

**Discourse Analysis of Editorials of Daily "Dawn" and "The News"**  
**Regarding Mumbai Attacks**

M.Sc. Thesis

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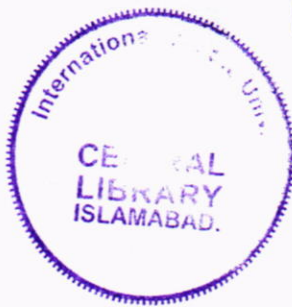
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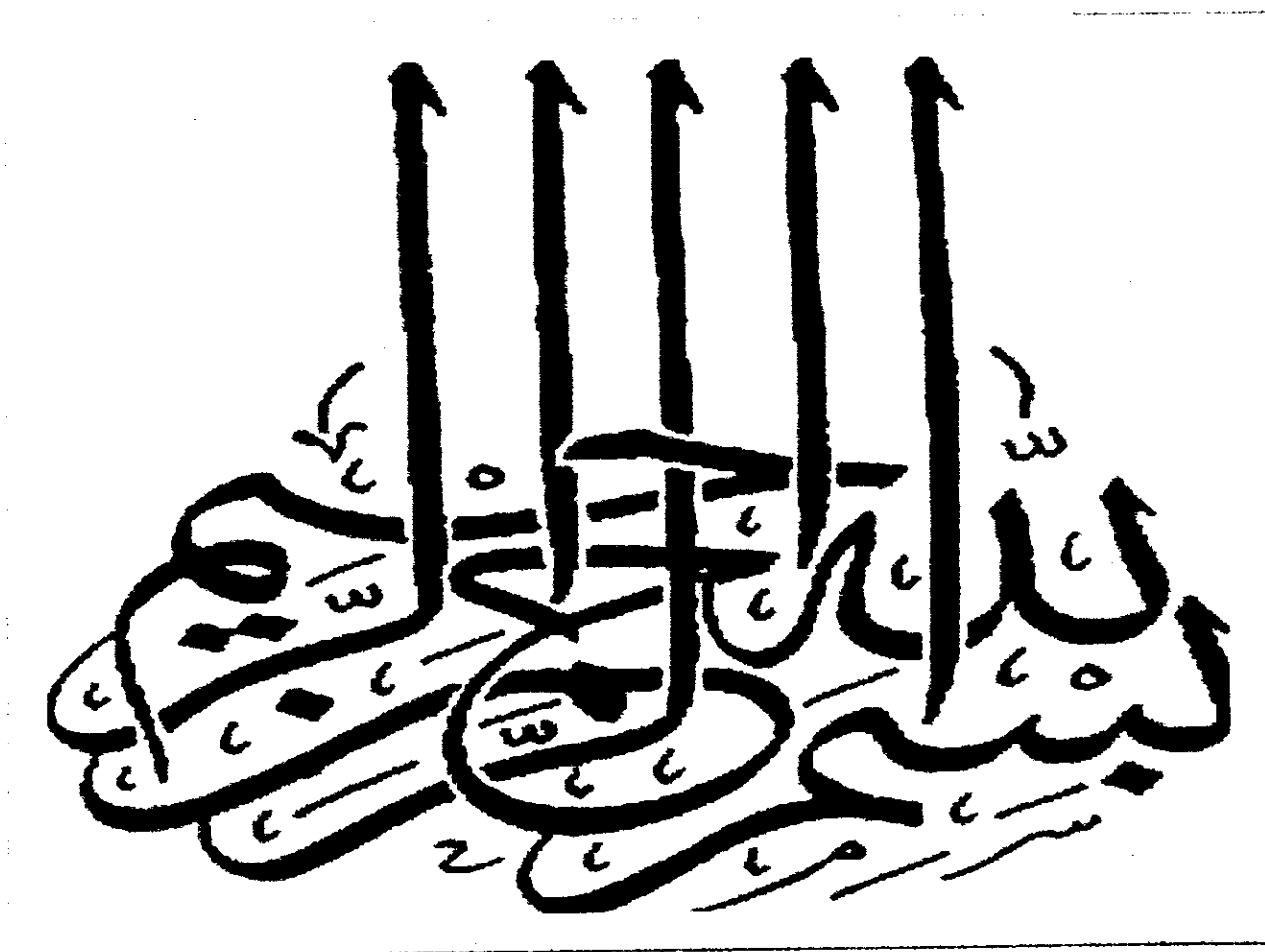
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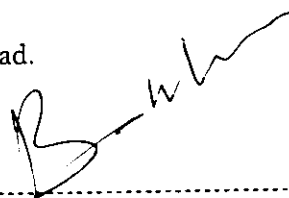


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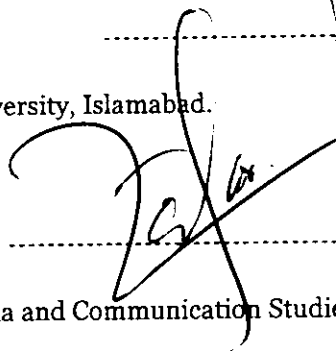


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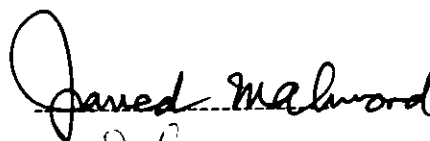
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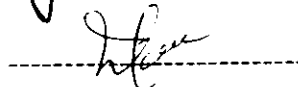
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This research work is dedicated to my parents  
and teachers, whose words of  
encouragement have been always of great help to me.

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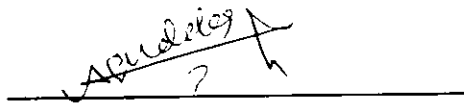
## **DECLARATION**

I Adnan Quddos, do declare that this project was solely undertaken by me and supervised by my humble supervisor. Mr. Inam-ur-rehman of the Department of Media & Communication Studies, International Islamic University Islamabad.

This work is neither copied from some ones work nor conducted by some one for me.

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**SIGNATURE**

## **Acknowledgement**

This thesis is the laborious endeavor of two months, which I did after the completion of the course work at the Center for Media and Communication Studies, International Islamic University, Islamabad. I am sincerely thankful to my supervisor Syed Inam ur Rahman, whose patience and kindness has been valuable to me, in the preparation of this thesis. I am immensely grateful to my friends Muhammad Serwadda, Furqan ul Haq and Kashif Islam who helped me a lot during the whole period of my thesis.

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Adnan Quddos

## **Abstract**

The tension between Pakistan and India has risen after the attacks in Mumbai on 26<sup>th</sup> November 2008, and the peace process between the two countries is now on hold. Both countries have already gone for war three times in the past. Both countries are facing terrorism. The incident of Mumbai attacks once again brought both countries on a war situation. The war of words just got hotter, when Indian forces started mobilizing themselves and dispatching units to key strategic towns and cities along the Rajasthani frontier. Indian authorities pointed out from the first day of Mumbai attacks that Pakistan is responsible for these attacks.

In this research work, I will analyze the editorials of two English dailies of Pakistan “Dawn” and “The News” have been analyzed to find out what is their approach towards Mumbai attacks and what are the reasons of Mumbai attacks and who are responsible? This study has explained that what are the view points of daily Dawn and The News about Mumbai attacks. This study has also explained the difference of approaches of both newspapers. Dawn is an international level newspaper, while The News is a nation wide newspaper, so the approaches of both newspapers are also different.



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## **Chapter 1**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The present study aims at the analysis of discourse used by the editorial board of Dawn and The News on the issue of Mumbai attacks which took place in 26/11/2008. The researcher of the present study has attempted to analyze the situation that prevailed at the time of incident and afterwards. After conducting a thorough discourse analysis, the reportage was constructively and critically evaluated by the researcher.

