

## PAK-INDIA COMPOSITE DIALOGUE: TRENDS IN MEDIA COVERAGE

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### Abstract

*Pakistan and India have not had a stable relation since independence. There have been attempts thus to achieve a neighbourly relation. Amongst the efforts made, Composite Dialogue was undoubtedly an important step towards achieving peace; it was introduced in January 2004 and had eight baskets of issues to be deliberated upon. Media showed a keen interest in this peace effort and extensively covered it. The process was suspended after the Mumbai terror attack of July 2008. This study looks at the trends media coverage of the Composite Dialogue in print media in India and Pakistan. The research design is the content analysis of eight selected newspapers, four from each country (one primary and three secondary ones), during nine selected days. This composite dialogue, continued for over five years, but the coverage period for this research is three periods, each lasting for three days in January 2004, April 2005 and July 2006. The analysis and subsequent conclusion shows that media became overzealous in giving coverage to the peace process yet it followed the official narrative which was jingoistic<sup>1</sup>, hence hindering the peace process by limiting the exposure to information and public discourse.*

**Key Words:** *Pakistan, India, Media Coverage, Composite Dialogue, Narrative, Peace Process*

### Introduction

The study looks at the media coverage of composite dialogue in the selected newspapers of Pakistan and India. The objective is to highlight the role media plays in the peace process particularly through the dialogue, and its influence on public opinion of political

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<sup>1</sup> Characterized by extreme patriotism, especially in the form of aggressive or warlike foreign policy.

disagreements. Media is known as the fourth pillar of the state. Its reach, scope and ever-present nature make it an important factor within any nation as well as in the international politics. It plays an important role in conveying information, forming opinions and setting of trends. It even affects social behaviour of the people. Pakistani and Indian media did take a keen interest in the peace process. As the bilateral talks created some hope for the resolution of key problems, media on the both sides actively reported the dialogue. Media is a broad term yet the focus of this study is selected print media, specifically the newspapers as the oldest tradition of reporting in the two countries. Despite TV channels and internet, press has the outreach and penetration not available to other modern sources. Dawn, The Nation, The Frontier Post and Daily Times are selected newspapers from Pakistan; while The Hindu, The India Express, The Telegraph and Deccan Herald have been selected from India. The aforementioned are further categorized in primary and secondary newspapers according to their scope, reach, readership and credibility. Dawn and The Hindu have been taken as primary newspapers from the two countries whereas The National, The Frontier Post and Daily Times, and The India Express, The Telegraph and Deccan Herald have been taken as secondary papers from Pakistan and India respectively. Such sampling provides a wider perspective. First, Dawn and The Hindu being frontline papers provide vertical sampling, while the other papers having regional focus give horizontal cross view of the coverage.

The roots of the composite dialogue are traceable to May 1997 when Indian Prime Minister, Inder Kumar Gujral and his Pakistani counterpart Nawaz Sharif agreed at the SAARC Summit in Maldives to institute a structural dialogue process.<sup>2</sup> The core of the new process was that no preconditions shall be demanded by the two countries. Also, they agreed to accommodate each other's key concerns: India agreed to include Kashmir on the list of issues in return for Pakistan agreeing to talk on terrorism.

Initially, two rounds of talks were held in October and November of 1998. Later, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Lahore to further boost the initiative. Unfortunately, these efforts collapsed due to Kargil War of 1999. Another top-level effort also failed when Agra Summit remained unfruitful. The attack on Indian parliament and consequent military confrontations of 2002 proved disastrous for peace. However, the military face-off led to a realization then that without solution of the key issues, the two countries will be locked in mortal conflicts or a cold war type confrontation.

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<sup>2</sup> Sajad Paddar, "The Composite Dialogue Process between India and Pakistan: Structure, Process and Agency," *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, South Asia Institute, Department of Political Science, Heidelberg University, Working Paper No 65 (February 2012), 2.

President Pervez Musharraf, who took over in 1999, was looking for positive rearrangements with India due to different reasons. So at the height of tensions, he extended a hand of friendship to India when during the SAARC Summit in Kathmandu in January 2002, he walked across the podium to shake hands with Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee.<sup>3</sup> It was a positive gesture but still too early to start any negotiations and the two sides took more than a year before coming towards a serious reengagement. The new process of engagement started in 2003, through what India termed as “step by step” process.<sup>4</sup> The positive statements and backdoor efforts bore fruit in November 2003 when the two sides agreed on a ceasefire in Kashmir. With full diplomatic activities and transport links already restored, the time had come for a more sustained peace effort.

With this, the composite dialogue process was launched in January 2004, when Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Pakistan for the SAARC Summit.<sup>5</sup> It was the first comprehensive effort to resolve all problems through sustained and multi-layered talks. The main issues were divided into eight baskets or groups, and were assigned to officials and experts to sort them out. The eight groups included: 1) Peace and Security including CBMs; 2) Jammu and Kashmir; 3) Siachin; 4) Wullar Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project; 5) Sir Creek; 6) Economic and Commercial Cooperation; 7) Terrorism and Drug Trafficking; and 8) Promotion of friendly exchanges.<sup>6</sup>

The first meeting between foreign secretaries of the two countries was held in New Delhi in June 2004, followed by five rounds of talks on each of the eight baskets. Each round was formally closed by the foreign ministers, who also launched the next round of negotiations. The process generated a lot of optimism. The dialogue was termed as irreversible and some of the disputes like Siachen and Sir Creek were declared ripe for solution.<sup>7</sup> The two sides had already agreed for the sixth round and some of the meetings were also fixed when militants attacked Indian financial hub Mumbai on November 26, 2008. India blamed Pakistan-based militants for the attack and suspended all peace engagements, including the composite dialogue.

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<sup>3</sup> Jawed Naqvi, “Musharraf offers Sustained Talks: Handshake with Vajpayee Charms SAARC,” *Dawn*, January 6, 2002, <https://www.dawn.com/news/13684>.

