



Editorial Policy of Daily Jang Newspaper on Pak-India Relations: A Review of General Pervez Musharraf Political Era

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Abstract

General Pervez Musharraf, the head of Pakistan army, seized power in the country by overthrowing the democratically elected Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1999. Initially, he introduced a portfolio of Chief Executive for himself. However, on June 21, 2001, he assumed the office of President of Pakistan. He got himself elected as the President of Pakistan for the next 5 years through referendum held on April 30, 2002. He resigned from the presidency on August 18, 2008. During his presidency, General Pervez Musharraf sought to improve relations with India, proposing an out of the box solution for resolving the long standing Kashmir issue by deviating from the traditional state position of Pakistan. This is the reason why we have conducted research on the policy of Pakistani media on Pak-India relations during the presidency of General Pervez Musharraf. For this purpose, the editorials of Pakistan's most widely circulated newspaper, Daily Jang, were selected. The daily Jang published a total of 713 editorials during the presidency of General Pervez Musharraf from June 21, 2001 to August 18, 2008. Our research findings suggest that editorials published by Jang Newspaper during the period era argue that Kashmir issue is the bone of contention between Pakistan and India, the two nuclear neighbors in strategic South Asia. Jang tries to shape public opinion through the editorials that if the Kashmir issue is resolved once and



forever, all other disputes will automatically be resolved. The editorial policy of the Jang seems to resolve the Kashmir issue somehow, even if Pakistan has to show flexibility in its traditional stance on Kashmir. Jang supports negotiations between Pakistan and India on various issues including Kashmir. Meetings of Pak-India rulers are presented as important developments. Jang editorials give the impression that disputes can only be resolved through negotiations. Pakistan and India have also fought wars that have resulted in nothing but destruction and starvation on either sides. So now both countries must abandon war policy. Matters should be handled with mutual understanding. Daily Jang usually blame India for the failure of the Pak-India talks. The newspaper calls Pakistan's missile tests a national defense necessity, and tries to create public opinion in its favor. The newspaper, on the other hand raises concerns over India's missile tests. Its Editorials described India's missile system as a threat to South Asia, including Pakistan. In other words, daily Jang on the defense system of Pakistan and India has a one-sided, biased and irrational editorial policy. The newspapers describe the Pak-India trade as beneficial for both the countries and encouraged them to increase trade. The editorials of Jang also support Pak-India cricket relations and bus service. The Jang as a whole seeks to create anti-India public opinion in Pakistan in its editorials as well as emphasizes on improving Pakistan-India relations.

Key Words: Daily Jang, Editorial, Pakistan, General Musharraf

INTRODUCTION

General Pervez Musharraf staged a coup d'état as the head of Pakistan Army on October 12, 1999, overthrowing the democratically elected Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and emerged an authoritative ruler of the country. Initially, General Pervez Musharraf introduced designation of the Chief Executive for himself. However, on June 21, 2001, he took oath as president. Earlier, President-elect Rafiq Tarar had tendered this resignation. On April 30, 2002, General Pervez Musharraf held a presidential referendum and got himself elected as President of the country for the next five years. However, he took oath on November 16, 2002, six and a half months after the referendum was held. That means, the General Pervez Musharraf had already been (June 2001) acting as president without being elected from any electoral college. After being elected through a referendum on April 30, 2002, he was sworn in as President for a five-year term on November 16, 2002. The swearing in of the President on November 16, 2002 meant that the five-year term of Pervez Musharraf's presidency would have ended on November 15,



2007, but as the term of the (12th) National Assembly of Pakistan was coming to an end in November 2007 and so were the Provincial Assemblies. These assemblies jointly form the Electoral College for the election of the President, so General Pervez Musharraf got himself re-elected as President a month before in October 2007 through an Electoral College consisting of Parliament and Provincial Assemblies. However, this time he could not complete the period. In the February 18, 2008 general elections, the PML-Q, which was contesting the elections under the political umbrella of Pervez Musharraf, lost the polls, giving the PPP a chance to form a government. Ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP) along with PML-N announced an impeachment motion against President Pervez Musharraf in Parliament. However, before he was being impeached, Pervez Musharraf decided to tender his resignation. On August 18, 2008, President Pervez Musharraf addressed the nation on television and formally announced his resignation. And that is how General Pervez Musharraf, who had emerged the dictator of Pakistan on October 12, 1999, left the corridors of power on August 18, 2008.

He became the President of Pakistan on June 21, so in this research paper we will take a look at the policy adopted by Pakistan's leading national daily Jang on Pak-India relations during the presidency of General Pervez Musharraf. The daily Jang was chosen because it is the most widely published newspaper in Pakistan.

Through this research, an attempt will be made to bring to light the facts that; what policy and strategy was adopted in the editorials of Pakistan's largest newspaper regarding Pakistan's relations with India during the presidency of General Pervez Musharraf? How and from what angle did the newspaper cover various incidents through its editorials? During the period under research, did the editorials of the daily Jang reflect a desire to improve Pak-India relations? Did these editorials continue to educate the readers for better and friendly relations between the two countries? And did the Daily Jang editorials continue to create an anti-India public opinion in Pakistan?

This research article will be completed on the basis of editorials published between 21 June 2001 and 18 August 2008. The reason to focus the research within the aforementioned time period is obvious because the General Pervez Musharraf sworn as the President of Pakistan on June 21, 2001 and resigned from the presidency on August 18, 2008.

This research paper is being developed and completed on the basis of a few questions – which are basically hypotheses of this entire research. These hypothetical questions are as follows. Do Jang editorials create an anti-India public opinion in Pakistan? Did this newspaper support Pak-India talks under General Pervez Musharraf? Is Kashmir dispute the main reason of strained relations between Pak-India as per the editorial policy of Daily



Jang? Is this newspaper in favor of promoting Pak-India trade relations? Do the editorials of Jang shape public opinion for promoting Pak-India cricket relations? What was the editorial policy of the newspaper regarding bus service between Pakistan and India? Does Daily Jang adopt same editorial policy with regard to India's missile tests as with Pakistan's missile system?

Researchers are using qualitative method for this research topic. Editorial articles published during the specific period in the daily Jang were selected for research sampling. In other words, in our research, in the process of sampling, the daily Jang was chosen as the population. In the chapter on the size of the sample, we took the editorials of the daily Jang which were published in the period we have opted for this research.

During the research period, a total of 713 editorial articles were published which are related to our research topic. The research period covers from June 21, 2001 to August 18, 2008. During these 7 years and 2 months, the daily Jang made a total of 713 days of Pak-India relations the subject of editorials with making them part of its publications. The number of editorial articles published on Pak-India in the daily Jang from June 21, 2001 to August 18, 2008 is also given in the form of a table months and years basis.

An overall research study of all these editorial articles was aimed at finding conclusion as to what policy did Daily Jang followed or adopted during the tenure of President General Pervez Musharraf.

The conclusions drawn from the research of Jang editorials will be presented in the next phase of this research which is Content Analysis and excerpts from specific editorials and content of the newspaper will also be made part of the research paper. Books were taken as the primary data of this research while the Editorials and content of the daily Jang were selected as the secondary data.

