

## **British Mass Media and Image of Pakistan's Government Stance in Pak-India Relations: The Case Study of 'Guardian' and 'Telegraph'**

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### **Abstract**

The study aims at investigating as how Pak-India relations issues is being represented and portrayed in two leading British newspapers. Two elite newspapers The Guardian and The Telegraph have been selected for research. This study is discourse analysis in nature and analysed the editorials of both newspapers published from January 2008 to October 2009. This research study has employed a combination of the quantitative and qualitative techniques of content analysis to analyse the contents.

**Keywords:** Pakistan, India, Relations, Kashmir, Negotiation and Terrorism

### **Introduction**

Pakistan-India relationship is an important subject of peace and war in subcontinent. Since the emergence of both countries, the people of India and Pakistan had been living in tense and fearful circumstances due to the unending conflict existing between both nations (Ahmad, 1989).

According to the Military balance, India and Pakistan account for 80% of the defence expenditure of the region. The economic burden of military spending for India and Pakistan during the last ten years has been one of the highest in the world. The military man power numerical strength of India and Pakistan are the fourth and seventh largest in the world, respectively, while the GNP per capita in 1995, Pakistan ranked 129<sup>th</sup> and India stood at 138<sup>th</sup> in the world (Talbot, 2000). Today India has a defence establishment of over a million people, while Pakistan is close to 800,000. According to current estimate the total cost of India's nuclear program through 2001 has been in the region of \$18 billion while Pakistan is supposed to have spent \$6 billion. Militarization besides consuming a disproportionate share of national budget, also inflict, certain hidden costs and arms related debt creation. In 1999 Pakistan had a \$30 billion foreign debt while India had a foreign debt in the region of \$90 billion (Durrani, 2000). As a result India and Pakistan are amongst the most deprived nations of the world, based on the evaluation of per capita income, literacy rate, health, infrastructure and gender equality. Forty percent of the citizens of both countries live below the poverty line. Villages and town do not have access to clean drinking water. Children, who survive, despite unhygienic conditions, have a life span much shorter than developed societies. Both Pakistan and India have low literacy rate. Growth rate in both countries is high. Both are suffering from the problem of energy shortfalls and need monetary and technical assistance to build basic infrastructure required for rapid development (Arif, 2001). But unluckily financial resources are diverted towards building up defence forces to deal with a possible outbreak of hostilities. Both countries are facing the challenges of poverty, illiteracy, terrorism, corruption but consuming their all energies on traditional rivalries. This study also examines the nature of relationship between elite British Press and Pakistan government. This study attempts to unfold the policy of the British Press and to see the points of commonalities and differences among their editorial policy about Pakistan government stance on Pakistan-India relations related issues during January 2008 to October 2009. In this uni-polar world, it has become imperative for the nations to minimise conflict and enhance cooperation. The role of international media to influence foreign policy and matters of the countries has assumed paramount importance. Pakistan – India relations hold key role for peace and stability in South Asia. The present global political scenario with regional importance has once again highlighted position of South Asia. The major obstacle in the region for economic and political stability is Pakistan-India relations. The researcher attempts to explore that what kind of relationship exist between foreign policy of Pakistan government and the policies of British Press. The researcher focuses upon the editorials and articles of The Guardian and The Telegraph for analysing their editorial policy towards Pakistan's government stance on under research issues of Pakistan-India relations. Editorials are considered to be the most important part of the newspaper as they reflect the policy of the newspaper and a newspaper is an entity, not a limb of greater organization. Its editorials are the product of an organization rather than the work of an individual (Saleem, 2000). The researcher will see the how far British newspapers endorse Pakistan government stance on under research issues of Pakistan-India relations. The

Guardian and The Telegraph are international famed elite British Newspapers. Both have their worldwide influence by their news, editorials and articles. They are considered standard highly circulated newspapers of UK; serve both elite and metropolitan readers; both of the newspapers have sizeable staff deputed at London, Manchester and established bureaus around the UK and world. Policy makers, officials and attentive community leaders, groups do not miss their editorials and news coverage. This study is closely related to Cohen (1963) and Harris (1999) studies of media-foreign policy relationship. The researcher attempted to examine the nature of relationship between the British and Pakistan government foreign policy on Pak-India relations issue.