<sup>4</sup> Paddar, “The Composite Dialogue,” 2.

<sup>5</sup> Aymen Ijaz, “Analysis of Pak-India Composite Dialogue,” *IPRI Journal*, September 15, 2015, <http://www.ipripak.org/analysis-of-pak-india-composite-dialogue/>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Jawed Naqvi, “Peace Process ‘Irreversible’: Pakistan, India to Work For Kashmir Issue Settlement: Joint Statement,” *Dawn*, April 19, 2005.

Since the peace process continued for over five years, the coverage patterns have been noted for three specified periods, each following a significant event or happening. The expanded survey of coverage gives trends of reporting in selected newspapers. The details are as follows:

- First Period for coverage lasts for three days i.e. January 4-6, 2004. This period followed the agreement between Pervez Musharraf and Vajpayee on January 4, 2004 for pursuing the Composite Dialogue, and records media's response on this development.
- Second Period also lasts for three days, i.e. April 16-18, 2005, when Pervez Musharraf visited India and records media responses to this event.
- Third and the last coverage period is from July 10-12, 2006 and provides a coverage pattern around the Mumbai train bombing of July 11, 2006.

The total coverage period spreads over nine days. Coverage of dialogue process by Dawn and The Hindu has been recorded for all three selected periods; the secondary source has been changed for all three periods. For example, The Nation, The Frontier Post and The Daily Times have respectively been used as second papers from Pakistan, one for each period, while The Indian Express, The Telegraph and Deccan Herald have been used as second newspapers from India. The purpose of having so many papers is to get a more representative sample. It aims to analyze the trends in coverage of the composite dialogue rather than the dialogue itself, so to analyse media's role in this peace process.

### **Coverage Period I: January 4-6, 2004.**

#### **1: The Primary Newspapers - Pakistan (Dawn)**

**Table 1:**

**Dawn Coverage on January 4, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Karachi	Report	Pakistan, India urged to respect rights
2	Islamabad	APP	SAARC moot to be historic: Shashank
3	Islamabad	Report	Summit opens today on optimistic note
4	Islamabad	Report	Sinha sees winds of change in region: Islamabad making history
5	Islamabad	Reuter/ AFP/APP	Vajpayee willing to hold talks with Musharraf: Indian PM arrives in Islamabad.
6	Islamabad	APP	Warm welcome accorded.

A civil society group, Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPPFD), met in Karachi and urged both countries to respect the basic rights. APP reported that Foreign Secretary (FS) Shashank told media that the SAARC Summit will be historic. The paper also noted that the summit opens on January 4. Yashwant Sinha said at the SAARC journalist summit organized by SAFMA that important decisions were made at the Council of Ministers meeting. Vajpayee told PTV in an interview that Musharraf was someone he could talk to, but needed time for agreement on Kashmir. APP reported, Vajpayee was given warm welcome on arrival to attend the summit. He was the second Indian leader to land at Islamabad International Airport after late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited in 1988.

**Table 2:****Dawn Coverage on January 5, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	Report	Vajpayee seeks mutual trust
2	Srinagar	AFP	Kashmiris pledge to work for peace
3	Islamabad	Report	Jamali, Vajpayee hold one-on-one meeting: Talks with Musharraf today
4	Islamabad	Report	High hopes mark start of summit
5	Islamabad	Report	President pleads for end to rifts: Reception for SAARC leaders

The paper reported that the SAARC Summit had started. Vajpayee was applauded when he gave his speech. "We must make the bold transition from mistrust to trust, from discord to concord, and from tension to peace," he said. AFP reported that both hard-line and moderate separatists in Kashmir vowed to work for peace. The paper also reported that Prime Minister Zafarullah Jamali met counterpart Vajpayee and discussed the vital issues. An important meeting was scheduled between Musharraf and Vajpayee separately. It was reported that SAARC had rekindled hopes for the regional peace. President Musharraf speaking at a reception for the SAARC leaders highlighted need for peace through the resolution of the political disputes.

**Table 3:****Dawn Coverage on January 6, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	Report	Musharraf, Vajpayee hold historic meeting
2	Islamabad	Report	Secretary level discussion soon
3	Islamabad	APP	'New answers' being sought, says Vajpayee
4	Islamabad	APP	Joint efforts sought to resolve issues
5	Muzaffarabad	Report	MJC doubts SAARC summit's success
6	Chakothi	Report	Kashmiris hope for durable truce
7	Islamabad	Report	It might be real this time
8	New Delhi	APPk2	Indian press commends peace moves
9	Islamabad	Report	Fahim welcomes peace efforts
10	Srinagar	APP	APHC calls for SAARC's role in peace process

The coverage went dramatically up due to the meetings of Vajpayee with the Pakistan leaders. The lead of the day was a meeting between Musharraf and Vajpayee. In their 65-minute meeting, they discussed all important issues and also agreed to launch the composite dialogue.<sup>8</sup> APP reported Vajpayee saying that the dialogue will continue to find a solution for the problems. Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali urged for collective efforts to confront the problems faced by South Asia. Chairman of the Muttahida Jihad Council and Hizbul Mujahideen commander, Syed Salahuddin said he doubted the outcome of SAARC to establish durable peace. It was also reported that hopes were high among the people living along the LoC in Azad Kashmir that the gathering of leaders will create peace.

The paper also carried an analysis that it was time for making advances towards the real peace between Pakistan and India. APP gave an overview of the Indian press which was positive about the peace moves. Leader of PPP and Chairman of the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) Amin Fahim welcomed the efforts initiated by Pakistan and India. APP in its report said that APHC leader Syed Ali Gilani urged the

<sup>8</sup> "Musharraf, Vajpayee hold Historic Meeting," *Dawn*, January 6, 2004.

SAARC leaders to persuade India to initiate a serious, sincere and meaningful dialogue on Kashmir.