Although the actual story behind the Mumbai attack incident is unreachable by every human being on the face of earth. It is the media institutions that are disseminating news to the masses and hence making opinions of audiences. The news reports presentation will always be based on the perspective of founding fathers and the aim for which a specific print or electronic media is working. The focus of the present study is only on the printed media editorials and the sample selected is some of the editorials of The Dawn and The News which are in fact, the most wanted daily news papers of Pakistan.

When the source of information for the masses is media of a state, then many international, local and personal factors get involved in the publication of news. In this research the researcher has analyzed the editorials printed in Pakistan newspapers, ie Dawn and The News. It means that the newspapers editorials on Mumbai attacks will be having biases towards the reportage. They may not report the actual incident as it is but melts the editorials according to the owners' interests, ideology and attitude towards an issue. It also takes into consideration the country's interest, ideology of the financial supporters of the newspaper.

Similar pattern may be observed in the editorials on Mumbai attacks published in Pakistan since 26/11/ 2008. The Pakistan newspapers may be expected to mold the results against the Indians and in the favor of Pakistan without considering the actual scenario. The situation may not be as it is expected. This is the aim of present discourse analysis.

Historically Pakistan has been in disputes with India on many issues. The both countries consider each other as their enemies. Although the enmity has reduced to some extent because of regional agreements signed by them like 'samjhaota' express, agreement to resume air links, trade and diplomatic improved relationships but still there are some issues which can be considered as the bone of contention between the two rivals.

In history, it is evident the both countries have clashing interests, ideologies and cultures. The major dispute between the two is now the Kashmir issue. The Indian as well as Pakistani interests and strategic planning lie in Kashmir. Hence, none of both these country is ready to withdraw from Kashmir. Moreover the independence migrations that led to mass killings and destructions are still unforgettable by both nations.

In the reign of President Musharaf, international policy of Pakistan changed due to international scenario after 9/11. Since President Musharaf period, Pakistan is now trying to improve its relationships with the country in the east that is India. This is because of the fact that now Pakistan has lost its safety in the western borders. (<http://www.japanfocus.org/-China-Hand/2986>)

Previously, only India was there to expend its territory but now Afghanistan's Taliban are perhaps seeking to occupy a territory in Pakistan. World has changed altogether after 9/11 which has made Pakistan to change its strategic planning.

Along with this, media content undertone was also observed to be changed. Pakistan portrayal in Indian print and electronic media was previously negative. Even in the Bollywood movies, Pakistan and Muslims' images were given away as if degraded, cruel, immoral, villains and enemy. Similar trend can be observed in the Pakistani media but still on some issues like Kashmir and terrorism acts both countries suspect each other for the offences. This is still observable in their media content. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashmir\\_conflict](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashmir_conflict)) (<http://www.topix.com/pk/islamabad/2009/11/pak-raises-kashmir-issue-in-un-india-protests>)

Pakistan itself is suffering from an internal chaos and could not afford to interfere in the neighbor Indian territory to carry out Mumbai attacks. There is instability in Baluchistan due to Baluchistan Liberation Army which is being helped by several international players. The names cannot be stated due to lack of evidence but the reality cannot be denied that the interests of many international players; states and multinationals are lying in Pakistan.

In North West Frontier Province, the Taliban forces were destabilizing Pakistan. The situation in Sind always remains sensitive. The government of Pakistan always has to take special care of such sensitive domestic issues.

In such circumstances, it is perhaps the attempt of Taliban's who successfully did Mumbai attacks so that India may also attack Pakistan. Behind Taliban force there can be a powerful supporter who wants to weaken Pakistan and want to make it a war territory. A ground where passive war of world powers may perhaps be fought by hired forces. But again, getting to the reality is impossible in today's world so nothing can be said with surety.

Whoever was behind the incident and whatever was the aim behind Mumbai attacks, it was not the concern of the present research. The research attempts to explore only the discourse

of editorials and analyze reports based on what they had observed, critically as well as constructively.

## **1.2 Impacts of Mumbai attacks in general**

The Mumbai attacks have drastically affected the whole Indian economy, social and political life. The film industry faced huge losses due to the instability in the city. According to the Political & Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd, a Hong Kong based company, India has reached the fourteenth rank in the Asian countries for being riskiest after Mumbai attack incidents. The incidents like Mumbai attacks were expected to further deteriorate risk rating of India particularly if results of these attacks instigated Hindu- Muslim clashes and disputes with Pakistan. The incidents perhaps bred anti-Muslim riots in India by Hindu conservative groups. The terrorists targeted foreigners and commercial capital of Indian state to destroy international links of India.

"The Mumbai events couldn't happen at a worse time," Patrick Bennett, a strategist with Société Générale in Hong Kong, told the Wall Street Journal.

(Sunday, November 30, 2008 Mumbai's Economic Impact)

Patrick Bennett was very right in her notion. The economy of India was getting on the path of opulence and improvement. At such a stage of development, Mumbai incident must have swayed investors, tourists and other multinational firms from the country. Because of its image of a peaceful and stable nation in the world has helped it gain the trust and confidence of foreign investors. Foreign investors came to set up businesses in India just because of social stability and security. The foreign investment was acting as a fuel for its economic growth. South Asia Investor Review revealed that:

“Only the Americans spent \$13 billion in foreign direct investments during 2007 from large investors and Fortune 500 corporations to India, which facilitated Indian economy in creating jobs and maintain a good pace of intellectual and financial expansion.”

For this reason it can be said with doubtlessly that the American economy has got adverse impact by the Mumbai attacks. Not only the economy but the social life in Mumbai got upset by the incident. Fear and insecurity took place in the hearts of innocent citizens. Life was entirely held in the city. Besides this, the value of Indian Rupee was suspected to fall. Flights schedule and tourism got seriously affected. Property value reduced in Mumbai leaving real estate investors with losses.

Indians commonly believe that Pakistan agencies are involved in these attacks. An unknown person with a name ‘truthbetold3’ commented on the issue of Mumbai attacks on a web source in these words:

“My guess the basic planning has to be done at very highly specialized location such as Pak's ISI. In order to keep themselves deniable distance, they may planned and handed it over to *Lashkar e Tayiba*. This attack is next to only 9/11 in planning and execution. ”

Along with negative impacts of the incident, India may get sympathies of Americans at last as Americans would now recognize India as a victim of terrorism too and India will be able to join the war of terror to get strategic reimbursement.

Keeping in view the history of the two countries, the newspapers selected as a sample for news reports, current political affairs of both India and Pakistan and international scenario,



the discourse analysis of reportage of Pakistani press becomes easier, understandable and comprehensive.

### 1.3 Statement of the Problem

“The 26th November, 2008 bomb blasts in Mumbai killed 207 people and injured a further 714, were the deadliest terrorist attacks since those of 11 September 2001 on the United States. The seven bombs, placed on suburban trains, exploded in an 11-minute period and paralyzed the transportation and communication networks of India's financial and commercial capital. Not only did the attacks put into sharp relief some of the tensions in Indian society and the wide array of terrorist threats, they also patently underscored an urgent need to bolster the country's intelligence capabilities.” (Strategic Comments. 2006: 1-2, <http://www.iiss.org/publications/strategic-comments/strategic-comments-archive/strategic-comments-2006/>)

“The Mumbai terrorists used the same tactics that Chechen field militants employed in the Northern Caucasus attacks where entire towns were terrorized, with homes and hospitals seized”. (*Russia Today*, November 27, 2008).

Many of the think tanks have called this incident as a 9/11 of India. The reason for this is that the immediate attacks were done in a number of locations, within few minutes one after another.