THE PUBLISHING HISTORY OF JANG NEWSPAPER

Jang is regarded the most widely circulated newspaper in Pakistan today. Its founder was Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman, who was also the newspaper's first editor and publisher of the paper. Jang newspaper used to publish from Delhi in 1940. Initially, it was a fortnightly newspaper and an evening newspaper. Researchers have differing views over the exact year of the publication of the newspaper. However, the most of the authentic references in this chapter is Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman, the founder, editor and publisher of Jang. In 1990, a detailed interview of Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman was published in his newspaper. The interview was published by Jang Press in the form of a special magazine entitled "The Tale of Half a Century" which is available at the archives and library of Jang. In its first lines, Mir



Khalil-ur-Rehman says that "The beginnings in journalism can be traced back to the fact that Jang Newspaper, and myself turned 50-year-old in July 1990." (Qisa Nisf sadi ka, P26)

After the partition of India, Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman shifted the Jang Newspaper to Karachi. It was launched from the territory of Pakistan on October 14, 1947. Immediately after the formation of Pakistan, "Anjam" Newspaper used to be more popular amongst the readers, its circulation also used to be higher, but Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman left Anjam behind based on his administrative skills and his team's news sense skills. As within a few years, Jang became the largest newspaper in Pakistan. As per Pakistan Chronicle "On September 6, 1956, for the first time, the words 'most circulated Urdu newspaper in Pakistan' were printed on the front of Daily Jang Newspaper. Since then, the daily Jang has maintained its prestige," (Jaffery, P127)

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this research paper, we are reviewing the editorial policy adopted by Pakistan's largest newspaper (Jang) on Pak-India relations. The editorial is primarily a reflection of the newspaper's policy. In other words, the editorial is considered as conscience of the Newspaper. The newspaper organization expresses its opinion or policy on any issue. Through editorials a newspaper shapes public opinion over an issue. The newspaper, through its editorials, analyzes from various angles, providing up-to-date and important information on the given subject. The newspaper - the editorial writer, tries to get the readers of the editorial to agree with him and develop his/her opinion coherent to the Newspaper's editorial policy, and the reader could be able to answer logically.

For this purpose, the organization adopts a logical and strong statement common and easy wording. As far as the Urdu editorial is concerned, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan started the formal and systematic writing of Urdu editorial through his newspaper "Akhbar Scientific Society". It was a weekly newspaper, however later on it begun to publish after every three days in week. As per Miskin Ali Hijazi, the Newspaper Scientific Society began publishing regular editorials for the first time and separately. According to a study, 28% of the total content was news and 13% was dedicated to the editorial (Hijazi, P281).

As far as research on editorial writing is concerned, Dr. Miskin Ali Hijazi was the first to work on it in a strong manner in Pakistan. His book was published in 1970 titled "Idria Nawesi".

In 1987, Rahat Sohail, a student of Punjab University, did her PhD on the subject of history and evolution of editorial writing under the supervision of Dr. Miskin Ali Hijazi. His work was published in a book form under the title "Urdu Idaria ka irtiqa". Later, research papers



were written at the Masters, M.Phil and Ph.D levels on Urdu editorial writing. For example, in 2012, Kausar Jabeen, a student of Department of Mass Communication at Karachi University, wrote a research paper titled "Editorial of the Daily Jang on Pak-US Relations".

However, there was a thirst for research on newspaper's editorials with regard to relations between India and Pakistan, the two major South Asian rivals. Therefore, these researchers have decided to take up this task, and tried to dig out the fact as to what kind of editorial policy does Pakistan's print media adopt on Pak-India relations? Does Pakistan's print media wish for good relations between Pakistan and India? Does the press here try to build public opinion in favor of dialogue on various issues of Pak-India or in opposition? Does Pakistan's print media try to influence public opinion on other aspects of Pak-India relations?

In order to find out afore mentioned queries, we have chosen Daily Jang. The reason for choosing this newspaper is obvious because the Newspaper has been publishing well before the inception of Pakistan. The Jang Newspaper started publishing from Delhi before the formation of Pakistan.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

The period of our research is from June 21, 2001 to August 18, 2008, we are reviewing the editorials of the daily Jang and published during the years of General Pervez Musharraf's tenure as President of Pakistan. During this period, editorials and editorial notes published on 713 days in the daily Jang on the subject of Pak-India relations. We have collected the articles published on Pak-India relations from 21st June, 2001 to 18th August, 2008 as the research material of this article. From June 21, 2001 to December 31, 2001, Daily Jang published as many as 81 editorials and sub-editorials on Pak-India relations. Similarly, 161 editorials were published in 2002, 136 in 2003, 105 in 2004 while 83, 70, 42 editorial articles were published by Daily Jang in 2005, 2006 and 2007, respectively. From January 1, 2008 to August 18, 2008, The Jang carried around 35 editorials on Pak-India Relations.

Year	Editorials + Editorial Notes
2001 from 21 June to 31 December	81



2002	161
2003	136
2004	105
2005	83
2006	70
2007	42
2008 Till 18 August	35
Total	713

MEETINGS AND NEGOTIATIONS

During the presidency of General Pervez Musharraf, what editorial policy did Jang adopt on the meetings and talks of Pak-India officials? Do its editorials encourage Pak-India contacts and dialogues or present them to the readers as a useless exercise? We would like to know the fact in the light of the editorials of Jang.

AGRA SUMMIT

General Pervez Musharraf visited India in July 2001 as the President of Pakistan. The visit, popularly known as the Agra Summit, was hotly debated in the media and diplomatic circles.

General Pervez Musharraf left for India on July 14 and returned on the night of July 16. The President of Pakistan was welcomed by Indian officials in Delhi but the talks took place at Agra. During his visit, Pakistan's President and Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf had four one-on-one meetings with Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. However, at the end of the talks, the two countries could not issue a joint declaration, meaning the talks ended inconclusively.



On 16 July 2001, Jang published an editorial titled "The Kashmir dispute will not be resolved through War, only through negotiations". This editorial is based on a speech by the President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, on his arrival in India on July 14 at the Rashtrapati Bhavan (President House) in the presence of the President of the Republic of India, the Prime Minister of India and other government and diplomatic officials. General Pervez Musharraf said in his speech that it is my expert (military) opinion that there is no military solution to the Kashmir issue, this issue cannot be resolved by force. If this issue is to be resolved, the path of dialogue will have to be adopted and the two countries will have to bring this long-standing issue to the negotiating table, so let's have meaningful talks on Kashmir. The Jang editorials writer wrote that General Pervez Musharraf's statement was correct and that talks without Kashmir are meaningless. If the talks open the way for Pak-India issues other than Kashmir, things will go worse again sooner or later because of Kashmir. Meaningful talks on Kashmir are need of the time. General Pervez Musharraf's words are the voice of the hour and time has provided a better opportunity to Pakistan and India in the form of Agra Summit. Both countries should take advantage of this opportunity. In this editorial, Jang wrote an important point that the Kashmir issue cannot be resolved by the will of either Pakistan or India, this issue has to be resolved by mutual reconciliation between the two countries. From the point of view of Pakistan's principle policy, it can be called as U-Turn. Because Pakistan has a long standing position that the Kashmir dispute should be resolved according to the will of Kashmiris while India calls Kashmir its integral part and this is its state position. Therefore, it can be said that the Jang has shown flexibility in its editorial policy on the Kashmir issue. This war is a journey from "Kashmiris' right to self-determination to the resolution of the Kashmir issue without the consent of both countries, including India.