## 2: The Primary Newspapers – India (The Hindu)

**Table 4:**

### **The Hindu Coverage on January 4, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	Amit Baruah & Muralidhar Reddy	India and Pakistan must keep talking: Vajpayee

The coverage was restricted to just one story. Amit Baruah and Muralidhar Reddy reported that Vajpayee said he would hold talks with Pakistani leaders during the SAARC Summit.

**Table 5:**

### **The Hindu Coverage on January 5, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	Amit Baruah & Muralidhar Reddy	Vajpayee meets Jamali as ties are put on track
2	New Delhi	Neena Vyas	BJP plans to sell peace with Pakistan in poll campaign

The coverage was low and the paper carried just two stories. Vajpayee started the tour of Pakistan by having a meeting with Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali. The Hindu termed it as the end of nearly “three-year of drought” in the bilateral ties. Neena Vyas said BJP was planning to sell the idea of peace with Pakistan in the forthcoming elections.

**Table 6:**

### **The Hindu Coverage on January 6, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	Amit Baruah & Muralidhar Reddy	Vajpayee, Musharraf hope peace process will continue
2	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	Peace is essential for prosperity: Kalam
3	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	A step in the right direction, says Venkaiah Naidu

Despite meeting between Vajpayee and Musharraf, the coverage was limited. Amit Baruah and Muralidhar Reddy reported that Vajpayee met Musharraf in an ice-breaking meeting. President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam and Home Minister L.K. Advani expressed hope that meeting with Musharraf will bring peace. Bharatiya Janata Party President Venkaiah Naidu also termed the meeting as a "positive step in the right direction."

### 3: The Secondary Newspapers – Pakistan (The Nation)

**Table 7:**

**The Nation Coverage on January 4, 2004**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Shaiq Hussain	SAARC summit open today
2	Islamabad	Agencies	Vajpayee ready for Kashmir talks with Musharraf
3	Rawalpindi	Absar Alam	The ego has landed
4	Islamabad	Dilshad Azeem	JUI awaits Indian HC response to fete Vajpayee
5	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	FMs discuss Vajpayee's meetings with Pak leaders
6	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	Vajpayee comes with 'Black Cats'

The lead was about the SAARC Summit being held in Islamabad. The second lead was about Vajpayee, who had landed a day before in Pakistan and was quoted as saying that India was ready to discuss Kashmir. Absar Alam reported that the Indian leader after wasting five years since 1999 had finally come to Pakistan.

There was a report that JUI-F was still waiting for a response from the Indian officials about its invitation to hold a reception for Vajpayee. Separately, the foreign ministers of Pakistan and India discussed meetings of Vajpayee with Pakistani leaders. Also, the paper published an interesting report that Indian PM brought his limousine and 25 commandoes known as 'Black Cats'.

**Table 8:****The Nation Coverage on January 5, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	Absar Alam	Musharraf-Vajpayee meeting today
2	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	Retreat at PM House today
3	Islamabad	Shaiq Hussain	SAARC leaders focus on terror, poverty
4	Islamabad	Javed Rana	No new inclusion in SAARC: FO
5	Rawalpindi	Abrar Saeed	Pak-India CBMs be started from Kashmir
6	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	Pak opposition leaders meet Vajpayee
7	Islamabad	APP	Rashid hopeful of Pak-India talks
8	Lahore	PPI	Samjhota Express resumes today

Absar Alam reported about the upcoming meeting between Vajpayee and Musharraf. The paper reported about a retreat for the leaders of SAARC at the PM House, while the leaders during the summit discussed how to combat terrorism and poverty. Javed Rana reported that Sinha and Kasuri had discussed the agenda for the meeting of leaders as Pakistan rejected the idea of inclusion of any new country into the SAARC.

The paper on the back page carried some major stories. It reported that leaders from the two sides of Kashmir demanded that the CBMs should start from Kashmir and the massacre of the people of Kashmir should be stopped. Pakistan opposition leaders from Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy met Vajpayee while Information Minister Sheikh Rashid said that the composite dialogue between the two countries will start soon. There was another important story that the Samjhota express train started between the two countries. Earlier, the road and air links were restored.

**Table 9:**  
**The Nation Coverage on January 6, 2004**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Javed Rana	Musharraf, Vajpayee for more CBMs
2	Islamabad	APP	Talks should continue: Vajpayee
3	Islamabad	Shaiq Hussain	Pakistan, India urged to resolve bilateral issues
4	Islamabad	Absar Alam	What are new question?
5	Lahore	APP	SAARC terror talks target Kashmiris, says Qazi
6	Islamabad	APP	Sheikh Rashid says joint declaration soon
7	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	Indo-Pak leaders meeting a good omen: Fahim
8	New Delhi	AFP	Pakistani baby gets gift of vision
9	Muzaffara bad	Roshan Mughal	Kashmiris protest self-determination right denial
10	Islamabad	APP	Gujral greets Vajpayee, Musharraf for a new start
11	Islamabad	Arif & Lamia Zia	Pak-India peace process overshadow summit

As Vajpayee settled in Islamabad and held preliminary talks, the coverage increased. The headline on front page was about the meeting between Musharraf and Vajpayee. They agreed on more CBMs.<sup>9</sup> Leader from the SAARC nations asked the two countries to resolve their differences, while Vajpayee said that more talks were needed. Absar Alam criticised Vajpayee for saying that there were new questions in ties which needed answers. Jamaat-i-Islami chief, Qazi Hussain Ahmad criticised the SAARC anti-terror talks which he said aimed at Kashmir. Sheikh Rashid said, soon a joint declaration will be issued. Opposition leader Amin Fahim welcomed the meeting of leaders of Pakistan and India.

AFP reported a rarely good story that a 15-month Pakistani boy got vision due to the transplant of vital parts from a deceased Indian woman. Separately, the Kashmiris protested for denial of the right of self-determination. Former Indian premier I.K. Gujral welcomed the meeting of Pak-India leaders. The paper also reported that Pak-India peace parleys overshadowed the summit.

