## American withdrawal from Afghanistan: A Print Media representation through Pakistani and American Newspapers

**Asad Javaid**
Lecturer, University of Okara asad.javaid@uo.edu.pk

**Dr Irfan Mehmood**
Lecturer, University of Okara irfan@uo.edu.pk

**Dr Muhammad Azeem**
Research Scholar cdglmuhammadazeem@gmail.com

**Huma Rauf**
Lecturer , University of Central Punjab huma.rauf@ucp.edu.pk

**Abstract**

The current research focuses on and analyses the ideological representations and discourses regarding after-maths of post-Afghan war's scenario reflected in Pakistani and English newspaper headlines. The study also investigates some of the geographical and socio-political factors that led to the exit of American forces from Afghanistan.  The research is qualitative in nature. Seven headlines from four selected newspapers have been used for data collection. Fairclough's (2003) model for linguistic analysis has been used to

analyze the hidden ideological meanings. The political discourse analysis focuses discourse in political forums, however, it also pays special attention to how words used in headlines have reflected different themes and how social perceptions have  been constructed and changed especially after the exit of American forces from Afghanistan. The knowledge of context and its complex link to discursive structures is essential to developing a more thorough knowledge of political discourse. Additionally, a thorough investigation of the contextual elements that influence political discourse is integrated into

the current research. It incorporates socio-political elements, offering a more complex understanding of the communication mechanisms in action.

**Keywords:** *Political Discourse, Newspaper, Ideology, Representations*

## Introduction

Pakistan has recently been suffering from many social issues, including terrorism, unemployment, corruption, etc. If we talk about pre 9/11 scenario, Pakistanis were not so much aware of the word terrorism as there was much stability as far as ground realities of that era were concerned. Pakistan's stability prior to the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan is widely known. The fact that Pakistan was not regarded as a safe haven for terrorist or militant groups despite its hostilities with India in 1965 and 1971 is indicative of this stability. Smith (2001) claims that prior to Afghanistan's exit, Pakistan demonstrated an impressive degree of stability and that internal strife was mostly confined to past confrontations with India.

Although we had wars with India in 1965 and 1971, still our country was not a safe heaven for any terrorist or militant group. Before 9/11, there were no suicide bombings, killings, assassinations, or other military activity. Jones (2002) claims that Pakistan actively sought measures to keep its territory from serving as a terrorist organization's safe haven, and additionally, the geopolitical analysis also reflects that Pakistan did not provide a safe haven for terrorist or militant groups, highlighting the nation's efforts to uphold domestic security.

 However, in recent years, especially since 9/11, there have been many reports regarding suicide bombings and militant activities, particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. As per the findings of the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) (2022), there has been a discernible

upsurge in suicide bombs throughout the area, with a noteworthy peak observed subsequent to the departure of American forces from Afghanistan. Similarly, another thorough analysis by Stephen and Johnson (2022) emphasizes the changing security dynamics in the South-Asian region and shows a significant rise in insurgent militants' activities in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Americans.

Mainly, since the American forces' exit from Afghanistan, it seems that international perception is built through media discourses reflecting different themes that will be focused on in this research. The national and international developments since American forces exit from Afghanistan are pretty unique, and other types of perceptions and realities are being constructed through newspaper discourses. In this research, the researcher identifies some of the geographical and socio-political factors responsible for the exit of American forces from Afghanistan and explores some social perceptions constructed through newspaper discourses.

The newspaper discourses carry much significance as they are vital to creating different ideologies among the common masses (Khan, 2021) The other social realities are being constructed by using political discourses and thus attract much attention from different sections of society. The war discourses used in newspapers (Shcaffner, 2010) carry many embedded meanings that are used to express unsaid messages, and these messages can be explored with the help of political discourse analysis. It is imperative to understand how language in the form of political discourses is used to convey different meanings of power and what are the effects of these political discourses being implemented on individualsThe identification of the power dynamics reflected in language is a fundamental component of political discourse analysis. According to Foucault (1972), language is a location of power struggles and exercises rather than just a neutral instrument of communication. By using particular discourses, political actors are negotiating and exercising their influence within

society in addition to conveying ideas. Political discourses have a variety of consequences on people. Discourse, according to Fairclough (1995), is a type of social activity that highlights the idea that language is both a tool for enacting and reflecting power. When specific political discourses are put into practice, they have the power to mold public opinion, have an impact on the formulation of public perception, and even help shape social identities. Moreover, political discourses influence how people see themselves and other people, according to van Dijk (1993), who emphasizes the significance of newspapers' headlines in the construction of social cognition. Political actors in this situation may purposefully employ words to sway public opinion, garner favor, or silence critics. In conclusion, the political relevance of these sentences emphasizes the complex relationship between language, power, and how it affects people as seen through the prism of political discourse analysis. Scholars and analysts can learn more about how language affects societal perceptions, policy results, and individual lived experiences by looking at the underlying power dynamics in political discourses.

