

**MEDIA & FOREIGN POLICY: PORTRAYAL OF PAK-U.S.
RELATIONS IN ELITE PRESS DURING PERVAIZ
MUSHARRAF & GEORGE W. BUSH REGIME; SEPTEMBER
2001 TO AUGUST 2008**

Zahid Yousaf (PhD)*

Ehtisham Ali**

Mehmood Ahmed**

Abstract:

This study “Media and Foreign Policy, Portrayal of Pak-U.S. relations in Elite Press during Pervaiz Musharraf and George W. Bush Regime, September 2001 to August 2008” is an effort to analyze the foreign policies of Pakistan and the United States of America in the elite press of both countries, especially after 9/11. In this study two elite English newspapers “New York Times” from U.S. and “The Daily Dawn” from Pakistan are selected for study from September 11, 2001 to August 2008 (when president of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf left his office). The current study is focused to find the relationship between Pakistan and U.S. during Pervaiz Musharraf regime. The major motive behind this work is to dig out the phenomenon of the foreign policy making by the governments of the concerning states and the role played by the leading mass media in this arena of international politics. The theoretical framework refers to the Agenda Setting Theory as the study intends to determine the ‘Media Agenda’ of the press of both the countries and framing theory is also used to determine that how media frames different incidents regarding the foreign policy determinacy. In this study Pak-U.S. relations are

* Head/Assistant Professor, Centre for Media and Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan.

** Associate Lecturer(Visiting), Centre for Media and Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan

considered by analyzing the contents of the editorials of the selected newspapers. The findings show that media does not necessarily follow the government's view point regarding the foreign policy of the country.

Keywords: 9/11 incident, elite press, war on terror, Pervaiz Musharraf, G.W.Bush

Introduction:

The present paper is an attempt to find out the relationship between the two countries, Pakistan and United States of America in the elite press of both the countries, after the September 11, 2001 incident in U.S. that changed the global scenario, this incident also lead Pakistan to get involved in the war against terror and the role of the mass media of both the countries in this situation. U.S. alleged Osama bin Laden for the 9/11 attacks and they demanded Taliban government of Afghanistan to hand over him but Taliban refused to hand over Bin Laden to U.S. At the refusal of Taliban government U.S. attacked Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is neighbor of Pakistan, so it was very important for the Bush administration to get help from Pakistan to counter Taliban and terrorists in Afghanistan. To get the assistance from Pakistan regarding its war against terrorism U.S. asked for Pakistan's help against Taliban and the terrorists in Afghanistan. U.S's foreign minister Collin Powell asked President Musharraf for assistance.

Pakistan's President decided to help US in the war against terrorism. Pakistan accepted America's demands they put in front of Pakistan, president Musharraf decided to standby with the U.S in the war against terrorism that was going to start in the neighboring country of Pakistan.

Hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The elite English press of U.S. disagrees with U.S's foreign policy regarding Pak-U.S. relations in post 9/11 era.

Hypothesis 2:

The elite English press of U.S. has given less coverage to Pak-U.S. relations in post 9/11 era as compared to Pakistani press.

Hypothesis 3: The elite English press of Pakistan mostly shows neutral position than the positive and negative coverage on Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-U.S. relations in post 9/11 era.

Hypothesis 4:

The elite English press of Pakistan has given more coverage to Pak-U.S. relations in post 9/11 era as compared to U.S. press.

Hypothesis 5:

The frequency of the editorials that oppose the Pakistan's government stance on war on terror is more than the editorials that support Pakistan in this regard.

Literature Review:

Media and foreign policy relations aspect of has been studied by several well-known scholars. Cohen's study that is "The Press and Foreign Policy" is still documented as a pioneer study and is still cited in almost every study that is related to the media foreign policy relationship (Mughees, 1997). Cohen has focused attention to the influence of the press on United States foreign policy and has examined the ways in which government officials and public policy makers both are influenced by the press. Cohen (1963) also pointed that in democracy, the tensions are unavoidable between the officials and the journalists, who are important, stake holders. Empirical evidences require that how the Pak-U.S. relations have been covered by the media after the September 11, 2001 incidents and in the subsequent events as well. Herman and Chomsky (2002) affirm that journalists are willing to compromise both the professional norms and values to the national interest.

