

# CPEC and Counter-Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis of Urdu and English Print Media Coverage Regarding Military Contribution

# Shafayat Ali<sup>1</sup>, Arfan Latif<sup>2</sup>, Muhammad Salman<sup>3</sup>

### Abstract

Pakistan China Economic Corridor is an expansion of Maritime Silk Road under One Belt, One Road Initiative. This deliberate development program has engaged the participants at global level. Pakistan Army has a notable contribution in nation building projects of CPEC. Media has focused multiple dimensions of this bilateral Integration. The research has comprehended that how Pakistani print media perceive and portray the terrorism factor that is affecting sovereignty of CPEC and the contribution of Pakistan Military towards CPEC. English (Daily Dawn and The news) and Urdu (Jang and Nawa-e-waqt) newspaper's editorial coverage has analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively to find out the stance of print media from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> June 2016. Agenda Setting Theory has supported the theoretical perspective and Urdu newspapers collectively gave more positive coverage to the terrorism factor and military contribution towards CPEC.

Keywords: CPEC, Terrorism, content Analysis

### 1. Introduction

Higher than Himalayas Pakistan-China friendship preceded through 21<sup>st</sup> century Maritime Silk Road that is also called One Belt, One road initiative. China-Pak Economic Corridor has a vigorous potential for regional development and integration of civilizations. Both countries share a long history of eternal friendship since 1951. Military intervention started in 1966 between both countries and followed by economic collaboration in1979. Under the umbrella of these interventions CPEC was proposed by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang during his visit to Pakistan in May 2013.

In 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping uncovered a standout amongst the most critical framework development undertakings of the mankind's history, which was first named as One Belt One Road and after that the Belt and Road Initiative. As one of the six mainstays of the Belt Road Initiative, the CPEC is the paw of both China and Pakistan in reconfiguring geo-monetary cum political substances. The curious quality of the CEPC is its crossing point between the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road and the land-based Silk Road Economic Belt. Its aggregate length is roughly 3000 km spreading over from Pakistan's Gwadar port to Kashghar in northwestern China's Xinjiang Uygur self-ruling district (Iqbal, 2017).

The \$55 billion arranged ventures extend from a remote ocean port at Gwadar to up gradation of Karakorum Highway, 1240 km long Karachi-Lahore motorway, commercial sea lanes and other infrastructure under CPEC. After the approval of this mega project China gave a strategically development plan which includes solar, coal and hydroelectric power projects, fiber optic cable network, metro and bus services in major cities.

Pakistan faced security concerns on the major three routes of CPEC. Western, Eastern and Central route cover a big area of Balochistan and Khaiber pakhtonkhwa. The government of Pakistan and Army remained on same page to eradicate the terrorism identities from the major routes of CPEC to make it a safe trade path. Pakistan Army has a long history of war against terrorism for the safety of motherland.

Pakistan military has a very strong and clear agenda to fight against terrorism and to maintain the sovereignty of country. The government of Pakistan has followed a strategic and continuous strategy to exterminate the local and international militants from the tribal and northern areas of Pakistan after the incident of 9/11. Operation Al-Mizan was the initiative against al-Qaeda and Taliban operatives in South Waziristan. Pakistan Army is a key ally in war on terrorism from last decade. Operation Rah-e-Haq, Sirat-e-Mustaqeem, Sher dil are the examples of contribution towards war on terror in Pakistan. In May 2009, operation Rah-e- Rast was launched to vacate the areas or Swat and Mingora and followed by number of operations like Rah-e-Nijat and Zarb-e-Azab by Pakistan military forces to eradicate the terrorist identities from Pakistan. The functional route of CPEC for trade is a victory of Pakistan military against terrorism. The routes of CPEC and their safety are monitored and controlled by Pakistan Army.