Translate: "Whatever the immediate outcome of the Agra Summit, President Pervez Musharraf's opinion is undeniable. There is no military solution to the Kashmir issue. We have to find a way to solve it peacefully and it is inevitable. The fact is that either country is not in a position to resolve the Kashmir issue on its own and at its own discretion. Whenever this issue is resolved, all parties must resolve it amicably with mutual understanding. (Jang, July 16, 2001)

Agra talks ended on July 16, 2001 without any conclusion. General Pervez Musharraf returned home that night. The next day, on July 17, Jang wrote an editorial titled "Inevitable progress in resolving the Kashmir issue." Although the Agra talks had failed, a joint declaration could not have been issued by the Agra Summit to resolve the Kashmir issue, but the Jang did not leave hope on its editorial page. The newspaper in Editorial is trying to create public opinion that holding talks on Kashmir issue is an important development. It is not possible that the solution of a complex issue that has been going on for more than



half a century could come be found in a single sitting. However, India's willingness to hold talks with Pakistan on Kashmir issue shows that there is a bright prospect of talks next time as well, and the Prime Minister of India has accepted the invitation of President of Pakistan to visit Pakistan.

The July 19, 2001 editorial titled "Hopeful Clarifications for Pakistan and India" also argued in favor of the Pak-India-Agra talks, saying that the leaders of the two countries were saying that the talks would continue. In their statements, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries spoke of advancing the dialogue process. The Prime Minister of India has accepted the invitation to visit Pakistan. In other words, after the Kargil war between the two countries, the door to dialogue has opened at the beginning of the 21st century, so the Agra Summit has proved to be a positive development. The editorial gave the impression that extremist circles in both Pakistan and India were rejoicing at the fruitless conclusion of the Agra Summit. The proponents of dialogue are taunting people. But if one thinks on logical lines, it will be understood that these talks have played an important role in normalizing the bad relations between the two neighboring countries. Although relations have not improved much yet, an atmosphere of mutual trust has begun to develop and the credit goes to the Agra Summit. In particular, referring to India's extremist-minded class, the newspaper wrote:

Translate: "It is unfortunate that there are some powerful extremists in India's ruling class and in the media, but the majority of public and opinion builders have a genuine interest in peace and reconciliation. The moderate elements in India have to compete with the extremist elements' pressure with full force" (Jang, July 19, 2001)

It is as if the daily Jang is trying to persuade the readers in favor of Pak-India talks with intense vigor in its editorials. Daily Jang is declaring inconclusive Agra Summit a successful meeting to some extent and giving reasonable arguments in this regard. In other words, the Jang is interpreting the efforts to normalize the deteriorating relations through Pak-India talks and the progress made by India in declaring Kashmir as the biggest issue as a success of the Agra talks. The editorial policy of the Jang remained positive with regard to the Pak-India talks, Jang remained supportive of the talks, its editorials seemed to wish for the success of these talks, and Jang Newspaper did a great work to shape public opinion in favor of the talks. According to the newspaper, the Agra talks did not fail despite giving no result but it proved to be the key to the resumption of relations between the two rival neighbors. In short, the Jang presented the Agra talks as an important development.



MUSHARRAF AND MANMOHAN SINGH'S MEETING AND EDITORIAL POLICY OF THE JANG

After Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Dr. Manmohan Singh, a member of the Congress, was elected Prime Minister of India in May 2004. General Pervez Musharraf and Manmohan Singh met in New York on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly in September 2004. Appreciating the meeting of Pak-India heads of state and government over the September 28 Editorial, the newspaper said that as result, India has not only pledged to continue the dialogue process as a peace process but has also agreed to include Kashmir in the negotiating agenda. In the past, it was not willing to negotiate on Kashmir. The leaders of the two countries have called the New York meeting the beginning of a new era and the two leaders have agreed to soften their positions to move the dialogue process forward. This attitude will definitely have a positive impact on the future of the region, will help the people of the subcontinent to get out of the war-torn environment and this is the need of the hour.

Translate: "In order to alleviate the frustrations and disappointments of millions of people on the subcontinent, to overcome backwardness and to truly enjoy the blessings of freedom, the parties need flexibility in their respective positions on contentious issues in the wider public interest. It will be considered as realism, a victory of both countries to move the negotiation process forward for sustainable peace and reconciliation." (Jang, Sept 28, 2004)

CONCLUSION

After studying the editorials written in connection with the Pak-India talks and the meetings of the heads of the two countries, we conclude that the daily Jang is in favor of the Pak-India talks. According to its editorial policy, the two countries should resolve all disputes at the negotiating table and negotiations are the means by which issues and disputes are resolved. The Jang through its editorials seem to be trying its best to shape public opinion in favor of meetings and negotiations on Pak-India relations.

KASHMIR DISPUTE

The Kashmir dispute is a long standing issue between Pakistan and India. Kashmir issue arose with the emergence of Pakistan and India as a result of the partition of India. Wars were also fought over this issue. The daily Jang in its editorials attributes the Kashmir issue to the main cause of tension in Pak-India relations. The overall theme is that Kashmir is the root cause of the conflict between the two countries. The gist of Jang editorials over the Kashmir from 2001 to 2008 under General Pervez Musharraf regime is 'Kashmir as the



main cause of the conflict between the two countries'. If the Kashmir issue is resolved, relations between Pakistan and India can improve. Once the basic dispute is settled, other issues will be resolved automatically. There is a need to resolve such a longstanding dispute through negotiations. Both Pakistan and India are nuclear powers, both have been fighting on the battlefield and both are in an arms race against each other. If there is ever a war between the two countries, it would be over Kashmir issue, and if two nuclear powers jump into the war, it is sure to have dire consequences. The both countries threatened each other of using nuclear weapons time and again during the strained Pak-India relations. In this context, the Kashmir issue is a global issue and should be viewed in the same light. If Pakistan and India are to escape the ravages of war, the Kashmir issue must be resolved peacefully.

IN an editorial on 22 November 2005 about meeting between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India, Shaukat Aziz and Manmohan Singh, Jang called the Kashmir issue a bone of contention between the two countries and called for a peaceful solution, especially talks with India. It called for the two countries to get rid of this long-running dispute

Translate: "Indian rulers must realize the seriousness of this issue and the need and importance of a just solution. Without it, neither the two countries pave the way to free trade, nor can lasting peace be established in South Asia. Nor is it possible to reduce the defense budgets of both countries. Nor can it be possible to end the poverty and backwardness of millions of people and bring them the blessings of freedom. The danger is that without disusing on Kashmir, all steps taken to promote friendship and cooperation on both sides will not only prove to be temporary. The severity of the grim situation would cause irreparable losses to the both countries. (Jang, Nov 22, 2005)

Similarly, in the sub-editorial dated 13th May, 2008, Jang called the Kashmir issue a key dispute between Pakistan and India, the newspaper expresses its policy as follows:

Translate: "If the Indian rulers want to resolve this issue through peaceful means, they must first withdraw Indian forces from Kashmir and then the issue should be resolved through dialogue with the genuine leadership of Kashmir and Pakistan in such a way that no party objects to it." (Jang, May 13, 2008)