The study of Said (1987) reveal that the tone of the Western media is anti Islam and anti Muslims, and he senses that the Western media has portrayed Islam as a violent, and a destructive religion for both the individuals and the civilizations. Mughees (1993) refers to the studies of Hess (1981) and Sigal (1973) that support the view of the official control on the news stories related to the foreign affairs moreover they also gave evidence of the media's dependency on the official sources for foreign affairs reporting. The studies of Mujahid (1970), Becker (1977), Khan (1984) and Bokhary (1989) reveals by going back to the history before 1980's

saying that the U.S. press has been inconsistent i.e. (sometimes supportive and sometimes adversarial) in its coverage related to Pakistan.

The study of Mughees (1991) suggests that overall; The New York Times in its editorials and news reports took a stance against the U.S. foreign policy towards Pakistan, especially on the issues like military and economic aids to Pakistan. This study also suggested that the New York Times portrayed Pakistan from the perspective of the India-U.S. relationship and the paper had a pro Indian tendency as result. The researcher concluded that the U.S. elite paper had portrayed the image of Pakistan as an unsteady, undemocratic, Islamic fundamentalist, and merging nuclear power of the region. This image created by the U.S. paper is very thoughtful for Pakistan.

For instance, the paper under discussion New York Times followed the structure of Huntington. The New York Times tried to differentiate between the good and bad Muslims, the true and untrue understanding regarding Islam and between the peaceful and aggressive perception i.e. based on the understanding of the Holy Quran. The newspaper published illustration about the Muslims depicted bearded Ulema (the religious scholars in Islam) and angry mobs waving the Quran. Huntigton(2002) has also linked Islam with the violence. He advocates the controversial clash of civilization theory. He writes that global politics, in the present era, is the period of Muslim wars. Muslim fight each other and with non Muslims. Muslim wars have replaced the cold war as the rudiment manifestation of international conflict. These wars include war of terrorism, civil war, and inter-state conflict.

Theoretical Foundation:

Agenda Setting:

The agenda setting involves the consideration of three different related agendas that are mainly the media, the public and the policy agendas. The media agenda is the set of the topics that are addressed by media the sources mostly such as media. The public agenda is related to the set of the topics that the members of the public believe is very important and finally, the policy agenda represents all the issues that the decision-makers such as believe are primarily salient.

The present study intends to determine the 'Media Agenda' of the national press of Pakistan and United States. It intends to look into the priorities and frequency of the coverage of selected issues by the selected newspapers of both the countries.

In this study the researcher has tried to examine that how the press of Pakistan and U.S. has covered the selected issues and tried to set the desired agenda and has also favored or disfavored the foreign policy of the respective countries.

Framing Theory:

Framing is an important concept in communication, which helps us in understanding how an incident is projected or portrayed or framed in the media content. This concept has been used by some prominent media scholars Gitlin (1980), Mughees (1993), Saleem (1998) etc. and is becoming increasingly popular day by day for the purpose of research. This concept would be beneficial in explaining the relationship between the policies of the U.S. and Pakistan in their respective elite English press of both the countries. How the elite press of the said two countries frames Pak-U.S. relations in their editorials would help to understand that what kind of relationship exists between elite press and Pakistan's foreign office. Gitlin (1980) defines media framing as "a persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of the selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbols handlers habitually organize communication, whether verbal or visual".

The media critics have also engaged the term 'framing'. Noam Chomsky has used this term in an interview (Szykowny, 1990) to refer to the way the New York Times introduced a news story reporting an offer 21 years back on August 23, 1990, by Iraq to its withdrawal from Kuwait. fundamentally, Chomsky argued that The New York Times's story has marginalized the Iraqi offer by opening its story with a statement from the U.S. Government discrediting it. (Chomsky, 1989 & Szykowny, 1990 cited in Mughees, 1993:66). In this study the theory of agenda setting and the concept of framing are used to investigate editorial policy of the elite press of U.S. and Pakistan while portraying Pak-U.S. relation after 9/11 incident.

Methodology:

The employed methodology is content analysis. Sarantakos (1998) states “As a method of the social research, content analysis is a documentary method that aims at a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content”.

Universe:

All the editorials of U.S. newspapers; The New York Times on one side and on the other side; Pakistani newspaper Dawn which are related to the above mentioned A, B, C, D and E categories with reference to Pak-U.S. relations, during September 2001 to August 2008 will be selected as the Universe for study.