 The current study focuses on geographical and socio-political factors that lead American forces to exit from Afghanistan and how this exit has been socially constructed through newspaper headlines. Although there have been some studies on Post Afghan war effects (Bouvier, 2015; Park, Lim & Park, 2015), much work still needs to be done on the geographical and socio-political factors that are very important to understanding the post-Afghan war scenario. However, it is impossible to review and identify all the different issues in a single study, but the current research tries to identify the most critical themes through this analysis. This study examines the research addressing all of the problems, such as the social and geographical factors, politics at the language level, and the construction and propagation of different political ideologies. Also, the current study analyzes newspapers'

discourses and interpretations of social reality constructed through other newspapers'
headlines.

## Significance of the study

The American withdrawal from Afghanistan, a significant development in modern world
affairs, is the focal point of the title. A thorough and comprehensive examination of the
various cultural and political contexts in which the same incident is portrayed is made
possible by the title's inclusion of both American and Pakistani newspapers. It offers
perceptions into how different cultures view things and how the media shapes public opinion
(Shaffner, 2010) The title emphasizes "Print Media Representation," which highlights the
main idea of the study. This indicates a desire to explore the stories, opinions, and discourses
that media outlets have created around the US pullout. It is vital to comprehend how the
media affects public opinion in modern society. The research appears to involve more than
just a media content analysis, as suggested by the title. It suggests investigating the more
general effects of media depiction on diplomacy, international relations, and maybe the
political conversation about security and conflict. A multidisciplinary approach is suggested
by the US pullout, print media representation, and the inclusion of both American and
Pakistani perspectives. This can draw scholars from disciplines including journalism, political
science, media studies, and international relations, encouraging a more thorough investigation
of the selected topic. The study that the title refers to may provide information that influences
policy choices. A better understanding of the way the media presents important geopolitical

events can help with the analysis of how they affect public opinion and, in turn, how policies are formulated.

. An analytic approach, CDA research is often characterized as following a Hallidayan systemic functional linguist approach (e.g., Achugar 2008; Dunmire 2011; Young and Harrison 2004). Luke (2002) argues, however, that CDA is best understood as a "repertoire of political, epistemic stances" rather than a "formalized corpus of analytic and methodological techniques" However, it is impossible to review and identify all the different issues in a single study, but the current research tries to identify the most critical themes through this analysis. This study examines the research addressing all of the problems, such as the social and geographical factors, politics at the language level, and the construction and propagation of different political ideologies. Also, the current study analyzes newspapers' discourses and interpretations of social reality constructed through other newspapers' headlines.

## Statement of the Problem

The Afghan war is the longest in the history of the battles fought by America.(Congressional Research service, 2019).According to experts and researcherAmerica had already lost the war in 2012. However, the acceptance of her loss was difficult at that time. Therefore, the American president made a face-saving statement at the withdrawal time. On the other hand, in the contest, the Taliban's Information minister made statements that seemed more effective due to the prior argument. However, it is crucial that American forces could not achieve the desired ambition when they invaded Afghanistan after spending considerable money. Therefore, the present study evaluates the factors responsible for American forces' exit. It also focuses on the social reality constructed through newspaper discourses of both the countries (America and Pakistan) through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis.

**Literature Review**

Van Dijk (1997) opines that PDA political discourse analysis explores different discourses politically and critically. Political Discourse Analysis focuses on various political ideologies constructed through different types of discourses and relates these ideologies with the concept of power produced through political discourses. This approach also focuses on the uses of discursive circumstances, implications of social and political inequality, and how social and political biases were constructed through newspaper headlines. (Fairclough, 2003).

Political discourse analysis focuses on comprehending the evolving language use practices in political communication via newspapers and their relationship to broader social and cultural change processes (Fairclough, 1992). Newspaper political communication could reveal how the voices of influential individuals and groups in politics are expressed in an ordinary speech that collapses social identities, relationships, and distances. Politicians are expected to communicate in plain language through newspaper headlines (Fairclough, 1992). Not only is the genre of political discourse analysis in newspapers distinct from television or radio, but it is also distinct in terms of production, distribution, and consumption. This genre might be classified as "casual," "informal," or "conversational" (Scott, 2015). . The majority of the literature that has been written so far has concentrated on more general geopolitical analyses or criticisms of the withdrawal process; however, there has been relatively little research done on the particular ways that print media in Pakistan and the US have constructed and interpreted this momentous geopolitical development. There is a knowledge vacuum about the possible differences and divergences in the stories that these different media environments offer because the majority of research either focus on the American media's perspective or the Pakistani media's perspective

The discursive practices and critical research on War discourses and political exploitation are among the essential areas of Political Discourse Analysis, especially in the post-9/11 scenario. There are also some notable works regarding naming American officials and how these names have been politically used and shown in media. Mainly to create a positive image of American forces. (Arkin 2005; Kellner 2004; Chermak et al. 2003), And the Bush administration's "preventative war" (Stoltz 2007; Dunmire 2009). Discourse & Society (2004) and Journal of Language & Politics (2005) both published special issues on the discourses of the Afghanistan War, the Iraq War, and the "War on Terror." According to Edwards (2004), evaluating a "momentous event" such as 9-11 brings numerous facets of the socio-political scene into focus. He examines public opinions and pictures of the terrorist attacks, focusing on the assertion that they fundamentally altered the world. The author highlights rhetorical methods aimed at "increasing the psychological and social stakes" by exaggerating the scope of the attacks and condemning those who reject official policy responses. Edwards thinks this type of rhetoric is used to rally the public behind specific policies and actions.