International and national media has a very keen eye on matters related to CPEC. Terrorism has been most fatal threat to CPEC. Media discourse analysis on particular matter is used to highlight the framing patterns and set agenda of mainstream press. The difference of press perspective is also gave a general understanding to the public. Mainstream media perspective also played a crucial role to handle the political and statistical aspects of particular matter in international media. This research has examined the editorial content of Pakistani print media English (Daily Dawn and The news) and Urdu (Jang and Nawa-e-waqt) dailies on terrorism factor of CPEC and contribution of Pakistan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Assistant professor Govt. graduate college of science wahdat road, Lahore, Pakistan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Assistant Professor Sociology University of Okara, Pakistan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Provincial first aid coordinator Pakistan Red Crescent, Lahore, Pakistan

military to tackle the different dimension of this matter. The stance of print media from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> June 2016 has examined that how Pakistani newspapers frame the patterns and what kind of agenda is followed in editorial content to highlight the terrorism issue and contribution of Pakistan Army under CPEC.

# 1.1. Rationale of the study

China Pak Economic Corridor as a game changer project for region has its various debatable dimensions to explore for the future research and betterment of geo-political matters for media, institutions and policy makers. CPEC has been facing various security concerns from the initial stages. Terrorism factor and security concerns have further sub divisions to tackle for the security forces and Pakistan Army. The terrorism factor and contribution of Pakistan Army in counter terrorism. The stance of army on local and international forum is very crucial to consider for the safe future of CPEC infrastructure and trade. It also fulfilled the capacity of future research and explored various aspects of media coverage about CPEC.

Media content provide a vast image and dimensions of mega project to the general public. Print media provide an overview of decisions and strategies of policy makers moreover it also reveals the agenda of institutions and establishments towards social realities. Print media especially newspapers shape the public opinion by following a certain stance and policies on social, national, political and international issues. The exploration of Newspaper coverage on terrorism factor and contribution of Pak Army in counter terrorism and national, international representation about CPEC gave the overview of set agendas of media and policy makers. The examination of newspaper editorial policy also covered the framing patterns towards the Army contribution and terrorism factor followed by media.

The News, Dawn, Daisly Jang and Nawa-e-waqt editorial policy has examined from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> June 2016. The selected newspapers have been considered as most reliable coverage holders at national level. The period of one year is the most crucial era for CPEC development in all domains. The one year period from July 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> June 2016 has a vital role in counter security matters.

# **1.2.** Objectives of the Study

- To examine the treatment of Pakistani Print Media about military contribution in terrorism factor of CPEC.
- To explore the coverage difference of English and Urdu Newspaper on military contribution in terrorism factor of CPEC.

# 2. Literature Review

Ibrar et al. (2016) explored the security challenges faced by CPEC. Pakistan has faced internal and external security challenges for the security of CPEC. Talibanisation in western parts of the country and FATA, separate insurgency in balochistan, religious extremism and Indian involvement in form of RAW and Chabahar port construction are the internal challenges that have been faced and tackled by Pakistan military forces. Special Security Division (SSD) force based on 10,000 members has been working effectively in targeted areas.

According to wolf (2016) civil military relations and democracy under CPEC in Pakistan fulfill the basics of 'Heidelberg Model of Civilian Control' that proposed that military share a parallel governance structure, exercising tremendous executive and judicial powers with the elected government to sustain the development process and quality of democracy in the state.

Javaid (2016) analyzed the potential threats and prospects of CPEC. Pakistan has been facing terrorism issue particularly for CPEC. Pakistan military has been working to eradicate the infrastructure of terrorism. Operation Zarb-e-Azab progressively completed against the local and international terrorism elements. East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) and Uzbek groups have been targeting Chinese employees and trade in northern areas of Pakistan. Saleem (2017) explored that terrorism is a common enemy of Pakistan and China. Brother countries shared a win-win situation to maintain the peace and stability across the borders. Pakistan has supported China in war against terrorism as China is also a victim of terrorism by East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM). The counter militancy strategy of Pakistan military in the form of Zarb-e-Azab has great contribution to the CPEC safety and terrorism free trade among the region.