The editorial note of September 9, 2001 reflects the editorial policy of the daily Jang on the Kashmir issue. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar had said in an interview to Reuters television that the main reason for differences between Pakistan and India is the Kashmir dispute. If the two countries are to reach a comprehensive and peaceful settlement, they must set a clear agenda for future talks. Pakistan understands and wants all kinds of disputes with India to be resolved but the Kashmir issue is fundamental. In other words, the government of Pakistan understands the Kashmir issue as the mother of all disputes



with India and wants to discuss it first to resolve all kinds of other mutual disputes. In other words, for Pakistan, Kashmir is the center of Pak-India relations and disputes. As far as Jang's editorial policy on Pakistan's position on Kashmir is concerned, Jang agrees with Pakistan's position. The headline is "Foreign Minister of Pakistan has a clear position". On Pakistan's position over the Kashmir issue, Jang gave its editorial position as follows:

Translate: "What the Pakistani foreign minister has said about the Kashmir dispute is an indisputable fact. Pakistan has always been willing to negotiate with India on all disputes, but the root cause of these disputes is the Kashmir issue. Without a just solution to the Kashmir dispute, lasting peace in South Asia cannot be imagined. Nor can other differences between the two countries be resolved." (Jang, Sept 9, 2001)

Here, it is becoming clear that the editorial board of the daily Jang considers Kashmir as the root cause of Pakistan's disputes with India. Without resolution of Kashmir dispute, it considers the talks between the two countries useless. It considers the Kashmir issue as a key dispute with India and invites talks on it first. The paper makes attempts to form an opinion by giving arguments in its favor. The Jang's effort is seen in other editorials, so we shed light on more editorials.

In an editorial on the November 26, 2001, the newspaper in context of a meeting and a joint press conference between President of the European Union and the Prime Minister of Belgium with the President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf in Islamabad, it said that Pakistan's position on Kashmir is clear, Kashmir is bone of contention between Pakistan and India. If it is resolved, the other the remaining disputes will be resolved automatically. The European Union should put pressure on India to negotiate a solution to the Kashmir issue without any reconciliation.

As per May 22, 2003 editorial note of Jang, the President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf in his address to the meeting of Corps Commanders and Principal Staff Office said that Pakistan would maintain the importance of Kashmir issue. Table Talks with India are a must, but the Kashmir dispute would be the prime agenda. The paper expressed the view that Pakistan should engage in meaningful dialogue with the neighboring country without diminishing the importance of the Kashmir issue. In an editorial dated December 4, 2005, the daily Jang supported the position of the State of Pakistan that the Partition of India agenda would not be complete until the Kashmir issue was resolved. As per the decision of the Boundary Commission of June 3, 1947, the people of different states will be annexed with either Pakistan or India according to the aspirations. Pakistan claims that the Kashmiri people wanted to join Pakistan at the time of partition of India, but the Maharaja annexed Kashmir with India against the wishes of the people, after which the



dispute was taken to the United Nations. However, the newspaper in this editorials expresses the opinion that

"Pakistan rightly considers the Kashmir issue as part of the incomplete agenda of partition of India. And it wants resolution of Kashmir dispute in line with UN resolutions. In this context, the aspirations and wishes of the Kashmiri people should be given priority. But the Indian rulers for the last 58 years have adopted an inflexible stance on the issue." (Jang, Dec 4, 2005)

CONCLUSION

The gist of the study of the daily Jang's editorials published on Pak-India relations during the rule of General Pervez Musharraf is that the root cause of all disputes between the two countries is the Kashmir issue. The remaining issues cannot be resolved without resolving the Kashmir issue. If Pakistan and India want to increase cooperation in other matters, the Kashmir issue will come in the ways as major hurdle. The long-standing Kashmir issue must be resolved first. The editorial policy of the Jang reflects that the Kashmir issue should be resolved peacefully, regardless of the method and formula according to which the solution is found.

Pakistan's historical and traditional position on Kashmir is crystal clear, as it wants resolution of longstanding Kashmir dispute in accordance with the UN resolutions – that suggest a referendum be held in Kashmir. With their majority decision, the people of Kashmir will have a right to opt either to annex with Pakistan or India.

General Pervez Musharraf held talks with India on Kashmir issue and he also came up with an out of the box solution for the settlement of Kashmir dispute. In the formula proposed for the solution of the Kashmir issue, General Pervez Musharraf did not even mention the UN resolutions and the referendum in Kashmir. Also, the Daily Jang aligned its editorial policy with the policy of the President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf and his position for a just solution of Kashmir dispute. if Pakistan can resolve the Kashmir issue by showing flexibility in its long-standing position, it will not be a poor deal. On December 18, 2006, Jang wrote an editorial titled 'A good omen for a phased solution to the Kashmir issue'. According to this editorial, General Pervez Musharraf proposed a four-point formula for resolving Kashmir; the first step of the four-point formula is to soften the Line of Control. The 2nd point is to restore sovereignty in Kashmir on both sides, In the third phase, India has to restore 1953 position of Kashmir under its administration, and in the fourth and the last phase, areas of Kashmir on either sides of the border will be given maximum constitutional powers.



In fact, this formula of Pervez Musharraf is a soft form of an empowered and independent Kashmir, as Pakistan and India should control Kashmir under their own administration and give them maximum powers. The proposal of independent Kashmir was made earlier by the Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh. Jang newspaper termed General Pervez Musharraf's proposal as a phase wise solution to the Kashmir issue and endorsed it. At the same time, quoting Pakistan's Foreign Office, Jang said that India is still calling Kashmir an integral part while Pakistan has always recognized the disputed status of Kashmir. As far as the slogan of 'Kashmir will become Pakistan' is concerned, it is the slogan of the people of Kashmir which Pakistan supports morally and diplomatically. That is how, the Jang tried to publicize Pakistan's official position. Daily Jang through its editorial called Musharraf formula a good omen for a phased solution to the Kashmir issue. Interpreting this as good news for the people of the region, the editorial further said "Resolving this [Kashmir] issue will open the door to all kinds of cooperation between the two countries, which will greatly help the people of both countries. It will be of great benefit. At the same time, trade and industry contacts will increase throughout the region. Kashmiris will be able to travel freely. Of course, things will change and there will be a period of prosperity." (Jang, Dec 18, 2006)

Similarly, on September 20, 2006, the editorial titled "Kashmir Dispute: Consensus on Finding a Middle Way" was written in the context of a meeting between the President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, and the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh. During the talks in Havana, the two leaders agreed that a middle way would be found to resolve the Kashmir issue. The middle way is a solution acceptable to both countries, in other words, a way out which is against Pakistan's historic position of resolving the dispute in accordance with UN resolutions. However, the Jang tried to build public opinion in its favor. See the editorial's words that reflect the newspaper's policy "Both countries have agreed to find a middle way to resolve the Kashmir dispute. They should not delay the negotiation process. Unlike the dull and time consuming tactics played in the past, the negotiation process should be purposeful, productive and fruitful." (Jang, Sept 20, 2006)

It is as if the daily Jang considers the Kashmir issue as a fundamental key issue between Pakistan and India and according to its editorial policy, this issue should be resolved somehow. There is nothing wrong with Pakistan having to abandon its traditional state policy on the Kashmir issue to resolve it.