Additionally, he contends that, rather than bringing about significant change, the post-Afghan war attacks facilitated the continuation of long-standing U.S. foreign policy methods and aims in the Middle East and Central Asia and domestic consumer behaviours. Contributions to Hodges and Nilep's (2007) Discourse, War, and Terrorism demonstrate how post-9/11 discourse affected interpretations and understandings of terrorist attacks and aided in forming sociopolitical reality in their wake. The collection investigates the discursive production of identities, ideology, and adversaries, as well as the responses of national leaders and populations to the attacks.

Becker (2007) investigates two news organizations' televised interviews with German Chancellor Gerhard Schroder to demonstrate his techniques for avoiding taking sides in the US-led War on Afghanistan dispute. She analyses the chancellor's reaction to a request for "a German viewpoint" on the Afghan war regarding how Schroder constructs Us and Them and negotiates these conceptions across various issues. Becker's analysis demonstrates that the interviews varied in their usage of pronouns and transitivity structure regarding abstraction versus personalizing. Additionally, she analyses how participants employ graduation and engagement evaluation components to traverse a range of diverse, frequently opposing views.

**Research Gap**

Although Pakistani and American newspapers have covered the US departure from Afghanistan in great detail, there is still a study gap about the subtle variations in the events' framing and portrayals in different media discourses. A thorough examination that considers both viewpoints might help us comprehend the common and divergent opinions on the withdrawal in a more sophisticated way. There is still much to learn about how political affiliations and personal interest shaped media narratives during the US pullout from Afghanistan. Examining how political processes in the two nations affect how the withdrawal is framed in media can provide light on the intricate relationship between international relations, politics, and the media. In light of the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, filling in these study gaps can greatly advance our knowledge of how the media shapes public opinion, shapes perceptions, and influences policy decisions.
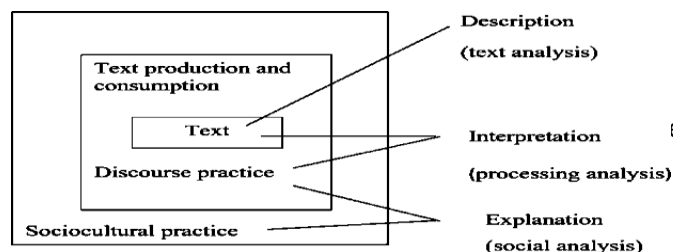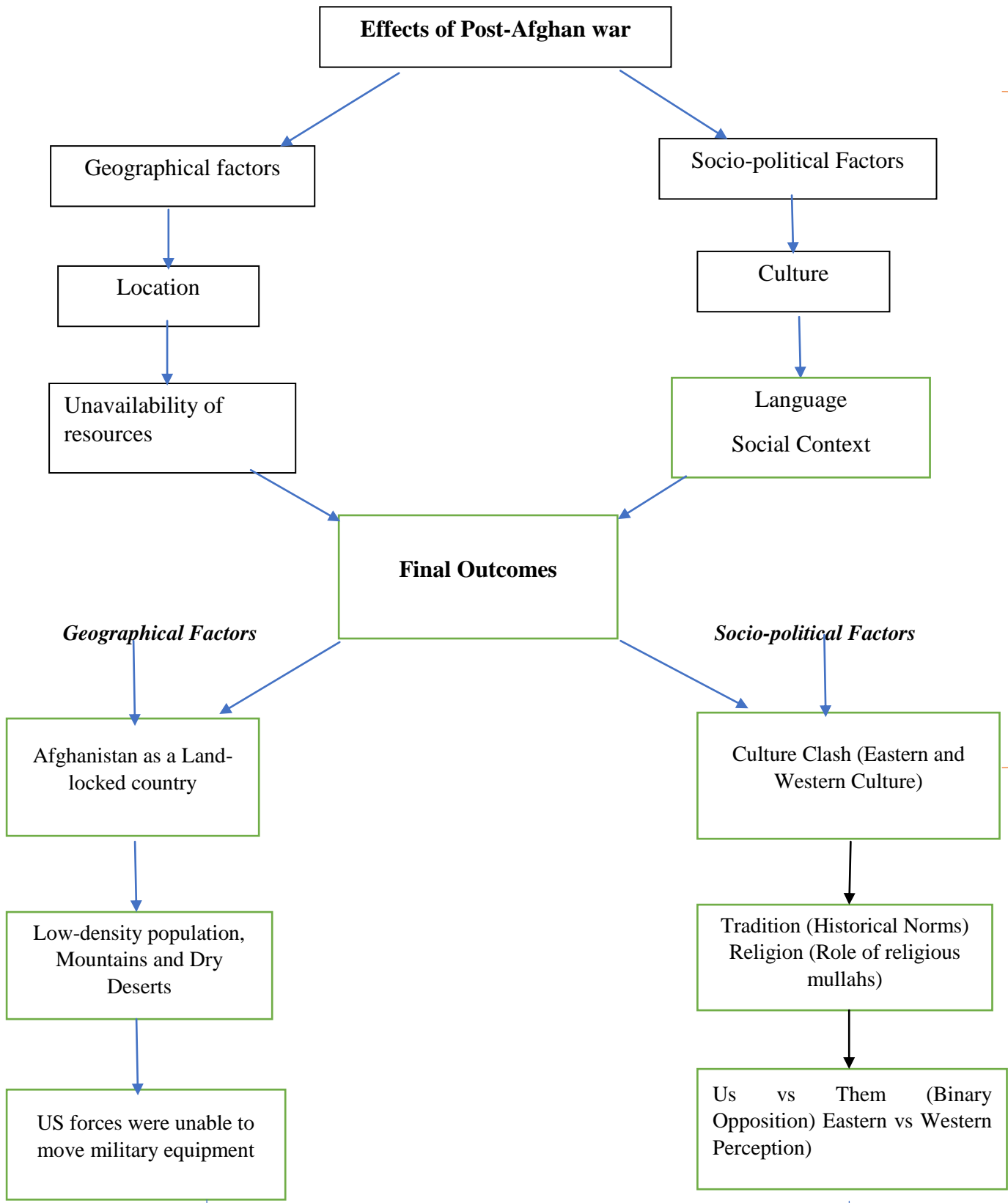
**Objectives**