"The attacks occurred at the busiest places. Besides hotels and hospitals, terrorists struck at railway stations, Crawford Market, Wadi Bunder and on the

Western Express Highway near the airport. Seven places have been attacked with automatic weapons and grenades.” (Times of India, 26/11/08)

Vice President Elect Joe Biden during an election promotion warned Americans with forethought:

“The people who attacked us on 9/11, they've regrouped in the mountains between Afghanistan and Pakistan and are plotting new attacks. These are the same people who were behind the terror attacks in Mumbai. These are also the same people who are planning to attack America.”

Ajmal Amir Kasab was the only terrorist caught by the police on 29<sup>th</sup> November, 2008. He later on told the police that the terrorists' were working for Lashkar e Taiyaba, a Pakistani based militant force. Pakistani information minister Ms Sheri Rehman accepted the Pakistani nationality of Ajmal Amir Kasab. The terrorists, who were in the 20's age, were believed to have entered the Indian territory by sea.

For these reasons the Mumbai attacks have high significance for Pakistan.

And that is why it carries important place in the news papers. Pakistan could be suspected for the incident which may lead to disturbance in South Asian region. People of Pakistan are very much interested in the affairs of neighbor country because terrorist action in one country always leads to disorder in the other. This is the rationale for which Mumbai attacks is given high priority by the Pakistani press. Analyzing any news paper of Pakistan will sketch a kind of picture of the incident without concern with its validity.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

The discourse analysis of editorials published since 26<sup>th</sup> November, 2008 in the Dawn and the News, (the Pakistani newspapers) on the issue of Mumbai attacks perhaps is not published yet so this study can act as a pilot study of its type. Yet similar studies must have been done worldwide on various issues which will be discussed in the literature review chapter. But it can be surely stated that none of the research has yet been published in international journals.

### **1.5 Research Objectives**

The present research is a qualitative research with the discourse analysis of editorials of the daily Dawn and The News on the issue of Mumbai attacks. The research aims at:

- Analyzing the way the issue of terrorism has been addressed
- Critically assessing the facts that support their view point
- To analyze the view point of Dawn and the News about the Mumbai incident
- And finally to construct a personal opinion on these editorials.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature review**

The purpose of this chapter is to state the relevant literature on the Mumbai attacks incidents, no matter what research type and methodology is used in conducting those researches. The researchers of the present study did not encounter any social science critical research undertaken yet on the discourse of Pakistani press regarding Mumbai attacks. The reason for this can be the fact that research in Pakistan is not very efficient and the literacy rate is low which leaves very few researchers nationwide. Although international researchers have wrote books on the Mumbai attacks, 2008 but they were not aimed at the analysis of what the print media of Pakistan or of India is portraying about the Mumbai attack. Hence the present study is the first of its type and can assist researchers interested in the study in future.

Media analysis on the Mumbai attacks has been informally done by Arundhati Roy in India. The analysis done by Roy is of general media discourse on Mumbai terrorist attacks. He has remained unbiased while analyzing the situation and how it has been projected on the media.

Another study by Subroto Roy states the discourse of media regarding news on Mumbai incident but the connotation of the research is biased towards Pakistan. The major point of RAND's study which was studied by Roy, lied in the RAND author's blaming Pakistan for the offence. But their discourse had unlike and empty shell statements like:

“Evidence suggests Lashkar-e-Taiba, a terrorist group based in Pakistan, was responsible for the attack with assertive suggestions about Mumbai’s police being backward, incompetent, cowardly etc.” (Roy. S 2009)

For analyzing discourse of some issue it is highly important that the researcher remains cautious in his own words while giving and concluding anything.

Roy further stated in his essay that by characterizing assertively Mumbai police as incompetent and discipline less, how RAND researchers can say that the police of Mumbai managed to get evidence that Pakistani Lashkar-e-Taiba was involved in the terrorist act? The police and railway police both were injured and shattered, than how they managed to catch Ajmal Amir Kasab from the sight?

These are very important points analyzed and highlighted by Roy after discourse analysis of report on Mumbai attack. He has questioned the validity of content published by RAND study. He said further in his report:

“Furthermore, Kasab upon capture was treated humanely and lawfully. His injuries were treated; he was produced before a magistrate within a week who asked him if he was being mistreated to which he said no. *Slumdog millionaire* may get undeserved Oscars portraying torture of a British actor by Mumbai police but it is ridiculous fiction – Kamal the captured Pakistani terrorist mass murderer was not tortured by Mumbai police.”(Roy, S. 2009)

The researcher Roy (2009) of this discourse analysis has also suggested various resemblance and differences between 9/11 and 26/11. Indeed it was an excellent, yet not perfect attempt of critically evaluating a discourse.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology**

The purpose of this chapter is to describe in detail the methodology of the present research. The research aims at the discourse analysis of reportage of Mumbai terrorist attacks in Pakistani newspapers since November 2008 up till date (from Dawn and The News).

#### **3.1 Research Design**

The research is qualitative in type and is aimed at explaining and critically evaluating print media content. The researcher has adopted a critical approach in conducting this present qualitative research in order to criticize a situation prevailing in the world after Mumbai attacks as evident from mass media. The objective is to identify areas and issues that are destructive for humanity and especially for the people of South Asian region. The research method used is discourse analysis.

#### **3.2 Methodology**

By utilizing discourse analysis approach to explore Mumbai attack issue, the researcher is interested in exploring text and content connotation of editorials of daily Dawn and the News, English newspapers of Pakistan. The discourse analysis is neither a qualitative nor quantitative method. It just questions the assumptions that are based on such methods. It will however reveal the hidden motivations behind any text or that of a particular research method that was selected. Discourse analysis discusses all the aspects that may or may not have been presented previously. The analysis is a way of understanding social relations. The examiner accepts the

fact that he/she may be biased about their knowledge and position on the said subject. This is known as reflexivity. (<http://books.google.com.pk/discourse-analysis>)

How does discourse analysis work is an important fact. There are several ways that discourse analysis can be conducted and they also depend on the topic of the research. As the under the said project is not based on quantitative reports or results it will be focusing on developing the researchers opinion on the editorials that have been published in the local newspapers. It will first individually analyze the editorials along with the reports on the attacks in each newspaper i.e. Dawn and The News. Then it will in comparison construct an opinion as to which of the two newspapers had a more unbiased and centralistic approach to these attacks.

### **3.3 Research Question**

As it is a qualitative research and will explore many aspects of an incident, the research question thus formulated here does not probe into the realities behind Mumbai Attack. More over it looks at the way the situation has been explained to the readers. What it states is: "Have the local media been biased in their portrayal of the Mumbai attacks?"

### **3.4 Universe/ Sample**

The Mumbai attack information source is, perhaps the text published on the issue, witness reports, police and investigation information, pictures and terrorists actually planned the attack. The present study aims to analyze the discourse of print media, regarding Mumbai attacks. The universe of this study is the printed editorials of Pakistani newspapers. But all the sources are inaccessible and a researcher cannot analyze the whole universe of knowledge hence a sample is taken. On the basis of accessibility the researcher took editorials published in Pakistani newspapers; Dawn and The News which are available on the internet.



### **3.5 Research Procedure**

- The researcher first read all the editorials on the web regarding Mumbai attacks.
- After extracting such editorials, the researcher identified important points that the reporter aimed to let readers know.
- The analysis was done on the basis of what the editorial wanted to explain.
- Critical analysis was done of overall editorials in the end.

