

**POPULAR GEOPOLITICS & IRAQ WAR:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF REPRESENTATION IN  
INDIAN AND PAKISTANI MEDIA**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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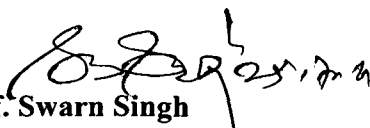
**DECLARATION**

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**Popular Geopolitics & Iraq War: A Comparative Study of Representation in Indian and Pakistani Media**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation is has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.


  
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**CERTIFICATE**

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

  
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## Chapter -1

### Introduction: Critical Geopolitics, Popular Geopolitics and Iraq War

Background: In very simple words, traditionally concept of *geopolitics*, considers that when politics is take place due to the “geographical space” to control its elements, such as “geographical location”, “geographical factors” and “special resources”, known as *geopolitics*. Position and Presence of these elements at particular state not only influences its political action in the systemic level (international relations) but sub systemic level. In other words conventionally concept of *geopolitics*, considered as study of “geographical space” and its influence on political actions of the states. Father of Political Geographic, Friedrich Ratzel, attempted to naturalize the geopolitics, since he conceived “space” as the living organism therefore by follow traditional reasoning of space principal proponents of geopolitics, such as Kjellin, A.T .Mahan, Halford J. Mackinder and Karl Haushofer, used this notion of space to theorised world. Thus this approach of the geopolitics can be categorized as determinist perspective that considers “space” as the geographical location over the surface of the earth.

By observing the trajectory of geopolitics, Dr Geroid O' Tuathail, in his study, illustrate three usage of geopolitics, first, it is sometime used to describe a survey of particular region. Geopolitics according to this usage is a lens through which to survey a problem take place, such as geopolitics of Oil. Second, concept of geopolitics can be synonymous with *real politik*, it is exclusively the legacy of Henry Kissinger, who employs this term to describe his attempts to maintain a “favorable equilibrium” in world politics, he considers geopolitics as everyday tactical conduct of statecraft”. Finally, according to O' Tuathail, it also becomes synonymous with “grand strategy”. Geopolitics as grand strategy was one of the important intellectual foundation for the west's cold war containment policy. This faith appeared in the work of the Sir Halford Mackinder's, theories of the Heartland. ( Tuathail, 1998, P.No 263,267)

In contrast of this, due to the postmodern revolution, the conventional concept of space was problematized in field of Geography and that was persisting in Political Geography as well. This postmodern discourse can be observed in comment of O Tuathail, "Geography is not a fixed substratum as some claim but an historical and social form of knowledge about the earth. To consult "geography" historically was not to view raw physical landscape or nature but to read a book. Though after forgotten today, "geography" is not nature. Rather, geography is an inescapably social and political geographing, earth writing. It is a cultural and political writing of meanings about the world. Similarly, geopolitics is a writing of the geographical meanings and politics of state." (Tuathail 1999 P.No.109).

In his account, Tuathail, not only strive to problematized traditional notion of space but also criticizing geopolitics as politics of "geographical space" in terms of longitudinal/latitudinal extent or its locational perspective. According to this perspective, there must be study of other dimensions of the space rather adhere with conventional notion and these alternative dimensions can be personal space, public space (like class room, office) and media space (such as news paper article, T.V Broadcasting) that conduct politics their in to fulfill political imagination of concern actor. Therefore due to the reconstruction of "space" in this globalize world, the spectrum of geopolitics is happen to be very wide as well.

In this introductory chapter it has aim to give descriptive account of critical geopolitics, popular geopolitics, and their concerns review of literature in the light of Iraq war (2003). Same chapter has also compile research methodology, objective of study, research questions and brief introduction of following chapter including final chapter that is conclusion of study.

**Critical Geopolitics:** the postmodern revolution that allows passage to critical geopolitics, consider geopolitics as mode of representation, has emerged from the work of the number of scholars in the fields of geography and international relations from last three decade. According to Agnew, "critical geopolitics investigates the geographical

assumptions and designation that enter into the making of world politics (Agnew 2003 P.No.2). It seeks to illuminate and explain the practices by which political actors spatialise international politics represent it as a “world” characterized by particular types of places” (O Tuathail and Agnew-1992:190). It means critical geopolitics investigate geopolitics as a cultural and political practice, rather than as a visible reality of world politics and politics for material interest.

There are some other prominent contributors that define critical geopolitics, such as in his article, appear in journal, *Progress in Human Geography*, entitled “The Critical Reading/Writing of Geopolitics: Re-Reading/Writing Wittfogel, Bowman and Lacoste.” Gearoid O Tuathail, gives descriptive account about evolution of critical geopolitics. Tuathail mention that critical geopolitics is inspired by the poststructuralist research and it having three dimensions. Its first dimension is that it seeks to deconstruct the tradition of geopolitical thought as it has been represented in various intellectual histories. It re-evolves the history and key intellectual of discipline (Smith,1992 P.No.257-271). Secondly, “critical geopolitics” seeks to engage with the actual practice of statecraft and thirdly, critical geopolitics seeks to displace our conventional understanding of the geography in global politics. Rather than work within the limits of the conventional scope of geopolitics, it is also problematized the conventional meaning of space, place and politics.

In his another contribution “Rethinking Geopolitics,” Gearoid O Tuathail and Simon Dalby, describe that critical geopolitics have placed the epistemological limits of the ethnocentric practices of cold war geopolitics in question and advanced five arguments. First geopolitics is a much broader cultural phenomenon that is normally described and understood by the proponents of geopolitics. By considering geopolitics as social and cultural practice it can be conceive that geopolitics is not specific school of statecraft but rather can be better understood as the spatial practices, for both material interest and representational of statecraft itself. Critical geopolitics, analyses the geopolitical imagination of the state, and foundational myths. It belief the specification of the state as a national community can be conceive as geopolitical imagination act. This involves making one national identity out of many, creating geographical heterogeneous space into



one homogeneous nation and doing so giving privilege one over the other, establishing a boundary between insider and outside and converting diverse place into a unitary internal space and keep forging scattered. It also describes heterogeneous histories into homogeneous one and provides duration. These practices of nationhood involve ensembles of acts to create nation space and the homogenization of history. Thus critical geopolitics belief that above practice induce multicultural struggle not only systemic but sub systemic level and proclaim that the geopolitical imagination is an unstable project. In second argument, it pays particular attention to the boundary- drawing practices and performances that characterize the every day life of states. In contrast to conventional geography and geopolitics, critical geopolitics, question very construction of boundaries of “inside” and “outside” here and “there”, the “domestic” and the “foreign” since it do confirm that there is no boundary have be found in natural landscape but there is always frontiers and these should not be consider as “no mans land” any more. Thus any attempt to boundary drawing practice divides peoples of same cultural in to two different political areas that again induce multicultural struggle. It also believes that words “boundary” and “no mans land”, having imperial legacy. Critical geopolitics is concerned as much with maps of meaning as it is with maps of states. Therefore it observes boundaries drawing practices as conceptual and cartographic, imaginary and actual, social and aesthetic. Critical geopolitics examines how certain-conceptual specializations of identity, nationhood and danger manifest themselves across the landscapes of states and how certain political, social and physical geographies in turn inform understanding of self and other, security and danger, proximal and distant .

Third, Critical Geopolitics argues that geopolitics is not a singularity but a plurality; it refers to a plural ensemble of representation practices that are diffused throughout societies. While not denying conventional notion of geopolitics as the practice of statecraft by leaders and their advisors, critical geopolitics believe geopolitics is broad social and cultural phenomena. Geopolitics is thus not a centered but a decentered set of practices with elitist and popular forms and expressions. There are types of geopolitical such as the practical geopolitics of state leaders, and the foreign policy bureaucracy, the formal geopolitics of the strategic community, within a state as across a group of states,

and the popular geopolitics that is found within the artifacts of transnational popular culture, whether they be mass market magazines, novels or movies. Each of these different forms of geopolitics has different sites of production, distribution and consumptions. In understanding “the geopolitical” as a broad socio-cultural phenomena it is important to appreciate both that geopolitics is much more than a specialized knowledge used by practitioners of statecraft and it should be proved that it is the study of everyday constructions of identity, security and danger.

Fourth, critical geopolitics is a form of geopolitics but one that seek to disturb the objectivist perspectivism found in the history of geopolitics, more generally. It is a situated knowledge, because there are gendered nature of geopolitical writings and interpretative acts, demonstrating how practices of statecraft are also practices of man crafting ( e.g. the politics leader using military action to demonstrate his toughness), it has been also said that masculine subjectivity is a predominant in writing of geopolitics.

Fifth, it conceptualizing geopolitics as “situated reasoning” as critical perspective also seeks to theorise its broader sociospatial and technoterritorial circumstances of development. Critical geopolitics, thus, situates its engagement with geopolitics with the context of literatures on the historical expansion of states, techniques of governmentality and history of technology and territoriality.

In another article by Georoid O Tuathail, appears in “journal of strategic studies” under the title “Understanding *Critical Geopolitics: Geopolitics and Risk Society*”. According to this study “geopolitics can be described as problem solving theory for the conceptualization and practice of statecraft. Geopolitics sees itself as an instrumental form of knowledge and rationality. Its dominant modes of narration are declarative (this is how the world is) and then imperative (this is what we must do). Geopolitics is of the same like as political realism”. In contrast this critical geopolitics, problematizing theatrical explanation of geopolitics. “For critical geopolitics, the notion of “is” is always an essentially contested perspective notion. Knowledge is always situated knowledge, articulating the perspective of certain cultures and subjects while marginalizing that of

other. Its “we” is a transnational community of citizens skeptical of the power concentrated in state and military bureaucracies, and committed to an open democratic debate about the meaning and politics of “ security”. For heuristic research purposes, Tuathai add one new sub part of critical geopolitics in his article that is structural geopolitics. Structural Geopolitics involves the study of the structural processes and tendencies that condition how all states practice foreign policy.

After reviewing above literature it has been appear that critical geopolitics assert that traditional geopolitics can be declare as problem solving theory and practice of statecraft. Geopolitics sees itself as an instrumental form of knowledge and rationality; while in same time critical geopolitics, claims to place the epistemological limits of the ethnocentric practices of geopolitics. In his discourse Critical geopolitics upheld following argument.

Critical geopolitics seeks to deconstruct the tradition of geopolitical thought and reasoning of space as it has been represented in various intellectual histories. therefore critical geopolitics belief in the absolute plurality of space and the multiplicity of possible political construction of space , to prove this it claim to have other dimensions of space such as personal space, public space (like class room, office) and media space (such as news paper article, T.V Broadcasting). Critical geopolitics seeks to denaturalize and recover “the complexities of global politics”. Therefore to achieve this it requires analysis of the complex working of hegemony such as not only states military power but national and international media, institutions, organizations and civil societies.

Critical geopolitics is a form of geopolitics but one that seeks to disturb the objectivist perspectivism found in the history of geopolitics, more generally. It is a situated knowledge because it articulating the perspective of certain cultures and subjects while marginalizing that of other. And this can be found in traditional geopolitics for instance the gendered nature of geopolitical writings is demonstrating how practices of statecraft are also practices of man crafting because states used military action (to resolve their international and national problems) due to succumb under the masculinity of leaders .

Critical geopolitics asserts that geopolitics is a much broader cultural phenomenon thus it investigate geopolitics as a cultural and political practice, rather than as a manifest reality of world politics and politics for material interest. G. O.Tuathail comments that *“Geopolitics saturates the everyday life of states and nations. Its sites of production are multiple and pervasive, both high ( like a national security memorandum)and low ( like the headline of a tabloid newspapers), visual (like the images that move states to act) and discursive (like the speeches that justify military actions), traditional ( like religious motifs in foreign policy discourse) and postmodern ( like information management and cyber war).While its conventionally recognized as going to war, launching as invasion, demonstrating military force, etc.”* Therefore critical geopolitics belief that geopolitics of imagination and construction of binaries as “either – or” reasoning of traditional geopolitics, is comes under, this broader cultural project of geopolitics and work as the components. In other word due to the geopolitics of imagination (very construction of state as a national community, establishment of boundary and homogenization of history) and “either – or” reasoning of traditional geopolitics (inside/ outside, domestic/foreign binaries) geopolitics insist to alter heterogeneous places into homogeneous space by the help of the cultural project. Thus critical geopolitics does not convince above reasoning of conventional geopolitics and sought to problematise it. ( Tuathail, 1999, P.No.114).