Sajid (2016) has examined the gigantic measure of cash engaged with the undertaking both the legislature of Pakistan and military circles need that straightforwardness must be guaranteed at all levels. To guarantee the security of the point of interest venture Army has raised an exceptional power. More than 10, 000-armed force staff has been given uncommon preparing in such manner. Armed force Chief General Raheel Sharif himself has announced CPEC a national task and reaffirmed on number of times that CPEC would be finished at all cost.

Yamin (2016) explored China Pakistan Economic Corridor and Pakistan Army.

Riazhaq (2016) examined the role of Pakistan Army in CPEC success.

Iqbal, (2017) Analyzed the significance and security of CPEC in perspective of Pakistan.

# 3. Methods and materials

The study is based on quantitative research technique to find out the role of print media in shaping the role of military in the mega project of CPEC. In addition to that, descriptive research has used to analyze the data quantitatively and qualitatively. The analysis of the study is based on descriptive statistics and does not include the inferential statistics to find out the causative relationship.

# 3.1. Content Analysis

The study is based on quantitative and qualitative approach under content analysis to document the content of written communication. Quantitative content analysis focused on structured and systematic interpretation of communication messages. The purpose of this study is to reveal the covert meaning of the information or communication message. As compare to quantitative approach qualitative content analysis focused on the explanation of patterns and meanings of information.

- All published editorial and editorial notes on China-Pak Economic Corridor in selected newspapers The News, Dawn, Daily Jang and Nwa-e-Waqt are the population of study.
- Purposive sampling technique has been used to summarize the relevant data of editorials and editorial notes as it works for the specific domains of the data.
- Editorial and Editorial notes published in selected time period under relevant domain are the unit of analysis of the study as it depends on the type of the content under analysis.
- The duration of the study is 1 year from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> June 2016.

# 3.2. Categories

The following categories have concentrated to explore in the research.

A: Terrorism activities related to CPEC

B: Military Contribution in counter terrorism for CPEC Safety

# **3.3.** Dominant Frames/ Directions of the content

# 3.3.1. Positive/favorable/Supportive

The story has coded as positive if it has defended and promote the efforts and policies against terrorism and appreciate the military contribution in China-Pak Economic Corridor.

### 3.3.2. Negative/Unfavorable/Unsupportive

The story has coded as positive if it has confronted and negate the efforts and policies against terrorism and did not appreciate the military contribution in China-Pak Economic Corridor.

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# 3.3.3. Neutral

The story has coded as neutral if it has neither focused on promotional aspects nor confront aspects.

### 4. Results and Interpretation

The results of Analyzed data are followed as;

Table 1: Newspapers Portrayal on Terrorism activities related to CPEC								
		Count	A: Terrorisi	A: Terrorism activities related to CPEC				
		% of Total						
			positive	negative	neutral			
Newspapers	Dawn	Count	1	1	0	2		
		% of Total	3.44%	3.44%	.0%	6.89%		
	The News	Count	2	2	1	5		
		% of Total	6.89%	6.89%	3.44%	17.24%		
	Daily Jang	Count	3	3	2	8		
		% of Total	10.34%	10.34%	6.89%	27.58%		
	Nawa-e-waqt	Count	7	4	3	14		
	-	% of Total	24.13%	13.79%	10.34%	48.27%		
Total		Count	13	10	6	29		
		% of Total	44.82%	34.48%	20.68%	100.0%		

### 4.1. Interpretation

Pakistani mainstream print media newspapers have published 29 editorial and editorial notes on terrorism activities related to CPEC. The positive coverage that supports the policies against terrorism is 44.82% with 13 articles. The negative coverage that challenged and questioned the policies against terrorism activities is 34.48% with 10 articles and the neutral coverage is 20.68% with six articles.

