

## Journal of Peace, Development and Communication



Volume 04, Issue 2, July-September 2020  
 pISSN: 2663-7898, eISSN: 2663-7901  
 Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V04-I02-24>  
 Homepage: <https://pdfpk.net/pdf/>  
 Email: [se.jpdc@pdfpk.net](mailto:se.jpdc@pdfpk.net)

<b>Article:</b>	<b>Media and Foreign Policy on Pak-Afghan Relations (1997-2005): The Role of US and Pakistani Press</b>
<b>Author(s):</b>	<i>Ashraf Iqbal, PhD</i> In-charge and Assistant Professor, Department of Mass Communication, GC University, Faisalabad
	Dr. Tanveer Hussain Assistant professor, School of Media and Communication, University of Management and Technology, Lahore
	Dr. Naeem Javed Associate professor, Department of Mass Communication, Lahore Leads University, Lahore
<b>Published:</b>	30 <sup>th</sup> September 2020
<b>Publisher Information:</b>	Journal of Peace, Development and Communication (JPDC)
<b>To Cite this Article:</b>	Iqbal, Ashraf, et al. (2020). "Media and Foreign Policy on Pak-Afghan Relations (1997-2005): The Role of US and Pakistani Press." <i>Journal of Peace, Development and Communication</i> , vol. 04, no. 02, 2020, pp. 454–477, <a href="https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V04-I02-24">https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V04-I02-24</a> .
<b>Author(s) Note:</b>	Dr. Ashraf Iqbal is serving as In-charge and Assistant Professor at Department of Mass Communication, GC University, Faisalabad Email: <a href="mailto:ashraf_zahidi@yahoo.com">ashraf_zahidi@yahoo.com</a>
	Dr. Tanveer Hussain is serving as Assistant professor at School of Media and Communication, University of Management and Technology, Lahore
	Dr. Naeem Javed is serving as Associate professor at Department of Mass Communication, Lahore Leads University, Lahore

### Abstract

The main purpose of the present research is to investigate Pak-Afghan relations in the editorials of US newspapers, The Washington Post & The New York Times and Pakistani newspapers Dawn & The News related to the following issues during the period 1997-2005; A) US as a factor in Pak-Afghan relation, B) Coverage of Islam/Muslims regarding war on terrorism, C) Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations, and D) US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations. The time period to be examined in this proposed study spans over eight years regarding the editorial coverage of Pak-Afghan relations in the US and Pakistani leading English Press. Triangulation method based on qualitative and quantitative method was used to conduct the present research. The results show that the editorial contents of USA and Pakistani newspapers were not different regarding Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11. The incident of 9/11 changed the American foreign policy towards developing and least developing nations especially Muslims states like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran etc. Pakistani press highlighted the issues regarding the Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11 as a favorable and conducive, related to Muslim/Islam regarding war on terrorism. The study suggested that instead of the focus on military resolution of the different problems, rather social bilateral negotiations should be prioritized which would be long lasting and full of mutual respects and honor.

**Keywords:** Media, Foreign Policy, Editorials, Newspapers, Relations, Contents, Pak-Afghan

## **INTRODUCTION**

Media plays a vital role to construct the social relations at national and international levels (Siraj, 2006). People are becoming aware of different happenings around the world in context of changing cultural aspects, norms and values (Karim, 2002), customs and traditions (Harvey et al., 2005), and all other perspectives (Kim, 2004) through media and technology (Halttu, 2008). It is interesting to uncover the official policies of national media regarding a particular event, issue and incident etc. (Straubhaar & Larose, 2001).

The 9/11 strikes on USA by the terrorists was a horrible incident which seems to have brought far reaching effects in the global political (Wang, 2006) and social arenas (Paul, 2004). After the strikes on USA, the quick response by the USA authorities, blamed Taliban administration of Afghanistan and ultimately “Al-Qaeda”. So, USA focused on this part of the world to deal with Taliban and Al-Qaeda (Huntington, 2002). Being immediate neighbor of Afghanistan, Pakistan had to face many hardships in this political scenario (Weaver, 2002). Furthermore, Pakistan was one of those three countries that had recognized the Taliban administration legitimate along with Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. Osama Bin-Ladin and its organization, Al-Qaeda were blamed for the carrying out these attacks (Want et al., 2004).