Critical Geopolitics, argues that geopolitics is not a singular but plural ensemble of representation practices. Geopolitics is thus not a centered but a decentered set of practices such as the formal geopolitics, practical geopolitics, the structural geopolitics and the popular geopolitics. Formal geopolitics; refers to what is usually considered “geopolitical thought” or the geopolitical tradition”. Practical geopolitics; is concerned with the geographical politics involved in the everyday practice of foreign policy. It addresses how common geographical understandings and perception informs foreign policy conceptualization and decision making. It is taught in educational establishments, part of the socialization of individuals into certain “national” identities and geographical/historical consciousness. Widely disseminated by the media in popular political culture, it has the significant quality of being unremarkable and can be described as “common sense” geopolitics. (Tuathail, 1999, P.No.114).

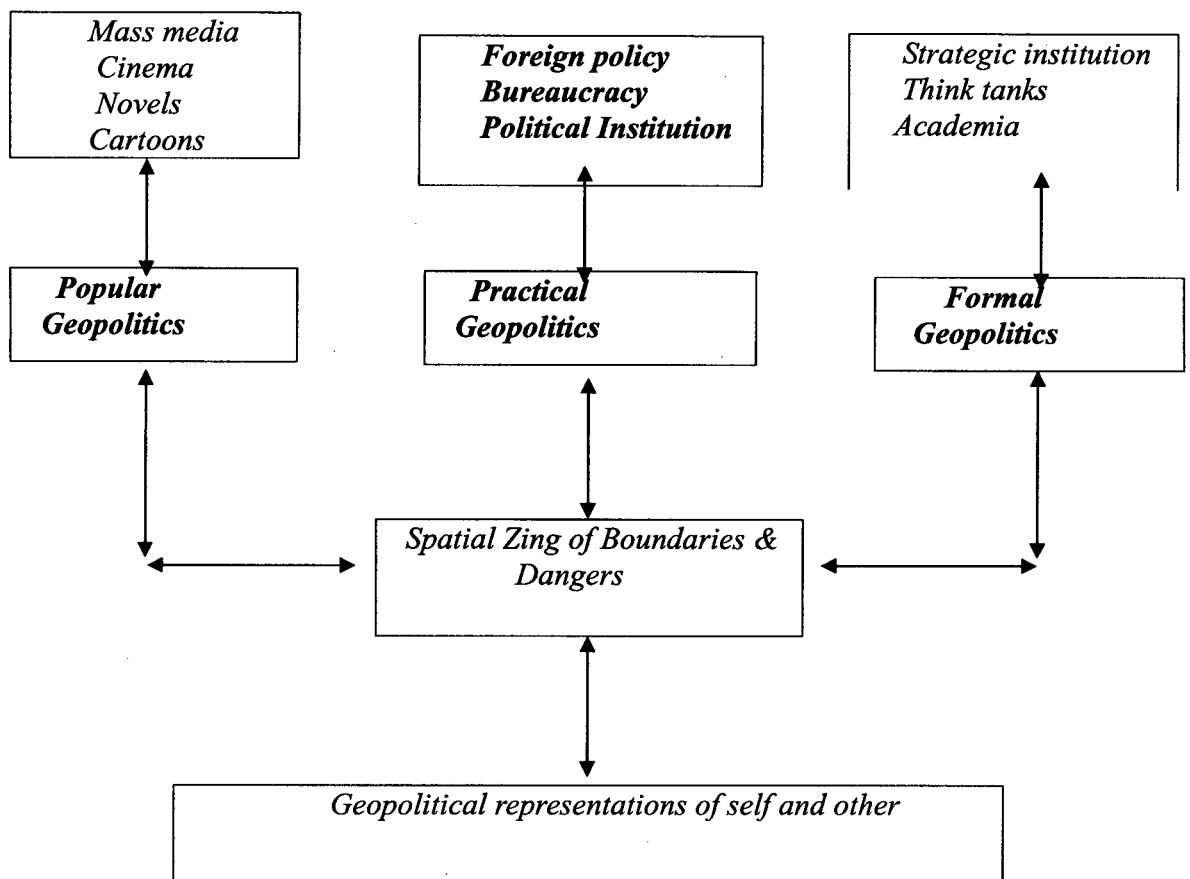


Figure –A critical theory of geopolitics as a set of representational practices (Adopted from book Rethinking Geopolitics by Gearoid. O .Tuathail & Simon Dalby).

Structural geopolitics: Contemporary geopolitical tradition is considers as Structural Geopolitics, involves the study of the structural processes and tendencies that condition how all states practice foreign policy. Today, these processes include, as we have noted, globalization, informationalization and the proliferating risks unleashed by the successes of our techno- scientific civilization across the earth (G.O.Tuathail, 1999, 114).

**Popular geopolitics:** Popular geopolitics refers to the geographical politics created by the variety of media players. It’s a representation of collective understanding of places and peoples. As the subpart of critical geopolitics, popular geopolitics, as Thomas McFarlane, comments its “demands that attention be given to examination of the role of the media in

the construction and perpetuation of dominant geopolitical understanding. Popular geopolitics believe that popular culture is significant as the dominant location for the production and reinforcement of a (inter)national consciousness. Apparently there are some Institutions of popular culture, such as cinema, newspapers, cartoons and magazines those routinely reproduce to established geopolitical images, metaphors and assumptions of such an outlook or culture, to the point that they become normalized as commonsense understandings. Thus, popular culture usually, use as a tool to accomplish geopolitical imagination of particular actor, it provides the cultural context within which formal geopolitical scripts and geopolitical agendas are successfully produced and reproduced. Moreover, through the mass media the complex multiplicities of geopolitical and economic worlds are suppressed and compacted into “controllable geopolitical abstractions” (Tuathail and Agnew, 1992 PNo-195). In the same time popular geopolitics also believe that the effects of popular culture upon the “high politics” of the international scene have traditionally been overlooked or deliberately down- plays” (Sharp, 1998, Dalby, 1994). Thus attention to be gives to popular culture’s alternative space such as cinema, newspapers, cartoons and magazines.

Dodds and Sidaway (1994) suggested that as subpart of critical geopolitics, popular geopolitics, seeks to take seriously discourses of resistance, such as protest movements, it also explore the processes whereby these alternative understandings are marginalized in conventional geopolitical discourse. As far as study is concern, Study of Ghazi-*Walid Falah* Colin Flint and Virginie Mamadouh, published as an article, “*Just War and Ex-territoriality: the Popular Geopolitics of the United States war on Iraq as reflect newspapers of the Arab world.*” Is on of the perfect illustration to fill the gap about which Dodds and Sidaway (1994) was mention. This article explain the Iraq War or Second Gulf War or Operation Iraqi Freedom that was began on March 20, 2003, with the invasion in Iraq by leading troops from the United States under the administration of President George W. Bush.

There are many research papers and thesis have been written for analyses of the Iraq War but regarding this research study, Ghazi-*Walid Falah*’s article considers to being one of

the landmark. Article focuses on the Arab response by analyzing the description in Arab newspapers of the imminent war on Iraq. Sixty-five newspapers of the Arabic language (plus the Iraqi news agency), published in seventeen Arab countries, of which four were Iraqi newspapers, were consulted for the purpose of this study. Interpretation of the geopolitical rhetoric within newspaper reports and political cartoons published in Arab newspapers highlights the way that arguments of morality and immorality were used to justify ex-territorial goal of hegemonic state. In this piece, the American army is described as the new Mongols of the twenty-first century. The article is organized into four sections. First, explore the relationship between just-war theory and the particular case of U.S. hegemonic power. Second, review arguments in the Iraqi media to expose the war as unjust. Third, examine media coverage in the rest of the Arab world from the point of view of geopolitical relations between the United States and the Arab world. Fourth, examine political cartoons to explore Arab constructions of the U.S. war against Iraq as an unjust war, and to illustrate how the notion of the universal morality of the hegemonic power was challenged. Discussion of the cartoons is organized around five themes: imperialist intent; the arrogance of power; realist power politics; double standards toward the UN and international law; and support of Israel portrayed as immoral. This study depicts us that how political cartoons that are published in newspapers reviled about the ground truth. This article not only gives precise analyses about the Iraq war but also mentions that how newspapers can be used to analyse particular phenomena in the popular geopolitics.

In another article published under the title, "The battle for Seattle: protest and popular geopolitics in The Australian newspaper". Through his paper Thomas McFarlane gives specific attention to the ways in which Australia's only national daily newspaper, The Australian, represented protests against the 3rd World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference held in Seattle during December 1999. The Battle of Seattle was a major international event. During the week that began on November 29, 1999, world attention focused on the city's streets, where an estimated 50,000 protesters confronted local police. The protesters wished to register dissent against the World Trade Organization, whose ministerial conference was to take place. On the opening day,

November 30, protesters occupied the streets, many intent on shutting down the conference.

Thomas McFarlane and Iain Hay were presented News stories within the context of a 'protest paradigm' which, through its central characteristics of story framing, drawing from official sources and invoking public opinion, made protest-critical and served to delegitimise, marginalize and demonize anti-WTO protestors. Thomas McFarlane and Iain Hay, give descriptive account about some of the previous works in the field of popular geopolitics and mention that "it is the area of popular geopolitics involving exploration of the practical geopolitical reasoning found within informal, everyday discourse and examination of the role of media in the construction and perpetuation of dominant geopolitical understanding of events, peoples and places". This work analysis that the mass media provide kind of perception about international events that helps constitute and legitimate geopolitical agendas such as foreign policies (Atkinson and Dodds, 2000:10). Study describe that there is positive correlation between the interests of dominant geopolitical actors and the expressions of those interests in the mass media. Through these mechanisms, This study give one of the best example that how newspaper can be use as a primary data source and provide quantitative and qualitative data for popular geopolitical research. This article not only mention that how Newspapers headlines / articles and cartoons can be significant area of study but also newspaper headlines / articles presents a highly subjective opinion but it can be understood as constituting certain elements of "truth" and become an effective tool of influence. ,

By observing above studies, it is very clear that media space is one of the alternative space under, study of popular geopolitics, media space always been creating impacts on our life. Whether it covers on education, information or entertainment, its power is expressed and exercise through news about place and peoples, events and organizations. "Media offer a route through which versions of reality may ultimately become part of conventional wisdom and by which unequal power relationships may be sustained. The interests of existing political elites and power structures may be seen in the media through ways in which particular events are covered. (Farlane 2003, 211-232).



In India, media consider to be, fourth pillar of the democracy due to its social and political responsibilities. India is one among the few countries where media enjoy freedom of expression. Trouble we find is that only few of them, both in the printed media as well as the electronic media deal with real issues concerned with proper research. With the giant stride in technological field and improving awareness levels, the mass media in India, comprising mainly of the vast array of English and vernacular print media and multiple 24/7 television channels, those are catering to the news-hungry billion peoples in India. The quality and quantity has increased in leaps and bounds over the last couple of decades or so of liberalization process.

While Ramanujan D. Nadadur's Article "Self-Censorship in the Pakistani Print Media" not only provide analyses about the media of Pakistan but give some understanding that this phenomena can be occur other parts of the world. The article starts their argument by mentioning that "The Print Media in Pakistan has a tradition of fierce autonomy as an independent and viable institution. This article examines the print media's potential role in Pakistan and identifies the direct external causes of self-censorship such as unofficial government controls, the oligopolistic newspaper ownership structure, the legal system and the lack of security for journalists. In addition, the paper looks at specific structural characteristics of the Pakistani print media that have created an environment for self-censorship to thrive, namely the reach and accessibility of the print media and the isolation of the Pakistani journalist from the international community. Finally, the paper puts forth three strategic recommendations to address the problem of self-censorship, first, legal reform to create an environment conducive to free journalism; second, ownership reform to increase plurality and create free market competition in the newspaper industry; and third, development of a self-regulating, professional Pakistani journalist association.