<sup>9</sup> Javed Rana, "Musharraf, Vajpayee for more CBMs," *The Nation*, January 6, 2004.

#### 4: Secondary Newspapers – India (The Indian Express)

The Indian Express is relatively smaller newspaper in circulation but is respected in the Indian policy-making circles. It has been used as secondary paper to see the coverage for the selected period from January 4-6, 2004.

**Table 10:**

##### **The Indian Express Coverage on January 4, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	Jyoti Malhotra	Landing in Pak, PM sheds baggage of past, has one thing to declare: hope

It was an important day as Prime Minister Vajpayee arrived in Pakistan for the SAARC Summit. Jyoti Malhotra reported from Islamabad that Prime Minister Vajpayee arrived in Pakistan and told media that he wanted to meet the leaders of Pakistan and talk about all issues including Kashmir.

**Table 11:**

##### **The Indian Express Coverage on January 5, 2004**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	Jyoti Malhotra	Musharraf skips K-course at banquet, but serves bilateral talk dish
2	Islamabad	Express News Service	They all agree: no room for terror, need to unite
3	Srinagar	Mir Ehsan	Summit echoes in J-K: Change is not far away

Malhotra who had apparently flown from New Delhi to cover the trip of the prime minister in her dispatch said that Musharraf did not directly mention Kashmir at a banquet for the SAARC leaders but said that “there can be no development in the absence of peace and no peace until political disputes continue to fester.”<sup>10</sup> The paper also said that the SAARC leaders called for action against terrorism and increasing efforts for regional cooperation. Mir Ehsan reported from Srinagar that the Kashmiri leaders were hoping the SAARC Summit to be a major step towards peace.

<sup>10</sup> Jyoti Malhotra, “Musharraf Skips K-course at Banquet, but Serves Bilateral Talk Dish,” *The Indian Express*, January 5, 2004.

**Table 12:**  
**The Indian Express Coverage on January 6, 2004**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Jyoti Malhotra	Mistrust brushed under huge, red carpet
2	Islamabad	PTI	Rashid can't forget the K-word
3	New Delhi	Express News service	Movement towards peace: Parties hoping for results
4	Srinagar	Agencies	Back home: Valley pins hope on Summit
5	Moscow	Dadan Upadhyay	Russia welcomes Pak-India leaders meeting
6	Islamabad	Jyoti Malhotra	Silence, men at work on peace track

The coverage went up considerably as Pak-India leaders were having meetings in Islamabad. Tracing the welcome given to Vajpayee in Pakistan, Malhotra wrote "If ever Prime Minister A. B. Vajpayee wanted to contest elections from Islamabad rather than his beloved Lucknow,... winning wouldn't be difficult."

The paper also had a PTI story which said that Pakistan Information Minister Sheikh Rashid Ahmad kept harping on Kashmir as top leadership was silent about it. Separately, the paper said that BJP had described the meeting between Prime Minister Vajpayee and Musharraf as a step in the right direction.

There was a detailed report based on the input by the newswires that Vajpayee's visit had raised hopes for peace in Kashmir. Dadan Upadhyay reported from Moscow that Russia welcomed the meeting of Vajpayee and Musharraf. In a major story Malhotra reported that there was a possibility of breakthrough as officials were working out the contours of a peace process that "would give centrality to the twin issues of Kashmir and terrorism."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Jyoti Malhotra, "Silence, men at work on peace track," *The Indian Express*, January 6, 2004.

## Coverage Period II: April 16-18, 2006.

### 1: Primary Newspaper – Pakistan (Dawn)

**Table 13:**

#### Dawn Coverage on April 16, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Washington	Anwar Iqbal	Bush urges India to 'encourage' Musharraf
2	Islamabad	Reporter	Pakistan-India summit today
3	New Delhi	Jawed Naqvi	Singh call for joint anti-terror strategy

Dawn reported from Washington that President George Bush met Indian Foreign Minister Natwar Singh and told media that he had asked the Indian diplomat to be appreciative of Musharraf's efforts against al-Qaeda. An important story was about the landing of Musharraf in India, where he was scheduled to meet Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Natwar Singh was set to meet Musharraf before his meeting with the Indian premier. Jawed Naqvi reported that Manmohan Singh said that there was need of a joint anti-terror strategy with Pakistan to fight militancy.

**Table 14:**

#### Dawn Coverage on April 17, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Unknown	Optimistic mood prevails in New Delhi
2	New Delhi	Habib Ghori	'Musharraf in Delhi with open mind'
3	New Delhi	AFP	'We need to seize this opportunity'
4	Srinagar	AFP	'Mujahideen ready for talks with India'
5	New Delhi	Jawed Naqvi	Resolve Kashmir issue for peace, says Musharraf
6	Muzaffarabad	Reporter	Many AJK citizens still in Indian jails
7	Ajmer	AFP	Musharraf prays for peace, visits to Ajmer shrine
8	Islamabad	APP	APHC leaders arrive in Delhi

The coverage of relations with India went up to eight stories as Musharraf had arrived in India for talks on the sidelines of the SAARC conference. The paper reported from Indian capital that optimism was in the air as Musharraf arrived for a three-day visit to attend the SAARC

Summit and hold talks with the Indian leaders. Information Minister Sheikh Rashid Ahmad said Musharraf had gone to India with an open mind to hold dialogue. AFP reported that Musharraf was hopeful to resolve all issues through talks. He also said it was time to create peace. AFP also reported Hizbul-Mujahideen saying that it was ready for talks with India and its chief, Syed Salahuddin in an interview with the Zee News said the dialogue "should be serious and sincere and involve no political manoeuvring." Separately, Musharraf said he had brought a message of peace and solidarity but also cautioned that Kashmir could not be brushed under the carpet. The paper also reported that a number of people from Azad Kashmir were in the Indian jails. AFP reported that Musharraf visited the shrine of a Sufi saint in Ajmer and prayed for peace. APP reported that a delegation of APHC had arrived in New Delhi to meet Musharraf.