The incident of 9/11 was drastic one for the American people, even they didn't expect it. Even the plane of President Bush kept on flying in the Western side of the country without any destination for 10 minutes from 10:10 A.M. to 10:20 A.M. on that day. Massacre of thousands of people and complete destruction of the twin towers

of WTC, brought a great anxiety among the civilian population and particularly tremendous distress in the official arena of the USA (The 9/11 Commission Report, 2004).

The grim situation may be apprehended by the following excerpt of the editorial of The New York Times which published on September 12, 2001.

“The world would never be the same”.

It is a matter of prime importance that the 9/11 incident seems to have brought drastic changes in the global political arena in general and Pak-Afghan relations went through dramatic changes in particular (Islam, 2005). It is evident from the historical perspective that these two countries don't enjoy persistent cordial relations since the emergence of Pakistan in 1947. Although 9/11 incident seems to affect the relationship between the two countries, yet this relationship needs to be understood in the historical context (Mark, 2001). This relationship took unusual shape in 1979 when USSR attacked Afghanistan (Kim, 2004). Consequently, this invasion of USSR made conscious the two countries to act in a sane way to meet the challenges in the best possible way. In that scenario USA played an active and effective role in Pak-Afghan relations in covert and overt ways in the context of invasion of the USSR (Johnson and Mason, 2008).

In the context of historical developments that took place in Afghanistan (Nojumi, 2002) the researcher has observed that U.S. and Pakistani media have supported their respective national foreign policies regarding Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11 attacks (Kiouisis et al., 2007).

## **Objectives of the Study**

The study aims at the investigation of Pak-Afghan relations in the editorials of newspaper The New York Times and The Washington Post (US) While Pakistani newspapers Dawn and The News related to the following issues during the period 1997-2005.

- (A) US as a factor in Pak-Afghan relation.
- (B) Coverage of Islam/Muslims regarding war on terrorism.
- (C) Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations, and
- (D) US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations.

This study has also accessed the relative weight-age given in the above-mentioned press for the aforesaid four issues. In addition, the study reveals whether the above-mentioned newspapers have agreed or disagreed with the U.S. and Pakistani policies on above issues or not.

## **Rationale of the Study**

Foreign policy has its origin with the start of earliest human societies which institutionalized sovereignty and nation state system marked in the post-colonial era of today (Zuberi, 2009). Political environment has been changed in international law due to emergence of new superpower and relaxation of the new Cold War (Jalalzai, 2003). This progress made in international law create the principle of foreign policy based on national interest (Zubri, 2008) which is driving force to formulate foreign policy shaped by both history and geography (Amin, 2009).

Furthermore, the studies done in the past relate to foreign policy of a country and its relationship with the media on a specific issue (Nossek, 2004). The present study is conducted to

check the media and foreign policy relationship in a different way. In this case the relations between two nations Pakistan and Afghanistan are analyzed keeping in view the involvement of USA, the only superpower of the unipolar world today. The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan fluctuate as per the national interests of USA (Zaller and Chiu, 2000). Subsequently Pak-Afghan relations are studied with special reference to US and Pakistani press. The study is focused on 9/11 attacks, and it has been tried to comprehend that how Pak-Afghan relations were affected after it.

### **Research Questions**

Following research questions are formulated for the present study;

The main research question is;

Does there any difference in the editorial treatment of the elite English press of US on US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations pre and post 9/11 attacks?

Other research questions include;

1. Does the elite English press of US support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks?
2. Does the elite English press of US support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks?
3. Does there any difference in the editorial treatment of the elite English press of Pakistan on Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations during pre and post 9/11 attacks?
4. Does the elite English press of Pakistan support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks?

5. Does the elite English press of Pakistan support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks?

### **Research Method**

For the present study researchers practiced the triangulation methods to conduct the present research. Quantitative research design includes determining the issue of time-frame, research questions population and sampling, measurement rules and category construction, data presentation and analyses. While qualitative research design includes the issue of latent meanings and direction of text and evidence that 'did results of the study support proposed theories, on which study is based or not.