## **Chapter 4**

## **Discourse analysis of the Dawn**

### **4.1 Report on what the editorials printed in the Dawn communicated**

At the time the attacks occurred media was all over the scenario. The news reporters swarmed the city of Mumbai and within hours speculated ideas of what really happened were seen. Print media came with headlines stating of what people of governments thought was a master plan of the terrorists. At times it would appear that the local newspaper Dawn appeared to be protecting the interest of the country as the connotation of the reporters is skewed towards the national interest. However, the editorials published during that time appear to have remained unbiased with its real essence and without addition of gossips and spice. Most of the news reports discourse was based on the description of incident and the Indo-Pakistan talks after the incident. The facts regarding the damages of Mumbai attacks have not been focused as they were not the concern of the audience. Pakistani nation is only interested in the political matters of India and Pakistan. We are aware that Mumbai attacks on 11/26 2008 left approximately 195 people dead. The authorities reported that as more bodies would be found, there would be an increase in the said number. It was no doubt a sad event which reminded people of the 9/11 event.

In the Editorial section of Dawn (<<http://www.dawn.com/2009/01/21/ed.htm>>) an article claimed that the Mumbai attacks had generated the much sub-sided ill-will amongst both countries. It stated that "India has provided Pakistan with what it claims is a dossier of evidence and demanded that Pakistan take action on the basis of the dossier. Additionally, although its flip-flopping on the issue makes it hard to determine what

India's current position is, it has demanded that those allegedly involved in the Mumbai attacks and identified by India be handed over for prosecution in Indian courts.”  
 (<<http://www.dawn.com/2009/01/21/ed.htm>>)

Continuing in the same editorial it was said that “For Pakistan to hand over terrorism suspects to India would mean a humiliating admission that our law enforcement and judiciary processes are inadequate compared to our neighbor, something that would be akin to political suicide for any government. Moreover, putting alleged Pakistani terrorists in the custody of the Indian state would run the risk of the latter drawing political mileage from the suspects by attributing confessions and statements to them that may open an entirely different Pandora's Box.” The speculation of this article concludes that the government will be unearthing any such force or forces behind activities of this mass influence. It also leads us to wonder what the people of both these countries can do to lessen the ill-will that has been spread yet once again. However this was published in January this year, it still leaves the question as to how long will it take for both countries to find a solution to the issue.

It was suggested in an editorial that was published only two days after the attack that “for the moment the focus will obviously be on how the two countries manage the fallout of the Mumbai blasts. Without apportioning blame on each other they should cooperate in the investigations to make them productive and facilitate effective measures for domestic security in the two countries while promoting bilateral understanding between them.” This editorial suggested clearly that the governments of both countries should be more focused on handling the issue that may lead to the involvement of a third

party. Both countries goal should be to stop any more incidents to happen and to help each other in providing with the facilities. However, if we consider the first editorial that was published in January this year, both countries are still playing the blame game.

The news items only reported the destruction and targeted locations while creating vivid images with their words. This does capture the interest of the readers as general awareness of our people only leads them to gossip and with reports that arouse their internal instincts to gossip no one looks or tries to find the deeper context. The editorials that were being published on the same days tried to bring in a deeper meaning to the news headlines or reported items. The editorial published on November 29, 2008 commented about the step taken by the Government of Pakistan to help the Indian government with the investigations of the Mumbai attack. A day earlier an editorial had highlighted that both countries had to stop dividing the share of what happened and work together to overcome such attacks of terror had. A day later this opinion was shared. Coincidental or not but they both shared the basic concept and seemed to be linked. The editorial appreciated the Government of Pakistan's act and decision of helping with the investigations. The readers would definitely feel and appreciate that the Pakistani government even after being blamed had a heart to offer their help and services. The editorial seems to take a biased opinion when it turns to say that "this all clearly adds up to is that India has a massive problem of domestic terrorism which it appears ill-equipped to respond to." It was discussed that the Mumbai attacks were not the first that year and that both Muslims and Hindus of the country had been involved from time to time.

Here we can refer to the article written by Roy, who explains clearly how this has been a feud in the name of religion and how people have benefited from it. The Hindus have agonized the Muslims with their hatred and vice versa the Muslims have found ways to return that. Arnandhita Roy was unbiased in the opinion about these attacks on Mumbai and tried to make the readers understand what lied behind all that was being published in the media.

Whatever happened in Mumbai, can be attributed to the inability and failure of Indian executive authorities in order to protect the country. Not only international but Indian newspapers blamed Indian agencies, government and anti-terrorism forces in this regard.

Interesting are the facts that these newspapers report on various things that happen or will happen and their editorials that are published along change the context of the same thing as things progress. For example if the news related to the Maharashtra Chief Minister Vilasrao Deshmukh, informing the reporters about 9 militants that were killed and one arrested by the police showed progress on Indian governments part then the editorial will comment that the general slack of the Indian government cannot be ignored. In the same news paper there were reports about Indian officials reporting; that the captured terrorist was a Pakistani national. Indian intelligence started interrogating the arrested named Ajmal Kasab immediately after the taking into custody. By the arrest of Ajmal Kasab the Indian government started blaming Pakistan for the Mumbai attacks. In doing so, India ignored the internal non state –players. The elections in India were to be affected by the attacks. As it was a sign of failure of governing authorities, the opposition parties could have taken benefits of Mumbai bloodshed. Moreover, an Indian militant group which was previously unknown, Deccan Mujahideen accepted the

responsibility of the attack but India was still persistent that Pakistan's Lashkar e Taiba and intelligence agencies are behind the conspiracy.

Captured Ajmal Kamal, the mere gunman arrested during the attacks on Mumbai informed Indian intelligence that the operation links to a Pakistan-based militant group, Lashkar-e-Taiba. He further told the interrogators that the militants had come on shores of Mumbai from a hijacked ship and killed the ship owner. Not only the gunman but the US intelligence informed Lashkar involvement in the attacks. Even though, Lashkar is officially banned in Pakistan, India time after time blamed Pakistan state for being involved in Mumbai conspiracy. Amazingly the editorial published in Dawn in December 9, 2008 ridiculed the assumption of Lashker-e-Taiba being able to conduct such a methodical attack on their own. As stated above that the Indian and the US government strike on the Lashker every time and dictate the Pakistanis to act against them, it points out that the only way the Lashker is being promoted is because of the aids given by US. Its anti-Musharaff statement exhibits the fact that they grew on his watch and he is a strong man supported by the US dollars. It also indicates how America is betting on the involvement of Al-Qaeda and the talibans. The editorial while exposing what many kept silent in their heads covers the statement with a positive point that Musharaff might have been playing a double game. It is a national newspaper and cannot go against their own leaders even if there is freedom of speech.

News reports about Pakistan furiously denying the charge by saying that there is no connection of Pakistani state with Mumbai attacks filled the newspapers. Above and beyond, Pakistan initially promised to send FIA chief to India in order to support the investigation. But

the offer was withdrawn with a decision of sending a lower-ranked official instead. Charging Pakistan for terrorist attacks impeded peace negotiations with India as Indian officials told the reporters that the peace talks would only be started if Pakistan hands over the terrorists wanted by Indian intelligence to them. Whether that happened or not cannot be examined as there was no proof or evidence to support this point. Even the editorials briefly touched the topic by saying that it would not be beneficial for the Pakistani government to give into this order.

On December 4 an editorial published in Dawn suggested that “Cooperation is the key”. It highlighted how the “Although India’s foreign minister, Pranab Mukherjee, warned that the peace process could be harmed if Pakistan did not act decisively, he ruled out military action.” This statement over looks the efforts that Pakistani government made to find out about the attacks which have been published in the news papers throughout the country. It also supports the conclusion made above that things cannot be identified on the basis of such reports or editorials.