**Table 15:****Dawn Coverage on April 18, 2006**

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	New Delhi	AFP	Musharraf, joins Singh, Sonia at Delhi stadium
2	New Delhi	Unknown	Majority of Kashmiris want independence: poll
3	New Delhi	Unknown	Islamabad, Delhi sideline Iran pipeline issue in talks
4	New Delhi	Reuters	Accord to revive business council
5	Ahmedabad	AFP	Over 150 fishermen released
6	New Delhi	AFP	India offers new talks on Baglihar
7	New Delhi	Jawed Naqvi	India to consider Valley troops cut: Musharraf satisfied with talks
8	Lahore	Reporter	Justice basic condition: Tarar: Friendship with India

AFP reported that Musharraf joined Manmohan Singh and Congress leader Sonia Gandhi in a bullet-proof glass enclosure to catch the opening overs of the last one-day match between Pakistan and India at Feroze Shah Kotla ground. The paper said that according to the poll conducted by Synovate India, a market research agency, a majority of 53.9

per cent of the respondents in Kashmir areas of Srinagar and Rajouri chose for independence when asked in the survey to choose between staying with India or going to Pakistan or becoming an independent country. Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran told a news conference that the Iran gas pipeline issue was discussed by the two sides. Reuters reported that the two countries had “positive and business-like” talks, agreeing to boost trade and transport links to bolster the peace process.

Shyam Saran said the two sides had agreed to revive a joint business council to boost economic links. AFP reported that India released 156 Pakistan fishermen jailed in Gujarat. AFP also reported that India said it was open to a new round of talks to resolve the differences with Pakistan over the construction of a hydroelectric dam in Kashmir. Separately, India promised to consider the troops reduction in Kashmir to improve ties with Pakistan. The paper quoted official sources verifying that Musharraf and Manmohan met for 20 minutes with delegations and then went for a one-to-one session that lasted more than two hours, thereby delaying a lunch that President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam was to host for Musharraf. Pakistan’s ex-President Rafiq Tarar welcomed the Pakistan-India friendship and called for basing it on principles of justice and fairness.

## 2: Primary Newspaper – India (The Hindu)

**Table 16:**

### **The Hindu Coverage on April 16, 2006**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	New Delhi	Vinay Kumar	No political compromise with terror: Manmohan
2	New Delhi	Diplomatic Corresp.	Peace process will not come to a wall: Brajesh

There were two stories and both were anti-peace. Manmohan Singh was quoted as saying that efforts to derail the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service will be foiled and there will no compromise with terrorists. The former National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra said in BBC's Hardtack India programme that the trade ties between Pakistan and India will open up new avenues.

**Table 17:****The Hindu Coverage on April 17, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Harish Khare	"I have come with a message of peace"
2	Ajmer	Mohammed Iqbal	Musharraf prays for peace at Ajmer dargah
3	Jaipur	Sunny Sebastian	The Khwaja has finally called Gen. Musharraf
4	New Delhi	Staff Reporter	Gursharan praise for Musharraf's mother
5	New Delhi	Amit Baruah	Musharraf is free to meet Hurriyat leaders: Saran

The coverage picked up as Musharraf reached India. Musharraf was in India to attend the SAARC Summit and responding to Manmohan Singh's call for the enduring solution to all problems, he told a gathering at the Ashoka Hotel: "It needs two hands to clap. They say it takes two to tango, we may be too old to tango, but my hand is extended to clap."<sup>12</sup> Musharraf also paid a visit to the shrine of 13<sup>th</sup> century saint Moinuddin Chishti before starting the official business. He had missed the opportunity in 2001 due to the failure of the Agra Summit. Indian Prime Minister's wife Gursharan Kaur praised the mother of Musharraf whom she met. Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran said that Musharraf was free to meet APHC, which was contrary to the stance taken by the Indian government in 2001.

**Table 18:****The Hindu Coverage on April 18, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Amit Baruah	Positive, forward-looking talks: Manmohan.
2	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	Involve Kashmiris in peace process: Hurriyat
3	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	India, Pakistan to set up Joint Business Council
4	New Delhi	PTI	Musharraf gets his birth certificate
5	New	Mandira	The Begum goes

<sup>12</sup> Harish Khare, "I Have Come With a Message of Peace," *The Hindu*, July 17, 2005.

	Delhi	Nayar	sightseeing
6	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	Two Presidents have a cozy chat
7	Jammu	PTI	Pandits' plea to Musharraf
8	New Delhi	PTI	A pleasant surprise for Advani
9	New Delhi	PTI	Javed Mir not allowed to meet Musharraf

Total 11 stories were published on the day as Musharraf got busy in meetings. According to the headline of the paper, Manmohan Singh and Pervez Musharraf agreed to increase the frequency of the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service and operationalize the Munabao-Khokhrapar rail link by the end of December. Their talks happened after the two leaders saw a cricket match between their teams at Ferozshah Kotla ground which was won by Pakistan. The APHC leaders met Musharraf for nearly three-and-a-half hours at the Pakistan House and asked that people of Kashmir should be involved in the peace process. On the national page, the main report was that both countries had decided to set up a Joint Business Council (JBC) of their apex industry associations to promote trade and address issues like the MFN and non-tariff barriers.

Musharraf was also granted birth certificate and paining of the house where he was born and had spent his childhood. Mandira Nayar reported that Sehba Musharraf visited the historical places and went for shopping. Musharraf also met Indian President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam for 50-minutes and discussed various issues, including music. The paper also reported that displaced Kashmiri Pandits urged Musharraf to renovate the Sharda Peeth shrine in Pakistan's side of Kashmir for the pilgrimage.