All the unsigned editorials of U.S. newspapers; The Washington Post and The New York Times on one side and on the other side; Pakistani newspapers Dawn and The News which were pertaining to the following issues in Pak-Afghan relations, during September 1997 to September 2005 (eight years) were selected as the universe for study. The unit of analysis and the unit of coding were the unsigned editorials for the present study. Since an unsigned editorial most often takes a stance on an issue, the meaning of an editorial was understood in parts. Therefore, it was appropriate to consider the editorial as the unit of analysis as well as unit of coding. The contents of all those unsigned editorials were analyzed, which related to the Pak-Afghan relations. After coding these editorials, direction of editorial contents was identified to examine the foreign policy, media relationship as portrayed by the two U.S. newspapers; The Washington Post and The New York Times on the one side and on the other side two Pakistani newspapers; Dawn and The News in the time period mentioned earlier. The editorials of the selected US and Pakistani newspapers regarding Pak-Afghan relations have been divided into following four categories;

- (A) US as a factor in Pak-Afghan relation.
- (B) Coverage of Islam/Muslims regarding war on terrorism.
- (C) Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations, and
- (D) US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations.

Qualitative portion of the study is done to explain the quantitative data and interpret the direction of the contents. It has been done in the following ways:

- By studying the material relevant to the study with justification and interpretation.
- Keeping in view the period under consideration, whether some other factors and important developments on domestic regional, and international scenario influencing the editorial contents.
- By making impressions about the orientation of the editorials on the basis of the researcher's observation about contents' characteristics.
- By constructing "the world of the text", isolating assumptions, values and beliefs that buttress an editorial.

Finally, to determine the direction of the contents of the editorials, data were ranked on a three-point scale: Supportive (+), Opposite (-), and Neutral (0).

## **RESULTS**

Results based on the editorial in four newspapers are under the research questions.

### **Research Question 1**

*Does there any difference in the editorial treatment of the elite English press of US on US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations pre and post 9/11 attacks?*



The editorial treatment of the elite English press of US regarding Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11 attacks in America remained same as per US's foreign policy. The editorial coverage in US newspapers was increased after 9/11 regarding Pak-Afghan relations.

Data depicts that USA press gave 79.2 percent editorial coverage after 9/11 and only 20.8 percent editorial coverage before 9/11 regarding Pak-Afghan relations. USA newspapers gave 39.6 percent editorial coverage regarding Pak-Afghan relations unfavorable, 36.8 percent neutral, and only 23.6 percent editorials were favorable. It is seen that the editorial coverage of Pak-Afghan relations was higher after 9/11 in USA newspapers. The value of Chi-square test (8.25,  $df = 2$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.016$ ) shows that the difference is not much significant. It can be assumed that policy of USA's newspapers remained almost same as of their government.

Furthermore, before 9/11 the USA's newspapers wrote 22 editorials regarding Pak-Afghan relations, out of which 09 were written unfavorable, 08 neutral and only 05 favorable. While after 9/11 the USA's press wrote 84 editorials, out of which 33 were written unfavorable, 31 neutral and only 20 favorable.

## **Research Question 2**

*Does the elite English press of US support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks?*

Content data depicts that elite English press of US newspapers support foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks. USA was not favoring the relationship between the two countries before 9/11, so the most of the editorials regarding Pak-Afghan relations were written in unfavorable way. Table 08 depicts that

before 9/11 the USA' newspapers wrote 22 editorials regarding Pak-Afghan relations, out of which 09 were written unfavorable, 08 neutral and only 05 favorable.

### **Research Question 3**

*Does the elite English press of US support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks?*

The editorial coverage in USA newspapers regarding Pak-Afghan relations was higher after 9/11 as compared to before. These editorials support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks. Table 08 presents that after 9/11 the USA's press wrote 84 editorials, out of which 33 were written unfavorable, 31 neutral and only 20 favorable. So the press of US supported US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 incident.

Data reflects that about half (50.9 %) of the editorial coverage regarding Pak-Afghan relations was related to the coverage of Islam /Muslims regarding war on terrorism in USA newspapers. 28.3 percent editorials were related to US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations, 17.0 percent were related to USA as a factor in Pak-Afghan relations and only 3.8 percent of the editorials were related to the category of C in USA newspaper.

### **Research Question 4**

*Does there any difference in the editorial treatment of the elite English press of Pakistan on Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations during pre and post 9/11 attacks?*

Editorial treatment of the elite English press of Pakistan on Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations was favorable and supportive before and after 9/11.