- To explore socio-political and geographical factors that led to American forces' exit

- To explain post-Afghan war political discourses used in Newspapers

- To (de)construct the political perceptions and social reality depicted in headlines

**Research Questions**

1. What political discourse has been used in Pakistani & American newspapers after the Afghan war?

2. How political perceptions and social reality are constructed by newspaper discourses?

**Conceptual Framework**

The researcher uses Fairclough's 3d model to analyze the data. The analysis focuses on the two most important factors (geographical and socio-political) responsible for U.S. forces withdrawing from Afghanistan. Ideological representations of post-Afghan war's scenario in Pakistani & Western newspapers' headlines reveals that there are various social factors that contributed in American forces exit from Afghanistan for instance; Culture (Clash between Western and Eastern Culture), Us vs Them (Binary opposition) etc.

**Research Methodology**

The current research is qualitative, and a detailed analysis of different themes and ideologies is carried out with the help of textual analysis of the newspaper headlines of various national and international English newspapers. The researcher has used the method of analyzing newspaper headlines with the help of textual analysis because it focuses on exploring different layers expressed in the selected newspaper headlines. This research studies the analysis of post-Afghan war effects and factors reflected in Pakistani and Western Newspapers and how the political perceptions and social reality have been constructed through newspaper discourses. The reason for selecting these headlines is that they have been read nationally and internationally.

The researcher has collected data from print media, i.e. for the textual analysis during January-August (2021). The research design is based on textual analysis of the selected headlines and identification of the different political ideologies reflected through words used in those headlines. The study also explains the socio-political and geographical factors expressed in those headlines. For the detailed analysis, the researcher has employed the 3D (three-dimensional) model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (2003).

The research method chosen for this study is a qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is suitable for examining textual data in-depth, identifying patterns, themes, and underlying meanings within the context of media representations. (Krippendorff, 2018). The research design is comparative, focusing on analyzing and comparing the coverage of the American withdrawal from Afghanistan in newspapers from two different cultural and geopolitical perspectives: Pakistan and the United States.

## Analysis

The researcher uses Fairclough's 3d model to analyze the data. The analysis focuses on the two most important factors (geographical and socio-political) responsible for U.S. forces withdrawing from Afghanistan.