Musharraf surprised Advani when he presented him an album containing photographs from Advani's school days till his last visit to Pakistan. Advani, who had studied in the same school as the Pakistani President, said they had a hearty discussion for "quite some time" on their alma mater. Officials of the Pakistan High Commission turned down the militant-turned-separatist leader Javed Ahmed Mir's request to meet Musharraf.

### **3: Secondary Newspaper – Pakistan (The Frontier Post)**

**Table 19:**

**The Frontier Post Coverage on April 16, 2006**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	FP Report	Musharraf visit to focus on vital issues: FO

Only one story was published on the day. Foreign Office spokesperson said that Musharraf during his visit to India will focus on all important issues of concern.

**Table 20:****The Frontier Post Coverage on April 17, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	APP	Musharraf, Singh vow to move on peace path
2	Washington	INP	US impressed with peace moves: Rice
3	Chennai	Inp	India test-fire Brahmos for tenth time

Musharraf had arrived in India and met Manmohan Singh but the coverage was still mute. The paper reported that the two counterparts vowed to bring peace as they met at a banquet. Musharraf also called for resolution of the Kashmir issue.<sup>13</sup> Foreign Secretary Condoleezza Rice said US appreciates what Pakistan and India have achieved through their peace efforts. It was also reported that India had tested Brahmos missile for the tenth time.

**Table 21:****The Frontier Post Coverage on April 18, 2006**

Sr. No.	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	APP	Pak-India warm to new land links
2	New Delhi	Online	Manmohan ruled out redrawing of Indian map
3	New Delhi	Online	Musharraf, Kalam discuss peace process
4	New Delhi	Online	Musharraf to meet Vajpayee
5	New Delhi	Online	'Pakistan not leave Kashmiris in isolation'
6	New Delhi	INP	Sonia accepts invitation to visit Pakistan
7	Islamabad	Saqlain Mehdi	Pak-India friendship responding to positive signals

<sup>13</sup> "Musharraf, Singh Vow to Move on Peace Path," *The Frontier Post*, April 17, 2005.

The number of stories rose to seven as there were major developments. The paper reported that Musharraf was satisfied with his talks with the Indian leaders where he discussed all issues including Kashmir and a proposal to open up new links like the Monabao-Khokrpar rail. Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran, giving details of the meeting quoted Manmohan Singh that Kashmir was an issue and India was ready to talk on it but there will not be any redrawing of the boundaries.<sup>14</sup> Musharraf also met President Abdul Kalam and discussed the peace process. It was reported that Musharraf was also planning to meet Vajpayee. He met with APHC and said that Pakistan will not leave the people of Kashmir. There was a story that Sonia Gandhi met Musharraf and accepted an invitation to visit Pakistan. The paper also carried an analytical story that the relations between Pakistan and India were improving.

#### 4: Secondary Newspaper - India (The Telegraph)

Kolkata-based The Telegraph has been used as secondary paper for this period.

**Table 22:**

#### **The Telegraph Coverage on April 16, 2006**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	Bus onus on Pak too: Singh
2	Ajmer	Sujan Dutta	Tanks on peace path- Memories of war await Musharraf
3	Kathmandu	Bharat Bhushan	Nepal walks in Pakistan's steps

The paper reported Prime Minister Manmohan Singh saying that it was the joint responsibility of India and Pakistan to provide security to the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus. It also said that Musharraf was arriving in Delhi via Ajmer for a three-day trip. There was an interesting story about troubled history of the two countries as two tanks flanked the route Musharraf took to the *dargah* to seek the blessings of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. The tanks, once owned by Pakistan were put on display by the Indian army after being destroyed in war. There was a story linked to Pakistan, which reported that in order to understand Nepal, India should first understand Pakistan as the two countries were building their nationhood on a similar pattern in opposition to India.

<sup>14</sup> "Manmohan Rules out Redrawing of Indian Map," *The Frontier Post*, April 18, 2005.

**Table 23:****The Telegraph Coverage on April 17, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Pranay Sharma	Peace prayer on all lips

There was little coverage; in fact, only one story. The paper reported that there were prayers for peace on lips of everyone as leaders of India and Pakistan met in New Delhi.<sup>15</sup>

**Table 24:****The Telegraph Coverage on April 18, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Pranay Sharma	Play over, result withheld
2	New Delhi	S.P.S. Pannu	Finally, neighbours mean business
3	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	2005: A heart transplant

The paper carried three stories. Pranay Sharma reported that Musharraf and Singh watched a cricket match between their teams and had a long meeting. Later, Musharraf also called on Indian President Abdul Kalam who hosted lunch for him. The paper said that the two countries decided to start the railway service between Khokrapar in Rajasthan and Munabao in Sind. "All other proposals, especially those on Kashmir, put on the table by India for greater people-to-people contacts and turning the Line of Control into a soft border, were greeted warmly by the Pakistan side with an assurance of favourable consideration," reported the paper.<sup>16</sup>

Pannu reported that the two countries had agreed to set up a joint business council to promote bilateral trade. In a detailed story about Musharraf, the paper captured his media interaction like the one in 2001 during the Agra Summit, but the General said that he had come with new heart. "I beg to differ. *Phir wohi dil nahi laya hoon* (I have not come with the same heart). I would like to say *main naya dil laya hoon* (I have come with a new heart)." The reference was to a television news channel's headline, '*Phir wohi dil laya hoon*', a take-off on the title of a hit Hindi movie of the sixties.

<sup>15</sup> Pranay Sharma, "Peace Prayers on all Lips," *The Telegraph*, April 17, 2005.

<sup>16</sup> Pranay Sharma, "Play over, Result Withheld," *The Telegraph*, April 18, 2005.

## Coverage Period III: July 10-12, 2006

### 1: Primary Newspaper – Pakistan (Dawn)

**Table 25:**

**Dawn Coverage on July 10, 2006**

Sr. No.	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Report	FO says no information about Indian plan for troops in Afghanistan
2	Bhubaneshwar	Report	Long-range Indian missile hits snag

Foreign office spokesperson Tasnim Aslam said that Pakistan has no information about a reported proposal for deployment of Indian troops in Afghanistan under the coalition command. AFP reported that India test-fired its longest-range nuclear-capable ballistic missile Agni- III for the first time which failed to hit its target.