Data describes that 66.5 percent of the editorial coverage after 9/11 was in Pakistan and only 33.5 percent editorial coverage was before 9/11 regarding Pak-Afghan relations in Pakistani newspapers. Regarding directional coverage of the editorials in Pakistan it was seen that 38.9 percent were in favor, 32.5 percent were unfavorable and only 28.5 percent were neutral editorials regarding Pak-Afghan relations in Pakistani newspapers. It is seen that the editorial coverage of Pak-Afghan relations was higher after 9/11 both in Pakistan newspapers. The value of Chi-square test (8.25,  $df = 2$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.016$ ) shows that the difference is not much significant. It can be assumed that the policy of Pakistani newspapers remained as per the foreign policy of Pakistan before and after 9/11 incident.

### **Research Question 5**

*Does the elite English press of Pakistan support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks?*

Editorial coverage of Pakistani press supported Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks. Data indicates that Pakistani press wrote 168 editorials before 9/11, out of which 80 were written in favor of Pak-Afghan relations, while 45 unfavorable and only 43 editorials were neutral. So, it depicts Pakistani press officially treated Pak-Afghan relations as per the foreign policy of Pakistan.

### **Research Question 6**

*Does the elite English press of Pakistan support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks?*

Pakistani newspapers support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11. Data reflects that Pakistani press wrote 333 editorials after 9/11, out of which 115 were written in favor of Pak-Afghan relations, while 118 unfavorable and only 100

editorials were neutral. There was huge pressure on Pakistan's foreign policy from USA, regarding relations with Taliban administration of Afghanistan, So, Pakistan's foreign policy regarding relations was not as supportive as it was before 9/11. That is the reason the results of the present study depict the situation, that the number of favorable editorials is almost equal to number of unfavorable editorials. Hence Pakistani press officially treated Pak-Afghan relations as per the foreign policy of Pakistan. It is seen that the editorial coverage of Pak-Afghan relations was higher after 9/11 in Pakistan newspapers. The value of Chi-square test (8.25, df = 2, p-value = 0.016) shows that the difference is not much significant.

## **DISCUSSION**

The empirical data gathered for the present study reveals that the editorial policies of both countries 'press Pakistan and USA regarding Pak-Afghan relations remained same as per the policies of governments of these respective countries before and after 9/11 attacks. Analyses of the contents reflect that as policies of the two countries changed, likewise these stances on Pak-Afghan relations also changed (Clarence, 2002). Consequently, the press of both the countries support their national policies before and after 9/11 incident. Hence study confirms positive relationship between media and foreign policy (Sntman, 2004).

The historical context as well as collected data express that Pakistan had to face many hardships in its socio-economic and political spheres in the specific period of the present study. Being the front-line state, the role which she had to take, was very volatile (Lamin, 2001). So, the Pakistani press gave too much coverage to Pak-Afghan relations especially after 9/11 attacks as compared to USA's press. Among the two newspapers of Pakistan, The News gave more coverage as compared to Dawn. "The News" is considered the mouth organ of the government, while Dawn is relatively independent in its approach. On the other hand, USA's newspapers

namely, The New York Times and The Washington Post represented their national policies in a favorable way. The New York Times was very staunch in its coverage regarding different categories mentioned earlier for the present study. The newspaper used very harsh words for the Muslims and Islam in its editorial treatment to different happenings in the context of new geopolitical scenario of the globe after 9/11 incident. The coverage of the both newspapers regarding editorial treatment of Pak-Afghan relations increased after 9/11 incident (Carroll, 2004).

The present study affirms the relationship between media and foreign policy of both the countries' Pakistan and USA regarding Pak-Afghan relations pre and post 9/11. USA's elite English press favored their national policies in both prescribed time periods (Kiouisis et al., 2007). The 9/11 attacks brought drastic changes in the number and contents of the editorials of the US press (Andrew, 2001). Although USA's policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations was not favorable even before 9/11 attacks, yet its intensity increased after 9/11. The US's pressure on Pakistan's administration to change its foreign policy vis-à-vis Taliban administration in Afghanistan was also discussed vigorously by the US press (Najmudheen and Farhana, 2013). In this regard the USA's press favored the demand of their govt. regarding handing over of Osama Bin Ladin to bring him to justice, as he and his Al-Qaeda organization was allegedly involved in carrying out 9/11 attacks.