## Geographical factors:

Eggers (2017) opines that geographical factors are significant to understand because Afghanistan is a land-locked country, and it has a historical significance as this place can never be conquered by any empire. Due to its geographical importance, Afghanistan is known as the 'Graveyard of Empires', and as Babar (Mughal Emperor) once said, "Afghanistan has not been and never will be conquered, and will never surrender to anyone."
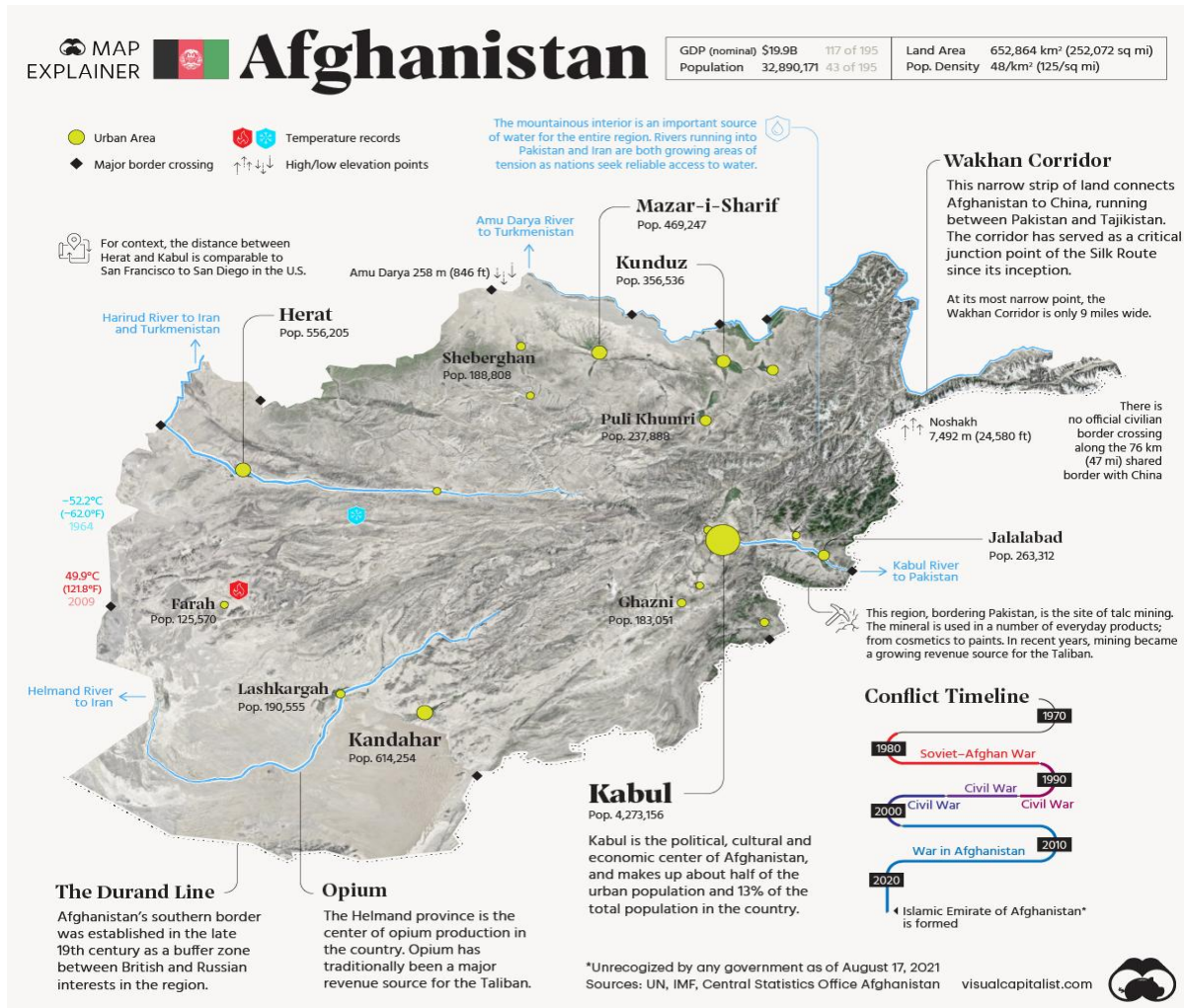
(Adopted from *www.worldatlas.com)*

A World Atlas proves very important in understanding the complex geographical configurations that has impacted on politics in Afghanistan. Maps are visual stories about the difficult ground, borderlines, and geopolitics elements which, to some extent, have contributed to decision-making processes upon the U.S. army retreat (Thomson, 2016). This atlas is very importance in identifying the geographical factors which are responsible for American forces' exit from Afghanistan

Some of the most important geographical factors that research has identified in this study are:

- Land-locked Country

- Low-density population

- Mountains & Dry deserts

- Low-quality infrastructure

- Unable to move military equipment

- Taliban Control

- Pakistan's involvement

- Unavailability of resources



(Adopted from https://www.visualcapitalist.com/map-explainer-key-facts-about-afghanistan/)

Geographically, Afghanistan is covered by mountains, barren lands and different states. According to the Texas National Security Review (September 11, 2001), 'The overall density of Afghan population is very low, and only almost 150 people per square mile live within one

unit (57 people per square kilometer)'. Contrary to this, the population density living in Iraq is 226 people per sq/m (it equals 84 people/sq km.). Similarly, in those sections of Afghanistan where the population is quite dense, highly populated, and people live within wide spaces, only 26% of the total population live in urban areas, including some of the most populated areas of Afghanistan. Due to this amount of dispersed and scattered population division, it was very challenging for a well-equipped and powerful army to combat, capture and remove the Afghan militants to eliminate terrorist activities entirely from Afghanistan.