### **Rationale of Study**

So far above mention review of literature has been conduct in reference of popular geopolitics and Iraq war which is separately analyses protest paradigm in Australia and

representation of Iraq war in Arab media, the Study of Ghazi-Walid Falah, Colin Flint, and Virginie Mamadouh, publish as an article, "*Just War and Ex-territoriality: the Popular Geopolitics of the United States war on Iraq as reflect newspapers of the Arab world.*" Is only study of its kind considering Iraq war through the light of the popular geopolitics thus considering prominent and best selling newspapers of the Arab world. In this study author give convincing account of the case and substantiate their argument with logical reasoning. Therefore by getting inspiration from the above work, study of the Iraq war by considered Indian and Pakistani media's representation is proposed, this study seek to analyze Iraq war and its popular geopolitics with specific reference of India and Pakistani mass media. Thus final theme of this research study that is mass media deals with this issue and find role of media in knowledge production in India and Pakistan regarding Iraq War.

The rationale of study is to conduct comparative analyses to find that how Indian and Pakistani media have been responding at the time of Iraq wars. This kind of analyses is required because India and Pakistan historically connect with Iraq (in terms of exchange of trade) while both state also shaping their cooperative international relation with United States of America. This study belief that Media space is highly significant agent in the shaping of public opinion (Iyengar, 1990, 20-21).

### **Research Question.**

The lot of work has been conduct in India and around the world regarding the Iraq war but some of the research question remains left. Therefore this study aims to fiend answers of the following questions.

- How popular geopolitical analyses (critical geopolitics) are helpful to describe and explain Phenomena of war in Indian and Pakistani media?
- Which state's (India and Pakistan) print and audio visual media is serious about the Iraq war?
- How does Indian and Pakistani media have been responding at the time of wars?

→ Is the media of these countries put resistance against the Iraq war (2003) or try to justify Iraq war (2003).

### **Research Methods.**

This study incorporate combined survey of front page, international, national , editorial and letters to the editors section of concern newspapers, further it scrutinize newspaper's editorial and letters to editorial space and finally, chapter observe, classify and interpret cartoon section of newspapers in various theme has been done. Printed materials such as press commentaries and publicity materials associated with News papers have been incorporated into this research agenda. Study incorporate commentary, headlines, and imagery (political cartoons) of Indian and Pakistani, English national newspapers , during the time of Iraq war for our analysis.

This study is bound with timeframe. Some particular dates for major event and time of war will be choose in this regard such as at the time of 16 March 2003 to 25 March (for the study of publish reports) and 16 March to 12 April 2002 (for the study of published cartoons). The date 16 March is selected here because, on this date summit meeting of three leaders of the United State, Britain, and Spain in the Azores. The meeting closed an attempt by the United States, Britain, and Spain to pass a second UN Security Council resolution to give the rubber stamp to an American preemptive war against Iraq. Thus after the 16<sup>th</sup> March most of the newspapers of the world concentrated their attention on the event of Iraq war. The selection of date 25<sup>th</sup> March, 2003 has been chosen only for academic convenience so that study will become convenient concerning the short time. While on 12 April 2003, United States declared its victory in Iraq war.

This study believes that political cartoon in newspaper provides space in to the space, which functions as the outlet of expression and provide variety of opinions regarding rage of issues. Therefore in this analysis, study focuses on political cartoons of the newspapers.

The letters to the editorial section can be conceived as an essential part of the newspapers since it reflects democratic space, wherein everyone can uphold their arguments, this space gives voice to every common man who can write and read. Letter to the editorial section can be conceived as an outlet in which everyone can register their grievance and dissent against the unjust. Therefore this study also looks into the letters to the editorial section of the Indian and Pakistani newspapers. Then at the very last simple statistics such as total published news regarding Iraq war that incorporate combined survey of front page, international, national, editorial and letters to the editors section of concerned newspapers, is taken under consideration, further it scrutinizes newspaper's editorial and letters to editorial space and finally, chapter observes, classifies and interprets cartoon section of newspapers according to various themes.

Use of statistical tables in this study have been incorporated in this study to manage the primary data, it is possible that data of two tables will not match with each other because in some tables, this study does not consider news reports such as effect of war on oil price, Indian and Pakistani government do not suspend their air transport with other Arab states, compensation plan to bring Indian and Pakistani citizens back from Iraq etc.

## **Brief Introductions of Chapters**

### **Chapter-2 Representation of Iraq war in International Media**

In this chapter, representation of Iraq war (2003) in international media is proposed to study, the term international media chosen here for analysis of the United States and Arab region's electronic and print media space because it is the broad argument of this chapter that at the time of Iraq war, the United States electronic media endorse war option but at same time prominent newspaper of Arab region, resist United States' attempt of waging war and describe it as an unjust and extraterritorial attempt.

In this chapter initially study try to fine representation of Iraq war in United States' electronic media, and examine, how Unite State, media become a means of transmission for the imagination of administration? In other word how media speech language like the Bush administration rather challenging their action. Secondly chapter discusses work of Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, observe Arab media space in terms of newspaper article and its satirical cartoons for the purpose to know their respond regaining United States invention in Iraq

### **Chapter -3 Representation of Iraq war in Pakistani Media**

In the event of Iraq war Pakistani print media give extensive and frequent reporting regarding various aspects of war therefore to make more objective and precise study, the chapter endorses to analysis various ways of represent of Iraq war, two online Pakistani newspaper that is Dawn and The Daily Times is selected to study. Chapter attempt to give precise description of prominent facts pertaining to Iraq- war and Pakistani media, make effort to find new facts, and finally, to rich an over all generalization.

Moreover, chapter analysis that how medial space provide resistance in front of the authority that support war option in Iraq? How Pakistani, print media narrating the case of Iraq war? And How Pakistani newspapers, provoked for the resistance against the Iraq war? To meet their proposed objective, chapter analysis the Iraq war according to time frame, starting from the day of Azores summit of United Nation Security Council at Spain on 16<sup>th</sup> March to next ten days till the 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, is chosen to study of two online Pakistani newspaper . Data of this chapter have been collected from online survey of Dawn and The Daily Time, websites; therefore this data may be considered as primary data. After than simple statistics such as total publish news regarding Iraq war that incorporate combined survey of front page, international, national , editorial and letters to the editors section of concern newspapers, further it scrutinize newspaper's editorial and letters to editorial space and finally, chapter observe, classify and interpret cartoon section of newspapers in various theme has been done.

#### **Chapter -4 Representation of Iraq war in Pakistani Media:**

The media as a whole considered to be fourth pillar of democracy in India, it conceive a core powerful force in Indian societies, therefore as an sub part of the media, the print media today become omnipresent space, it is to be believe that print media in India enjoying their constitutional right of freedom of speech and expression. At the time of Iraq war Indian print media gives its various perspectives thus Similarly as third chapter, this chapter analysis various ways of represent of Iraq war , chapter attempt to give precise description of prominent facts pertaining to Iraq- war that have been appease in two major online newspapers that is The Hindu and The Telegraphy. Moreover, chapter also analysis that how these newspapers employ their reporting to put resistance in front of them who support war option in Iraq. To meet their proposed objective, chapter take under consideration of simple statistics such as combined average of topics wise total publish news, further it examine newspaper's editorial and letters to editorial section and finally, it , classify publish cartoons of The Hindu and then interpret cartoons according to theme.

Here one thing is to noted that The Telegraph newspaper did not publish cartoons at the time of Iraq war therefore study of cartoon section is only deal with cartoons that have been publish in The Hindu newspaper.

#### **Chapter -5 Conclusion: A Comparative Study of Representation in Indian and Pakistani Media**

In this chapter proposed to find out which of the state's media, comparatively put maximum resistance in their publication. How does Indian and Pakistani media have been responding at the time of wars? Is the critical geopolitical perspective useful to explain world affairs etc.

In this final chapter basically comparative study of third and fourth chapter has conducted, so that similarity and difference can be identified in Indian and Pakistani media, this chapter also conducts aforementioned method of statistic to make this chapter more objective and precise.

## **Chapter-2**

### **Representation of Iraq War in International Media**

The media space considered to be a means of transmission of information, it is an outlet that represent the reality through various ways, its have responsibility to not only narrate, portrait and describe, events but must play critical role in a system where it exist. Thus in this chapter, representation of Iraq war -2003, in international media proposed to study, the term international media chosen here for the analysis of the United States and Arab region's electronic and print media space because it is the broad argument of this chapter that at the time of war when the United States electronic media endorse war option, at the same time prominent newspaper of Iraq, resist United State's attempt of waging war and describe it as a unjust and extraterritorial attempt.

To better understand representation of media at the time of Iraq war, it is necessary to understand the course of events therein. Bombing over Iraq were began on 19<sup>th</sup> March 2003; the United States acted unilaterally to eliminate threat to its security and started Iraq war. Initially in its political approach, the United States President, George W. Bush's administration argued that Iraq has been make potential threat for the United States because he was developing Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD). In February 2003, when Colin Powell, then Bush's Secretary of State, appeared before the United Nations Security Council. Powell argued that Saddam Hussein was taunting the United Nations, and developing weapons of mass destruction to "project power, to threaten, and to deliver chemical, biological and, if we let him, nuclear warheads". He also indicated that a second order issue for the Bush administration was a "sinister nexus between Iraq and the Al- Qaeda terrorist network, a nexus that combines classic terrorist organizations and modern methods of murder." For nearly a year before Powell's United Nation speech, President George W. Bush was delivering the same message. In 2002, he argued the United States had a responsibility to change the course of events in Iraq because the threat from that country "stands alone" and because it "gathers the most serious dangers of our age in one place." (Brigham, 2006, P.No.1-10)

Shortly, before Colin Powell's testimony at the United Nations in February 2003, the Bush administration moved quickly to gain support for its war aims, in Congress and with the America people. On September 4, 2002, Bush sent a letter to key members of congress suggesting he would soon seek that body's support for action in Iraq. The president needed to consult with Congress to figure out "How to disarm an outlaw regime". Bush maintained that following the first Gulf war, Saddam Hussain remained a "threat to peace." particularly upsetting to him to not cooperate with United Nation weapons inspectors. Bush suggested Iraq was hiding something and it was up to the United States to find out what that was. He feared Hussain was seeking weapons of mass destruction to use against the United State and Israel as he had against his own people. The president's key advisers testified that Saddam Hussain had used lethal gas against his own people and that he was obviously developing new weapons to use against, the United States and Israel. (Brigham, 2006, P.No.1-10)

Robert K. Brigham, stated that Bush and its officials focused on two key items, weapons of mass destructions and Iraq's support to terrorists. But it is very clear when no weapons of mass destructions were found in Iraq following the March 2003 invasion; the Bush administration shifted its war rational completely to the war on terror and promoting democracy in the region. The Bush administration claimed, Iraq was now harboring an international terrorist network that includes many members of Osama- Bin -Laden's al Qaeda team, Therefore war on terror was spelled out specifically in what is now known as the Bush Doctrine, it was formally appear in the president's report on "The National Security Strategy of The United States of America (NSS)," released September 17, 2002. In this document, the Bush administration outlined its ambitious and comprehensive ground strategy: "we will defend the peace by fighting terrorists and tyrants. We will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent". The Bush doctrine also pledges that the United States "will identify and eliminate terrorists wherever they are, together with the regimes that sustain them". Eventually, congress gave the president the war resolution he had been seeking. On October 9, 2002, both houses of Congress passed HJ114 resolution, authorising the president to "use the Armed Forces of the U.S. as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in order to defend the



national security of the U.S. against the continued threat posed by Iraq". The United States of America's senate passed the house version of the resolution without changing a single word. The resolution required the president to consult congress within forty eight hours of taking direct military action in Iraq and to report on the wars progress to the appropriate congressional committees every sixty days. (Brigham, 2006, P.No.1-10)

President Bush then went to the America people to gain their support. In his most important public speech on Iraq, his state of the union address on January 28, 2003, President Bush gave his first hard evidence that Iraq was trying to obtain weapons of mass destruction. In what is now referred to as the "infamous 16 words," Bush declared "the British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." For the first time, Bush made the connection between Iraq and weapons of mass destruction. After convincing congress and the American public, Bush moved to secure support from the international community, for this Powell put United States resolution, on the table of the United Nation Security Council, In February 2003. When the Security Council refused to adopt such a resolution, mainly by French government. Secretary of Defense "Donald Rumsfeld," comment, the United States did not need "Old Europe" to defend its interests. At that time only Britain's Tony Blair supported the United States resolution. (Brigham, 2006, P.No.23-40)