			B: Militar	Total		
			Terro positive			
Newspapers	Dawn	Count	2	1	1	4
		% of Total	10.52%	5.26%	.5.26%	21.05%
	The News	Count	1	1	0	2
		% of Total	5.26%	5.26%	0%	10.52%
	Daily Jang	Count	8	0	1	9
		% of Total	42.10%	0%	5.26%	47.36%
	Nawa-e-waqt	Count	4	0	0	4
	-	% of Total	21.05%	0%	0%	21.05%
Total		Count	15	2	2	19
		% of Total	78.94%	10.52%	10.52%	100.0%

Table 2: Newspaper	s Portraval on Mili	tary Contribution for CPEC Safety
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### 4.2. Interpretation

Pakistani mainstream print media newspapers have published 19 editorial and editorial notes on military contribution in counter terrorism for CPEC safety. The positive coverage that supports the policies against terrorism is 78.94% with 15 articles. The negative coverage that challenged and questioned the policies against terrorism activities is 10.52% with 2 articles and the neutral coverage is 10.52% with 2 articles.

Table 3: Comparison of Urdu and English Newspapers	Coverage on Terrorism activities related to CPEC
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-	*		A: Terrorisr	Total		
			Positive	negative	neutral	
N1	English Newspaper	Count	3	3	1	7
		% of Total	10.34%	10.4%	.0%	24.13%
	Urdu Newspaper	Count	10	7	5	22
		% of Total	34.48%	24.13%	17.24%	75.86%
Total		Count	13	10	6	29
		% of Total	44.82%	34.48%	20.68%	100.0%

#### 4.3. Interpretation

The print media has covered terrorism activities related to CPEC with 29 articles.

English print media has published 07 editorial and editorial notes with 03 positive articles, 3 negative and 01 neutral articles on terrorism activities related to CPEC. Urdu newspapers have published 22 editorial and editorial notes with 10 positive, 07 negative and 05 neutral articles on terrorism activities related to CPEC.

# 4.4. Interpretation

The print media has covered Military Contribution in Counter Terrorism for CPEC safety with 19 articles. English print media has published 06 editorial and editorial notes with 03 positive articles, 02 negative and 01 neutral articles on Military Contribution in Counter Terrorism for CPEC. Urdu newspapers have published 13 editorial and editorial notes with 12 positive, 0 zero negative and 01 neutral articles on Military Contribution in Counter Terrorism for CPEC safety.

			B: Military Contribution in Counter Total Terrorism for CPEC			
			Positive	negative	neutral	
N1	English Newspaper	Count	3	2	1	6
		% of Total	15.78%	10.52%	.5.26%	31.57%
	Urdu Newspaper	Count	12	0	1	13
		% of Total	63.15%	0%	5.26%	68.42%
Total		Count	15	2	2	19
		% of Total	78.94%	10.52%	10.52%	100.0%

#### Table 4: Comparison of Urdu and English Newspapers Coverage on Military Contribution for CPEC Safety

#### 5. Discussion and findings

The elite press of Pakistan Daily Dawn, The News, Daily Jang and Nawa-e-waqt editorial policy have given a broader understanding of agenda's and framing patterns that have influenced the content and policies of elite press towards terrorism factor and military contribution for China Pakistan Economic Corridor. Urdu press editorial policy has followed a focused agenda on terrorism and military contribution. The framing patterns in language and coverage quantity gave positive directions to the coverage.

The editorial policy of English and Urdu newspapers has very diversification from the overall coverage of newspapers towards the CPEC security concerns and role of Pakistan Army. The editorial coverage of English and Urdu press is concise and cautious towards the contribution of Pakistan Army. English newspapers editorial policy has based on the positive frames towards the contribution of Pakistan Army in security concerns of CPEC. There are only 2 editorials with negative coverage on military contribution. The wording of editorial content is cautious and specific. The content clearly depicted the followed agenda by English print media.

The News coined a phrase;

"Pakistan's battle against terrorism does not then seem to have hit a definite winning streak. The operation in Karachi, which we were told was directed chiefly against terrorism under the National Action Plan agreed on by all parties early in the year, has instead hit greater and greater controversy with the centre and the Sindh provincial government now locked in open battle.(The News, 2016)."