In the days to follow editorials and news reports have targeted or protected the government and explained to a certain extent the why’s and how’s. Majority of the reports probably point to an important fact that the Mumbai attack was action of an ‘international network of Muslim fundamentalists’ may be so called Al-Qaida that reside in South Asia and spread all the way to Middle East. The same newspapers editorials claimed that government policies should change if they want to uncover the truth and to show the world that militants and terrorists are not being bred in the country. An editorial published in the Dawn on December 13, 2008 (<http://www.dawn.com/2008/12/13/ed.htm#2>) says explicitly “What the Mumbai assault has done in this country is divert attention from the internal threat to an external

‘enemy’. This must not be allowed to happen. Soul-searching is in order, and an acceptance of the fact that Pakistan is indeed a hub of militancy and terrorism. The prime minister and the president must inform the nation in unequivocal terms that what is past is past and that extremism, which has taken root in this country, will enjoy no sanction and will not be tolerated. It is sad, on one level, that it has taken external pressure to stir the government into acting against those who are besmirching our name in the world. We face isolation, and internal ruin, if the common enemy is not brought to book.”

In most of the news, Dawn has discarded Pakistan state involvement in Mumbai attacks but the non state actors like Taliban or anyone else can be involved. FIA is working hard to get to the culprits and bring them before international community. Dawn reporter Jawed Naqvi has repeatedly written that Pakistani state is not involved in Mumbai attacks. On 13<sup>th</sup> January, 2009 Mr. Naqvi reported that British Foreign Secretary David Miliband assured India that President Asif Ali Zardari was honest in his statements regarding terrorism. British foreign secretary also encouraged cooperation between India and Pakistan and called this cooperation a “mature way to deal with the fallout of the Mumbai terror attacks.” Furthermore he disagreed with Indian claim that Pakistani state is involved in the Mumbai massacre.

In the same press conference, the Indian Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee said that he had already shared the evidences against Pakistan with Britain. He appealed international lobby to exert pressure on Pakistan to catch militants by taking firm action.

Since then, the Mumbai attacks increasingly got enmeshed in India’s domestic politics. This made India call Pakistan to move towards peace talks and on the arrest of Mumbai attack culprits.



According to another report by Naqvi published on 3<sup>rd</sup> Feb, 2009 the gains of peace talks between Pakistan and India have been damaged entirely by Mumbai attacks. The both countries were rapidly improving their mutual relationships which were healthy for the socio economic development of the region but by the Mumbai incident India has again considered Pakistan its enemy. Dawn news report mentioned a statement of Indian Defense Minister A.K. Antony that Pakistan's survival is threatened by these terrorist activities in the region.

Naqvi suggested in his article: "Many Asian states though had set aside disputes that could not be resolved immediately to maintain status quo. They have encouraged a system of dialogue and negotiations to peacefully resolve these disputes. And they are focused on enhancing cooperation." (Dawn)

People would forget about what happened weeks ago if not for the media who constantly reinforces issues. After almost 18 days an editorial raises the issue of the people caught and being handed over to the Indian government as they were told after the attack. It openly suggests that these kind of decisions where nothing is explained openly to the public create a distrust and unease. It advises the new government (pre-Musharraf) to think about explaining why certain people were captured or were detained mostly the suspects of the Mumbai attacks. "They must explain clearly to the public why figures such as Masood Azhar, Hafiz Saeed and Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi are being detained or put under house arrest. Absent such explanations, the government will face growing hostility to its policies. The case of Gen Musharraf is illustrative. He captured, detained and handed over to the Americans many individuals without bothering to justify it to the public. The result? After eight years of his rule, more Pakistanis believed he was the problem rather than the terrorists, even as violence spread across the country. The present government must not repeat the general's mistake."

The reporters of Dawn emphasized that Pakistan is investigating on Mumbai conspiracy but India is not cooperating. The Indian newspapers may be reporting the news other way round like they may report that Pakistan is not cooperating in investigation where as Indian government is keenly demanding culprits of Mumbai attacks from Pakistan. Dawn reported that the investigation reports have been presented by Pakistan before the world organizations like G8 and others. World community is appreciating Pakistan's efforts in this regard but India has not yet acknowledged the services of FIA.

After great destruction in Mumbai, the terrorists attacked Srilankan cricket team in Lahore. There can be a relationship between the two incidents one in the capital city of India and the other in the capital of Punjab province of Pakistan. Dawn has pointed out the same possibility. After the Lahore incident, investigators suspected the militant Islamic groups, raw and Tamil tigers for attacking Srilankan cricket team. This could be a revenge of Mumbai attacks; an assumption but a valid one.

Since 26/11, Indian media, electronic as well as print media continued bashing Pakistan for being responsible of Mumbai attacks. This led to the counter attack by some of Pakistani media channels. Dawn reported it so the annoyed Pakistani media channels may stop replying Indian bash. Because this can lead to further deteriorate the relationships between the two countries. Already Pakistan is under pressure of internal disturbances. It cannot afford another war with powerful neighbor which can become a threat to the survival of Pakistan.

Analyzing the discourse used by dawn reporters in the news regarding media bashing and hitting will reveal that the Pakistani media was criticizing only Indian establishment for the Mumbai attacks which is not altogether erroneous.

In spite of all this, President Zardari talked to Mr Singh and presented full cooperation from Pakistan in investigating the massacre. President ensured: "Our government will cooperate with India in exposing and apprehending the culprits and the masterminds". According to him: " it was happening for the first time in the history of the country that the chief of the premier intelligence agency was being sent to India on its demand amid accusations that terrorists involved in the Mumbai attack had links with Pakistan."

Generally we can establish that Dawn meant to tell its audiences that Pakistan is cooperating in any manner and is not ready to get into war with India prior enemy. In order to cooperate, Pakistan is providing all possible services to India to assure that Pakistani state was not supporting militant groups. In a dawn editorial, discussed earlier the writer said that Pakistan has become more important for the world after Mumbai attacks as India has managed to gain the sympathies of the whole developed western world after Mumbai incident. International media and politics are now focusing on Pakistan. This is because of the fact that USA and Indian investigation has conclusively suggested Pakistani link with Mumbai attacks. The whole world is now suspecting Pakistan state as supporting militant groups in the country for terrorist activities.

Pakistan has banned Lashkar and other militant groups in the country but because of disturbance in the north western province and terrorist attacks in Pakistan, Pakistan is reputed as a failed state where terrorist are living. Another reason for Pakistan's repute, according to Dawn is, perhaps, the claims by official Pakistani

representatives that: “we are a state with weak governance where terrorist groups have long run amok.”

Dawn has bluntly stated regarding the Pakistan’s awful reputation worldwide in its editorial: “Enough is enough, now put your house in order, the world led by India and the US is saying to Pakistan. We wish the world, and in particular the US, was not so selective in its memories of what has brought Pakistan to such a pass.”

Controversies were seen and heard all the time. Blame game as to who is or is not involved was played by both the governments. Strikes after the Mumbai attacks whether they were in India Or Pakistan had to be put into the bracket of militant, Taliban etc. Till date India is still providing evidences to Pakistan and the court proceedings of Kasab are on the go. Nothing decisive has been done yet between the both countries. India is persistent in demanding Pakistan to carry out the trial of Mumbai terror attack traitors together with Lashkar-e-Taiba Chief Hafiz Saeed. However, the Chairperson human rights commission of Pakistan Ms Asma Jahangir has said that the people of both countries want peace and prosperity in the region.

#### **4.2 Critical discourse analysis of Editorials**

Dawn’s editorial time after time mentioned how both the governments of India and Pakistan need to find the people who were at the back of all these activities. It criticized not only the Indian government by stating that they did not appreciate Pakistan’s efforts in regard to investigations; but also blamed our government to be mere puppets in the hands of US. Dawn brought to its readers the facts that may have been hidden from them in the news. Although they could not be completely against the present government and thus in different editorials we find

high appreciation of the Pakistani government and how they felt that the attacks on Mumbai were inhumane and should be banned.