TRADE



Like the political and diplomatic affairs of Pakistan and India, bilateral trade between the two neighboring countries has seen both ups and downs. However, it is a fact that in the past, traders of both the countries have been earning foreign exchange by importing and exporting various commodities. What kind of editorial policy does Daily Jang adopt in this particular matter? Do the editorials in Pakistan's most widely circulated newspaper seek to promote Pak-India trade and shape opinion in its favor? Or do these editorials deny Indo-Pak trade in Pakistan and want to shape public opinion against the import of consumer goods from India and the export of goods from Pakistan to India? Let us review this in the light of the editorials and articles written with regard to trade affairs and relations between Pakistan and India in Jang newspaper.

In an editorial titled "Requirements for Regional Peace and Security and Economic Development", the daily Jang urged India and Pakistan to enhance trade ties for economic development. This editorial was published at a time when India-Pakistan relations were strained. For the past nine and a half months, the armies of the two countries have been on standby in front of each other on the border. The attack on the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001 created an atmosphere of war between the two countries. Citing a report by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the newspaper said that the situation created by the military gathering on the border is slowing down the economic growth of both the countries and the economies of both the countries have weakened in the last few months. The Jang tried to create public opinion that armies of India and Pakistan were unnecessarily standing on the border. Millions of rupees are being spent on military needs every day. It would be better for both the governments to understand the problems of their people and adopt trade policy instead of war. The idea of economic development should be adopted by putting differences in their place.

According to an editorial note of November 10, 2003, heavy rains and floods in Punjab and Sindh have damaged the cotton crop. Industries are in crisis due to declining production. In such a situation, the government is considering importing cotton from India in view of the need of the textile industry, but Pakistan Kisan Movement (PKM) has expressed reservations in this regard. The newspaper gave an editorial opinion that if cotton is to be imported from India as required, then the government of Pakistan should take the farmers into confidence. In other words, the editorial policy of the Jang seems to be in favor of trade with India, but is also urged the government of Pakistan to take into confidence the industrialists and farmers in this regard. An example of this can be found in an editorial note of Jang published on September 9, 2003. It said Pakistani businessmen have expressed reservations about business relations with India. The paper writes that the business community should be taken into confidence while establishing trade relations with India and formulating tariff policy. It is not in the national interest to trade with India by angering its traders.



The editorial policy of Jang can be gauged from the editorial published on December 12, 2005 which says that Kashmir issue is in place, but Pakistan and India should now establish trade relations. See excerpt from the editorial.

Translate: "Despite being two neighbors in the same region, the Kashmir dispute has not only hampered trade relations between Pakistan and India. There was no significant increase in bilateral trade, but trade relations were often limited. This situation is being viewed surprisingly both on regional and global level. There are serious differences between Russia, the United States, and the People's Republic of China. But, trade relations continued to flourish despite long sea routes between the two countries, while Pakistan and India could not yield maximum fruits despite having sea, land and air links." (Jang, Dec 12, 2005)

Similarly, in various editorials of 2004, the editorial board of the Jang expressed different views on the Kashmir issue and Pak-India trade relations. Here are two more editorial articles in which the newspaper has adopted two separate policies. One editorial is trying to promote Pak-India trade, while the other is calling the desire or offer of trade relations a betrayal of India. The sub-editorial, published on March 2, 2004, titled "Pak-India Trade - Attention-seeking Aspects" begins with the words:

Translate: "It is certainly a welcome fact that Pak-India relations are becoming surprisingly cordial these days. Good relations between the two neighboring countries are very useful. Especially when there are land links between the two countries, trade becomes cheaper, less expensive and faster than the rest of the world. Therefore, it is not wrong to use the good relations between our two countries to promote bilateral trade." (Jang, March 2, 2004) Another editorial note of this year is cited here because the newspaper has expressed different views. Until the Kashmir issue is resolved, the prospects of Pak-India relations have been ruled out by Jang. According to a July 3, 2004 editorial entitled "Proposal to start trade from Srinagar and Muzaffarabad", the Governor of Indian-administered Kashmir, Jagmohan, has said that the two countries have become friends. Negotiations are underway. Now the two countries should start trade from Srinagar and Muzaffarabad to bring prosperity to the region. In the editorial note, the newspaper tried to give the impression that India was cheating Pakistan. It is not ready to settle a fundamental dispute of Kashmir. Pakistani leadership should not be feel happy. Without resolving the Kashmir issue, better trade relations between Pakistan and India cannot flourish.

Translate: "The development of relations with India, not just trade, but in all areas, depends on a peaceful and just solution to the Kashmir issue. If the Indian leadership and political



circles continue to ignore this fundamental element and claim trade relations and friendship, it will be a mere illusion.” (Jang, July 3, 2004)

PAK-INDIA TRADE TALKS

The editorial page of the daily Jang seems to be in favor of dialogue between the two countries for Pak-India trade relations. The editorial of March 30, 2006 called for the promotion of Pak-India trade activities and expressed satisfaction over the progress made in the Pak-India trade talks. A statement issued after the talks in Islamabad said that obstacles to bilateral trade relations would be removed.

On August 3, 2007, an editorial was once again written regarding the Pak-India trade talks. According to the statement, it was decided in the fourth round of Pak-India trade talks that bilateral trade would be increased fivefold in the next three years to \$10 billion by 2010. It was also decided to open two bank branches in each of the two countries. The editorial note said that both Pakistan and India had become nuclear powers but to no avail to the people. The interest of the people is in economic development. In order for the subcontinent to grow economically, it is important that Pakistan and India live in a business environment rather than a war environment. Traders should be allowed to visit each other, visas and travel facilities should be provided. Increase trade activities. The two countries should use their long borders as trade routes to earn foreign exchange, and not spend resources on defense budgets by deploying large numbers of troops on them throughout the year.

CONCLUSION

The Daily Jang in through its editorials encourages enhancing India-Pakistan trade relations. It described trade relations as a necessity of the times and said that it was beneficial for both the countries. Most editorials seek to create the public opinion that the two countries should act pragmatically and step up trade activities by addressing long-standing issues. However, the editorial policy of the Jang sometimes changes. The paper suddenly seems to suggest that trade relations with India cannot improve until the Kashmir issue is resolved. India only wants trade but Pakistan wants a solution to all the problems that India does not accept

PAK-INDIA CRICKET RELATIONS

Cricket is the most popular sport in both Pakistan and India. Both teams are among the biggest sides in the world. Both have won T20 World Cups in addition to ODIs. Whenever Pakistan and India come face to face on the field, it is a big day in the world of cricket. Cricket fans from both the countries watch the match with enthusiasm. Cricket experts also



comment on the media. However, it is also a fact that in the past, Pak-India political and diplomatic disputes have also affected the game of cricket. For example, no Test series has been played between the two teams since 2006. However, it has happened many times that both the countries have used cricket to build mutual relations. In the subcontinent, this strategy is known as "cricket diplomacy". The daily Jang has also written editorials and editorial notes on the subject of cricket in view of the tastes of the readers towards the cricket matches and diplomacy between the two countries. If one goes through the editorials of Jang, he would feel as if the editorial board of Jang is also fond of Pak-India cricket as like the majority of the people of Pakistan and India. Pak-India presents cricket matches and the sideline meetings of the rulers of the two countries as successful diplomacy.