Similarly the editorial policy of Dawn has positive frames only one editorial discussed the contribution of Security forces on CPEC in negative frame with very sensitive wording.

"Where the government is concerned — not to mention the military with its heavy footprint in Balochistan — the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been the catalyst for a different strategy: no longer is it enough to merely contain the violence in Balochistan, mostly through brute force that has led to more alienation and reprisals (Dawn, 2015)."

Urdu Print media editorial coverage has also following the diversification of coverage as compare to its other content on CPEC and military contribution on security concerns. Urdu print media has followed the positive frames and the content patterns are open and loud. Editorial coverage has positive wordings for military contributions on CPEC security concerns. Positive agenda has placed by the Urdu newspapers editorial policy.

Jang has coined a phrase;

"پاکستان کی فوجی اور سیاسی قیادت ہی نہیں ہر شعبے کے لوگ ایک صفحے پر نظر آئیں، آنے والے وقتوں کے چیلنج بڑے اور سخت ہیں جن سے نمٹنے کیلئے ہر شعبے اور ہر فرد کو چوکس ، فعال ، مستعد اور متحد رہنا ہو گا۔" (.p , 2016.09 ", آرمی چیف کا دو ٹوک پیغام")

Nawa-e-waqt has loud wording patterns. The coverage is very cautious in terms of highlighting the role of Pakistan Army.

Nawa-e-waqt has coined a phrase;

"حکومت کو )سیاسی حکومت اورسیاست دانوں کے لیے اپنے ہی آرمی چیف کا بیان لمحۃ فکریۃ ہوناچاہےکے اختلاف کو پس پشت ڈال کرمفاہمت پر توجۃ دیں۔''(فدویانہ"،۲۰۱۲

This is how the print media followed and set the agenda and framing patterns through their coverage. The print media coverage other than editorial coverage has very interesting agendas and framing patterns towards different aspects and the security concerns of CPEC. Many challenges and issues of CPEC have been discussed by Pakistani print media as Pak-China relationship share many internal and external interests.

#### 5.1. Media concerns and Future Challenges to CPEC

International and national media has various concerns about the survival of Pakistan under China-Pak Economic Corridor. CPEC has become a debate on national and international forum. Critics declared CPEC a great mess for economy of Pakistan. Similarly, The CPEC has gotten a considerable criticism within Pakistan, both from those with patriot viewpoints and from over the political range from those raising real worries about the unfavorable effects on conventional individuals. Dissents have happened in a few locales against how the CPEC is being executed by both the Pakistan government and China, with some allegedly contradicted to "Chinese imperialism".

China has been facing the state capitalism and the most fatal problem of China is unemployment and CPEC has been working as a unemployment remedy to China. The economic terms and conditions have been unseen from the local public. The Chinese advance to the Sahiwal Coal Power Project bears a loan fee of 6.21 percent (as the present one-year London Interbank Offered rate (LIBOR) is at 1.71 percent). Also incredibly, the China Export and Credit Insurance Corporation will charge a protection premium of 7 percent (despite the fact that the GoP has ensured to buy power that will be produced). Envision: the Chinese will gain 13 percent in the primary year rather than 1.13 percent on US Treasury securities (The News, 2017). These policies towards CPEC enhanced the economic concerns of analysts on national forums.

The power projects under CPEC are commercial projects as the government has received 484 million dollars loan from Chinese bank. The level of Chinese direct investment has decreased to 54% in the year 2017, but the large amount of machinery landing at the port has initiated a new story of economic balance. Pakistan has to pay back the interest in coming years and this is how the power projects will get commercialized (Dawn, 2017).

The infrastructure that has been developed under CPEC in Balochistan is only fruitful for Punjab and the Chinese government. There is no infrastructure development to generate local business in Gawadar. Water supply to the locals is the only beneficial factor of Gawadar development. Similarly with Fata and AJK, CPEC infrastructure has no plans for Fata and AJK development. There is a need to maintain and built new and old routes from AJK to connect it with CPEC (Dawn, 2016).