Sampling:

In this research the entire universe is considered as sample as the editorials of the selected newspapers New York Times and Daily Dawn’s editorials are to be analysed from September 2001 to August 2008.

Unit of Analysis:

In this study the unit of analysis is considered to be words, symbols, themes, sentences, paragraphs, or an entire editorial, which indicate the presence of one of the categories, published in U.S. newspaper.

Time Period:

All the editorials of the above mentioned newspapers from September 2001 to August 2008 are used in this study.

Categories of Analysis:

The heart of any content analysis is the categories of the analysis. The collection of data becomes possible and easy through the construction of categories and the associated with them. A category is a set of criteria or a measure, which are integrated round a theme or a value (Sarantakos, 1998: 281).

- A) Coverage of Pakistani Press on Pak-U.S. bilateral relations.
- B) Coverage of United States Press on Pak-U.S. bilateral relations.
- C) Afghanistan, Taliban and Al Qaeda as a factor in Pak-U.S. relations.
- D) India’s influence as a factor in Pak-U.S. relations.
- E) Pak-U.S. relations regarding war on terrorism.

Directions of Contents:

To measure the direction of the editorial contents of the newspapers under the study the researcher adopted the method that Berelson (1952) called as “the totality of the impression”. This totality of impression was actually used to determine the “direction” or “orientation” of the communication that is related to the framing (Berelson, 1952 cited in Krippendorff, 1980: 159, Wimmer & Dominic, 1991:165). To determine the direction of the contents of the editorials, data would be graded on a three point scales.

Favorable/Supportive (+):

Any editorial is considered “Supportive” (+) if its general stance is positive about Pak-U.S. relations.

Unfavorable/Opposite/Negative (-):

Any editorial is considered as opposite/negative or critical (-), which is pessimistic in tone or if its general stance is negative about Pak-U.S. relations.

Neutral/Balance (0):

Any editorial is considered as neutral (0) and balanced if the content of the editorial portrays indistinguishable emphasis on either of the favorable or unfavorable aspects of an issue or if it displays a balance of both positive and negative arguments.

Data Analysis and Interpretation:

Total Editorials of New York Times and Daily Dawn September 2001- August 2008

Newspaper	New York Times	Daily Dawn
Percentage	29.36	70.64
Number of Editorials	170	409

Table 1

Table 1 indicates the total editorials of New York Times and the Daily Dawn on Pak-U.S. relations coverage from September 2001 to August 2007.

The total number of editorials of the two newspapers New York Times and Daily Dawn regarding Pak-U.S. relations are 579 in number from September 2001 to August 2008, out of

these editorials 170(29.36%) are published in New York Times whereas 409(70.64%) are published in Daily Dawn.

Editorials of New York Times and Daily Dawn from September 2001- August 2008

YEAR	NEWSPAPER		
		New York Times	Daily Dawn
2001		19(42.22)	26(57.78)
2002		25(27.78)	65(72.22)
2003		18(22.78)	61(77.22)
2004		23(32.40)	48(67.60)
2005		18(25.00)	54(75.00)
2006		16(26.66)	44(73.34)
2007		26(36.11)	46(63.89)
2008		25(27.77)	65(72.23)
	Total	170(29.36)	409(70.64)

Table 2

Table 2 indicates the year by year of the editorials of New York Times and the Daily Dawn on Pak-U.S. relations coverage from September 2001 to August 2008.

In 2001 New York Times published 19(42.22%) editorials on Pak-U.S. relations where as Daily Dawn has given 26(57.78%) editorials regarding the Pak-U.S. relations and so on as shown in the table 2.

Editorials of New York Times September 2001-August 2008

YEAR	CATEGORY					
		A	B	C	D	E
2001		0(0.00)	2(10.52)	7(36.84)	4(21.05)	6(31.57)
2002		0(0.00)	14(56.00)	3(12.00)	6(24.00)	2(8.00)
2003		2(11.11)	7(38.88)	1(5.55)	2(11.11)	6(33.33)
2004		1(4.34)	15(65.30)	4(17.39)	2(8.69)	1(4.34)
2005		1(5.55)	6(33.33)	4(22.22)	2(11.11)	5(27.77)
2006		0(0.00)	7(43.75)	6(37.50)	1(6.25)	2(12.50)
2007		1(3.84)	14(53.84)	7(26.92)	0(0.00)	4(15.38)

	2008	0(0.00)	12(48.00)	4(16.00)	2(8.00)	7(28.00)
	Total	5(2.94)	77(45.29)	36(21.17)	19(11.17)	33(19.42)

Table 3

Table 3 indicates the editorials year wise and also show that how much editorials falls in each category A, B, C, D and E. Here A, B, C, D and E represent the following.