As the data collected for the present study corroborates the media & foreign policy relationship in the positive way (Cohen, 2005). It is pertinent to note here that US's interests regarding Pak-Afghan relations were at the peak at the time of USSR's invasion in Afghanistan (Nuri, 2007). But after the withdrawal of USSR from Afghanistan in 1991, the concentration of US on this part of the world was partially diverted towards the reunion of East and West Germany in 1990. In the consequent events the war-torn country Afghanistan was left in turmoil

in the absence of the interest of the only super power of the world along with its western allies (Weaver, 2008). Different warring factions were fighting each other to establish such a government, which may be in accordance with the wishes of a particular group (Cohen, 2000). In the meanwhile, the Taliban came to fore and eventually 95% of the territory was under their sway in 1997. Osama Bin Ladin and Al-Qaeda had also joined the coalition with Taliban to establish an Islamic Caliphate under the command of Mulla Muhammad Umar, the Taliban leader (Bohman and Augustus, 2005). These developments were against USA's interests. They strongly criticized the Taliban administration and tried to get rid of Usam Bin Ladin by firing cruise missiles on his residence in Afghanistan in 1998. The US press supported the US's policy in all these events. Post 9/11 American media launched an effective propaganda campaign on the behalf of President George W. Bush's administration resulting in the persuasion of a large public support that the annihilation of Afghanistan and Iraq was both necessary (Miller, 2004). As most of the surveys conducted before, during and after the war on Iraq (Luther and Miller, 2005) demonstrate that majority of the American believed in the following myth proliferated by the Bush administration that a) link between Saddam Hussain and Al-Qaeda, b) the possession of mass destruction by Iraq and c) international legitimacy of war (Kull et al., 2004). The degree by which the public opinion is alarmingly changed through the media management in accordance with the aspirations of the elite decision makers is disturbing (Barker, 2008).

The data shows that the USA's policy was very staunch towards Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 incident. As the Washington suspected Osama Bin-Ladin and his Al-Qaeda in carrying out these attacks (Kronstadt, 2009). US's media fully supported their government, especially The New York Times and The Washington Post wrote aggressively against the Muslims and Islam (Mazhar and Naheed, 2013). After the 9/11 attacks, USA launched war on terrorism with the

help of her international coalition partners (Lawson et al., 2009). To combat the terrorism, all channels were being used and the media played an active role to achieve the USA's goals in this regard (Calvert, 2004). USA demanded Pakistan to revisit its policy vis-à-vis Afghanistan and break ties with Taliban administration if she was failed to convince Mulla Umar's administration to handover Osama Bin-Ladin to bring him to justice (Canil, 2002). There are subsequent changes in US mindset which is globally resulted into the US policy of war on terrorism determining hot pursuit of terrorist elements (Masood, 2007). These consequences changed South Asian policy as well (Kux, 2004) and Pakistan as being the immediate neighbor of Afghanistan has been playing front line state in the war on terrorism (Black, 2004). US blamed Al-Qaeda as the wrongdoer of 9/11 attack (Javaid & Fatima, 2012).

The data collected from Pakistani press, namely The News and Dawn, depicts that these newspapers supported their national policies before and after 9/11 regarding Pak-Afghan relations (Frant and Marshall, 2003). Although Pakistan was one of those countries, who had recognized the Taliban administration, yet it changed its foreign policy after 9/11. Pakistani press acted swiftly in accordance with the change of national policy (Bell and Garrett, 2000).

Keeping in view the changing atmosphere of international politics the present study findings showed that the Pak-Afghan relations were being presented in the U.S. and Pakistani media before and after 9/11 attacks (Barbara, 2006). This study implies the dynamic relation between foreign policy and national media.

Military operations radicalized a section of the Pakistani society, fueling more terrorist attacks against the Pakistani civilians and security forces (Dale, 2009). The effect was growing suicide attacks, and frequent terrorist attacks, which destroyed the fabric of the Pakistani society (Gearus et al., 2004). On the other hand, Pakistan's economy was badly affected. According to

some renowned Pakistani analysts that the cost of the war on terrorism to Pakistan was much higher than the economic aid it gained from the United States (Ayoob, 2004). According to Talat Masood, a well-known defense analyst, the cost of the war to Pakistani economy was \$28 billion, measured by the depressed economic growth rate. Another analyst Sartaz Aziz, former Pakistani finance and foreign minister gave approximately a similar estimate. Aziz finds that the direct and indirect economic cost of the war on terrorism to Pakistan was 2083 billion Rupees (equivalent to \$26 billion) from 2004 to 2009. This indicates an average \$4.3 billion annual cost, which is substantially higher than the \$2 billion annual concessionary aid Pakistan received from the United States since 2001. Aziz is of the view that indirect costs were much higher (83%) than the direct costs (17%) of the war. The indirect costs accounted for the loss of exports, foreign investment, and industrial outputs; whereas the direct costs comprised the costs associated with the values of human lives lost or injured the value of property or infrastructure destroyed or damaged, and the security spending (Evan, 2006).