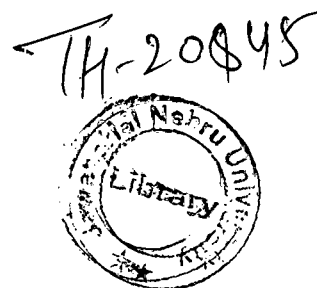
There may be various theories to explain real cause of Iraq war such as by defeating Saddam sufficiently, the Bush administration hoped to shatter the dreams of other who wished the United States harm. An attack against Iraq could also finish the job started in the first gulf war, when the United States launched a counterattack against Saddam to force him to exit Kuwait. Some Have Suggested President Bush was highly influenced by Elliot Cohen's book "Supreme Command", which was critical of George H.W. Bush (Bush-I) for not taking Baghdad at the end of the first gulf war. (Brigham, 2006, P.No.23-40)

Bush and his closest advisers believed that the nation needed to promote democracy in the Middle East because there was lack of representative institutions within Arab societies that drives terrorist to drastic measures. The attacks of September-11 were led

by middle- class, relatively well educated men who came from countries with no democratic traditions, Bush reasoned, and therefore they had no outlet for their political grievances. Starting with Iraq, the United States would plant the seeds of democracy and watch them grow. For Bush, democracy itself was a transformative power, and its expansion in the Middle East promised to make the United States more secure. With new democratic institutions, the Arab middle class would take ownership of the political process alongside the traditional royal families and authoritarian regimes. Bush believed, it could transform the Middle East from an unpredictable and potentially dangerous region into a stable and peaceful one. (Brigham, 2006, P.No.23-40)

Wolfowitz supported the neoconservative idea that there was a universal hunger for liberty in all people and they would rise up to support democratic challenges to dictatorial regimes. After the September- 11 attacks, wolfowitz called on the Bush administration to launch preemptive strikes against Iraq as well as intervene directly in Afghanistan. He also suggested the global war against terror be seen as a global war for freedom. Liberating Iraq would be the first step in democratizing the Middle East. Since the Arab street respects force, Wolfowitz reasoned, the U.S. should link its power with its mission. He knowingly committed the United States to have a broader and heavily militarized strategy of liberating the entire Islamic world but according to Robert K. Brigham, in many ways, Iraq was the most secular country in the region, and not one terrorist of the September-11 attack was from Iraq. Steel, Bush found convincing reasons for Iraq to put the Bush doctrine inaction. Further more he mention that both wars (Iraq and Vietnam) shown the intelligence failures and misreading of important security information. (Book: Is Iraq Another Vietnam, Robert K. Brigham, 2006)

After the strike on Iraq, United States and its allies defeated Iraqi forces easily but for the United States “insurgency is the only enemy in Iraq” because the battle still remain in the minds of the Iraqis. There are following insurgent group is active in Iraq.



- The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (Al-Majilis Al-A'la Lil-Thowara Al-Islamiyya Fil-Iraq), it is Shia nationalist group headed by Abdel'Aziz al-Hakim. The group support pan Arab nationalism.
- The Shiite Resistance Movement headed by Mogtada-al-Sadr, one of the most adamant opponents of United States occupation of Iraq. The radical Shiites connected to Mogtata al Sadr seek theocracy in Iraq along with a United States withdrawal. They hold to the ideas like "Taliban's Islamic government can only promote Islamic revolution throughout the region.
- A small Salafi group based in Fallujan headed by Umar Husayn Hadid. A Sunni group called the "Iraqi Islamic Army". Former Baathists connected to Saddam's regime and Foreign Jihadist groups working with Osama Bin Laden's ally Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, such as Ansar al-Islam.

According to Robert K. Brigham " what the insurgent oppose is clear, but what they support is not, at this point, violence seems to be the only unifying factor in the Iraqi insurgent". In other word the Iraq insurgent still lacks a unifying agenda except pan Arabism and Anti Americanism. But still Iraqi insurgent continues to putting numerous difficulties for United States in Iraq, because Insurgent has been increasing with the time and space. Thus United States patrols have focused one many areas such as Anbor, Nineven, and Salah ad Din- to strike at the heart of the insurgency. For the security purpose United State's army, classified it war area broadly in two zone Red Zone – The generally unsecured provinces of Anbor, Nineveh, and Salah ad Din-to-strike at the heart of the insurgency and the Green Zone- it is heavily fortified area around Baghdad. One of the hypothesis describe that if United States, will withdraw from Iraq in the presence of various insurgent group, it may be more pathetic condition for Iraq because there is lack of common agenda among these insurgent groups therefore now it is difficult for United States, not to abandon the Iraq. (Robert K. Brigham, 2006)

## **International Media and the Iraq War**

At the time of Iraq war media play a crucial role in United State of America, according to the study, conducted by the Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, Evan Lewis, entitle, "*Misperceptions, the Media and the Iraq War*". Study argue that at the time of Iraq war - 2003 representation of some electronic media source was bias that spread misperception such as Iraq not only had WMD but also supporting Al -Qaeda terrorist, even media exaggerate that international community have been supporting United States action against Iraq. The term misperception come into view here to describe the situation that before the war, overwhelming majorities of people in United Stare of America, have believed that Iraq not only had WMD but also supporting Al -Qaeda terrorist, although it now prove that these belief was incorrect, it does not seem appropriate to call this a misperception before the Iraq war, because it was so widespread at pre- Iraq war time. However, a striking misperception among the peoples occurred during the war when the United States failed to find any WMD or even any solid evidence to link Suddam Hussain and Al- Qaeda but still post-war period, significant numbers of United State's population continued to believe that Iraq had WMD and it indulging the pro terror activity. (Kull, Ramsay & Lewis, 2004)

The Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks (PIPA/KN) first, asked in May - 2003, whether respondents thought that the United States has or has not found Iraqi "Weapons of Mass Destruction", responding the question 34 percent said the United States had. In June, it was subsequently asked, "do you believe clear evidence of weapons of mass destruction has been found in Iraq or not" and again 35 percent said that it had. In another study conducted in late July- 2003 by NBC/ Wall Street Journal asked whether the United States, has been successful in "finding evidence of weapons of mass destruction" and 22 percent said that it had. The same question asked again in mid-August and found 27 percent saying that evidence of WMD had been found. ( Kull, Ramsay & Lewis, 2004)

Table-1  
Existence of WMD in Iraq (in percentage)

Since the war with Iraq, is it your impression that the United States or has not found Iraqi WMD?

Time period	9/03	7/03	6/03	3/03
U S has not	73	76	73	59
Not Answered	3	3	4	7

Source: The Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks (PIPA/KN) PIPA/KN.

Both before and during the war, a substantial portion of United States of Americans has believed that evidence of a connection between Iraq and Al -Qaeda existed. Before the war, in the January -2003, PIPA/KN poll show that 68 percent expressed the belief that Iraq played an important role in September - 11, with 13 percent even expressing the belief that “conclusive evidence” of Iraq’s involvement had been found. As it aforementioned that not one terrorist of the September-11 attack was from Iraq, even Iraq Al- Qaeda link hypothesis show intelligence failures and misreading of important security information. Still, asked in June-2003, July and August- September -2003, again large percentage (45 to 52 percent, as show table -2) said they believed that United States had “found clear evidence in Iraq that Saddam Hussain was working closely with the Al – Qaeda, terrorist organization.

Table-2  
Evidence of link between Iraq and al Qaeda (percentage)

Is it you impression that the US has or has not found clear evidence in Iraq that Saddam Huss in was working closely with the al Qaeda terrorist organization?

Time period	8-9/03	7/03	6/03
U.S has	49	45	52
U .S has not	45	49	43
Not Answered	6	6	5

Source: The Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks (PIPA/KN) PIPA/KN.

Asking questions regarding world public opinion, PIPA/KN polls shown that Americans has misperceived world public opinion on the U.S decision to go to war. This has been true during and after the war. In March 2003, shortly after the war started, PIPA/KN asked respondents “how all of the people in the world feel about the United States going to war with Iraq” only 35 percent perceived correctly that the majority of people opposed the decision. 31 percent expressed wrong assumption that views were evenly balanced on the issue, and another 31 percent misperceive that the majority favored it, when asked again in June, July, and August- September, these views changed very little.

Table-3

World opinion about the U.S decision to go in war. (In Percentage)

Thinking about how the world feels about the United States going/having gone to war with Iraq, do you think.

Time period	9/03	7/03	6/03	3/03
The majority of people favor it	27	24	25	31
The majority of people opposed it	38	42	41	35
Views are evenly balanced	33	30	32	31
Not answered	2	4	2	3

Source: The Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks (PIPA/KN) PIPA/KN.

After the studding above statistic, it is very clear that neither WMD nor Iraq - Al -Qaeda terrorist link has been found, furthermore significant number of international community. opposed United States action against Iraq. According to study this misperception could not been appear in vacuum, consequently to explain this phenomena, it have been argue that this phenomena was occurs due to some electronic media player deliberately overlook some real facts regarding Iraq war. To find the answers of these misperceptions and substantiate their arguments Kull, Ramsay and Lewis analysis again aforementioned questions such as WMD in Iraq, Al -Qaeda terrorist link with Iraq and international community opinion regarding Iraq war. These questions were asked from the viewer of the United States based six television news channels and readers of newspapers. The news channels studied were NBC, CBS, ABC, FOX, CNN, NPR/PBS and Print Media as a whole.

Responding the question, whether the United States has “Found Iraqi weapons of mass destruction” in table-4, 22 percent of all respondents over June to September mistakenly thought this had happened. In table -4, Fox viewers appear to be the highest with 33 percent having this belief, follow CBS-23 percent, NBC and CNN had 20 percent while lowest 19 percent of viewers who watch ABC, these numbers of perception show that the United States had found WMD. While only 17 percent of those who primarily get their news from print source had relatively lowest misperceptions.

Table -4  
Perception that the United States has or has not found WMD

WMD	In percentage						
	NBC	CBS	ABC	FOX	CNN	NPR/PBS	Print Media
U.S has found	20	23	19	33	20	11	17
U.S has not found	79	75	79	64	79	89	82

Source: The Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks (PIPA/KN) PIPA/KN.

When asked, according to table - 5 whether the United States has found “clear evidence in Iraq that Saddam Hussain was working closely with the Al - Qaeda terrorist organization”. After conducting combined sample for the three month period, study found that 49 percent said that such evidence had been found. This misperception was substantially higher among Fox news viewer that is 67 percent, in other words 67 percent of fox news viewers believes Iraq was working closely with Al - Qaeda terrorist follow by CBS - 56, NBC - 49, ABC - 45 and NPR/PBS lesser only 16 percent believe that there is proper link between Iraq and Al-Qaeda.

Table- 5  
Viewers’ belief on whether the U.S has found evidence of an al Qaeda Iraq link

Clear evidence of al Qaeda link	In percentage							
	NBC	CBS	ABC	FOX	CNN	NPR/PBS	Print Media	
U.S has found		49	56	45	67	48	16	40
U.S has not found		45	41	49	29	47	85	58

Source: The Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks (PIPA/KN) PIPA/KN.

It is well familiar that at the time of Iraq - war various parts of the world observe protest against the United States of America's action over the Iraq therefore respondents were asked regarding their opinion of how they think "people in the world feel about the United States having gone to war with Iraq". During the three month time, out of the all respondent 25 percent incorrectly, said "the majority of people favor the United States having gone to war". As show table -6, among all survey news sources, again in terms of numbers, 35 percent of Fox news viewers were incorrect. While viewers of CBS-28, ABC-27, CNN-24, and NBC show gradually decline in their opinion regarding world public support. Surprisingly, only 5 percent of NPR viewers believe that "the majority of people favor the United States having gone to war". ( Kull, Ramsay & Lewis, 2004)

Table -6  
World public opinion on the U.S going to war (percentage)

Majority of people in world	NBC	CBS	ABC	FOX	CNN	NPR	Print Media
Favor U.S going to war	20	28	27	35	24	5	17

Source: The Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks (PIPA/KN) PIPA/KN.

## Analysis

The study leads to the question such as why large numbers of United State's population has misperception regarding Iraq war? Why these misperceptions vary according to one source of news to other? According to Kull, Ramsay and Lewis, there are some reasons that the public had so many misperceptions. Firstly the Bush administration conveys numerous statements. For example, in 18<sup>th</sup> March 2003 " Presidential Letter" to congress, President George W. Bush comment in going to war with Iraq he was taking "the necessary action against international terrorists and terrorist organizations , including those nations , organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committees or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001." ("Presidential lettered 18<sup>th</sup> March 2003, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/.html>).