A) Coverage of Pakistani Press on Pak-U.S. bilateral relations. B) Coverage of United States Press on Pak-U.S. bilateral relations. C) Afghanistan, Taliban and Al Qaeda as a factor in Pak-U.S. relations. D) India's influence as a factor in Pak-U.S. relations. E) Pak-U.S. relations regarding war on terrorism.

Categories and Directions of Editorials of New York Times from September 2001-August 2008

	A			B			C			D			E		
	5(2.94)			77(45.29)			36(21.17)			19(11.17)			33(19.42)		
Direction	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
No.	1	0	4	20	24	33	9	12	15	5	8	6	1	17	15
%	20.00	0.00	80.00	25.97	31.16	42.86	25.00	33.33	41.66	26.31	42.10	31.58	3.03	51.51	45.45

Table 4

Table 4 indicates the overall editorials of New York Times from September 2001 to August 2008. In the graph there is 2.94% editorials in category "A", 45.29% in "B", 21.17% in "C", 11.17% in "D" and 19.42% in category "E". These categories are further divided into three directions positive, negative and neutral. In "A" there is 20% in positive, 0% negative and 80% neutral directions. In "B" 25.97% editorials are positive, 31.16% in negative and 42.86% neutral directions. In category "C" 25.00% is positive, 33.33% negative and 41.66% neutral directions. In category "D" there is 26.31% in positive, 42.10% in negative direction and 31.58% in neutral direction. In category "E" there is 3.03% editorials in positive whereas 51.51% and 45.45% in negative and neutral directions respectively. Here we see that category "B" is given maximum space in editorials of New York Times that is about 45%, then category "C" is in greater number

after category “B” that is 21.17%, then category “E” and “D” respectively in 19.42% and 11.17% and at the end there is category “A” that is 2.94%.

Editorials of Daily Dawn September 2001-August 2008

YEAR	CATEGORY					
	A	B	C	D	E	
2001	8(30.76)	2(7.69)	6(23.07)	1(3.84)	9(34.61)	
2002	18(27.69)	0(0.00)	11(16.92)	17(26.15)	19(29.23)	
2003	26(42.62)	0(0.00)	11(18.03)	5(8.19)	19(26.22)	
2004	21(43.75)	2(4.16)	4(8.33)	5(10.41)	16(33.33)	
2005	26(48.14)	0(0.00)	7(12.96)	9(16.66)	12(22.22)	
2006	15(34.09)	0(0.00)	8(18.18)	5(11.36)	16(36.36)	
2007	17(36.95)	1(2.17)	11(23.91)	4(8.69)	13(28.26)	
2008	22(33.84)	0(0.00)	10(15.38)	11(16.92)	22(33.84)	
Total	153(37.40)	5(1.22)	68(16.62)	57(13.94)	126(30.80)	

Table 5

The table 5 indicates the editorials year wise in the newspaper Daily Dawn and also show that how much editorials falls in each category A, B, C, D and E. The table shows that the most of the coverage is of the category “A” representing Coverage of Pakistani Press on Pak-U.S. bilateral relations. Then the category “E” that shows Pak-U.S. relations regarding war on terrorism. Then there is “C” that is Afghanistan, Taliban and Al Qaeda as a factor in Pak-U.S. relations is given in most of the editorials after category “A” and “E”. Then there is category “D” India’s influence as a factor in Pak-U.S. relations and at the end there is category “B” that represents U.S.’s stance on Pak-U.S. bilateral relations.