After the withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan, the Taliban again captured the highly populated areas. Jalali (2022) writes that Talibans, after American forces exit, used these areas to show their power and strength by launching several organized and rapid attacks on Afghan forces to establish their dominance and superiority. After capturing the region and showing their domination, the Taliban did not use physical strength too often because they were fully aware of the geographical importance, cultural implications, and linguistic affiliation and could easily convince the local leaders to help capture and kill American soldiers. If, before the withdrawal, it was thought by the U.S. administration that the Taliban would capture the whole region so rapidly, it could have slowed the process of American forces' exit from Afghanistan.

The current research focuses on the ideological representations and discourses regarding the after-maths of the post-Afghan war's scenario reflected in Pakistani & Western newspaper headlines. The study investigates some of the geographical and socio-political factors that led to the exit of American forces from Afghanistan. This research analyzes that Political Discourse Analysis pays attention to how words used in headlines have reflected different themes and contextual factors leading to the exit of American forces from Afghanistan. The possible findings suggest that ideological representations of the post-Afghan war scenario in

Pakistani & Western newspapers' headlines reveal that various geographical and social factors contributed to the American force's exit from Afghanistan. For instance; Low-density population, Mountains and dry hills, Less-grounded areas, Culture (Clash between Western and Eastern Culture), Language (Language barriers), Traditions (historical norms), religion (role of religious mullahs), Politics (Political discourses), Us vs Them, Powerful vs Powerless (Binary opposition), Eastern vs Western Perception, Social Issues (Reality construction), NATO & Allied forces (Personal gains) and geographical history of Pakistan are the factors that make American administration decide that they should leave Afghanistan after twenty years of social unrest.

**Headline 1:**

**Biden will withdraw all U.S. forces from Afghanistan by September 11, 2021**

**(Washington Post; April 14, 2021)**

On April 14, 2021, President Biden announced that all American, Nato and Allied forces would be withdrawn from Afghanistan. The word withdraw carries symbolic significance because it shows that Americans were forced to leave Afghan soil and because of their inability to get success, they had to leave this region. It was said that the complete exit of the forces will be finalized before September 11, 2021 which completes the twentieth anniversary of the famous 9/11 attacks which changed the dynamic of the whole world, and this withdrawal also puts an end to the one of the most difficult and **'Longest war'** in United States' history. The headline clearly states the declaration of the American President to remove American forces from Afghanistan. Official statistics show 2,500 U.S. troops in Afghanistan, although this number kept on changing and increasing with time. The additional

7000 soldiers of Allied forces and NATO troops were also present at the time of Biden's announcement of forces exit.

Previously, the Trump administration gave the date of May 1, 2021, but Biden changed the date by saying that if 'we tried to leave Afghanistan immediately' without planning, it would result in another chaotic situation. It also shows the clash between Americans themselves as there was no clear plan for American forces exit, due to which the Taliban immediately recaptured the number of areas of Afghanistan.

**Headline 2:**

**U.S. forces leave Afghanistan after 20 years and U.S. exit will stop I.S. attacks, believe Taliban (Dawn; January 21, 2021)**

The Pakistani newspaper is giving the Taliban's view that 'the exit of American forces will bring peace to Afghanistan'. It is how social reality is constructed through words. Pakistan is indirectly propagating the Taliban's opinion that all the disability and terrorism in Afghanistan is because of American troops involvement. The reference of 'I.S. (Islamic state group), a banned terrorist organization, clearly reflects the clash of perceptions reflected by the United States and Taliban, which further relates to the cultural conflict and makes it an essential factor of American forces exit and creates the concept of 'Binary opposition (Us vs Them)'

**Headline 3:**

**Biden's Afghan withdrawal achieved nothing but failure (Washington Post; August 13, 2021)**

The Americans asked a question from their own administration, i.e. 'Is withdrawal the complete failure?' If we analyze the selection of words, it is clearly stating and accepting

American's failure after 20 years' stay in Afghanistan. Ironically, the headline opines Eastern view (Afghan's and Pakistan's perception) that America has not achieved anything during their stay in Afghanistan. The words like 'failure' and 'nothing' give interpretations of American embarrassment and acceptance of defeat.