### **Research Methodology**

The research questions would examine that how British newspapers reacts or frame the various ups and down in Pak-India relationship. This study covers the answers of following research questions.

1. What was the quantitative coverage of both newspapers on under research issues during the research period?
2. What was the policies/treatment of both British Newspapers towards Pakistan Government's stance on different issues of Pak-India relations?
3. Was there any policy difference between these newspapers?
4. What were the similarities in the policy of these newspapers?

### **Content Analysis**

The researcher employed research designing of content analysis to encompass the research question. The researcher used qualitative technique in content analysis for this study.

### **The Universe**

The study considered the editorials and articles of two elite British Newspapers Guardian and The Telegraph on the issues related to Pakistan-India relationship during January 2008 to October 2009

### **Sample Size**

The editorials and articles of The Guardian and The Telegraph having same period on the same issues related to Pakistan-India relationship are drawn as sample size.

### **Findings**

The findings of this research work comprised the data of qualitative & quantitative content analysis. Before presenting analysis and discussion, it is necessary to know the Pakistan's stand point on under discussion research topic.

### **Pakistan's stance on Pak-India relations issue**

According to Pakistan Kashmir dispute is a core issue in Pak-India relationship. It is root cause of conflict and tension in the region, now it has become a nuclear flash point; this signifies/recognises the dangerous nature of this dispute. Pakistan has always sought a meaningful and substantive dialogue with India (Shahi, 1989). However, Indians have refused to engage in meaningful talks on Kashmir, claiming it as an integral part of India. The Pakistan government policy of Jammu and

Kashmir issue enjoys national consensus. Pakistan maintains its principle stand in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions that call for a plebiscite under UN auspices, in order to find an early and just solution to the 56 – years old Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Pakistan has welcomed efforts of good officer and third party mediation (Mateemuddin, 1994). It has encouraged the international community to play active role and facilitates the peaceful settlement of disputes between Pakistan and India. Pakistan will continue to extend full political, diplomatic and moral support to the legitimate Kashmiri struggle for their right of self-determination as preserved in United Nations resolution which was accepted by India. (Zakar,2000). India alleges involvement of Pakistan in insurgency of Indian Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan denied and declared it indigenous movement of Jammu and Kashmir people for achieving their right of self-determination. India, America and western world allege Pakistan's intelligence agencies to support militants elements, Pakistan denies it and after 9/11 and Mumbai attacks banned all such organisations and started crackdown against their activities. In context of bilateral dialogue, Pakistan calls India to translate its commitment into reality. At the same time, Pakistan will encourage the International community to support and supplement efforts to establish lasting peace and stability in South Asia on the basis of equitable resolution of all disputes between the two countries, in particular the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir. For normalization of the situation and resolution of Kashmir issue, Pakistan has presented different form and proposals (Arif, 2001). Pakistan has always tried to de-escalate the tense situation in the region. Pakistan wishes to start talks with India over a phased withdrawal of troops on both sides from their forward positions to their peace time locations. Pakistan emphasized that India should allow access to human right groups and international media to visit Indian held Kashmir in order to monitor the human rights situation there. Pakistan is willing to restore, on a reciprocal basis, air, rail and road communications links that had been severed as a result of Indian decisions. India's point of view in this regard is that no dialogue process can be started till Pakistan takes serious action to stop terrorism in India and against involved figures in Pakistan. Now-a-days terrorist acts in India and Pakistan are in lime light. India claimed that Pakistani elements are involved in these terrorist incidents, especially in Mumbai attack, in which one alive captured Ajmal Qasab identified as Pakistani citizen. According to Indian officials this terrorist attack was plotted in Pakistan. Pakistan denied any involvement of government agencies, but stated that there can be involvement of some non-state actors in this event. Pakistan government started crackdown and judicial trial against accused persons, but India is not satisfied with the action of Pakistan. After 9/11, Indian influence and involvement in Afghanistan also escalated tensions in the region. Afghanistan becomes ground of proxy war of both countries. Pakistan blames India for backing insurgency in Baluchistan and NWFP province and terrorist attacks in Pakistan. Other side India alleged Pakistan intelligence agencies involvement in terrorist attacks on its Kabul embassy. Pakistan point of view is that Indian embassy and consulates in Afghanistan are indulged in conspiracies against Pakistan (Sattar, 2007).