Categories and Directions of Editorials of Daily Dawn September 2001- August 2008

Direction	A			B			C			D			E		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
No	62	46	45	2	2	1	10	24	34	12	14	31	21	64	41
%	40.52	30.06	27.45	40.00	40.00	20.00	14.70	35.30	50.00	21.05	24.56	54.38	16.66	50.80	32.53

Table 6

Table 6 indicates the overall editorials of Daily Dawn from September 2001 to August 2008. In the graph there is 37.40% editorials in category “A”, 1.22% in “B”, 16.62% in “C”, 13.94% in “D” and 30.80% in category “E”. These categories are further divided into three directions positive, negative and neutral. In “A” there is 40.52% in positive, 30.06% negative and 27.45% neutral directions. In “B” 40.00% editorials are positive, 40.00% in negative and 20.00% neutral directions. In category “C” 14.70% is positive, 35.30% negative and 50.00% neutral directions. In category “D” there is 21.05% in positive, 24.56% in negative direction and 54.38% in neutral direction. In category “E” there is 16.66% editorials in positive whereas 50.80% and 32.53% in negative and neutral directions respectively. Here we see that in category “A” is given maximum space in editorials of New York Times that is 37.40%, then category “E” is in greater number after category “A” that is 30.80%, then category “C” and “D” with 16.62% and 13.94% and at the end there is category “B” that is 1.22%.

Comparison between the categories and Directions (in each category) of both New York Times and Daily Dawn September 2001- August 2008

Category	A			B			C			D			E		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Editorials in NY Time	1	0	4	20	24	33	9	12	15	5	8	6	1	17	15
Editorials in Daily Dawn	62	46	45	2	2	1	10	24	34	12	14	31	21	64	41
Editorials in a Direction	63	46	49	22	26	34	19	36	49	17	22	37	22	81	56
Editorials in a Category	158			82			104			76			159		

Table 7

Table 7 indicates the overall comparison of New York Times and Daily Dawn from September 2001 to August 2008 by comparing the editorials of both New York Times and Daily Dawn, the following results are found. In category “A” that is Coverage of Pakistani Press on Pak-U.S. bilateral relations; there are total 158 editorials for both New York Times and Daily

Dawn. There are 63 in positive direction, 46 in negative and 49 in neutral directions. In category “A” there is 1 editorial in New York Times whereas 62 in Daily Dawn in positive direction, there is no editorial in New York Times whereas 46 in Daily Dawn in negative direction and there is 4 editorials in New York Times whereas 45 are in Daily Dawn in neutral direction.

In category “B” that is Coverage of United States Press on Pak-U.S. bilateral relations; there are total 82 editorials for both New York Times and Daily Dawn. There are 22 in positive direction, 26 in negative and 34 in neutral directions. In category “B” there is 20 editorial in New York Times and 2 in Daily Dawn in positive direction, there is 24 editorial in New York Times whereas 2 in Daily Dawn in negative direction and there is 33 editorial in New York Times whereas 1 in Daily Dawn in neutral direction.

In category “C” that shows Afghanistan, Taliban and Al Qaeda as a factor in Pak-U.S. relations; there are total 104 editorials for both New York Times and Daily Dawn. Out of these editorials there are 19 in positive direction, 36 in negative and 49 in neutral directions. In category “C” there is 9 editorial in New York Times whereas 10 in Daily Dawn in positive direction, there is 12 editorial in New York Times whereas 24 in Daily Dawn in negative direction and there is 15 editorial in New York Times whereas 34 in Daily Dawn in neutral direction.

In category “D” which represents India’s influence as a factor in Pak-U.S. relations; there are total 76 editorials for both New York Times and Daily Dawn. Out of these editorials there are 17 in positive direction, 22 in negative and 37 in neutral directions. In category “D” there is 5 editorial in New York Times whereas 12 in Daily Dawn in positive direction, there is 8 editorial in New York Times 14 in Daily Dawn also in negative direction and there is 6 editorial in New York Times whereas 31 in Daily Dawn in neutral direction.

In category “E” that is Pak-U.S. relations regarding war on terrorism; there are total 159 editorials for both New York Times and Daily Dawn. Out of these editorials there are 22 in positive direction, 81 in negative and 56 in neutral directions. In category “E” there is 1 editorial in New York Times whereas 21 in Daily Dawn in positive direction, there is 17 editorial in New York Times whereas 64 in Daily Dawn in negative direction and there is 15 editorial in New York Times whereas 41 in Daily Dawn in neutral direction.