**Headline 4:**

**U.S. troops depart a dramatically changed Afghanistan after 2 weeks of chaos and 20 years of war (Washington Post; August 30, 2021)**
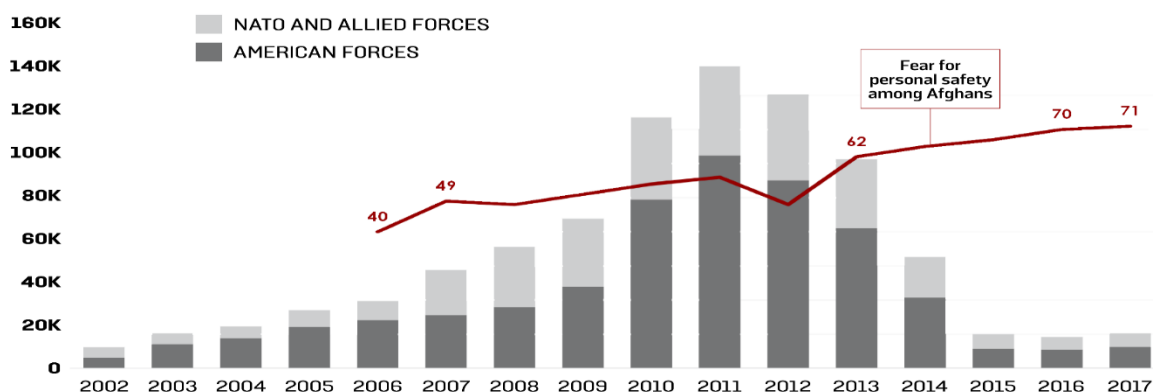
Now, as the 20th anniversary of 9/11 attacks have just crossed, the Talibans are again on their way to completing the recapture and announcing the Americans' huge defeat. This withdrawal will create adverse effects for Afghans and the rest of the world, particularly the neighboring countries of Afghanistan. The political destabilization, sexual servitude, and the violation of human rights will again push Afghan people in the clutches of darkness. Similarly, those Afghan forces who worked with American troops are now badly trapped in the hands of Taliban. Here, words like 'dramatically changed' explains American's stance, which identifies and constructs this Western reality that Afghanistan is completely changed within these twenty years of American stay. It also reflects that 'now America has accomplished its task and this is the right time to move'. This is how American perception and social reality are constructed to give the American administration a positive image and prove their stance of the Afghan invasion in 2001 as correct.

**Headline 5:**

**Pakistan says U.S. Afghan troop withdrawal is 'logical conclusion' (Dawn; August 16, 2021)**

In this headline, Pakistan's opinion is being analyzed as the word logical conclusion is giving the positive interpretation. This is how Eastern perception (Pakistan's view) is being propagated with the help of newspaper discourses. This headline is taken form 'Dawn', which clearly explores the role of Pakistan in helping U.S. forces leave Afghanistan. The social reality that is trying to be constructed here clearly explains that peaceful and logical withdrawal of American troops could not have been possible without Pakistan's involvement. Here, it can also be interpreted that Islamabad's administration (Pak's administration) clearly believes that American forces should leave Afghanistan to make this place peaceful and stabilized.

The following image shows how from 2002-2012 the number of American and Allied forces increased, but then from 2013, the number started to decrease. Another interpretation of this decreasing number of troops also can also be analyzed in this way that since 2013, the American administration has decided to leave Afghanistan, but it took them almost 7-8 years to accept it openly and admit it that they cannot stay more in this area as it was a wrong decision to invade this region back in 2001.



Adopted from https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2021-
02/afghanistan_study_group_final_report_a_pathway_for_peace_in_afghanistan.pdf

**Heading 6:**

**Taliban celebrates victory as last U.S. troops leave Afghanistan (AL-Jazeera news; August 31, 2021)**

Taliban groups wildly celebrated the complete exit of American forces. The use of lexical items like celebrates and victory is loaded with meanings of success that clearly states the Taliban's perceptions i.e. We are able to defeat American forces and now after twenty years we have got the complete success after forcing American forces to withdraw from our soil. It also conveys that how Al Jazeera news is constructing the Eastern perception (Taliban's view) by using the words of victory and celebrates. It opines that this interpretation is built to create an image that American forces' exit is a significant step, and it has completed Taliban's Victory as well over American forces. There is another concept of freedom and emancipation as the Taliban have now got full control after making American forces exit from Afghanistan, and now they (talibans) are in total command of Afghan soil they wanted. The idea of legitimacy can also be explored here as now the Taliban got the legitimate right to form their own government. However, another angle of this interpretation can be explored in this way by adding China's perception as China also paid tribute after the exit of U.S. forces which also shows Chinese interest in this whole scenario, and also, because of its geographical significance and a lot of investment both in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

**Heading 7:**

**Biden defends Afghan withdrawal as 'best decision' for U.S.**

**(Al-Jazeera News; September 1, 2021)**

The concept of self-glorification can be highlighted as the President of U.S. is saying that the decision to leave Afghanistan was the best. Through persuasive strategy, he tries to convince the world, particularly Americans, that this decision to leave Afghanistan was the right one. It

also explores the idea of victory celebrated by the American administration. The phrase best decision itself is opining the concept of victory, dominance, and superiority that whatever decision they made was correct. The theme of nationalism is also reflected here as Biden is referring to the whole U.S., so through nationalistic discourse, he conveys the message of unity to all Americans. Furthermore, this defense is not only for Americans; actually, Biden is trying to save American's face-saving in front of the world and trying to create a positive image by saying that we are successful in getting out of Afghanistan. Although he became President last year, he tried to remove the past perception and promote himself as the best option for the United States by propagating the concept of American unity in front of the world.