Even more on 5 - February, 2003, in front of United Nation Security Council, secretary of state Colin Powell, presented photographs that were identified as Al - Qaeda training



camps inside Iraq, but he leave the fact that the camp in question was in the northern part of Iraq, not under the control of the central Iraq government. (Secretary Colin L. Powell remark, 5 -February 2003, available at <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2003>)

According to study the second most important cause of misperception among the peoples, perhaps representation of media. Media source believe that it was not their role to challenge government action on Iraq. Fox news programming on the war included, flag in the left hand corner and script the United States defense department name for war: "Operation Iraq Freedom". For this stance some of individuals and organizations question and criticized Fox news and its pro war stance, in his article, "Fox news defends its patriotic coverage: channels objectivity is questioned" in 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2003, at Baltimore Sun (newspaper), David Folkenflik. When criticized in a letter for tack pro-war stance, Neil Cavuto replied "so am I slanted and biased?" you damn well bet I am.....you say I wear my biases on my sleeve? Better that than pretend you have none, but show them clearly in your work." According to Kull, Ramsay and Lewis CBS News, which tends to have a more liberal reporting, seemed to think along these lines—CBS anchor Dan Rather, Commented in a 14 April 2003 interview with Larry King, "Look, I'M an American. I never tried to kid anybody that I'm some internationalist or something. And when my country in war, I want my country to win.....now, I can not and Don't argue that is coverage without a prejudice. About that I am prejudiced".

At the conclusion level of present study it is surface that pro war views were overwhelmingly more frequent because media did not consider the lack of evidence of links between Iraq and Al -Qaeda; after the monitoring and searching of war zones in Iraq it is very clear that no WMD were being found, even world public opinion was critical of the war. It is the responsibility of media to play critical role but in Unite State, media rather become a means of transmission for the imagination of administration, in other word media speech language like the Bush administration rather challenging their action. for example , when president Bush made the assertion that WMD had been found , on 31<sup>st</sup> May, 2003 edition of the Washington Post , a front page headline saying, " Bush: "we found Banned Weapons". To regarding their respond to Bush assertion, no

media source/network challenge it, whoever they give kind of broadcasting that falsely substantiate United States, President arguments to justify Iraq war.

Study also reveals that higher levels of attention to news did not reduce the likelihood of misperception, and in the case of those who primarily get their news from Fox news, misperception increased with greater attention. In their throughout coverage, Fox news try its best effort to justify United States action against Iraq thus not only news related to WMD were shown but make link between Al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussain thus study clearly states that “most robust effects were found among those who primarily get their news from Fox.

Steve Rendall and Tara Broughel’s study “*Amplifying Officials, Squelching Dissent: FAIR study finds democracy poorly served by war coverage*”, initiate another discourse to understand aforementioned phenomena. Study argues that since the invasion of Iraq began in March, official voices have dominated in United State’s electronic media newscasts, while opponents of the war have been notably underrepresented, Starting the day after the bombing of Iraq began on March 19, the three-week study (3/20/03 to 4/9/03) looked at 1,617 on-camera sources (sources are the retired army officers, government officers, intellectuals, and other person) appearing in stories about Iraq on the evening newscasts of six television networks and news channels. The news programs studied were ABC World News Tonight, CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, CNN’s Wolf Blitzer Reports, Fox’s Special Report with Brit Hume, and PBS’s News Hour with Jim Lehrer. Nearly two thirds of all sources, 64 percent, were pro-war, Anti-war voices were 10 percent of all sources, thus viewers were more than six times as likely to see a pro-war source while about 26 percent did not take stance.

Though Fox News Channel frequently engaged in overt cheerleading for the war and is on record as considering itself a pro-war news outlet (Baltimore Sun, 4/2/03), Eighty-one percent of Fox’s sources were pro-war, however, the highest of any network. CBS was close on the Murdoch network’s heels with 77 percent. NBC featured the lowest proportion of pro-war voices with 65 percent.

Former military personnel, who often appeared in longer-format, in-studio interviews, rather than in soundbites, characteristically offered technical commentary supportive of United State military efforts. In a typical comment, retired general (and CNN consultant) Wesley Clark told Wolf Blitzer on April 6: “Well, the United States has very, very important technological advantages. Unlike previous efforts in urban combat, we control the skies.” Analysis by these paid military commentators often blended into cheerleading, as with Clark’s comment from the same interview: “First of all, I think the troops and all the people over there, the commanders, have done an absolutely superb job, a sensational job. And I think the results speak for themselves.” Some time media try to divert debate on war beyond justness and unjust as they give space to the discussion of force, whether it is sufficient or not in Iraq war. For instance, while NBC’s hired analyst, retired Gen. Barry McCaffrey, said he expected the U.S. to prevail in the war, he worried that there weren’t sufficient ground troops in place for an expected battle for the city of Baghdad (3/25/03): “We have no business taking on that mission unless we’re prepared to decisively employ combat power.”

Of a total of 840 United States sources who are current or former government or military officials, only four were identified as holding anti-war opinions. Given that the war was ultimately justified as being fought for the liberation of the people of Iraq, sources that represented Iraqi civil society were in remarkably short supply on the news. Only 6 percent of sources came from countries other than the United States, Britain or Iraq citizens from those nations that most vocally opposed the U.S. war policy—France, Germany and Russia—accounted for 16 appearances, constituting just 1 percent of all guests. Nine of these 16 appearances were by government officials.

Guests with anti-war viewpoints were almost universally allowed one-sentence soundbites taken from interviews conducted on the street. Not a single show in the study conducted a sit-down interview with a person identified as being against the war. Evermore anti-war sources were treated so fleetingly that they often weren’t even quoted by name. While 80 percent of all sources appearing on the nightly news shows are identified by name, 42 percent of anti-war voices went unnamed or were labeled with

such vague terms as “protester” or “anti-war activist.” Only one leader of an anti-war group appeared as a source: Leslie Cagan of United for Peace and Justice, a New York-based organizer of anti-war marches, appeared on a March 27<sup>th</sup>, CNN segment in a one-sentence soundbite from an on-the-street interview.

Thus, one can say official voices have dominated in United State’s electronic media newscasts, while the same news channels treat roughly with anti war source to not give them appropriate media space to express their voice, to doing so electronic media seem to be bias that stimulate misperception among the peoples to justify United States attempt to war.

### **Representation of Arab Media**

At the time of Iraq war various Arab institutions effort to justify or resist the war by their own way of representation, among the various institutions in Arab states, print media one of them who represent the war vibrantly and frequently. In some of the Arab states, protest of the print media considers to be very prominent among all the sources because of mass availability as a popular culture in their state. Putting the light on Arab region’s print media space, Ghazi Walid Falan, Flien and Mamadouh’s study publishing in titled “*Just War and Extra Territoriality: The Popular Geopolitics of United States War on Iraq as Reflected in Newspapers of The Arab World,*” providing significant analysis of war through the eye of the print media. Considers newspapers as a one of the main sours of information, Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, observe Arab media space in terms of newspaper article and its satirical cartoons for the purpose to know their respond regaining United States invention in Iraq. Sixty five newspapers of the Arabic language, published in seventeen Arab countries, were consulted for the study. The study revels that Iraqi newspaper and the Iraq news agency were narrate and depict, imminent war against them was unjust and that the American administration was an aggressor. To substantiate their arguments Falan, Flint and Mamadouh give a table that indicates variety of topics that publish as the heading of the five surveyed Iraq media sources in mid March - 2003, among them four were online Iraqi newspapers such as Al-Thawara, Al- Iraq, Al-

Jumhuriya, and Alef –Ba (a weekly magazine) and the Iraq news agency report of 15<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

At the time of 16<sup>th</sup> March 2003, summit meeting of the three leaders of United State, Britain, and Spain were held in the Azores a town situated in Spain, therefore time of Mid - March 2003, have selected to study by Falah, Flien and Mamadouh. Meeting concluded to pass a second United Nation Security Council resolution to give British and Spanish approval to American “preemptive war” against Iraq, in retaliation of that most of the Iraqi newspapers provoke this action as an unjust attempt of United States of America while other newspaper of Arab world try to justify this.

According to Falsh, Flint, and Mamadouh any state that opposed the United States “Solution” of war considered a source of moral aid to Iraq. For example, the newspaper Al- Iraq (2003) reported a statement give by the president of Angola that his state opposed the use of force against Iraq and that any solution to the problem should be consider with UN decisions. The same newspaper carried two reports on activities in mosques in Baghdad and other cities on 14<sup>th</sup> March 2003, report mention that “Moslems prayed for the war to be avoided if possible if not and for Iraq Moslems to fight a holy war. It also was reported that mosques would become centers for the defensive struggle against the invaders; they would recruit fighters for Jihad and would help the people with food and medicine.”

According to table -7, newspaper Al-Thawra on 14-15 March 2003, publishes 18, reports regarding Peoples/organizations & states that support Iraq against United States invasion. Al-Thawra (2003) reported that in Europe seventy eight unions went on strike for fifteen minutes to protest the American threat to Iraq. Al – Thawra (2003) publish reported on the resignation senior intelligence analysts Andrew Wilky who was quoted as saying that “all available evidence indicates that Iraq does not threaten any country and does not constitute a threat to anyone”. The same newspaper (2003) publish a fatwa (legal opinion), issued by Moslem religion scholars calling for jihad against the any possible aggression and its associates.

Table -7

Reports pertaining to the imminent war, published in selected Iraqi newspapers, mid-March 2003.

Source	Iraqi News Agency 15 March	Al Jumhuriya 15 -March	Al-Thawra 14-15 March	Al- Iraq 15 March	Alef - Ba (Magazin) 12 March
Total no of headlines	28	6	30	13	5
Items related to current crises	28	6	26	12	5
<b>Topics</b>					
Demonstration in support of Iraq	2	-	1	3	1
Peoples/organizations & state support Iraq against U. S	15	4	18	3	-
Confrontation with U.S/British airplanes	2	-	1	1	-
U.N Inspectors in Iraq	3	1		1	
Issues related to U.N	1			1	1
Issues related to President Saddam	3	1	1	1	1
Other	2		5	2	2

Source: Article "Just War and Extra Territoriality" by Ghazi Walid Falan, Flien and Mamadouh's 2008)

The newspaper Al -Jumhuriya (2003) reported regarding the Japanese parliament whose forty two female members demanded that their prime minister use his diplomatic power to stop an American attack on Iraq. Newspaper reported on the resignation of political advisor John Brady Kiesling at the United States embassy in Athens, as a protest against Bush administrations decision of war. In another piece of writing Al - Jumhuriya (2003) entitled "British people support France's stance opposing American aggression", newspaper also report that the French embassy had received hundreds of letters and e-mails from British citizens who supported France's objection to an American attack on

Iraq. As above table -7 mentions, the newspaper on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2003, publish four reports firmly in favor of Iraq.

Alef-Ba (2003) published an article, quoting Saddam Hussein, by saying “with resolve we will win the war” in this piece Saddam Hussein afford to bust the moral of Iraqi fighter, after the recently dismantling of Sumud missiles at the request of United Nation inspectors that “you are the Sumud missiles, and if it was not for you and for the Iraqi spirit and determination to defend our homeland, these missiles would not have been found”. In this piece, the American army is metaphorically described as the new Mongols of the twenty first century in analogy to the first Mongols who concurred Baghdad, in 1250 CE. (Just War and Extra Territoriality” by Ghazi Walid Falan, Flien and Mamadouh’s 2008)

Further analysis of Falan, Flint, and Mamadouh argued that at the time of war most of the states of Arab region, cooperate with the United States therefore media of that United State’s cooperated Arab states, try to justify its action against Iraq, after study of this phenomena , fact has been surface that countries bordering Iraq or adjacent to Iraq, appears to be great asset to the United States , therefore their respective newspapers, reported on American diplomacy and their commentary to justify United States action against Iraq . In following table-8, thus statistically mention that, five of the six countries that exceeded from the average score of six articles per newspaper, border with Iraq. Yemen, with a total of eleven, does not have a common border with Iraq but received great attention from the United States because at the time of the survey Yemen’s government was cooperating with the United States in a military operation inside its own territory, portrayed as an episode in the “the war on terrorism” and this event become major news for Yemen newspapers. Yemen does not have common border with Iraq despite four newspaper were surveyed such as Al-Ayyam, Al-Gumhuryah, Al –Sahwa, Al Thawra it shown that there were average - 11 news article and report were published pertaining to the United Stated, it show the great attention by the United States, given to Yemen’s government that was cooperating with them. Yemen government support United States army in a military

operation inside its own territory, in the name of war against terror, maximum newspapers in Yemen narrate this episode as “war on terrorism.”