### Data Tabulation

The topical direction of editorial & articles of The Guardian and The Telegraph are compared in the tables:

#### i) Comparison of Quantitative coverage

##### 1. Editorials

<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Editorials</u>
The Guardian	5
The Telegraph	5

The table shows that both The Guardian and The Telegraph published 5 editorials on under research issues of Pakistan-India relations during research period.

##### 2. Articles

<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Editorials</u>
The Guardian	12
The Telegraph	8

The results of the table indicate that The Guardian published 12 and The Telegraph published 8 articles on under research issues of Pakistan-India relations during research period.

#### ii) Comparison of Qualitative coverage

##### 1. Editorials of both newspapers

	<b>Supportive to Pak Government Stance (+)</b>	<b>Opposite to Pak Government Stance (-)</b>	<b>Neutral (O)</b>
The Guardian	20%	40%	40%
The Telegraph	20%	40%	40%

This table points out that policy in editorials of both newspaper is same towards Pak-Government stance on the under research issues of Pak-India relationship. General stance of 40% editorials of both newspapers is balanced, 40% opposite and 20% supportive towards Pakistan stance on under research issues of Pak-India relationship.

##### 2. Articles of both newspapers

	<b>Supportive to Pak Government Stance (+)</b>	<b>Opposite to Pak Government Stance (-)</b>	<b>Neutral (O)</b>
The Guardian	30.4%	16.8%	52.8%

The Telegraph	25%	37.4%	37.6%
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The results of the table show that the general stance of 52.8% articles of The Guardian and 37.6% of The Telegraph is neutral towards Pakistan government's stance on under research issue and 30.4% articles of The Guardian and 25% of the Telegraph is supportive towards Pakistan stance. Whereas 37.4% articles of the Telegraph and 16.8% of the Guardian is opposite towards Pakistan government's stance on under research issues of Pak-India relationship.

### 3. Different issues

#### A) Terrorism

	<b>Supportive to Pak Government Stance (+)</b>	<b>Opposite to Pak Government Stance (-)</b>	<b>Neutral (O)</b>
The Guardian	33%	33%	34%
The Telegraph	14.2%	57.2%	28.4%

This result of the table indicates that the general stance of 34% of The Guardian's and 28.4% of The Telegraph published matter on terrorism issue is neutral towards Pakistan government stance on terrorism issue. However 33% of The Guardian's and 57.2% of The Telegraph opposed while 33% of The Guardian's and 14.2% of The Telegraph supported the Pakistan government stance on terrorism issue.

#### B) Negotiations

	<b>Supportive to Pak Government Stance (+)</b>	<b>Opposite to Pak Government Stance (-)</b>	<b>Neutral (O)</b>
The Guardian	0%	0%	100%
The Telegraph	20%	20%	60%

The figures of the table unfolds that general view of The Guardian towards Pakistan's stance on negotiation is 100% and The Telegraph is 60% neutral. The Telegraph's 20% stance is supportive and 20% is opposite to Pakistan stance in the issue in question while The Guardian's is 0% supportive and opposite to Pakistan stance regarding negotiations.

C) **Kashmi**

	<b>Supportive to Pak Government Stance (+)</b>	<b>Opposite to Pak Government Stance (-)</b>	<b>Neutral (O)</b>
The Guardian	40%	20%	40%
The Telegraph	100%	0%	0%

The result points out the fact that general stance of both newspapers is supportive towards Pakistan's stance on Kashmir issue. The Telegraph 100% and The Guardian's 40% under analysis matter supported while 20% of The Guardian and 0% of The Telegraph was found in the opposition to Pakistan stance regarding Kashmir, although 40% of The Guardian and 0% of The Telegraph is neutral.

**c) Results**

In the light of findings and analysis the answers of research questions are given below.

**Question No.1**

What was the quantitative coverage of both British Newspapers on under research issues of Pak-India relations during research period?

Quantitative coverage is showing that both newspapers given very less coverage/ In its editorials to under research issues, it indicates that these newspaper did not give more importance to Pak-India relations issue during research period.