**Discussion and Findings:**

Following are the most important social factors that contributed to American forces exit from Afghanistan:

- Culture (Clash between Western and Eastern Culture)

- Language (Language barriers)

- Traditions (Historical norms)

- Religion (Role of religious mullahs)

- Politics (Political discourses)

- Us vs Them (Binary opposition)

- Eastern vs Western Perception

- Social Issues (Reality construction)

- NATO & Allied forces (Personal gains)

The geographical and social factors play their part in U.S. forces' exit from Afghanistan. The social setting and context are also some of the primary factors Americans face much trouble. The linguistic discourses, which is an essential tool of communication, also creates a barrier as Americans were not familiar with the native language, so they were unable to convey their messages properly to Afghan forces due to which it also created hurdles making it difficult for American troops to capture Taliban and their companions.

The Pakistani and American newspapers are trying to construct a positive image in front of their people. Although different headlines state that it was not a successful war, Americans could not get the desired result even after spending more than 150 billion dollars. The Western media is constructing this reality that America has completed its mission, and now it is the right time to withdraw forces from this region. On the other hand, Pakistani perception is that without American forces exit, peace is not possible in Afghanistan, and hence this withdrawal is evident and has reached its logical conclusion.

Another point worth considering is that newspaper discourses are critical to construct different ideologies among the masses, which is what is happening in both countries (America and Pakistan). The concept of Us vs Them (Binary oppositions) is also reflected as both the newspapers treat their countries as centre/margin, i.e. (Center vs Margin). It is how social reality is being constructed to propagate concept of powerful and powerless and expresses the idea of appearance vs reality. The social issues of Afghanistan are also responsible for this exit as Americans, being outsiders, could not understand these issues properly and didn't do anything to solve them to create stability as they perceived it so many times.

Although once it was decided to withdraw American and NATO troops in 2012, American troops remained there due to international pressure. Trump also tried to bring their troops back. However, American agencies might not agree to the decision. In Trump's tenure, there was also in-house political unrest. It would be a political policy as that the agencies wouldn't seem to see Trump's success for the 2nd time. Although it may be a wrong decision for the current American white-house administration, in the end, they had to decide to withdraw troops as they observed the Taliban were near to the capital--Kabul.

On the other hand, the Taliban seemed successful in invading most of Afghanistan's provinces when America announced the withdrawal. If we observe keenly, American's remained troops flew on August 16 after the invasion of Kabul. So, it can be said; it was the Victory for Taliban.

## Conclusion:

This research has analyzed that Political Discourse Analysis pays attention to how words used in headlines have reflected different themes and contextual factors leading to the exit of American forces from Afghanistan. The findings suggest that ideological representations of the post-Afghan war's scenario in Pakistani and Americannewspapers' headlines reveal that various geographical and social factors contributed to American forces exit from Afghanistan. For instance; Low-density population, Mountains and dry hills, Less-grounded area, Culture (Clash between Western and Eastern Culture), Language (Language barriers), Traditions (historical norms), religion (role of religious mullahs), Politics (Political discourses), Us vs Them, Powerful vs Powerless (Binary opposition), Eastern vs Western Perception, Social Issues (Reality construction), NATO and Allied forces (Personal gains) and geographical history of Pakistan are the factors that make American administration decide that they should leave Afghanistan after twenty years of social unrest.

# References

Aziz, K. (2007). Causes of Rebellion in Waziristan. Policy Report.

Beattie. H (2013). Imperial frontier: tribe and state in Afghanistan. London: Routledge

Campbell, D. (1992). Writing Security: Unites States Foreign policy and politics of identity: University of Minesotta press.

Chilton, P. A., & Schäffner, C. (1997). Discourse and politics. *Discourse Studies*, *2*, 206-230.

Dunmire, P. L. (2012). Political discourse analysis: Exploring the language of politics and the politics of language. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, *6*(11), 735-751.

Fischer, F., & Gottweis, H. (eds.). (2012). The argumentative turn revisited: Public policy as communicative practice. Durham, NC; Duke University Press.

Kadrić, M., Rennert, S., & Schäffner, C. (2021). *Diplomatic and Political Interpreting Explained*. Routledge.

Vulchanova, M., Vulchanov, V., Fritz, I. and Milburn, E. A. (2019). Language and perception: Introduction to the Special Issue "Speakers and Listeners in the Visual World". Journal of Cultural Cognitive Science, 3, 103–112 (2019). https://doi.org/10.1007/s41809-019- 00047-

Rogers, R., & Schaenen, I. (2014). Critical Discourse Analysis in Literacy Education: A Review of the Literature. Reading Research Quarterly, 49(1), 121-143. Retrieved April 28, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/43497640

Schaffner, A. K. (2010, July). Kafka and the Hermeneutics of Sadomasochism. In *Forum for Modern Language Studies* (Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 334-350). Oxford University Press

Shah, M. I. & Noreen, A. (2018). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan's First Public Address. Public Policy and Administration Research, 8(9), 1-6. Retrieved from https://www.iiste.org/Journals/ on May 8, 2020

Van Dijk, T. A. (2005). Contextual knowledge management in discourse production. In Wodak, R. & Chilton, P. A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis: Theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity, 13, 71-100. https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.13.07dij