**Table 26:**

**Dawn Coverage on July 11, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	AFP	India shrugs off missile failure

Only one story was published on the day of attack on the Mumbai trains. AFP report said that Indian Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee shrugged off the unsuccessful maiden missile test by saying that the problem faced by Agni was not unusual and there is nothing to worry about it.

**Table 27: Dawn Coverage on July 12, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Mumbai	Report	Terror bombs cause mayhem on Mumbai's lifeline
2	Washington	Reuters	Kasuri says blasts show need for talks
3	New Delhi	Jawed Naqvi	Singh vows to defeat forces of terrorism
4	Islamabad	AP	A despicable act: president and PM

The paper reported that bombs ripped through seven packed commuter trains and stations during the rush hour in Mumbai, killing at least 163 passengers and injuring about 600. Reuters reported that the terrorist attack in Mumbai shows Pakistan and India should address their outstanding issues. Jawed Naqvi reported Manmohan Singh's condemnation, saying his government had been sworn-in to "defeat forces of terrorism". AP reported that President Musharraf and Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz condemned bombings on the commuter trains as a "despicable act of terrorism."

## 2: Primary Newspaper - India (The Hindu)

The Hindu contained no story related to Pakistan on either 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> of July. However, it did contain eight stories on July 12.

**Table 28:**

### The Hindu Coverage on July 12, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Mumbai	Bureau Report	Terror strikes Mumbai, over 147 killed
2	Washington	PTI	Kasuri, Rice discuss India-Pakistan dialogue
3	New Delhi	Amit Baruah	Pakistan flexible on Foreign Minister-level talks
4	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	No brakes on peace process: Centre
5	Srinagar	UNI	Lashkar-e-Taiba denies hand
6	New Delhi	Staff Report	Lashkar conduit arrested, RDX seized

The main story was about the terror attacks in Mumbai which killed at least 147 people. PTI reported that Pakistan Foreign Minister was in the US and met Condoleezza Rice. Amit Baruah reported that Pakistan was flexible about who would represent India in talks in absence of a full-fledged Foreign Minister. It showed that the dialogue process was intact despite the attacks. In another report, the paper said that Union Home Secretary Vinod Kumar Duggal made it clear that the peace process would neither be slowed nor halted due to the attacks. In another report, Lashkar-e-Taiba condemned the attacks and denied its involvement. Separately, Delhi Joint Commissioner of Police Karnal Singh said the Special Cell arrested a man allegedly working as the conduit for the LeT.

### 3: Secondary Paper - Pakistan (Daily Times)

**Table 29:**

#### Daily Times Coverage on July 10, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Staff Report	ANP delegation leaves for India

The paper published only one story about India. It was reported that a delegation of six members of Awami National Party headed by Asfandyar Wali left for India on the invitation of the Indian government.

**Table 30:**

#### Daily Times Coverage on July 11, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Fida Hussain	'IPI gas pricing issue to be resolved in July'

There was a story about the IPI price issue. Fida Hussain reported that Iran told Pakistan and India that it was ready for resolving the price of Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline.

**Table 31:**

#### Daily Times Coverage on July 12, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Staff Report	Pakistan condemns blasts, attacks
2	Srinagar	AFP	7 tourists killed in held Kashmir

Two stories were published one day after the attack. Indian financial hub Mumbai was hit by bombings and Pakistan's Foreign Office condemned the act of terrorism.<sup>17</sup> AFP reported that seven tourists were killed in the held Kashmir.

### 4: Secondary Newspaper - India (Deccan Herald)

Deccan Herald is published by The Printers (Mysore) Private Limited set up by K. N. Guruswamy in 1948. The group also publishes Prajavani, Sudha and Mayura from it forte Karnataka. It caters to sizeable

<sup>17</sup> "Pakistan Condemns Blasts, Attack," *Daily Times*, July 12, 2006.

audience in the state and helps to understand the level of interest in Pakistan-India conflict from that region. Its coverage as second paper deals with the period of July 10-12, 2006.

**Table 32:****Deccan Herald Coverage on July 10, 2006**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Islamabad	UNI	45 die in PIA plane crash
2	New Delhi	PTI	India, Pak, Iran to discuss pricing of pipeline gas in Aug.

The main Pakistan related story was about PIA Fokker crash in Multan, which killed 45 people. Another story was by PTI that officials of India, Pakistan and Iran will meet to resolve the issue of natural gas price that Tehran wants to sell to the South Asian countries.

**Table 33:****Deccan Herald Coverage on July 11, 2006**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	Mumbai	PTI	138 dead, 257 injured in Mumbai serial blasts
2	Srinagar	IANS	Five killed as serial blasts rock Srinagar

The pattern of coverage was same as the previous day, as just two stories were published. The main story was about Mumbai train serial blasts that killed more than 100 people. Though, Pakistan was not mentioned in the news but terrorism in India was sure to drag in Pakistan. Another bombing story was by IANS news agency which said that five people were killed and 26 injured in four blasts in Srinagar.

**Table 34:****Deccan Herald Coverage on July 12, 2006**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Dateline</b>	<b>Byline</b>	<b>Headline</b>
1	New Delhi	K. Subrahmanya	Rattled UPA govt. suspects LeT link
2	New Delhi	PTI	India will win war against terror: PM
3	New Delhi	PTI	Govt. claims some "leads" on serial blasts

It was next day to the Mumbai train attack and there should have been more stories but the paper restricted its coverage to just three stories. The blasts in Srinagar and Mumbai rattled the Congress government which immediately held an important meeting. "We have reasons to believe that some Kashmir-based terrorist group, possibly Lashkar-e-Taiba may have had a hand in the Mumbai blasts," an official source told the newspaper.<sup>18</sup> PTI reported Manmohan Singh as saying that India will win the war against terrorism. Separately, PTI said that government claimed it had some information about the people behind the Mumbai train attack.