1. The Guardian published only 05 editorials on under research issue during research period.
2. The Telegraph published also only 05 editorials on under research issue during research period.
3. Almost 50% content of editorials of both newspapers is on the issue of terrorism, specifically Mumbai terrorist attack.
4. The Guardian published 12 articles / analysis on under research issue during research period.
5. This finding is noticeable that out of 12 articles 05 are about Kashmir issue and in other articles Kashmir issue is also partly discussed. It unfolds that Kashmir issue is under discussion now a days in international media due to Obama and Miliband statements about its resolution.
6. The Telegraph published 08 articles under research issue during research period.

7. The Telegraph's mostly 03 articles are on diplomatic developments of Pak-India relations.
8. Its 02 articles are about Mumbai attack and also 02 articles are about Kashmir issue.
9. Comparatively The Guardian has given more coverage to Pak-India relations issue.
10. Mumbai attack and Kashmir issue are mostly discussed in both newspapers.

### **Question No.2**

What were the policies of British Newspapers towards Pakistan government stance on under research issues of Pak-India relations?

Research findings and analysis unfolded that treatment of both newspaper towards under research issues is almost same.

1. Analysis and results of the research shows that policy in editorials of both newspapers is same towards Pakistan government stance in under research issues of Pak-India relations.
2. General stance of 40% editorials of both newspapers is balanced, 40% opposite and 20% supportive towards Pakistan stance on under research issues of Pak-India relationship.
3. However, the results of research indicates that general stance of articles of both newspapers on different issues is not similar just like editorials policy.
4. The results showed that the general stance of 52.8% articles of The Guardian and 37.6% of The Telegraph is neutral towards Pakistan government's stance on under research issue and 30.4% articles of The Guardian and 25% of The Telegraph is supportive towards Pakistan stance. Whereas 37.4% of articles tone of The Telegraph and 16.8% of The Guardian is opposite towards Pakistan government's stance on under research issues of Pak-India relationship.
5. Comparative analysis of treatment of both newspapers towards under research issues unfolds that both newspaper policy is different on different issues. This results indicates that the general stance of 34% of The Guardian's and 28.4% of The Telegraph analysed matter on terrorism issue is neutral towards Pakistan government stance on terrorism issue. However 33% of The Guardian's and 57.2% of The Telegraph opposed while 33% of The Guardian's and 14.2% of The Telegraph supported the Pakistan government stance on terrorism issue.
6. On the issue of Negotiations, The results unfolds that general view of The Guardian towards Pakistan's stance on negotiation is 100% and The Telegraph is 60% neutral. The Telegraph's 20% stance is supportive and 20% is opposite to Pakistan stance in the issue in question while The Guardian's is 0% supportive and opposite to Pakistan stance regarding negotiations.
7. It is noticeable fact that on Kashmir issue, both newspapers general stance is supportive towards Pakistan's stance. The Telegraph 100% and The Guardian's 40% under analysis matter supported while 20% of The Guardian and 0% of The Telegraph was found in the opposition to Pakistan stance regarding Kashmir, although 40% of The Guardian and 0% of The Telegraph is neutral.
8. Analysts in both newspapers condemned strongly Mumbai terrorist act and sympathised with Indian people. Pakistan government also condemned the act.