Table-8  
Arabic newspapers reports of U.S relations, November-2002.

States of Names (bordering Iraq)	Newspaper	No of Newspapes	Total reports pertaining to U.S	Averaged
Syria	Al Baath, Al-Thawra , Teshreen	3	8	2.67
Jordan	Assabeel Weekly, Alsrab-Alyawm, Ad-Dustour, Al-Rai	4	51	12.75
Kuwait	Al -Watan, Al -Sayassah	2	13	6.5
Qatar	Al-Rayan, Al-Sharg, Al-Watan	3	45	15
Saudi Arabia	Al-Jazirah, Okaz, Al- Riyadh	3	32	10.66
	<b>(States not bordering Iraq)</b>			
Morocco	Al-Alam, Al-Anbaa, Attajdid, Assabah	4	3	0.75
Algeria	Al Fadjir, El Khabar, El Youm , An-Nasr, Al- Shaab	5	8	1.6
Libya	Al- Fajralijadeed,Al- Jamahiria, Al-Shames, Al-Zahfalkhder	4	6	1.5
Egypt	Alquds Alarabi, Al Wafd, Al- Osbos, Akhbar Aladab, Alhram, Al-Sharq, Al-Awsat, Al-Shaad, Akhbar Al-Yom	8	34	4.25
Sudan	Alray Alaa'm	1	6	6
Palestine	Al-Ayyam, Al-Hayatal- Jadeeda, Al-Quds, Falasteen, Fasl-Almaqal.	5	17	3.4
Lebanon	As-Safir, An Nahar, An Nabaa, Al-Mustaqbal, Al- Aman, Al Intiqad	6	16	2.67
Bahrain	Alayam, Alwasat, Akhbar Alkhaleej	3	13	4.33
UAE	Al-Bayan, Al-Itihad, Al-Khaleej	3	57	19
Oman	Oman Daily, Al Watan	2	4	2
Yemen	Al-Ayyam, Al-Gumhuryah, Al –Sahwa, Al Thawra	4	43	10.75
total		60	356	5.93

Source: “Just War and Extra Territoriality” by Ghazi Walid Falan, Flien and Mamadouh’s 2008)



After the analysis of the popular geopolitical pattern, of table-8 it have been appear that the state bordering Iraq, their newspaper give more bias, intensive, reporting in terms of number of article and reports to justify U.S action against Iraq, same times table mention about Yemen. As we go further from Iraq, number of report and articles, per newspaper has been gradually decries such as in case of morocco, Libya, Algeria, Oman, Lebanon etc. The all Arab states, except Kuwait, told their population that they generally did not support a war against Iraq, and sought diplomatic and peaceful solution of the war. Kuwait's position was clear from the beginning. Kuwait described this war as one between the United State and Iraq, having nothing to do with its own state (Al-seyassan-2003). In mid -March 2003, at the time of the meeting in the Azore, the rhetoric of war in Kuwaiti newspaper focused on inevitability of armed conflict and the coming "moment of truth" for the Iraq regime, a Kuwaiti minister of states for Foreign Affairs, Shaikh Dr Mohammad Al- Saban, was cited as saying that the military strike against Iraq was imminent. "It is now midnight minus one minute and counting. The Iraq regime has one minute to prove it will cooperate with the inspectors and completely implement (all) decisions if it wisher to avoid the horrible consequences of war" (Al- Utaiybi-2003). In an article by Nasser Al-Utaiybi (16 march 2003). The Kuwaiti daily Al-Qabas cited Shaikhsabah- Al - Ahmad, deputy Prime Minister and foreign minister, as saying that the United States, strike against Iraq was coming soon and only a miracle would stop it. From the American point of view, support from countries that border on Iraq or those located in the immediate region was a war asset, one can say that this bias reporting of Yemen and other border states of Iraq sought by the United States to isolating Iraq and projecting its war as just. The above mention media report were prove to mention that there is corrupt regime in the Iraq , thus United States have responsibility to make change. United States war aims include effecting regime change, spreading democracy in the region, and destroying an international terrorist network.

## **Representation of Resistance as Portrait in Political Cartoons**

Most newspapers in the Arab world are under direct or indirect government censorship, this limited press freedom in the Arab region, induce kind of reporting that fever concern regime's policies and practice and try to justify them because regimes have political interests to maintain well geopolitical relations with the United States. Thus newspapers cartoons in Arab newspaper were subject to study, after exploring newspapers articles it is very clear that at the time of war, public opinion in throughout the Arab region was critical against the United States aggression to take war solution against Iraq but to defend their interest, print media became soft target by controlling its articles and reporters by pro-war regimes. Therefore this study believed that political cartoon in newspaper provides space in to the space, which functions as the outlet of expression and provide variety of opinions regarding rage of issues. Therefore in third analysis, study focuses on political cartoons of the Arab newspapers. Cartoons question dominant power relations and knowledge; cartoonists even contest dominant representations of political affairs, such as Steve Bell's antigeopolitical eye in his depiction of the Falklands War (Dodds 1996). According to Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, Cartoons are expected to be effective tools to challenge both the foreign policy of a regime and the hegemonic position of the United States. Political cartoons are probably the best medium by which Arab newspapers could express their protest and disseminate a viewpoint on this thorny and highly political issue. (Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, 2008 ). It have also been said, though cartoon presents subjectivity of an individual or the institution but it express certain elements of "truth". Cartoons not only amuse the reader but essentially show critical stance of the cartoonist. Thus, in their study Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, treat carefully with the Arab newspapers cartoons and provide the new discourse in the field of international relation theory, five themes have been selected to describe in following study of newspapers cartoons such as: imperialist intent; the arrogance of power; realist power politics; double standards toward the UN and international law.

## Imperialist Intent

In the study conducted by Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, the twenty-one days surveyed during November 2002, had been taken to consideration to interpret the Arab newspapers cartoons, the interpretation depicted United States apply immoral use of military for selfish reasons rather than an act of preemptive self-defense or humanitarian intervention. According to Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, Cartoon number – 1, appeared in the Egyptian newspaper Al-Osboa (6<sup>th</sup> November 2002) and is a drawing of an Uncle Sam-like character standing before a list of Arabic countries ordered from top-down: Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Uncle Sam has already drawn lines through Palestine and Iraq and is ready to continue marking off the remaining Arabic nations. Furthermore Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, describe that countries at the top of the list are more readily identified as current “enemies” of the United States, but those nearer the bottom are generally understood to be on friendlier terms.

Cartoon number -1



Egyptian newspaper Al-Osboa (6<sup>th</sup> November 2002).

Cartoon number -2



Jordanian Ad-Dustour daily (15 November 2002).

This image depicts the Arab feeling that the United States is against all Arabs (and not only Iraq) and will eventually attempt to dominate them all. Significantly, Uncle Sam is seen writing with his left hand and has what looks like a cigarette in his right hand, but this adds to a careless ever-consuming (and over-consuming) image of the United States and how they treat the Arabs in a disrespectful way. In Arab states use of left hand

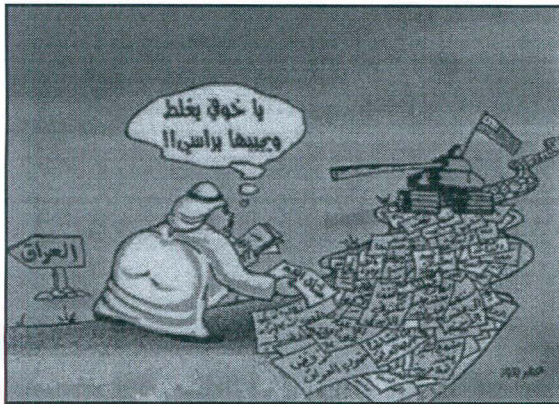
consider to evil because In the Qura'an, references imply that the left-hand is associated with evil, and in Arab culture use of the left-hand is often related to carelessness.

A Jordanian daily Ad-Dustour in (15<sup>th</sup> November 2002) at cartoon number-2 represents the same Uncle Sam-like character, this time figure show Uncle –Sam watching the “Middle East” through oil drums telescope. The telescope is made up of a series of three progressively bigger oil drums, the largest of which is labeled “Oil” in English. This cartoon was published in Jordan, not an oil-producing country. As Falah, Flien and Mamadouh describe “the cartoon makes an argument that oil is the primary geopolitical interest. This cartoon disseminates a sense of Arab unity in response to the U.S. hegemonic project, resting on an ingredient of popular Arab politics: Oil is seen as belonging to the Arab nation as a whole rather than a single country.” It is certain that Oil trade, is a means to construct a regional political identity. Same time cartoon reject the United States hegemony and it material interest in Arab region. Cartoon also depict that “Uncle Sam” sees the Middle East only through the lens of oil therefore United States military intervention is portrayed as a policy of using military might to gain access to strategic resources.

### **The Arrogance of Power**

The next cartoon argues that the United States not only does not care about the interests of the Arab people but does not even bother to listen to their appeals and requests. Cartoon number 3 that appeared in the Jordanian Assabeel weekly on 3 November 2002. The cartoon portrayed an Arab man is shown laying down papers with Arabic writing on them to form a road or pathway along which an American tank is proceeding. Written on the papers are statements such as, “we oppose attacking Iraq,” “For God’s sake,” “we will not participate in attacks on Iraq,” and “we will not stand with hands tied.”

Cartoon number -3



Jordanian Assabeel weekly (3 November 2002).

Cartoon number -4



UAE Ittihad daily (21 November 2002).

The message of the cartoon is clear that common Arab people do not support United State action against Iraq despite aggression have been made to overlook request of common Arab peoples. It shows roundness of United States regime. In another account it has been appear that although an Arab man wearing its traditional white dress (white is color of peace) to resist United State project of violence and modernity still aggressor do not care of this and keen to achieve material gain through the power and philosophy. Narrating brilliantly Falah, Flien and Mamadouh mention, the tank has an American flag on it and a long gun barrel pointed at the Arab man's head. The man is thinking "I'm afraid that he may mistakenly hit me on the head." Cartoon number -4, published in the United Arab Emirates Ittihad (21 November 2002) propagates this feeling. The cartoon shows two debaters, one Arab and the other our old friend "Uncle Sam." Both men are speaking, the Arab saying, "I propose," and the American saying, "I reject." The cartoon shows Arabic frustration with the unfeeling and selfish United States attitudes toward the Arabs. Again, the message of the cartoon is that United States prime modernity is not wanted nor is it applicable to the Arab world; nevertheless the United States intends to diffuse it against the wishes of Arab nations. In this sense, the United States is acting immorally by transgressing the sovereignty of Arab nation-states and the ability of their populations to make their own political decisions.

Cartoon number -5

Cartoon number -6



The Palestinian daily Al hayat Al Jadeeda (12 November 2002). The Qatari daily Al-Watan (12 November 2002).

Furthermore, a portrayal of the fear of Arab leaders evident in cartoon number- 4 is continued in cartoon number-5, a cartoon by Ommaya Jeha that appeared in the Palestinian daily Al hayat Al Jadeeda (12 November 2002). The right panel shows the face of an Arab leader in front of his people, looking ominous and slyly powerful. The left panel shows the same man in front of America. The once proud moustache is drooping down and the right hand is raised in submission. The image is one of the Arab people's frustrations with their own leaders. (Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, 2008).

### **Realist power politics**

As Falah, Flien and Mamadouh mention, the surveyed cartoons in the Arab newspapers, portray the United States as behaving similar to realist doctrines, often opting for the use of excessive power to achieve its political goal. Hegemonic power in the modern world system operates in a system of sovereign states, a system that the United States advocates in its own rhetoric. However, the means and benefits of hegemonic rule require the constant extraterritorial violation of territorial sovereignty. In other words, the hegemonic power simultaneously maintains a moral political geography of sovereign states, but must violate this very morality in order to manage the system. (Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, 2008).