The paper seeks to build public opinion that cricket, being immensely popular in the subcontinent, is a major source of public relations between Pakistan and India, so cricket diplomacy is aimed at improving relations between the two countries and resolving mutual disputes. Cricket diplomacy can be used successfully for the very purpose of building relations. Editorial articles point out that cricket should be kept free from politics, but political tensions between the two countries can be overcome through cricket diplomacy. However, while India refrains from playing cricket, the Jang inflicts an editorial injury on it. The editorial policy of the Jang seems to be that relations between Pakistan and India should be maintained at least in the field of sports.

According to a sub-editorial in the newspaper titled "Keep Sports Free of Politics" on August 26, 2001. The Jang said that the heads of cricket boards from Pakistan and India have informed that the Indian government decided not to send its cricket team to Pakistan for playing One-Day and Test series. The newspaper wrote in its editorial that India is hell bent upon rejecting all possible means that help build mutual relations. It said that Hockey and volleyball matches have been played between the two countries in recent months, so what is wrong with playing only cricket matches. The attitude of the Indian government will not only harm cricket but also eliminate the possibility of improving Pak-India relations. In its editorial note, the newspaper wrote:

Translate: "India should not sacrifice popular sport like cricket for the sake of politics, otherwise the ICC should amend its constitution. India's behavior should be taken seriously as it is harming the game of cricket all over the world," (Jang, Aug 26, 2001)

India defeated Pakistan in a World Cup pool match on March 1, 2003 in South Africa. In this regard, according to an editorial note of Daily Jang, written on March 4, Muslims were attacked in Hyderabad Deccan over the Indian victory. The newspaper wrote that it is natural to celebrate the victory but the attack on Muslims in India in the joy of Pakistan's



defeat is unfortunate. The editorial note gave the impression that there was a difference in the attitudes of cricket fans of Pakistan and India.

According to another editorial note of January 25, 2005, the Pakistan cricket team in India has been threatened by Shiv Sena, an organization of Hindus. The president of the organization Jey Bhagwan has said that Pakistan is supporting the terrorists so his team cannot play a match here otherwise it will have to face dire consequences. The newspaper wrote that this reflects an extremist mindset of the Indian organization which can't tolerate Pakistani cricket team in India while on the other hand when the Indian team came to Pakistan earlier this year, the whole country welcomed it with open arms.

PAK-INDIA BUS SERVICE

India-Pakistan relations have gone through many ups and downs. In general, relations between the two countries have not been good. Even sometimes these neighboring countries jumped into the war, and more often they reached the brink of war. Sometimes relations were cold and sometimes threats were made to each other. At the same time, there were occasional talks between Pakistan and India. Attempts have been made to resolve mutual issues and diplomatic, cultural and trade relations between the two countries. As far as the people are concerned, the means of communication at public level were created and then closed. The two countries also have land routes, and they operated buses and trains as well. A study of Jang's editorial articles suggests that it has an open and clear editorial policy on the Pak-India bus service. The newspaper's policy is that there should be a bus service between the two countries. This will improve public relations and help eliminate misunderstandings about each other. According to an editorial note published on July 13, 2003, the Bus service between Lahore and Delhi has started a year and a half later. In December 2001, the bus service was suspended due to the attack on the Indian Parliament. Welcoming the resumption of bus service, the newspaper hailed it as the beginning of a truly lasting relationship between the neighboring countries. In a February 18, 2005 editorial, the newspaper likened the decision to launch a bus service between Muzaffarabad and Srinagar to a victory for Kashmiris on both sides, calling it a milestone. In this editorial, the newspaper gave an emotional touch with describing the launch of the bus service as a major event and a step towards resolving the Kashmir issue. It made every effort to build its readers' opinion in favor of Pak-India bus service. The editorial begins with following words:

Translate: "The announcement regarding the launch of Muzaffarabad Srinagar bus service between Pakistan and India will be heard with great pleasure all over the world. This important and historic journey will begin on April 7. India waives passport



requirement. People living on both sides of the Line of Control will now be able to travel by this bus under a travel permit,” (Jang, Aug 13, 2003)

According to an editorial note published on May 2005, Pakistan and India have agreed to start bus service between Lahore and Amritsar. The decision to start bus service between Nankana Sahib city and Amritsar will be taken later. The paper described the process as important for building trust between the two countries. It was further stated that this would not only provide an opportunity for the two countries to meet people but also enhance trade and economic ties.

According to an editorial note of December 23, 2005, weekly bus service will run between Amritsar and Nankana Sahib from next year. The paper called it a means of facilitating the movement of people between the two countries and reuniting divided families, and tried to build public opinion in favor of it. Three months later, the bus service agreement between Pakistan and India was implemented.

According to the March 26, 2006 editorial note, a bus service has been inaugurated from Amritsar in the Indian Punjab to Nankana Sahib in the Pakistani Punjab. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has proposed a peace, security and friendship agreement with Pakistan at the inauguration of the bus service. He said it was time for the two countries to move towards resolving long-standing issues. This is necessary to eliminate backwardness from the region. India is ready to discuss the Kashmir issue. Other issues need to be addressed. After the statement of the Indian Prime Minister, the welcome statement of the Pakistan Foreign Office was also included in the editorial that Pakistan has always been a preacher of peace. The Indian PM's proposal for the mutual agreement to resolve problems is welcomed. The bus service will help improve relations between the two countries.

The newspaper tried to prove through its opinion that the key to improving Pak-India relations lies with India, Pakistan wants bus service. Now that the Indian Prime Minister has offered a peace deal, the two countries should sit together and put it into practice. Only peace can bring development to the region. Describing the Amritsar Nankana Sahib bus service as an important development in Pak-India relations, the Newspaper stressed on the need to implement the statement of the Indian Prime Minister.

Translate: "The above statement of Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has opened new avenues for reconciliation between Pakistan and India and will open the door for dialogue to move towards a practical solution to the Kashmir issue." (Jang, March 26, 2006)



MISSILE TESTS/ DEFENSE SYSTEMS

Both India and Pakistan are nuclear powers. In May 1998, the two countries successfully tested nuclear missiles. Even after that, missile tests were carried out from time to time by both countries. Despite the missile tests by India and Pakistan, Jang as per its editorial policy continued to write articles on its editorial page. In the light of Jang's editorials, we will see if the daily Jang encourages a nuclear arms race and stockpile in the subcontinent, or gives an opinion against it?

Does the Newspaper adopt a similar policy on nuclear missile tests by both countries or does it try to form a separate public opinion about both countries? Knowing the policy in the contents of the editorials of the daily Jang, we will try to find answers to these questions.