This variations in the statements of the editorial may also be based on the fact that the Indian governments or medias statements had always changed especially so the feedback given at the international level. Moreover, the editorials not only criticized but suggested method in which media should be banned from showing images of violence. They may not have been entirely focused on the losses of Indian population and their re-establishment. This can be because the target population of Dawn belongs Pakistan and is not very much concerned with the re-establishment and recovery after Mumbai attacks. Ethically it was necessary that Dawn must have talked about the damages India has undergone and we see that to a certain extent the editorials have covered what the news items missed. But being sympathetic towards the loss may not have been the priority of the reports or articles on the whole.

### **4.3 Constructive Analysis**

Being a Pakistani newspaper Dawn and The News have tried to protect Pakistan's interest by disseminating editorials that are projecting positive image of Pakistan onto the world. Throughout the discourse analysis, not even a single statement revealed that Pakistan is offensive towards India even after the blames by India rather Pakistan is supporting India in all manners to find out the culprits of Mumbai attacks.

The discourse taken up by the Dawn editorials was mainly based on the political relationship developed between India and Pakistan after Mumbai attacks and the true story behind the incident. Dawn saw the Mumbai attacks with the point of view of Pakistan as it is Dawn's founding ideology. It has made efforts in making audiences remaining cool and calm

about the issue. It projected the content that never spread fear among the people of Pakistan rather it safe sided Pakistan's role.

As it is an English leading newspaper of Pakistan, it is a voice of Pakistan worldwide. People trust the news published by the Dawn. These attributes of Dawn press helped Pakistan pass through the dangerous situation of Mumbai attacks that could lead to war between the two countries if the media adopted negative connotation for India.

#### **4.4 Summary of the incident**

After Mumbai conspiracy, India and international lobby are exerting pressure on Pakistan to execute and catch Mumbai attack terrorists. Pakistan has arrested many of the people suspected to be involved in the attacks. But still FIA demands more evidences from India on Mumbai attacks. In this regard Pakistan government asked a list of questions from arrested gunman named, Kasab. Kasab has confessed in Indian anti terrorism court.

Pakistan is expecting that peace talks will not stop even after these Mumbai attacks. But Indian sources reported that peace talks have been destroyed by Mumbai attacks. In such circumstances, it appears as if Pakistan is under many pressures. The attacks can be an internal players' attempt of India. But the blame is on Pakistani state.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Discourse analysis of The News International**

#### **5.1 Report on Editorials printed in The News International**

Mumbai attacks have been characterized as the kind of the attacks that are more than just planned, these are the kinds of attacks that are coordinated and are organized on a greater scale and are well played. Many stories have been given in the by the newspapers as to who has been responsible for the Mumbai attacks that took place, moreover the roles that have been played by the politicians and the cross order authorities are the ones that have been highlighted by the newspapers. Being a well read English newspaper of Pakistan it had an important role in communicating to the readers facts or opinions on the Mumbai attacks which were mostly misconstrued by the media.

##### **5.1.1 Condemnation of the attacks in Mumbai**

Highest government officials from Pakistan, the president and the prime minister had condemned the attacks that had taken place in Mumbai in November 2008. The media has been asking questions, raising speculations and creating mistrust amongst both the neighboring countries. During this time a very important task that resides on the media is to bring straightforward facts, unbiased opinions and to cover the truth.

Reports are always spiced up as it is expected that the readers will be more into gossip than factual discussions. On the other hand the same newspapers print editorials on different subjects although related to these attacks. Several people have felt that these

attacks were inhumane and these feelings have been made open with editorials being printed by the newspaper. In one of its editorials The News mentions how both the governments need to work together to eliminate the threat of terror.

In another article published on December 26 "*Say no to war*" (Raza Rumi, 2008), we find an interesting view that lingers in the minds of many. He states that "As citizens, we often wonder what is our fault to experience yet another phase of uncertainty and war-hysteria? Why is it that the peoples of the subcontinent are always a pawn in the hands of powerful establishments and imperial games? The plain truth is that war is devastating and will resolve none of the thorny issues faced by India and Pakistan. If anything, for Pakistan, the three wars with India over the past six decades bear testimony to this truth; while one of these wars only dismembered Pakistan." For one it is the truth and we all agree to it that war is no resolution for issues. Secondly, the war on terror, which is not fought at the borders but within city is only creating panic and brings more destruction than the former.

There have been reports which say that these are the kind of attacks that have been making the higher officials realize that these are the kind of extremists that are the main issue being faced by many countries as it has been realized that the countries as Indian and Pakistan are the ones that have fallen victim to these violent extremists.

These were the attacks that were aimed at the Indian luxury hotels as well as the main railway stations and in the end it was seen that all of the victims had seen the gunmen in heavy armory and having grenades.



### 5.1.2 Corporations between the Indian and Pakistani government

Civil and military leadership in Pakistan have a common challenge to deal with the security situation in the country. It has been seen that the militant groups are the ones in great frequency on the Pakistani soil and these are the groups that have challenged the security situation in the country.

This is the situation that has challenged the security situation in both the countries. Defense and the security measures are the ones that are to be increased as to deal with the situations. The newspapers printed a day after the attack carried an editorial with the title "*United Against terror*". In it the steps taken by the governments are highlighted as they unfold that "Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) and India's Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), both civilian, are to work together for this."

Another act of collaboration appreciated in this article is both the governments are moving to establish a "setup to work together against terrorism by forming a two-member committee". This committee will comprise of the additional secretaries of the two countries. It is a wise decision because as stated in the article: "Given that there are many vested interests that would benefit from continued animosity between the two South Asian neighbors, there is every possibility that attempts may be made to sabotage the process."

In this case it has been seen that the interactions have been made between the higher authorities in Indian government and the security agencies and the security situations have been discussed in this case. These are the discussions that have taken

place after the Mumbai attacks and it has been seen that there is a need in which the Pakistani higher authorities and the security agencies are the ones that are to realize the security situation in the territories.

One of the main issue that is being faced by the Pakistani higher authorities is that the ISI representatives are the ones being called upon to India and this is the report that has shown that it has been decided by the higher authorities in Pakistan that none of the ISI representatives is to be sent in India for the discussion of the Mumbai attacks.

### **5.1.3 Responsible hands in Mumbai Attacks**

Main role has been played by the News International. There have been publications in this regard. One of the stories that have been published by the News says that all the investigations that have been carried out in regards to the Indian Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of the cabinet secretariat by saying that all the investigations that have been carried out in this case have failed and there have been no strong relationships that may be derived in order to conclude of there has been a role played by Pakistan in the Mumbai attacks. In addition to the Research and Analysis Wing, the other departments that have been pointed out by the News include the Intelligence Bureau (IB), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Joint Intelligence Committee, the Directorate of Air Intelligence, the Directorate of Navy Intelligence, Joint Cipher Bureau, the Directorate of Signals Intelligence as well as the Defense Image Processing and Analysis Centre.

The main reason that has been pointed out by the News in this case is that the Indian government has been focusing on the Pakistan's militants groups over and over again and this has made the Indian government and the investigative departments to lose the focus from the true analytical investigations. In addition to this it has been mentioned that the Indian government has been making these focus on the militant groups in Pakistan so string that they have forgotten about the militant groups that have been residing within their own territories and it has been noticed through the estimates that the militant groups in the Indian territories have fastened there spread in the country since their presence has been ignored by the higher authorities in India. News has mentioned the fact that a report by the South Asian Terrorism portal mentions the fact that there are total of 608 districts in India and out of these there are around 200 of them that are inflicted with the terrorism because of these militants.