Cartoon number- 6 that appears in the Qatari daily Al-Watan (12 November 2002), illustrate this notion and shows a sword labeled "U.S.A." sticking in the surface of the world. The yolk of a scale is mounted to the hilt of the sword and the weights balancing

the scale are large bombs. “Absolute Justice” is written in Arabic on the bombs. The cartoon depicts the perception (and reality) of the military power the United States wields over the rest of the world. Both justice and dignity were key themes in President George W. Bush’s geopolitical code (National Security Strategy 2002). By using themes of injustice and indiscriminate violence, this cartoon represents a strong challenge to the rhetorical foundations of the current foreign policy of the United States. The cartoon suggests that the United States is willing to use its coercive power across the whole globe, and not just in the Middle East, and so illuminates the hypocrisy of resorting to coercive power to enforce what are portrayed as integrative political projects. (Falah, Flien and Mamadouh, 2008).

### **Double standards toward the UN and international law**

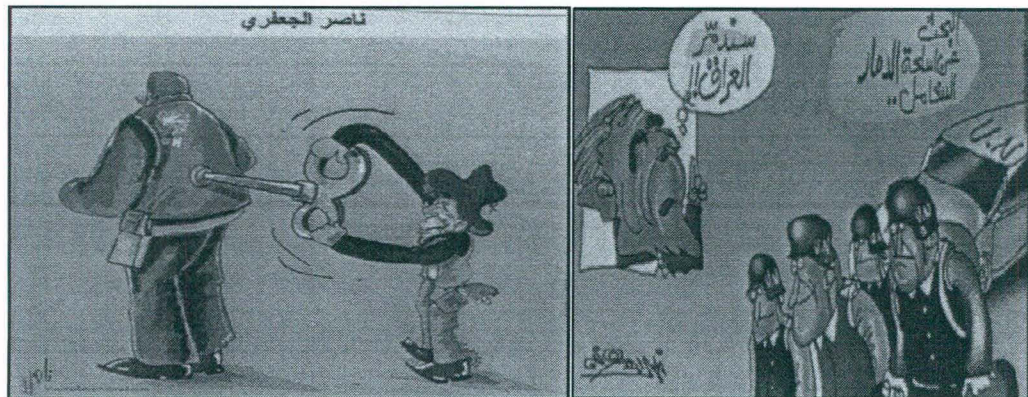
It is much familiar in Arab world, to justify their war option in Iraq United States try to manipulate and even probably success to United Nation, therefore following theme not only critics United States but United Nation also to maintain its double standard and silence at the time of unjust war.

Cartoon number -7 that appeared in the Jordanian daily Alarab-Alyawm (9 November 2002). The cartoon pictures President George W. Bush, again dressed as a cowboy, winding a key in the back of a figure labeled “UN” that is wearing a work jacket and cap with a pouch on the side holding what looks like some type of reporting device with an antenna (probably a weapons inspector). The image identifies the United States as a dominant controlling power over the inspection team.

Another cartoon with a similar message appeared in the Palestinian daily Al-Quds (21 November 2002). This cartoon (cartoon number-8) shows the UN inspection team (four helmeted figures) along with their van (the helmets and the van are all labeled “UN”). Arabic writing in the background says, “Search for weapons of mass destruction.” The men seem to be serious in their attitude. Inset in the cartoon, however, is a caricature of George W. Bush. The reader sees his thoughts that vow to smash Iraq—the message being that the inspectors will have little effect on the will of Mr. Bush.

Cartoon number -7

Cartoon number -8



The Jordanian daily Alarab-Alyawm ( November 2002). The Palestinian daily Al-Quds (21 November 2002).

### Conclusion

In the conclusion one can say that the Bush administration is following the theory that exporting democracy makes America more secure because once these autocrats were destroyed, the people could create liberal, democratic governments but taking under consideration above study it have been appear that in Iraq, United States, started facing problem like the Vietnam because of insurgence and consequently suicide bomb attacks. Moreover, media play a vital role to disseminate information regarding Iraq war, on one hand where study of Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, Evan Lewis describe that United state's electronic media try to justify Iraq war while on the other hand study of Falah, Flien and Mamadouh show widespread rejection of Unites States action against Iraq and describe it as an unjust attempt. The chapter also reaches to the conclusion that some time media deliberately use selective historical facts to manipulate to control the emotions of their peoples. Furthermore media provide a kind of space in which an individual express their stance such as Arab newspapers cartoon that strongly reject and resist United States action on Iraq.



## **Chapter -3**

### **Representation of Iraq war in Pakistani Media**

It is believed that the print media having the potential to reach the peoples and act as a mobilizing force for change, it serves as an outlet of information , debate , discussion, resistance and representation. In the light of globalization, the television (T.V) and broadcast media, recently able to overcome from the shadow of the government's monopoly in Pakistan but unlike the electronic media, print media have been serving to Pakistani peoples since the time of partition of India –Pakistan, therefore print media plays crucial role in Pakistan to shaping the perception of peoples. There are over 1,500 newspapers and journals in the Pakistan, including publication in Urdu, English and regional languages, the major national dailies in English are Dawn, The Nation, The News and The Daily Times.

Out of the numbers of Pakistani newspapers Dawn and The Daily Time, appear to be most accessible online, English language newspaper, Dawn is the oldest and most widely-read English newspaper in Pakistan. It is known to be a liberal leaning newspaper; that was founded by Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1941 at Delhi in India. While the Daily Times, was launched on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2002 which is simultaneously published from Lahor and Karachi. Having maximum readership, these two newspapers, provides extensive reporting on the Iraq war- 2003 in cyber world through their online publication.

In the event of Iraq war Pakistani print media give extensive and frequent reporting regarding various aspects of war therefore to make more objective and precise study, the chapter endorses to analysis various ways of represent of Iraq war, two aforementioned online Pakistani newspaper is selected to study. Chapter attempt to give precise description of prominent facts pertaining to Iraq- war and Pakistani media, make effort to find new facts, and finally, to reach an over all generalization. Moreover, chapter analysis that how medial space provide resistance in front of the authority that support war option in Iraq. To meet their proposed objective, chapter analysis simple statistics such as total publish news regarding to Iraq war that incorporate combined survey of front page, international, national , editorial and letters to the editors section of concern newspapers, further it scrutinize newspaper's editorial and letters to editorial space and finally, chapter observe, classify and interpret cartoon section of newspapers in various theme. Data of this chapter have been collected from online survey of Dawn and The Daily Time, websites; therefore this data may be considered as primary data.

## **Pakistani Print Media and Representation of Iraq War**

Pakistan, formally named as Islamic Republic of Pakistan, it is because state pursue a significant number of population with faith in Islam. It have been often said that people of Pakistan share religious and Islamic brotherhood with other Arab states. Therefore, print media's role at the time of Iraq war-2003, in Pakistani is subject to study thus to fulfill the demand, starting from the day of Azores summit of United Nation Security Council at Spain on 16<sup>th</sup> March to next ten days till the 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, is chosen to study of two online Pakistani newspaper per say.

Looking at the tables -9 and 10, Dawn newspaper on 16<sup>th</sup> March, published 18 news regarding the United States attempt to get legitimacy for the Iraq war while in the same day The Daily Times published around 26 news related to imminent war . Data shows the fact that maximum numbers of news related to Iraq war were publish on 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March, for instance on date of 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>, Dawn publish 23, 30 , 32 news respectively on the other hand for the same dates The Daily Times publish 17 , 24, 27 reports respectively as well. While drastically on 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March, Dawn published 43 and 41 news respectively, similarly, The Daily Time publishes 42 news on 22<sup>nd</sup> March. Actually Iraq war, began in 18<sup>th</sup> March but United States administration, mention it on 20<sup>th</sup>, therefore in reaction this, maximum numbers of reports were occurs in 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March.

According to the report published on 24<sup>th</sup> March in The Daily Times with title "Attack was 48 hours old when made public", elaborate that under the official war plan, designated "OPLAN 1003 V" and approved by the President, the war with Iraq had already begun. A little more than two hours earlier, at 1 p.m. Washington time, 31 Special Operations teams — about 300 men — began pouring into western and southern Iraq. Joining smaller contingents of US Special Forces and CIA paramilitaries already in Iraq". (24<sup>th</sup> March, the Daily Time). The special operation was conducted to sever communications, take down observation posts and to prevent Iraqi high command to use chemical or biological weapons, attack Israel with Scud missiles or destroy the country's oil fields. The plan proposed to 48-hour time for the special operators to carry out their missions before the official start of the war with massive air strikes against Baghdad and other cities. Soon afterward, the president was to announce the start of the air war, and conventional ground forces were to cross the Kuwait border into Iraq nine hours later. (24<sup>th</sup> March, the Daily Time). Thus both of the newspaper publishes higher numbers of news on 21<sup>st</sup> March in 48

hours late when Iraq already faces massive strike and observing casualty.

**Table-9**

Page and date wise distribution of reports on Iraq war-2003, In Dawn, Newspaper

Page Pertaining to the report	16 March	17 March	18 March	19 March	20 March	21 March	22 March	23 March	24 March	25 March	Total
Front Page	3	7	7	11	15	16	11	11	13	7	101
International	8	13	7	12	11	12	17	13	10	10	113
National	0	4	2	3	1	10	7	2	4	6	39
OP-ED	4	3	4	3	4	5	6	3	5	5	42
Letters to Editors	3	4	3	1	1	0	0	2	1	2	17
Total	18	31	23	30	32	43	41	31	33	30	312

Data for this table have collected from online survey of Dawn

**Table-10**

Page and date wise distribution of reports on Iraq war-2003, In The Daily Times, Newspaper

Page Pertaining to the report	16-Mar	17-Mar	18-Mar	19-Mar	20-Mar	21-Mar	22-Mar	23-Mar	24-Mar	25-Mar	Total
Front Page	2	1	2	3	3	7	8	5	4	6	41
International	10	10	8	12	10	9	13	14	14	10	110
National	8	2	2	5	7	18	10	11	12		75
OP-ED	5	3	3	4	5	5	4	3	4	5	41
Letters to Editors	1	3	2	0	2	3	2	3	1	5	22
Total	26	19	17	24	27	42	37	36	35	26	289

By looking at the another aspect, In their ten days course of coverage on the topic of Iraq war, including Front Page, International, National, Letter and Editorial Page, Dawn publishes total 312 reports and The Daily Times publish 289. This significant amount of reporting pertaining to sole issue( Iraq war), show serious concern of the Pakistani media, these reports were not publish

in vacuum but it show the common sentiment of Pakistani peoples that was against the Iraq war , out of the 312 reports that publish in Dawn , 98 reports was publish in front page , while international section attain highest number of reports within the ten days that is 105.

As per table -10, depicts that The Daily Times publish relatively less numbers of reports in front page that of Dawn, for instance it was 98, in Dawn's front page while it was less then half in The Daily Time that is 41. Surprisingly, almost similar number of reporting have been occur in international edition, but again unlike Dawn, The Daily Time, gives much representation to news related to war in national news section, it was 75 reports in against the Dawn that was only 39. Both of the news papers publish almost equal number of editorial reports in term of Iraq war that is 38 for Dawn and 41 for The Daily Times, in 21<sup>st</sup> March, both newspapers publish five editorial articles in each and make the war so vibrant in Pakistani print media space and influence readers to look into the matter. This also revile the fact that both of the online Pakistani newspaper represent similar amount of news regarding Iraq war but difference appear in terms of location of occurrence of news for insistence where the Dawn publish 98 news regarding Iraq war in front page while it is only 41 in the daily times. In international section both newspapers, publish one third of their total reports, moreover Dawn and The Daily Time give equal weight to the Iraq crises and published 105 and 110 report in their ten days of course respectively.