EDITORIAL ANALYSIS OF DAILY JANG ON PAKISTAN'S MISSILE TESTS

Pakistan has announced that some missiles will be tested in the next two to three days, according to an editorial on May 26, 2002 entitled "Timely announcement of missile tests". The editorial board of the daily Jang termed this announcement of the government of Pakistan as timely and useful. In the editorial note, it was written in an emotional tone that India wants to encircle Pakistan on various fronts. From the land front to the Arabian Sea, conspiracies are being hatched against Pakistan. In the face of enemy like India, Pakistan should continue to renew its defense capabilities. India has increased its defense budget by fifty times in just two years. Therefore, Pakistan should not spare a single minute in its defense. The announcement of missile tests is welcome and timely. The Jang's editorial page on the announcement of Pakistan's missile tests adds:

Translate: "We believe that our experts should continue to work according to this strategy. By the grace of God, the morale of the Pakistani nation is much higher than that of India and the will of our people is very strong to thwart India's aggressive intentions. Responsible individuals and institutions must continue to work in accordance with the basic requirements of national defense and security." (Jang, May 26, 2002)

Reading the first selected editorial on missile tests in Pakistan-India relations, it is clear that the daily Jang considers Pakistan's missile tests a necessity for national defense and a welcome for the nation. The editorial policy of Jang seems to build public opinion in favor of Pakistan's nuclear tests. In the coming editorials, the Jang has adopted a similar tone and editorial policy. Let's take a look at the other editorials in the paper on this topic. Three days later, on May 29, 2002, India's response to Pakistan's missile tests and protests became the subject of an editorial note that said Pakistan had conducted successful missile tests



after regular prior notice and announcement. India does not have any ground to protest on it. The editorial sought to establish the opinion that India wanted supremacy in South Asia. The increase in Pakistan's defense force is not digestible to India. Pakistan needs to enhance its defense weapons without taking into account the reaction from India.

An editorial was written on February 23, 2004 on the Ghaznavi missile test. The newspaper described Ghaznavi missile system as a satisfactory addition to Pakistan's defense. According to the editorial, the Ghaznavi III is a solid-fueled ballistic missile that can hit its target up to a distance of 200 km. The editorial gave the impression that Pakistan already has a series of Ghauri and Shaheen missiles. Now the Ghaznavi missile series will make its defense system invincible. One of the strangest but most irrational things that has been constantly propagated in Pakistan's daily Jang editorials about Pakistan's missile tests is that credit for every missile test in Pakistan goes to Pakistan, its military and its institutions, but at the same time India is blamed for this. In other words, the successful test of nuclear missiles in Pakistan is welcomed by the newspaper through its editorials but it also gives an impression that India is forcing Pakistan to build missiles. Otherwise, it is not a good thing in itself. Attempts have been made in the editorial to form the same opinion that India is in war frenzy. Pakistan has to make its own arrangements to break in response to Indian defense system.

On March 11, 2004, Jang wrote an editorial on the test of Pakistan's Shaheen Missile (II). The editorial starts with the following words:

The features of the missile were stated to have a range of two and a half thousand kilometers. It is capable of carrying all types of warheads, including nuclear weapons up to 1,000 kilograms. It is completely locally made. It was built by Pakistani scientists, engineers and technicians. The editorial writer expressed happiness over the test of this long-range missile under the editorial policy and wrote that it is the grace of Allah on Pakistan. It is the result of the untiring efforts of Pakistani scientists, engineers and technicians. Now Pakistan's defense has become invincible. Shaheen II is a big and welcome addition to Pakistan's nuclear arsenal.

Demonstrating a sense of pride in the editorial, the newspaper wrote that the Shaheen II missile could target every city in India. The whole of India has come within its reach. All its territorial waters are also on the range of the Shaheen missile. In this editorial, the newspaper also expressed its pride and joy over the missile test, justifying it because India also has long-range missiles. Therefore, Pakistan also has the right to make missiles. Shaheen II's experience was in line with Pakistan's defense requirements. See excerpt from the said editorial:



Translate: "Now the prospects for any adventure by the neighboring country have been greatly diminished and the prospects for further peace and stability efforts in South Asia have increased. The Pakistani nation feels pride on the ability and potential of its nuclear scientists, engineers and technicians. (Jang, March 11, 2004)

In an editorial note published on February 25, 2007, the Jang praised Pakistani scientists for the successful test of Shaheen Hatf-6 missile. As per the editorial, the missile has a range of 1,200 km. The daily Jang's editorial note called missile tests inevitable, and stressed upon the need for more weapons.

It said "These experiments are also necessary because meeting the country's defense needs is the responsibility of any government to protect national independence and security, and this responsibility cannot be fulfilled without increasing and strengthening the defense capability. Pakistan is committed to further strengthening its program," (Jang, Feb 25, 2007)

DAILY JANG'S EDITORIAL POLICY ON INDIA'S MISSILE TESTS

After knowing the Jang's editorial policy with regard to Pakistan's missile system, now we look upon its policy towards Indian Missile system/tests. In these editorials the newspaper gives a completely different opinion on Indian Missile system. While the Newspaper sees Pakistan's missile tests as a defense necessity, but at the same time, it declares the India's missile tests as a threat to South Asian peace. The Newspaper through its editorials argues that Pakistan's missile tests are only Pakistan's defense requirement, but India's missile tests are considered a threat to Pakistan and the region as a whole. While the Jang expresses Joy over Pakistan's missile tests is joyful, and outrages over India's missile tests. The editorial policy of the Jang shows that Pakistan's missile tests are a defense need of the nation while India's missile system is a threat to peace in South Asia.

An editorial note with a title "Reflection of a War Frenzy India" published on February 17, 2003, the newspaper described India's missile test as a reflection of war frenzy. It said India has tested the high speed missile "BrahMos". Pakistan called it provocative and demanded that the international community take notice. The paper, while endorsing Pakistan's position, tried to shape an opinion amongst its readers that the test of a high-speed missile like the BrahMos was a reflection of India's war frenzy. India is conducting indiscriminate missile tests. This is not a good omen for the regional peace.

In May 2003, Jang in its editorial note also described India's missile test as "worrying" and said that neighboring countries are feeling the threat in the face of wrote that India's war



preparations. Pakistan in particular has to be vigilant because India's target is Pakistan. This editorial note was written on India's successful test of a surface-to-air missile. This act is a threat to peace in the region, it said, and added India's missile tests could have devastating consequences. India is increasing its war capability with great focus and regularity. The defense budget has also been increased. No matter how many missiles India builds, it cannot be used against China, but their direct target will be Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan also has to be vigilant at all times, its defense capabilities have to be enhanced.

The June Jang's 12, 2003 editorial also expressed concern over India's missile tests, citing them as a means of sabotaging peace in the region. It urged the Government of Pakistan to enhance its defense capabilities in view of India's missile tests. The newspaper also used harsh words on the editorial page, calling India's missile program a nuisance for ordinary Pakistanis.

Translate: "India is working hard to increase its military strength and capability. It said a common man in Pakistan is concerned about his country after dangerous experiments by India, it expects from Pakistan to be vigilant and come up with a remedy to thwart its nefarious designs of the enemy state. (Jang, June 12, 2003)

An editorial published on December 26, 2004, titled "India's obsession with weapons of mass destruction" states that India has tested BrahMos missiles. India has been experimenting with the BrahMos series of high-speed missiles. It is the first country in South Asia to have this capability. In an editorial note, Jang described the BrahMos missile as "devastating" for the region, giving the impression that India was in war frenzy. It wants to control neighboring countries, including Pakistan, at all costs.