9. Most of the analysts in both newspapers criticized involvement of reportedly Pakistani elements in this attack and urged Pakistan government to take strict action against accused behind this act. Pakistan government admitted involvement of non-state actors and started action against them.
10. Opinion writers in both newspapers suspected the connection of Pakistani intelligence with militants. Pakistan denies it and its President Zardari admitted that some militant groups were nourished by Pakistan's government for gaining some targets but now government banned all such groups activities.
11. Analysts also opined in both newspapers that India should seek the solution of problem within, by eliminating injustice and discrimination with Indian Muslims and resolving the problem of Kashmir. Pakistan also has this opinion.
12. This extreme opinion is also given by two analyst that due to terrorism insurgencies in NWFP and Baluchistan and economical crisis existence of Pakistan in this status is doubtful. Pakistan's point of view is that it has the capability to combat the terrorism and all problems and there is no question of its existence.
13. Analysts of both newspapers discussed the law and order situation of Pakistan, expressed concern over continuously terrorist attacks and questioned the capability of Pakistan to meet this challenge. Pakistan view is, it have capability to crush militants.
14. Opinion writers of both newspapers acknowledged the opinion of Pakistan government that state is not involved in Mumbai attacks, but viewed that some militants groups are operational in Pakistan, which were established by Pakistan Intelligence agencies for pursuing its objectives.
15. Editorial and articles writers viewed that tensions between two nuclear powers is flash point for the peace of region and the world and urged to restore dialogue and peace process. Also opined that terrorist intends to derail this process, so they should not be succeeded in their targets. Pakistan is keen to restore composite dialogue but India does not agree yet.
16. Both newspapers analysts also discussed the diplomatic efforts of Obama for improvement in Pak-India relations and also the diplomatic and strategic difficulties, facing by Obama envoy to South Asia Holbrook. On Kashmir issue both newspaper viewed that it is bone of contention between Pak-India relation and it should be resolved. It is also Pakistan's official stand on Kashmir issue.
17. Opinion writers also viewed that Pakistani supported militants are involved in insurgency of Indian held Kashmir. Pakistan denies it and called it indigenous movement of Indian held Kashmiri people.
18. Analysts of both newspapers also opined that Indian forces are involved in atrocities in Kashmir, which created hatred and home grown militancy. Pakistan also has this point of view.
19. Editorial and article writers of both newspapers discussed Obama and Miliband point of view, efforts for resolution of Kashmir issue, reaction of India on it and strategic, diplomatic hurdles in this regard.

20. Opinion writers of both newspapers suggested that India and Pakistan can be agreed on any formula of Kashmir issue by hot diplomatic persuasion of America, but it will be not an easy task due to Indian disagreement on intervention of any third party in this issue. According to India Kashmir is a regional issue and discussed within Pakistan and India.

21. Analysts of the newspapers also opined that Pakistan army's operation in Swat against Taliban is appreciate-able and America and West should help Pakistan in this regard.

22. It is also viewed by analysts that for peace in Afghanistan proxy war of Pakistan-India should come to an end.

23. Analysts also pointed out that inefficiency of Karzai government and collateral damage by drone attacks are also causing problems for local operational forces.

### **Question No.3**

Were there any policy differences between the newspapers on under research issues? In the result of analysis there are some following policy differences found between both newspapers.

1. The Guardian has comparatively given more coverage in editorial and articles to the under research issues. This shows that the Guardian given more importance to issues of Pak-India relations than The Telegraph.

2. There seems to be some differences in the policy of articles of both newspapers.

3. The Guardian general stance is more supportive on all issues toward Pakistan stance than The Telegraph especially on terrorism issue The Telegraph more opposed Pakistan stance on Pak-India terrorism issue than The Guardian.

4. It is noticeable, although that The heading of one of the editorials of The Guardian about Pakistan "A Failing State" and an article "Demise of Pakistan is inevitable" shows harsh headlines toward Pakistan reflects extreme point of view in these instances of editorial and article which should be avoided according to professional standard of journalism.

5. The Guardian has expressed more concern over law and order situation in Pakistan and questioned existence of Pakistan.

6. The Guardian has given more coverage to Mumbai attack and Kashmir issue.

7. The Telegraph has given more coverage to Mumbai attack and diplomatic developments.

### **Question No.4**

What were the similarities in the policy of both newspapers?

In the result of the analysis following similarities found:

1. Policy of both newspapers in Editorials is similar.

2. Both newspapers 40% editorials general stance is neutral, 40% opposite and 20% supportive towards Pakistan's stance on under research issues.

3. Mostly analysed matter of both newspapers consists of neutral point of view.

4. Both newspapers supported Pakistan's stance on Kashmir issue.

5. Both newspapers almost treated the issues on same policy.

6. Both condemned the Mumbai attack and sympathised with Indian government and people.
7. Both criticized involvement of reported Pakistani elements in Mumbai attacks and demanded strict action against accused persons.
8. Both suspected that some Pakistani Intelligence agencies are supporting militants.
9. Both urged Pakistan-India to resolve the all disputes including Kashmir by dialogue.
10. Both urged and supported to restore dialogue between both countries to de-escalate tensions.
11. Both urged to America, Britain and west to contribute its role for establishing peace in this region.
12. Both expressed concern over increase in militancy in the region and suggested India and Pakistan to stop blame game and seek the problem inside also.
13. Both criticised involvement of Pakistan Army in country's politics.