#### **5.1.4 Evidence provision for Mumbai attacks**

Time to time the media published or showed news clippings that the Indian government claimed they had given all the evidence that related to the Mumbai attacks. Their evidence highlighted the suspects and their connections with Pakistan or LeT. On many occasion we found our government official defending this by saying that this evidence was not enough to pin down the people suspected for the crime. All this was even clearer in an editorial that came on December 19, 2008 "*Absence of Evidence*".

The president of the Pakistan State told BBC in an interview that "India has as yet to offer hard evidence that the Mumbai attacks originated from Pakistan." Such a claim made on international news channel had to mean that the evidence yet provided was

insufficient as already claimed by our officials. "He has also stated that there is as yet no proof that the sole surviving terrorist, identified as Ajmal Amir Kasab, indeed hailed from Pakistan. The president did not explain why the man held in Mumbai had been acknowledged by his father in the town of Faridkot as being Ajmal Kasab." A hint of conspiracy one would think. Who is right and who wrong becomes harder when such claims are made at an international level.

These are the evidences that are to be collected by the FBI for the investigation. External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee was clearly indicated in one of the report to have made different statements. The intervention of FBI has been welcomed as there were many Americans who have lost their lives in the attacks and as per the per the rules the country of the casualties hold the right to investigation. As in the first place it has been said that no evidences shall be provided to Pakistan and afterwards strong accusations were being made on the basis of the evidences or information that was being provided.

In this case the true analysis has been carried out by the Reuters while the report has been presented as the perspective of the Indian government has been discussed in addition to the statements that were given by the Indian government officials as they had been accusing Pakistan. These are all the statements that have been observed and have been analyzed.

### **5.1.5 Involvement of the interstate elements**

Indian Home Minister Chidambaram is the one who has given the statement that the interstate elements are the ones who are certainly involved in the Mumbai attacks. The statements that have been given by the Indian authorities include the fact that no one of the stronger statement can be made until the courts give their decisions. The report has been adding up to the fact that the lone terrorist who has survived after attacking the Ajmal Qassab, has been the one who has confessed to the attacks. In this case the one main fact that has been added is that there are a lot of charges against Ajmal and he has only confessed through some of the parts but not all of the parts have been confessed by him. The statements in this reports show that the doubts have been expressed in this case that say that if Pakistan would be able to make the doubts clear that the terrorist are not involved in the attacks and these are the terrorists who belong to Pakistan. In this case it has been said by the home minister that the confession that have been made by Ajmal will make sure that the doubts are cleared if Pakistan is involved or not.

This has been the report in which it has been said that still the Indian polices and the statements are the ones that reflect that the Pakistani governments have been involved in these attacks.

### **5.1.6 Response from Lashkar-e-Taiba**

It has been seen that the Pakistan based Militant group Lashkar-i-Taiba has been the one that has denied any involvements in the Mumbai attacks. It has been seen that

LeT accepts the fact that they are the ones who are fighting for the freedom in Kashmir but they aril have nothing to do with the attacks that have been planted in Mumbai. In addition to this the one main fact that has been added is that the LeT has not been into any associations with the Indian militants.

This is the report that points out another conspiracy that has been seen to be played not only by the Indian governments but also by the militant grouse that are being accused of being involved in the Mumbai attacks. Further it shall be noticed that there is a change and a whole lot of changing statements that are being presented by the governments and the militant groups as well as the well known terrorists.

#### **5.1.7 Ajmal Qassab confession**

Near the mid of this year it was reported by the News International that te only surviving gunman from the Mumbai attacks has pleaded guilty. The confession had come up as a surprise. Ajaml Kassab had made an appearance and has confessed to his roles being played in the three day spanned terrorist attacks in Mumbai.

In addition to being accused of the Mumbai attacks, Ajmal had to face 86 different kinds of offenses. Moreover it has been reported by the Indian reporters and the lawyers that Ajmal had recorded a three hours confession in which he has outlined a detailed plan that was setup for attacking Mumbai in addition to the conversations and the style of attacks that were used. In this case the video footage that has been obtained clearly shows that the assault rifle is being used by Ajmal in attacking on the train

station. In his confession there was a new change that an Indian named as Abu Jundal has been the one who had trained all these terrorists how to conduct the attack.

In addition to this it has been said by the Indians that the DNA, fingerprint analysis has been produced in the courts and that has made Ajmal confess to the whole issue.

This is the report that reports that although Ajmal has made the confessions but along with these confessions there are changes in the statements that were given by Ajmal previously and the ones that were given in the courts. These are the statements that have pointed out the fact that the Indians were somehow involved in these attacks.

#### **5.1.8 Zarrar Shah confession**

Lashkar-e-Taiba commander as has been reported in the News, was the one who confessed to his involvement in the Mumbai attacks. This is the confession that came as a result of him being arrested in the crackdown of the entire militant that took place in Pakistan during December of 2008. Lashkar-e-Taiba commander has confirmed to the confession that had been recorded by Ajmal and he had added to the fact that some of the Indian LeT members were involved in the attacks. In addition to this it had been added that some of the terrorists were from Azad Kashmir. It has been confirmed that these are the terrorists that had traveled by boat from Karachi to Mumbai. The involvement of the LeT members and the gunmen are the ones that have been confirmed in the investigations that have been carried out by Pakistan's officials as well. Shah has

confessed to be one of the masterminds in the planning and it has been said that the training of these terrorists took place in Karachi.

Not an analytical report neither the report has been found to have any biases of any sort. The report is just simple reporting the confession that has been made by the commander in being involved in the attacks.

#### **5.1.9 Indian police officers being killed**

The reports have been published in which it has been added that the top ranked police officers have been killed in the Mumbai attacks and these are the officers that include the chief of Anti-Terrorism Squad of India. In addition two police commissioners had been killed in these attacks. It has been pointed out in this report that one of the police officers has been the ones responsible for conducting the investigations into the terrorist attacks in the country.

This is the report that somehow points out the fact that the terrorist attacks were intentional and well targeted as it can be seen that the police officers who have lost their lives are the ones who were at the higher posts and in an indirect way they are the ones who were involved in the terrorist attacks that had been played in the country on the previous years. Thereby the bias that can be analyzed in the case of this report is that the report says that in a conclusive manner the attacks had been targeted as still more of the investigation has to be conducted in this case.



### **5.1.10 Another master mind revealed**

It has been seen in the previous reports that the Lashkar-e-Taiba commander had confessed that he has been the mastermind behind the Mumbai attacks but later on as the report says that the newer revelation that has been made by the Indian government in relation to the Mumbai attacks master mind is a confession that has been given in that Hafiz Saeed has been the master mind in planning for the terrorist attacks launched last year in Mumbai.

Before this statement had been released it has been noticed that Indian authorities had declared Zaki-ur-Rehman as being the master mind in these attacks. In addition to this the report has pointed out the fact that the evidence that has been provided by the Indian authority is the one that is insufficient and is not able to be considered for the proper investigation.

This is the report that has been mentioning the three main facts as this site report that can be considered to be the analytical one. The Indian government and the Indian authorities are the ones who have been wandering around the militants and their names who have been found to be active in some case in Pakistan's territory. These are the names that are being used by the Indian authorities as to make their positions stronger in the case of the investigations that have not been conducted in a proper manner so as to make sure who has been behind these attacks.

### **5.1. 11 Foreign intervention**

The News International has reported the intervention that had been made by the UK officials. In this case the international level intervention was to be anticipated as the investigations that are being carried out by Pakistan is being seen as being slow and not fast, moreover not being on an analytical manner. These are the investigation that was in need to be carried out in an analytical manner that could help expose the reality and to be focused on the blames that were being placed on Pakistan.

