 'A Terrorist State', India Tells UN in Reply to Sharif's Speech*, Delhi: The Wire.

TWS, 2016. *Pakistan 'A Terrorist State', India Tells UN in Reply to Sharif's Speech*, s.l.: The Wire.

Uttaro, R. A., 1982. The Voices of America in International Radio Propaganda. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 45(4).

Verwimp, P., 2003. *An Economic Profile of Peasant Perpetrators of Genocide: Micro-level Evidence from Rwanda*, Yale: Scientific Research.

- Vidal, J. B. i., Draca, M. & Fons-Rosen, C., 2012. Revolving Door Lobbyists. *American Economic Review*, 102(7), pp. 3731-3748.
- VOA, 2018. *'Tempestuous' Defines US-Pakistan Alliance*, Asia: VOA News.
- Waggoner, W. H., 1985. *Discussed in Radio, Television and Society*, New York: New York Times.
- Walton, D., 1997. What is Propaganda, and What Exactly Is Wrong With It?. *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 11(4), pp. 383-413.
- Weber, M., 2017. *US Corporations Lobby Against Anti-Russia Sanctions*, s.l.: Global Look Press.
- Westley, B. H. & MacLean, M. S., 1957. A Conceptual Model for Communication Research. *Journalism Quarterly*, pp. 31-38.
- White, J. B., 2017. *Facebook Says 126 Million Americans May Have Been Exposed to Russia-linked US Election Posts*, San Francisco: Independent.
- Whitton, J. B., 2017. Cold War Propaganda. *American Journal of International Law*, 45(1), pp. 151-153.
- Whitton, J. B., n.d. *Cold War Propaganda*. s.l.:The American Journal of International Law.
- Wilkinson, I., 2009. *Lack of trust undermines US-Pakistan partnership*, Islamabad: The National.
- Wilson, M. R., 2017. *Lobby Firm Registers as Foreign Agent for Saudi Group*, Washington: The Hill.
- Wilson, M. R., 2017. *Lobby Firm Registers as Foreign Agent for Saudi Group*, s.l.: The Hill.
- Wong, C., 2006. *Lobbying for Inclusion: Rights, Politics and the Making of Immigration Policy*. California: Stanford University Press.
- WTP, 2018. *Pakistan doesn't figure in FATF watchlist: Indian Media propaganda exposed*, Islamabad/Paris: World Tribune Pakistan.

WWCC, 2014. *Lobbying Definitions*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.wwcc.edu/extended-learning/wp-content/uploads/sites/35/2017/02/9-27-16-lobbying-expenditures-test-pages.pdf>

[Accessed 01 02 2018].

Yanagizawa-Drott, D., 2012. *Propaganda and Conflict: Theory and Evidence from Rwanda Genocide*, Cambridge: Harvard University.

Yanagizawa-Drott, D., 2012. *Propaganda and Conflict: Theory and Evidence from Rwanda Genocide*, s.l.: Harvard University.

Yousaf, K., 2017. *Those Who Wish to Isolate Us Should See Pakistan Globally Honoured: Gen Qamar*, Islamabad: The Express Tribune.

Zetter, L., 2008. *Lobbying: The Art of Political Persuasion*. Hampshire: Harriman House Limited.

Zia, L., 2014. *Pakistan's Representation on the Hill*, Washington, DC: The Express Tribune.

Zoller, A., 2002-2010. *Signal*. [Online]

Available at: <http://www.signalmagazine.com/signal.htm>

[Accessed 30 01 2018].

Primary Data Reference

Ali, Imran (2018) Director, Common Training Program. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author, 10 April. Personal Communication.

Ali, Tahir (2018) Executive Director Operations, USAID. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 10 April. Personal Communication.

Asfandyar, M. (2018) Assistant Director, MOFA. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 10 April. Personal Communication.

Kamran, M. (2018) Assistant Director, MOFA. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 11 April. Personal Communication.

Mir, Hamid (2018) News Anchor and Investigative Journalist, Mass Communication. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author, 14 April. Personal Communication.

Munim, Atta Ul (2018) Director General, Economic Coordination and Organization of Islamic Cooperation Division. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author, 12 April. Personal Communication.

Nazir, Abid (2018) Secretary, Ministry of Defense. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 15 April. Personal Communication.

Quddus, Arshad (2018) Air Vice Marsha, PAF. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 12 April. Personal Communication.

Raza, Arsalan (2018) Assistant Director, MOFA. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 10 April. Personal Communication.

Razzaq, A. (2018) Assistant Director, MOFA. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 10 April. Personal Communication.

Rehman, Rana Abdur (2018) Assistant Commissioner, MOFA. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 10 April. Personal Communication.

Yasir, M. (2018) Assistant Director, MOFA. *International Conflict and Propaganda: Pakistan and Indian Lobbying Efforts in the US*. Interview with the author. 10 April. Personal Communication.

Annexure – Primary Data Collection Tool

Name: _____ Designation: _____ Department: _____

Question 1: How do you think that Indian lobbying efforts in the US against Pakistan are a means to promote Indian propaganda?

Question No. 2: Is there a specific instance that comes to your mind in this regard?

Question No. 3: How successfully has Pakistan been able to do the same or counter Indian Propaganda through lobbying?

Question No. 4: Can you give an example on this too?