There is a dire need to study Pak-Afghan relations in the context of Osama Bin-Ladin's Killing on May 02, 2011 in Abotabad by the special services group of American Military. By committing violation of international boundary, USA succeeded to kill Bin Ladin. The long awaited this news brought a sort of sigh of relief in USA's authorities' camp. On the other hand, Pakistan took this violation seriously, so the relations between USA and Pakistan became strained. Pakistan withdrew its assistance in carrying out different goods for NATO forces in Afghanistan (Rizvi, 2003). So, these latest developments in the mutual relations of Pakistan and USA have seriously affected the war on terrorism, hence Pak-Afghan relations have also taken a new tilt in the recent political turmoil (Golan et al., 2007). There is need to comprehend Pak-US relations in the context of regional developments taken place after the emergence of Pakistan in



this volatile part of the globe (Akram, 2002). Pakistan's relations with the United States have always had a salience features due to its ties with China and strained relations with India (Cohen, 2005). The role of United States in all major crises of Pakistan from the wars with India to the war on terror is critical to meet these challenges. Different reports of Wiki Leaks confirm that relations with United States have always remained buoyant (Anholt, 2008). The future study in this regard can be very helpful in comprehending the present media-foreign policy nexus with special reference to Pak-afghan relations (Ahmed, 2009). The present study indicated that Pakistan has to go through extremely difficult times since its independence, so in the context of last three decades and subsequent events taken place in the international political arena, and especially in the context of 9/11 incident, Pakistan needs to reprioritize its foreign policy goals (Dixit, 2000). A fundamental flaw in foreign and national security policies has been disconnected between overly ambitious goals and available resources (Dale, 2004). Pakistan possesses one of the largest armies in the world. Its nuclear capability provides a credible deterrent to external aggression (Abbas, 2005). Pakistan needs to use its security forces not to widen the sphere of influence but to single-mindedly and indiscriminately counter the violence let loose by non-state actors which threaten the national security of the state (Abidullah, 2003).

## **CONCLUSION**

The editorial contents of USA and Pakistani newspapers were not different regarding Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11. The incident of 9/11 changed the American foreign policy towards developing and least developing nations especially Muslims states like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran etc. Pakistani press highlighted the issues regarding the Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11 as a favorable and conducive, related to Muslim/Islam regarding war on terrorism. Contrarily the editorial coverage in USA newspapers was totally different and

unfavorable before and after 9/11. They focused on their own foreign policy which they developed for developing countries and according to their own interests. Content data reflected that editorial coverage regarding Pak-Afghan relations in USA and Pakistani newspapers was increased after 9/11. An incident like 9/11 is an irony in the human history. The 9/11 attacks in America, brought transmutations in the international relations, along with other socio-economic and geo-political ties of the world. There is need to formulate alternative foreign policy, which may be applied in time of crisis like 9/11 attacks for the developing countries like Pakistan. Pakistan had no option available, except to accept all the demands of USA after 9/11. Consequently, she had to face such odd circumstances domestically as well as internationally to meet the different challenges as a sovereign nation.