### **Conclusion**

In the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century, it has become imperative for all nations of the world to minimize conflicts and enhance cooperation. Pakistan-India relations hold key to peace stability in South Asia. Many efforts have been done to normalize the relations between both countries but it is unfortunate that fruitful consummation did not materialize. A common vision of peace, progress and prosperity for people should be shared by the two neighbour countries. The researcher attempted to explore the relationship existed between foreign policy of Pakistan government (regarding Pak-India relations) and the policies of elite British newspapers. The literature on the topic under discussion was reviewed, explored that it should be cooperative and harmonious, and the relationship would be consistent with the nature of independent editorial determination, with the spirit of pluralism and with press freedom. Many inconsistencies in findings of researchers related to various aspects of media and foreign policy of governments suggest that subject is not only volatile in nature but also very complex. Lack of consensus among the scholars as to what the relationship are between the press and foreign policy issues of is something monolithic, sometime adversarial and sometime indifferent. The theoretical framework of this study is based on Cohen's (1963) study "The Press and foreign policy" in which he states that press being an important institution of civil society plays an effective role in shaping the foreign policy issues of any country." This study based on qualitative & quantitative content analysis in which researcher selected the editorials and articles of two elite British newspapers The Guardian and The Telegraph have same dates and issues of Pak-India relations during (January 2008 to October 2009), to know the treatment and policy contrast of both newspapers towards Pakistan government stance on Pak-India relations issues. The researcher also attempted to seek the similarities and differences among the both newspaper policy / coverage on under research issues. Three topics terrorism (Tensions), negotiations (peace talks) and Kashmir were deduced from selected editorials and articles. To assess the selected matter, every editorial and article of both newspapers analysed and discussed separately. Tone, opinion and treatment towards under research issues are discussed in analysis. Whether it was supportive to Pak Government policy/stance, opposite or had a

balanced/neutral policy, Holsti's formula of coding was used. Regarding the deduced issues, both newspapers were analysed and compared with each other and with the Pak government stance on issue. In the light of findings analysis and discussion the answers of research questions were tried to find out which stated that

1. As a whole coverage of both newspapers on under research issues is very less according to importance of under research issues.
2. The Guardian and The Telegraph both published 05 editorials on under research issues during research period.
3. The Guardian published 12 and The Telegraph published 08 articles on under research issues during research period.
4. The Guardian gave more importance to Mumbai attacks and Kashmir issue.
5. The Telegraph gave more importance to Mumbai attacks and dialogue process.
6. Comparatively The Guardian gave more importance/coverage to under research issues during research period.
7. Both newspapers given more coverage to the issue of terrorism (Mumbai attack) and then negotiation & Kashmir.

#### **Policies of the both Newspapers**

1. In the light of findings and analysis we may conclude that both newspapers have almost same policy towards Pakistan Government stance. There was no major difference observed between the editorial policy of both newspapers except Guardian comparatively given more important to the issues of Pak-India relations in editorials then The Telegraph.
2. Findings that proved our first hypothesis The Guardian policy towards Pakistan India relations is balanced and the Guardian gives space to every point of view.
3. Our second hypothesis is also proved "The Telegraph policy towards Pakistan India relations is neutral and this newspaper also gives space to every point of view.
4. Both newspapers highlighted terrorism (Mumbai attack) in their editorials.
5. The Guardian gave more space to articles of Kashmir issue than The Telegraph on its pages.
6. The Telegraph gave more space to Pakistan-India peace talk articles on its comment pages.
7. Approval of both hypothesis rejected the perception and approach of common Pakistani that British (west) Newspaper's policy is biased towards Pakistan and these newspapers favours India. But this point is noticeable that both newspapers, especially The Guardian , gives very much importance & coverage to Mumbai attacks as it published 02 editorials within a week about Mumbai attacks but such terrorists attacks and casualties of hundreds innocent citizens and soldiers in Pakistan are not given similar importance.

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