.Findings of Hypotheses:

The findings of the hypotheses are as follows,

Hypothesis 1:

Yes, the study proves that the elite English press of U.S. disagrees with U.S's foreign policy regarding Pak-U.S. relations in post 9/11 era because of the maximum negative coverage about Pak-U.S. relations and the harsh tone observed in New York Times for the study. Table 4 supports the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2:

Yes, the elite English press of U.S. has given less coverage to Pak-U.S. relations post 9/11 attacks as compared to Pakistani press. Table 1 supports the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3:

Yes, the elite English press of Pakistan has mostly shown neutral position than the other two i.e. positive and negative directions on Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-U.S. relations in post 9/11 era. Table 6 supports the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4:

Yes, the elite English press of Pakistan has given more than double coverage to Pak-U.S. relations in post 9/11 era as compared to U.S. press. Table 1 supports the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5:

Yes, the frequency of the editorials that oppose the Pakistan's government stance on war on terror is more than the editorials that support Pakistan in this regard. Table 6 supports the hypothesis.

Discussion:

This study "Media and Foreign Policy, Portrayal of Pak-U.S. relations in George W. Bush & Pervaiz Musharraf Regime, September 2001 to August 2008" is an effort to know about the foreign policies of both the countries Pakistan and the United States of America. Especially after 9/11 incidents in which the terrorists' attacks were made in United States. In this study two elite English newspapers New York Times and Daily Dawn, one from U.S. and other from Pakistan are selected respectively from September 11, 2001 when the terrorists attacks were made in U.S. to August 2008 when president of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf left his office as result of the impeachment against him by the National Assembly of Pakistan.

The New York Times has shown greater percentage of unsatisfied behavior while portraying Pak-U.S. relations in higher percentage and then it has shown neutral behavior which proves that U.S. newspaper has not followed the U.S.'s foreign policy towards Pakistan because U.S. foreign policy towards Pakistan is mostly criticized because of U.S.'s terms with Pakistan due to the war on terror, the newspaper has criticized and has shown unsatisfied behavior due to U.S.'s aid to Pakistan and the terms of Washington with Islamabad during the government of Pervaiz Musharraf. The U.S.'s overall stance towards Pakistan in the newspaper shows unsatisfied behavior mostly. It shows that U.S. newspapers do not follow the U.S. foreign policy while portraying its relations with Pakistan.

The U.S. newspaper has used the harsh tone for Pakistani leadership and has also criticized Washington for the terms having with Pakistan during the period of Pervaiz Musharraf. U.S. has given aid to Pakistan but it was portrayed in a very unsatisfied manner criticizing the U.S. administration. The editorials have even mentioned the friendship between the leaderships of both Pakistan and U.S. and have criticized the U.S. leaders for having terms with Pakistani leadership. It is also mentioned that U.S. must not use any soft tone for Pakistan and pressurize the Pakistani government to do more efforts for war against terrorism. The New York Times has also given coverage on Indo-Pak relations with the passage of time and U.S.'s policies and terms in this regard. The section of war against terror is also well covered in the U.S. newspaper but here U.S. government is also criticized for its policies regarding Pak-U.S. relations. In the case of Pak-U.S. relations New York time has mostly showed the critical behavior in the editorials whereas in very rare cases U.S. has appreciated its foreign policy regarding the Pak-U.S. relations. So, we can conclude that New York Time has not followed the foreign policy of the United States in context of Pak-U.S. relations.

In Daily Dawn an unsatisfied behavior is shown mostly and the events are discussed on the reality base, the paper has criticized the government policies on Pak-U.S. relations but it has appreciated the foreign policy where it thought that it should be appreciated. Daily dawn has not followed the government policy regarding Pak-U.S. relation but in some cases the paper has followed the government policy where there is the question and concern of the national interest and sovereignty of the country. Daily Dawn has given more than double coverage to Pak-U.S. relations than the New York Times. The study also shows that Daily Dawn has shown a greater concern regarding the topic than the New York Times. The study of the editorials of Daily Dawn

shows that it has shown unsatisfied behavior in the coverage of Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-U.S. relations, here the neutral and positive coverage is also given but that is not more than the unsatisfied behavior. In some cases it is seen that Daily Dawn has favored the government regarding the foreign policy of the country but in very less percentage.

The whole study has well explained the topic media and foreign policy, Pak-U.S. relations in post 9/11 period till the end of General Musharraf regime. The end result is that media does not necessarily follow the government's view point regarding the foreign policy and the same thing was observed in the current paper.

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