The News had reported that the statements have been given in by British Foreign Secretary David Miliband as it has been said that the investigations being carried out by Pakistan are the ones that need to be accelerated and in an analytical manner. Miliband has added that the fast investigations are needed in order to find the terrorist who are involved in this case so they can be punished.

These are the investigations that will help not only Pakistan but also India and other international countries in a way that the infrastructure that the terrorist have can be uprooted as it can be identified by the investigations. It had been added by Miliband that the investigation need to be carried out as fast as possible and this is the statements that is not being made in relation to the statement that are being made by the Indian authorities claiming that the Pakistanis are involved in the attacks, these are the investigations that are to be carried out by keeping in mind that the British citizens have been killed in these attacks and these are the investigations that are being demanded by the British government.

An editorial "*Rice and responsibility*"(December 6, 2008), indicated the involvement of the US government itself. On her visit to Pakistan Condoleezza Rice, the US Secretary of State "made clear what Washington expects Pakistan to do in the stormy aftermath of the Mumbai attacks". Although she did praise the efforts being made by the Pakistan government in condemning the terrorism however, the article states that "But once the half-hearted attempt at sugar-coating is taken away, it is obvious Rice was in Islamabad to deliver a stern warning. The impression seems to be that Pakistan is dragging its feet." This cannot be far from the truth as we all know. Whether its only our government or the Indians all we have done so far is to play in the hands of foreign power. We have come up with different excuses and bought our way out of trouble but all in all the threat still hangs. What is the big brother takes his hand away from us? What will we do if they stop giving us aid?

#### **5.1.12 Involvement of Hafiz Saeed**

A statement has been entertained by the Indian Home Minister P. Chidambaram as he again has claimed the fact that Pakistan has been directly involved in the Mumbai attacks. The statement that has been recently given in by the Indian authorities is that Ajmal Kassab had been trained in the terrorist tactics by Hafiz Saeed. In addition to this it has been said that Pakistan's stance in investigating the terror attacks has been dubious as well as atrocious as according to the Indian authorities, Pakistan is trying to cover up as well as deny the fact that Pakistan based militants have been involved in these attacks.

India thereby has been holding hafiz Saeed responsible for the attacks that have been planted in Mumbai. This is the statement that came as a result of Pakistan denying

the credibility of the information that has been provided by India in relation to the involvement of Hafiz Saeed in the Mumbai attacks. The information that was provided by India has been called as insufficient by the Pakistani authorities as these are insufficient enough to prove that hafiz has been involved in these attacks.

These are the statements that are made in a strong manner and these are the ones that are in need to be analyzed as these are the statements that have been made in order to emphasize on the fact that the Pakistani authorities are denying the true use of the evidences that are being sent over by the Indian authorities.

### **5.1.13 Remand of the accused demanded by the ATC**

ATC Rawalpindi has asked for an extension in the remand of the person who has been found accused in the Mumbai attacks. This is the remand that has been extended for the next 15 days and the judicial remand is on the way to be asked.

The judicial inquiry is being carried out by the Pakistani courts and all the names that have been provided by the evidences of the Indian authorities are the ones that are to be interrogated in all cases.

In this case it has been said that the Special Investigation Cell is the one that will be conducting the investigation on the names that have been provided by the Indian authorities and those who are claimed to be a part of the Mumbai attacks. the names that have been investigated to some extent by the Pakistani courts include Zakiur Lakhvi, Zarrar Shah, Hamza who has been known as Abu Alqa and Hamad Ameen Sadiq. These are the accused who have been presented in front of the courts in February this

year. It has been seen that among these people there are some whole remands have been demanded by the investigators as they are the ones to be investigated further.

In this case one of the main changes that have been made is that out of all these suspects there are eight main suspects against whom the cases have been registered in the courts. the terrorist against whom the cases have been reported include Rehman Lakhvi, Zarar Shah, Hamza who has been known as Abu Alqa and Hamad Ameen Sadiq. The main information that has been stated in this case is that these are the terrorist who have been arrested from different places within Pakistan.

This is the report that has been reflecting on the fact that the stance that has been adopted by Pakistan in conducting the investigation against the named terrorists has been honest and the judicial and just investigations are being carried out. In this case the one main fact that has been that Pakistan could have hidden the information regarding the whereabouts from where these terrorists have been arrested, as it has been mentioned that these are the terrorist that have been arrested and abducted from different locations within Pakistan and at one point this is the information that somehow emphasizes the fact that Pakistan has been linked with the terrorist attacks that had been planted in Mumbai. But in this case the fact that is being reflected by this is that stance of Pakistan's been honest and the investigations being carried out are on the basis of truth.

### **5.1.14 Pakistan's positive stance welcomed**

In this report it has been said that the terrorist attacks are the ones that were planned within the boundaries of Pakistan and it has to be realized by the higher authorities, the security agencies in Pakistan that the infrastructure of terrorism that has been developed on Pakistan has to be cracked down so the further attacks that might be in the progress of planning are the ones are dismantled and flailed.

This is the stance that has been appreciated by the Indians and the higher authorities in India by saying that the Pakistani authorities have admitted to the fact that the planning had been carried out on their soil. In addition to this , on an international scale the progress that has been shown by the Pakistanis in the vase of making arrest of eight terrorist while interrogating six of them has been appreciated not only by the Indian authorities but by the international authorities as well as it has been defined as being a positive change.

It has been said by the Indian foreign ministry that these are the changes that can help in making the arrest and the prosecutions on the terrorists who have been involved in these attacks. The next big challenge that has been pointed out by the Indian government is that the Pakistani government is now having a challenge to dismantle the infrastructure of the militants who are flourishing on their soil. In order ot make sure that the terrorist campaigns and the infrastructure is properly disabled in Pakistan, the Indian government has offered all sorts of help.

During this period, moreover, there is another set of information that has been sent in by the Indian government and this time it is with the names of sixteen people who have been seen to be involved in the Mumbai attacks. Out of these sixteen people nine gunmen are feared dead and one of these is in custody and is being interrogated. The rest of the six people who have been included in the list are the names which have been claimed to be unsure about as these can be the name of the terrorist who are already in custody of Pakistan and are under interrogation. Moreover in this report it has been said that the investigations that have been carried out by the Indian authorities are the ones that are analytical as well as the evidence that has been produced so far is the one that has been supportive of the accusative statements made so far.

In this report as it can be seen that the Indian authorities and the government officials are the ones who have been appreciating the fact that the Pakistani government as well as the higher officials are the ones who have been honestly conducting the investigations on the Mumbai attacks. It has been seen that all of the names of the terrorists that were given by the Indian authorities are the ones that are being investigated in a proper manner by the Pakistani judicial system.

## **5.2 Constructive analysis**

It has been seen in the case of the reports that have been given in by News is that the analytical judgments have been given in and these are the judgments that have been made are the ones that are analytical. There is no bias found in the information that has been presented and the statements that have been included are the ones that have been given in by the Indian or the Pakistani higher authorities. These are the records as well

as the reports that have been recorded in the constant manner and these are reported in a timely manner.

The main analysis that was noticed had been in the case of the confessions that were recorded from Ajmal Kassab, the LeT commander and then Hafiz Saeed. In this case it has been seen that the Indian authorities are the ones that were giving in different statements in case of the master minds being involved in the Mumbai attacks as the bale of being the master mind was being shifted from Let commanders to Hafiz Saeed based on the statements that these are the ones who have confessed in all cases.

News has been the newspaper that has tried to project the reality in face of all the conspiracies that have been given in by the Indians and the international authorities so as to make the situation look more confiding. The News has been successful enough in creating the lights at the end of the tunnel. It has been seen in the case of the individual reports given in by the News.



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