Translate: "India's attitude towards stockpiling sophisticated and dangerous weapons of mass destruction is threat to countries in South Asian region - which can be the target of these weapons." (Jang, Dec 26, 2004)

CONCLUSION

The research shows that according to Pakistan's leading daily Jang, Pakistan's missile program is in line with its defense requirements, while India wants to subdue Pakistan through missile tests. Pakistan's missile tests are aimed at maintaining the balance of power in the region and its peace and stability, while India threatens South Asia's peace through missile tests. When Pakistan tests a missile, the editorial team of the Jang expresses great joy happiness, but at the same time it expresses disenchantment over the Indian missile tests and termed the move as threat to the regional peace and a reflection of the war frenzy India.



In short, Daily Jang adopts an imbalanced and illogical editorial policy on missile system of Pakistan and India.

FINAL CONCLUSION

In this research process, we reviewed the editorial policy of Daily Jang on Pak-India relations during the presidency of General Pervez Musharraf. The gist of the study of editorials and editorial notes covering various aspects of Pak-India relations from June 21, 2001 to August 18, 2008 the leading Urdu Daily - Jang presents India as an aggressive country. The paper gives an impression that Pakistan tries to resolve every issue within the framework of law, and mutual consent but India does not cooperate. Whether it was the Agra Summit of 2001 or any other occasion for talks, the Jang holds India responsible for the failure of negotiations. The newspaper calls Kashmir the root cause of disputes and tensions between Pakistan and India. The paper seeks to shape public opinion that relations between the two countries cannot be ideal in other matters until the Kashmir issue is resolved. The editorial policy of the Jang supports even if Pakistan backs away from its long-standing and traditional position for the just solution of Kashmir issue between the two neighboring countries. The Jang encourages Pakistan and India to resolve their issues through dialogue and negotiation. The message of its editorials is that war is not the ultimate answer. Pakistan and India have fought wars but the that has left the region with nothing but poverty, hunger and illiteracy. Even if a war is fought over an issue, it will eventually be settled on the table. So it is better for Pakistan and India to find a solution to their mutual disputes including Kashmir through dialogue. The key to resolving the issues lies on the negotiating table. The Jang's editorials presented the meetings of the rulers of Pakistan and India, including General Pervez Musharraf time, as important developments. It tried to build public opinion in favor of meetings of Pak-India rulers.

The editorial policy of the Jang seems is in favor of Pak-India trade. The paper gives the impression that Pakistan and India can prove to be good neighbors given the fact that they have huge trade markets for each other. The two countries share long borders, short land routes and corridors to earn foreign exchange through smooth mutual trade. Whenever news of Pak-India trade came or a statement were made by the governments in this regard, the editorial page of Jang welcomed it. However, sometimes it gives the impression that Pakistan should not rely too much on India in the trade arena without resolving long-standing Kashmir dispute.

Jang's editorial policy seems to be pro-cricket. According to newspaper editorials, cricket is very popular in the subcontinent. It is a major source of public relations between Pakistan



and India, so cricket diplomacy can be used successfully to improve relations and resolve disputes between the two countries. Editorial articles point out that cricket should be kept free from politics, and the political rift between the two countries can be resolved through the cricket diplomacy. Jang newspaper seems to be in favor of running bus service between Pakistan and India through various corridors. Be it Delhi, Lahore or Srinagar Muzaffarabad bus service, the newspaper tried to build public opinion in favor of every bus service. The Jang's editorials argue that the bus service will provide an opportunity for the people of Pakistan and India to meet. Mutual misconceptions about the two countries will be dispelled when ordinary people share their views with each other, and when relations are good at the public level, matters will be settled at the state and diplomatic levels as well.

The Jang editorial policy seems one-sided and biased with regard to nuclear missile tests in the subcontinent. The daily Jang's editorials try to support for Pakistan's missile tests, but on the other hand it shapes public opinion against India's nuclear tests as a threat to the region. According to Jang, Pakistan's missile program is in line with its defense requirements, while India wants to subdue Pakistan through missile tests. As per Jang's editorial policy, Pakistan's missile tests are aimed at maintaining the balance of power in the region and its peace and stability, while India's missile tests endanger the peace of South Asia.

In the light of the conclusions drawn from the research and observation of the editorials and editorials notes of the daily Jang, we now present here the answers to the questions which we asked at the beginning of this research paper.

1. Do Jang editorials create anti-India public opinion in Pakistan?

Yes! Jang editorials and editorials-notes do try to create anti-India public opinion in Pakistan. India is portrayed as a warmonger and aggressive country. Jang blames India for failure of talks, and it makes attempts to form an opinion against India's missile tests, saying that it is endangering the entire region, including Pakistan, by building a missile.

2. Did Jang newspaper support Pak-India talks under General Pervez Musharraf?

Yes! Newspaper editorials endorsed Pak-India talks. Negotiations were considered the only way to solve the problems.

3. Is the Kashmir issue the main reason for the strained Pak-India relations according to the editorial policy of the Jang Newspaper?

Yes! The editorial board of the daily Jang presents the Kashmir issue as a key point of contention between Pakistan and India.

4. Is Daily Jang in favor of promoting Pak-India trade relations?

Yes, of course! The editorial policy of Jang is advocating bilateral trade promotion between the two neighbored countries



5. Do Jang editorial promote Pak-India cricket relations?

In its editorial, Jang urges Pakistan and India to promote cricketing ties.

6. What was the editorial policy of the newspaper regarding bus service between Pakistan and India?

The Jang editorial policy on bus service is clear that buses should run through all available corridors between the two countries. The bus service can improve relations between the two countries at the public level. It argues that once the public misunderstandings are removed, it will be easier for the states to improve relations in line with public aspirations.

7. Is the Jang adopts same editorial policy with regard to India's missile tests as with Pakistan's missile system?

No! In this regard, the daily Jang has an irrational, biased editorial policy. According to Jang, Pakistan's missile tests are in line with national defense needs, while India's missile tests are a means of endangering peace in the region.

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There is very little material available Pakistan's universities and research centers about Indian Studies. Indian Studies Centers or Departments should be opened in Karachi University, Punjab University, Quaid-e-Azam University and other General Universities.

2. The Governments of Pakistan and India should use the academic research conducted by both sides to resolve their disputes. Seek advice from researchers and experts working on Pak-India relations.

3. Seminars, conferences and dialogues should be held at the universities, and Embassies level for possible resolution of Pak-India bilateral disputes. Experts, journalists, analysts and researchers from both sides should be invited to develop a culture of discussion.

4. The media of both the countries including newspapers should play a role in improving Pak-India relations and resolving disputes. Unnecessary propaganda should not be used but efforts should be made for peace, stability and economic prosperity of both the countries in particular and the region in general.

5. Newspapers, including the daily Jang, while writing editorials on India, should also incorporate the position of the Government of India on any issue. Editorial content should be based on facts.



6. Misrepresentation or lies should not be included in editorials to mislead the public opinion in the institutions. Therefore, the editorial writing needs to be based upon truth and objectivity.

7. Protect the editorial page from being corporatized. While writing editorial articles, the financial interest of the newspaper or the advertising (commercial) interest of various personalities, companies, institutions, organizations, political parties and governments should not be taken into consideration.

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