Water crisis in Gawader has reached to the dead end. Ankara Dam is the only water supplier to the Gawadar locals. Diamer-Bhasha Dam (in Gilgit Baltistan) and the Dasu Dam (in Khyber Pathunkwa) under CPEC have created a hope for Gawadar water crises.

Print media seems very satisfied towards security concerns of CPEC. Pakistan Armed forces completely focused the internal and external security concerns of CPEC. The Pak Navy has created a separate force comprising of Pakistan Marines for the security of Gwadar Port and Chinese work force. The name of the Force will be Force Protection Battalion (FPBn). The span of this power is liable to increment as related exercises on the port will increment. Aside from the traditional dangers, Pakistan Navy is likewise setting up its protections with respect to any unbalanced dangers to Pakistani ports and drift. It has raised an extraordinary team for the sea security of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and the Gwadar seaport. The power is known as Task Force-88.

Pakistan Army has played a main part in the foundation of the Special Security Division (SSD) for the assurance of Chinese architects, project executives, specialists and laborers utilized on different Chinese-financed extends over Pakistan. The SSD was at first arranged, in the year 2015, to have a power of 15,500 troops involving six infantry units with each brigade having three infantry units. A special security unit was also established for the Special Security Division.

Pakistan Army has contributed to change the image of Pakistan on global profile. From "Pakistan: the world's most dangerous country", the Islamist fighters, armed Islamist groups like al-Qaeda and the ethnic insurgencies in the South-Western province of Baluchistan have overcome the state (The Telegraph, 2007) to the economically stable and secure state.

Indian involvement in terrorism activities of Baluchistan by funding and training of anti-state elements against CPEC proved with the arrest of kulbhushan Yadav by Pakistan Armed Forces. Pakistani law enforcement organizations unveiled the capture of Kulbhushan Yadav, a serving officer of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), the chief intelligence office of India. Pakistan military forces asserted Yadav entered Pakistan from Iran and was captured on March 3, 2016.

Media highlights the future security challenges of CPEC. The Withdrawal of Western forces from Afghanistan, Pakistan's survival will remain a critical stress for the Western and Chinese interests in the region. Of course China is

comparatively worried over the security condition of Afghanistan that could impact the Xingjian territory which is a basic locale for the working of the CPEC. What's more, the unfriendly manner of general society of Pakistan and India could be a prevention in getting people in general help for the Indian consideration to the CPEC to make it a cross provincial move. Pakistan's inside security has upgraded subjectively after the military errand against the aggressors, yet the security ponder in Pakistan will remain a test to execute super endeavors like CPEC effortlessly. In spite of the way that a one of a kind security oblige has been molded to guarantee the CPEC and related exercises, given the porous periphery among Pakistan and Afghanistan and some troublesome domains through which the CPEC will go in Pakistan, security will remain a rotate for the accomplishment of the CPEC.

# 6. Conclusion

Pakistani print media followed the set agenda to highlight the military contribution in CPEC. A Pakistan military force is one of the most credible and reliable forces in terms of security power on National and International forums. Media set agendas and framing patterns through its coverage on military contribution. The geo-political condition of Pakistan is very crucial and sensitive to sustain and meet the future challenges of CPEC. The study explored that the policy makers focus the same agenda towards military contribution in CPEC. Print media editorial policy collectively followed and set positive agenda and framing patterns on military contribution in CPEC. On the parallel content, Print media has highlighted the crucial concerns towards CPEC. The Print media have highlighted economic concerns. Political, provincial and security concerns are also under the consideration of Print Media.

Urdu and English newspapers have different framing patterns. Urdu print media editorial policy has open and vast content in framing patterns. English print media has followed cautious and limited wording to highlight the framing Patterns. Urdu print media editorial policy has a positive stance on military contribution on CPEC. The readership of Urdu print media is public with basic understanding of National issues. English print media readership has based on critical thinkers and elites. That is how the English and Urdu print media differs in coverage.

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