### **Analysis of the Trends in Media Coverage**

The launch of composite dialogue process was the first of its kind, a comprehensive effort to resolve almost all contentious issues between Pakistan and India. It generated great hopes for peace. Media has the potential to support democracy and strengthen conflict resolution; it plays an agenda-setting role. Hence, media is expected like other actors to be prone to minimizing or exaggerating the conflict depending on its relative position to power. Hence, the study sufficiently shows that the coverage of the entire peace dialogue was quite extensive as well as mostly positive and conciliatory on Pakistan's side and belligerent on India's side. Overall, for the studied time periods media wasn't able to affect the outcome of this dialogue, and mostly both sides took on the tone of the national narrative and policy.

The research shows that total 139 stories were published during selected 9 days of coverage in the selected newspapers. A major proportion, i.e. 87 stories were published in the Pakistani newspapers, while 52 were published in the Indian newspapers. It means that Pakistan's share in the media coverage was 62.5 percent while the same for Indian media was 37.5 percent. It shows that Pakistani media was more active to cover the peace process and highlight the efforts for creating peace between the two countries, as compared to Indian counterpart.

The coverage shows that Dawn published 47 stories in 9 days, while The Nation, The Frontier Post and Daily Times collectively published 40 news items. In contrast, The Hindu published 28 stories in the 9 days of coverage, while Indian Express, The Telegraph and Deccan Herald collectively carried 24 stories. It means that Dawn outshined The Hindu in 9 days of coverage and similarly the three Pakistani papers used as secondary sources also beat their Indian opponents in numbers. Pakistani media showed more enthusiasm at the launch of the composite dialogue

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<sup>18</sup> K. Subrahmanya, "Rattled UPA Govt. Suspects Let Link," *Deccan Herald*, July 12, 2006.

and the papers published 46 stories in the three-day of coverage in January 2004. The share of Indian media in the same period was just 16 stories.

Similarly, when Musharraf visited India April 2005, Pakistani papers published 30 stories in three days of coverage, while Indian papers published 23 stories. Though, these stories were originating from India, but the share of Pakistan media was higher. However, the Indian media surpassed the Pakistani one in coverage of the third part following the train attack in Mumbai in July 2006. The Indian papers published 13 stories in three days of coverage while Pakistani papers carried 11 stories. It shows that Indian media is more interested in negative stories which are related to terrorism and extremism instead of positive stories linked with peace and prosperity. India's share, during the first and second periods of coverage having more positive developments, was low as compared to Pakistani media. Irrespective of the number of stories published by individual newspapers, it showed that there was huge interest in the dialogue process.

Another aspect of the coverage was that media showed that the peace process had created hope but it was "brittle and ephemeral" as there were concerns that any single act of terror may reverse the gains.<sup>19</sup> The Mumbai attacks of Nov 26, 2008 confirmed the fears. The important aspect of the five-year peace dialogue was that it's the first determined effort to resolve issues through talks. Its key achievements were a number of CBMs (Confidence Building Measures) agreed in conventional and non-conventional sectors, which helped to improve mutual trust.<sup>20</sup>

When Musharraf visited New Delhi in April 2015, the peace process was declared irreversible but a year later it was put on hold after train attack. It was revived after Musharraf and Manmohan Singh met on the side lines of NAM summit held in Cuba in August 2006. This also shows that direct communication between leaders can play an important role

The number of stories published and their content analysis shows that despite constraints, media plays its role in informing the masses, sharing analysis and pursuing a peace-making agenda promoting hope at national level. Even if the goals are not always met, media continues to emphasize the significance of peace as well as a potential way forward.

## Conclusion

The composite dialogue created an opportunity for peace and media played its role in highlighting and reinforcing the process. The study records the negative or positive coverage of the dialogue, and concludes

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<sup>19</sup> P.R. Chari et al, *Four Crises And A Peace Process* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 2007), 212.

<sup>20</sup> Paddar, "The Composite Dialogue,"19.

the affect media can have on International dialogues and conflict resolution. It is evident from the analysis that Pakistani media gave positive coverage and had a conciliatory policy right from the start which continued till the suspension of the talks in 2006. Contrarily, selected print media in India tried to privatize the conflict to events alone and in quantity Pakistan had more articles than India. The survey of contents of selected media of both states depicts that over 62 per cent news stories project the negative side of the ties. Also, most of the materials published or aired come through official sources, which indicate that the narrative of Pak-India political and strategic ties is controlled by the state authorities. Same results have been observed during interviews of experts which reinforce the fact that negativity about each other runs deep. News coverage spurred by the state officials also raises serious questions about the neutrality of media on both sides. Especially with the Indian media the coverage became more active after the train attack incident and they published more stories. It also spotlighted what would happen with the peace efforts if there were more attacks. Eventually, the peace process came to a halt after the Mumbai attacks of November 26, 2008; India's coverage is prejudiced towards the nationalistic policy lines. The media does manipulate the "emotional" quality of the public perception involved in issues of peace and conflict between Pakistan and India.

It is therefore recommended that media should be treated as a stakeholder and sensitized on importance of peaceful relationship between Pakistan and India. Donors that are interested in conflict prevention and sustaining stability should support local media. Local media often yields non-tangible results in war-torn communities, such as increased levels of trust, increased hope in the future of the country, and the ability to contribute to a peaceful society.

Guarantees regarding the media and freedom of the press—as well as efforts to promote professional, objective, unbiased reporting—should be an integral part of any successful peace agreement. Training and retooling of media practitioners is required to reorient them to framing and reframing their presentations and interpretation of messages so that those likely to ignite tension and conflict can be avoided. It further recommends that the concept of conflict sensitive journalism as a course in the training of media practitioners must be made mandatory.