**REFERENCES**

- Abbas, H. (2005). *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and the America's 'War on Terrorism'*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press.
- Abidullah, J. (2003). News week spreading hate weekly *Nida-e-Khilafat* Lahore, August, 27, 2003.
- Ahmed, S. (2009). *Foreign Policy of Paksitan and Policy Making Process*. In Ahmar, Moonis. (Ed.). *Foreign Policy Making Process; A Case Study of Pakistan*. University of Karachi: Department of International Relations in Collaboration with Hanns Seidel Foundation, Islamabad.
- Akram, Z. (2002). Pakistani-U. S, Relations after 9/11: A Pakistani Perspective. *Journal of International Affair*, 1(1).
- Ali, S., & Qadir, I. (2005). A critical Study about the coverage of Islamic World in, "Newsweek" and the "Time" magazine. The Islamic culture, Sheikh Zaid Islamic. Center, University of Karachi, 5: 1-56.
- Amin, S. M. (2009). *Historical Basis of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Making Process*. In Ahmar, Moonis. (Ed.). *Foreign Policy Making Process; A Case Study of Pakistan*.
- Andrew, S. (2001). This is a religious war. *New York Times*.
- Anholt, S. (2008). The importance of national reputation. In J. Welsh & D. Fearn (Eds.), *Engagement: Public diplomacy in a globalized world* (pp. 30–43). London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
- Ayoob, M. (2004). Political Islam: Image and reality, *World policy journal*: 1-13.
- Barbara, C. (2006). Feverish protest against the West. *New York Times*.
- Barker, M. J. (2008). Democracy or polyarchy? US-funded media developments in

- Afghanistan and Iraq post 9/11. *Media, Culture and Society*, 30(1): 109-130.
- Bell, A., & Garrett, A. (2000). *Approaches to media discourse*. USA: Blackwell Publishers. Longman.
- Black, J. (2004). The western encounter with Islam. *A journal of world affairs*, 48(1): 19-28.
- Bohman, B. & Augustus, N. (2005). Voices within Islam: Four perspective and tolerance and diversity, *Current History*, 37-45.
- Calvert, J. (2004). The mythic foundation of radical Islam. *Orbis; A journal of world affairs*, 48(1): 29-41.
- Canil, T. (2002). The one true faith: Is it tolerance? *New York Times*.
- Carroll, C. E. (2004). How the mass media influence perceptions of corporate reputation: Exploring agenda-setting effects within business news coverage. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of Texas, Austin.
- Clarence, J. B. (2002). A fundamentalist Islamic threat to the West. *Studies in conflicts and terrorism*, 19(4): 339-352.
- Cohen, S. P. (2000) America's Role in Asia – South Asia: Task Force Report.
- Cohen, S. P. (2005). Pakistan and the crescent of crisis. The Brookings Institution.
- Dale, F. E. (2004). The Middle East democracy deficit and the expanding public sphere, in war, words and images, media, war, and terrorism: Responses from the Middle East and Asia. London: Routledge Curzon Taylor Francis Group. pp.46-60.
- Dixit, J. N. (2000). *An Afghan diary: Zahir Shah to Taliban*. New Delhi: The Indian Publisher.
- Entman, R. (2004). *Projections of power: Framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Evan, A. (2006). Understanding Madrasah, *Foreign affairs*, 85(1): 9-16.
- Frant, G. W. N.P. & Marshall, M. B. (2003). *New priorities in South Asia: U.S Policy toward India, Pakistan and Afghanistan*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Gearus, R., Gabriel, T., Haddad, Y., & Smith, J. I. (eds.) (2004). *Islam and the West: Post 9/11*. New York: Sage Publishers.
- Golan, G. J., Kiouisis, S. K., & McDaniel, M. L. (2007). Second-level agenda setting and political advertising: Investigating the transfer of issue and attribute saliency during the 2004 U.S. presidential election. *Journalism Studies*, 8(3): 432-442.
- Halttu, J. (Ed.) (2008). *Westminster papers in communication and culture*. University of Westminster, London, 5(3): 1-3.
- Harvey, A., Ian, S., & Ralph, C. (2005). A clash of systems: An analytical frame work to demystify the radical Islamist threat; *Parameters*:72-86.
- Huntington, S. (2002, January 03). The Age of Muslim war. *The New York Times*.
- Iqbal, H. (2011). Pak-Afghan ties in the Light of Pak-US Strategic Dialogue, *Regional Studies* XXIX, no. 1
- Islam, N. (2005). *Islam, 9/11 and global terrorism: A study of perceptions of solutions*, New Delhi: Viva Book Pvt. Ltd.
- Jalalzai, Musa Khan. (2003). *The Foreign Policy of Paksitan: Afghanistan, Kashmir and Internal Security Threats (1947-2004)*. Lahore: Ariana Publications.
- Javaid, U. & Fatima, Q. (2012) US Foreign Policy Parameters towards Pakistan and India (2001-2008). *Journal of Political Studies*, 19(2): 21:40.

- Johnson, T. H., & Mason, M. C. (2008). No Sign until the Burst of Fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier. *International Security*, 32(4): 41-77.
- Karim, K. H. (2002). Making sense of the Islamic peril: Journalism as cultural practice. In Babbice, & Stuart (eds.) *Journalism: After September 11*. London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group (Roli Book); pp. 101-116.
- Kim, S. T. (2004). Mapping an economic “Globalization” news paradigm: A multinational comparative analysis. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(3): 601-621.
- Kim, S. T. (2004). Revisiting the Clinton/ Leonsky scandal: The convergence of agenda setting and framing. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80 (3): 367-382.
- Kiousis, S., Popescu, C., & Mitrook, M. A. (2007). Understanding influence on corporate reputation: An examination of public relations efforts, media coverage, public opinion, and financial performance from an agenda-building and agenda-setting perspective. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 19(2): 147–165.
- Kiousis, S. & Wu, X. (2008). International agenda-building and agenda-setting: Exploring the influence of public relations counsel on U.S. news media and public perceptions of foreign nations. *The International Communication Gazette*, 70(1): 58–75.
- Kux, D. (2000). *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.
- Kronstadt, K. A. (2009) India-U.S. Relations. Congressional Research Service.
- Lamin, S. (2001). Faith and the secular state, *The New York Times*.
- Lawson, M. I., Court, & Tamoff. (2009). Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and

- Policy. Congressional Research Service.
- Luther, C. A., & Miller, M. M. (2005). Framing of the U.S. – Iraq war Demonstrations: An analysis of news and partisan texts. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(1): 78-96.
- Mark, D. (2001). The battle field for the American mind. *New York Times*.
- Masood, T. (2007, August 21). Building Bridges with Afghanistan. *Dawn*.
- Mazhar, M. S. & Naheed, S. G. (2013). Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Internal Challenges. *Journal of Political Studies*, 20(2): 91:103.
- Najmudheen, T. and Farhana K. (2013). Importance of Confidence Building Measures among Pakistan and India Relation. A South Asian Perspectives. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Social Sciences*, 1: 61-91.
- Nossek, H. (2004). Our news and their news. *Journalism*, 5(3): 344-368.
- Nuri, M. H. (2007). Pak-Afghan Relations: Way Out of Impasse. *Dawn. Pakistan Horizon*. (2006, January). The Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Vol 59 (1).
- Paul, R. (2004). Counterterrorism after Al-Qaeda. *The Washington quarterly*, 27 (3): 101-113.
- Philip, S. (2004). New media and the clash of civilization. *Parameters*, 34: 71-85.
- Rizvi, H. A. (2003, November 8). Strained Pak-Afghan Relationship. *Daily Times*.
- Siraj, S. A. (2006). Portrayal and image building of Islamic world issues by CNN: perception of the Muslim and Christian communities (Submitted for publication) in *Journal of research and humanities*, B.Z.U. Multan.
- Straubhaar, J. and Larose R. (2001). *Media Now: Communications Media in the Information Age*. Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

- Tang, L., & Li, H. (2010). Chinese corporate diplomacy: Huawei's CSR discourse in Africa. In J. Wang (Ed.), *Soft power in China: Public diplomacy through communication* (pp. 95–115). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- The 9/11 Commission Report (2004). The 9/11 Commission. New York: Author. V. P. Vender, & Munshi, (eds.). (2004). *Media, war and terrorism: Responses from the Middle East and Asia*, London: Routledge Curzon Taylor Francis group.
- Wang, J. (2006). Public diplomacy and global business. *Journal of Business Strategy*, 27(3): 41–49.
- Wanta, W., Golan, G., & Lee, C. (2004). Agenda setting and international news: Media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(2), 364–377.
- Weaver, M. A. (2002). *Pakistan: In the shadow of jihad and Afghanistan*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Weaver, D. H. (2008). Agenda-setting effects. In W. Donsbach (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of communication* (pp. 145-151). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Zaller, J., & Chiu, D. (2000). Government's little helper: US press coverage of foreign policy crises, 1946-1999. In B. L. Nacos, R. Y. Shapiro and P.
- Zuberi, M. (2009). *Role of Ethics in Practise of Diplomacy and Formulation of Foreign Policy*. In Ahmar, Moonis. (Ed.). *Foreign Policy Making Process; A Case Study of Pakistan*. University of Karachi: Department of International Relations in Collaboration with Hanns Seidel Foundation, Islamabad.