There are almost 17 letters were selected to publication, which not only reflect that widespread critic of war in throughout Pakistan but reviles that numbers of letters to editor was unpublished. It is very surprising that Dawn does not allow any single letter regarding Iraq war on 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March, even the same date paper themselves give extensive reporting regarding same topic. In their throughout coverage of ten days Dawn published 38 editorial articles, likewise The Daily Time, published 41 editorial regarding United States action on Iraq . Discuss about the main characteristic of news, those were published in National section of the newspapers, it is come into view that most of the reports in this section shows strong critics of Iraq war and narrate the stories of protest march, protest rally, protest demo and meetings against the United States and its allies by the people, organization, institution, civil society and political party for instance on 22<sup>nd</sup> March in National section of Dawn, Masood Haider's report cite that "1,800 arrested in US, 4 die in Yemen protests", in his report he comment that "over 1,800 were arrested in many US cities as the start of war in Iraq triggered one of the heaviest days of anti-government protesting in years, radio and TV reports here said. In San Francisco..... arrested more than 1,300 people on Thursday as a shifting mass of thousands of

anti-war protesters commandeered the streets and paralyzed the evening commute.” In his account, he further mention that in throughout Middle East, peoples were shouted anti-American slogans, tens of thousands of people took to the streets of cities across the Middle East after Friday prayers for a second day of demonstrations against the US-led invasion of Iraq. In addition he mentions that biggest protests were in the Yemeni capital Sanaa. Equally fiery rallies in support of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein were held in Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Sudan, Syria and in the West Bank. Narrating the scenario of the Arab streets Haider retrieve that “In the West Bank and Gaza Strip almost 30,000 Palestinians took to the streets many calling on Saddam to bomb Tel Aviv. In the Gaza Strip, 15,000 people protested in the refugee camps of Jabalya, Rafah and Khan Yunis while an Imam in Gaza City called for the “opening of the borders” for Arab volunteers to fight with the Iraqi army. In Nablus some 5,000 people marched through the streets after the Israeli army lifted the curfew for the day, chanting slogans such as “America, the mother of terrorism.” Palestinians also rallied in the refugee camps of Ain El-Helweh, in southern Lebanon, Yarmouk, near Damascus, and Wihdat, in Amman.”(Masood Haider, 22<sup>nd</sup> march 2003, Dawn).

**Table -11**

Table showing date wise, average numbers of reports at par page in two leading online newspapers The Daily Times and Dawn

Dates	Total numbers of reports in publish The Dawn	Average numbers of reports at par page in The Dawn	Total numbers of reports publish in The Daily Times	Average numbers of reports at par page in The Daily Times	Combined total of reports in The Dawn and The Daily Times	Combined Average of reports at per page in The Daily Times & The Dawn
16 March	18	3.6	26	5.2	44	4.4
17 March	31	6.2	19	3.8	50	5
18 March	23	4.6	17	3.4	40	4
19 March	30	6	24	4.8	54	5.4
20 March	32	6.4	27	5.4	59	5.9
21 March	43	8.6	42	8.4	85	8.5
22 March	41	8.2	37	7.4	78	7.8
23 March	31	6.2	36	7.2	67	6.7
24 March	33	6.6	35	7	68	6.8
25 March	30	6	26	5.2	56	5.6

For detail, see tables -9, table-10 and appendix-1

To achieve an objective analysis, some statistics techniques have been applied on the collected data such as the average numbers of reports per page to be calculated with the help of following techniques. To find the total numbers of reports published in Dawn newspaper on the 16<sup>th</sup> March, sum of the reports published under the various sections (pages) of the newspaper on the same date is taken under consideration for example-- in table - 9, to find total numbers of reports regarding Iraq war for 16<sup>th</sup> March, sum of the reports that published in front page that is 3, international page-8, national- 0, editorial - 3, and letters to the editors -4, having total of 18 reports. Then to find average numbers of reports it has been divided from total numbers of pages that is -5, including, front page, international, national, editorial and letters to editorial, after applying this simple statistic, result can be interpreted from the table -11 which shows that on 16<sup>th</sup> March, Dawn published 3.6 reports regarding Iraq war on per page, for the same day, The Daily Times published 5.2 reports. Going further, it has been appeared that on 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> March, The Daily Times published 3.8 and 3.4, reports per page respectively, while for the same dates Dawn's performance was relatively better by publishing 4.2 and 4.4 reports respectively, here one can say that both of the news papers show gradual decline in the average reporting for 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> March. Taking under consideration 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March, it was the time when United States already declared war against Saddam's regime, apparently highest number of reporting have been recorded in these two days. The Dawn published 8.6 reports per page on 21<sup>st</sup> March, and 8.2 reports on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, in the same way, observing intensity of the issue the Daily Times also published 8.4 and 7.4 reports respectively for the same dates. This sudden increase in the reporting can be interpreted as the resistive acts of the newspapers against the United States action on Iraq, The Daily Times and Dawn collectively increased their numbers of reporting and on the 21<sup>st</sup> March, when it was declared that United States, invaded Iraq, consequently highest number of reports appeared in combined analysis that was 8.5 per page. Till the 25<sup>th</sup> March, numbers of reports per page remarkably significant such as 7.8, 6.7, 6.8 and 5.6 on the dates of 22<sup>nd</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> March respectively. Studying the combined average of reports per page in The Daily Times & Dawn, it has been appeared that frequency of the reporting has been increased with increase in threat to war in Iraq, starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> March, newspapers intensively increased numbers of articles pertaining to United States and Iraq war and tried to convince every section of society that impending war against Iraq is a threat to the collective peace and stability. Increased frequency of reports on the duration of 19<sup>th</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> March 2003, per page, it is metaphorically conceived as a voice of resistance against Iraq war, this voice gradually became more and more loud as United States proceeded to achieve its goal of war.

**Table -12**

Table Shows Topics Wise Coverage of Reports From 16<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, in Dawn & The Daily Times in percentage

Report on Iraq war with topic	Total numbers of reports in the Daily times	Total numbers of reports in The Dawn	Combined total of reports	Cumulative % of Combined reports
Comment and commentary on Official Pakistani Gove. Statement	7	12	19	4.05
Official U.S Gove. Statement	12	24	36	7.68
Description on war zone	25	38	63	13.43
Critic of war by Pakistani peoples, institutions etc.	93	71	164	34.96
Critic of war by rest of the world	33	77	110	24.45
Effect of war in Pakistan and its bilateral relation with U.S	11	66	77	16.41
Total	181	288	469	100.1

For detail see appendix - 2

At the time of war Pakistani print media publish numbers of news regarding Iraq war in verity of topics such as reaction of various organization, effect of war over various international and national institutions, effect of war over bilateral relation of Pakistan with United Sates and other Arab states , critics of war and news related to war zone etc... therefore to make the study more precise, total published news regarding Iraq war, have been classified in five topics, as it displayed in table -12, these classified categories are, Official Pakistani Government Statements, Official United States Government Statements, Critic of war by Pakistani peoples, institutions, organization, and civil societies etc, Critic of war by rest of the world and finally Effect of war in Pakistan and its bilateral relation with United States. Considering the above categories it have been appears that maximum numbers of news were represent critic of war by Pakistani institution, having total 164, it shows that out of the total published news around 34 percent news sharply represent critic of war, while the another category critics of war by rest of the world represent second most highest that is around 24 percent, it shows that these two newspapers function as prominent outlet of protest, against the United States imminent

aggression towards Iraq. The news related to Iraq war was published in great numbers. The Dawn newspaper, express list of the states against the war, report on 12th March in Dawn newspaper, with titled “World condemns invasion, fears or civilians”. In this report French President Jacques Chirac were quoted by saying, “France regrets this action undertaken without the approval of the United Nations”. Russian, President Vladimir Putin described the US-led offensive as a “serious political mistake”. China, a UN Security Council permanent member also opposed to war, appealed to the “relevant countries to stop the use of military force.” Mexico, a Security Council member heavily solicited for support during the UN diplomatic drive, came down against its northern neighbor, with President Vicente Fox stating: “We are against the war.” In Beirut, Lebanese President Emile Lahoud warned: “We see this aggression today plunging the world into a tunnel where one cannot see the end.” Acting Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi said the war would have devastating consequences, warning “anti-American sentiment around the world will rise, as will extremism and militancy.”

**Table -13**

Topic Wise Publication of Articles in Editorial Section from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, March in Dawn & The Daily Times in Percentage

Topics of the Published Articles	Topics wise Published Articles in Dawn's editorial	Topic wise expression of Articles in Dawn's editorial in percentage	Topics wise Published Articles in The Daily Times editorial	Topic wise expression of Articles in The Daily Times editorial in percentage	Combine d numbers of articles	Topic wise expression of Cumulative numbers in percentage
U. S Gove. critic	21	29.17	27	36.49	48	32.88
U. S Ally critic	4	5.56	2	2.70	6	4.11
U. N critic	2	2.77	2	2.70	4	2.74
U. S Pak relation regarding war	7	9.72	9	12.16	16	10.96
Discussion on Pak Gove. Stance on war	4	5.56	2	2.70	6	4.11
Articles not related to war	34	44.44	28	37.82	62	42.47
Critic of India	0	00	4	5.40	4	2.74
Total publish	72		74		146	

For detail see appendix -3, appendix-4 and appendix-5



It has been clear that in the Pakistani print media, United States face extensive criticism for its Iraq policy, this enormous number of critics in table-12 & table-13 is an outcome of the aforementioned ten days study of front page, national page, international page, editorial and letters to editorials, therefore to reach at more precise level or to make study more objective it is essential that there must be further classification of news and thereafter proper description of outcome, for this again, the duration of ten days from 16<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March, Opinion-Editorial page and Letters to the editorials page have analysed. Again applying similar method of Table- 12, the total numbers of articles published in classified topic in both Dawn and The Daily Time is made combined and their respective percentage have calculated and outcome of calculate percentage have interpreted from table 13 and table 14.

In editorial page, out of the 146 published articles, 62 articles were not related to war, it means approximately 42 percent articles were not related to war, but very interestingly 48 articles that scores around 32 percent, represent critics of United States regarding Iraq war, while only 4 percent articles criticize United States ally such as Britain, Spain and Israel. 10 percent articles were simply describe United States and Pakistan relation, but surprisingly only 2.74 percent articles were published pertaining on United Nations critic and Pakistani government stance on war. It is surprising because, as we see in tables that various institutions in Pakistan and the world were equally critic United States with United Nation, to fail for achieve its principal goal that is world peace but unfortunately out of the 146 articles only 4 articles give critic to the United Nation, similarly only 6 articles, is discussed Pakistani government's stance regarding war.

Looking at Table 14 it has been appear that there are total 179 letters have been published within the period of ten days from 16<sup>th</sup> March to 25<sup>th</sup> March, these letters were examined variety of issues with respect of Iraq war such as United States and its allies critics, critics of United Nation and the letters that giving comment on Pakistan Government Stance on Iraq war. Describing these letters to editorial, it is very clear that out of the 179 published letters, 31 letters is sharply critical to United States's aggression that is approximately 17 percent, about 3.35 percent letters criticise United Nation.

**Table 14**

Table shows range of topics appear in the Letters to Editor Section of The Daily Times newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,

Articles with topic	Topics wise Published Letters in Dawn's	Topics wise Published Letters The Daily Times	Cumulative number of total letters	Topic wise expression of Cumulative numbers in parentage	Topic wise expression of Cumulative numbers in parentage
U.S Gove. Critic	17	14	31	17.32	17.32
U.S Ally critic	1	0	1	0.56	0.56
U.N critic	3	3	6	3.35	3.35
U.S Pak relation regarding war	3	1	4	2.23	2.23
Pak Gove. Stance on war	1	0	1	0.56	0.56
Letter not related to war	104	32	136	75.95	75.95
Total publish	129	50	179		

For detail see appendix -6, appendix-7 and appendix-8

On 25<sup>th</sup> March in Dawn, a brilliant letter was publish with the title "UN Security Council's duty", in this letter, writer Mr. Naeem Sadiq, wrote "The entire world clearly understands that the war on Iraq has been motivated by American greed to boost its oil-run economy and its military and political power. Iraq has never acted in any manner that may be construed as an act of aggression or even a threat to the security of the United States. On the contrary, the United States of America and Britain are guilty of launching an unjust, illegal and immoral war against Iraq, a member state of the United Nations. This completely unprovoked act of aggression is a blatant violation of Article 2 of the UN charter, and has not been authorized by the UN Security Council, as clearly stated by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. The United Nations charter requires such cases of crimes against humanity to be referred to the International Criminal Court (ICC) for investigation and prosecution. It is, therefore, a moral and legal responsibility of the UN Security Council to formally declare the illegality of the war against Iraq and to refer the following names to the ICC for immediate trial and prosecution for their crime of aggression and genocide of thousands of innocent Iraqi people: President George W. Bush, Vice President Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Colin Powell, Condoleeza Rice and UK's Prime Minister Tony Blair." (25<sup>th</sup> March 2003 in Dawn, Online edition)

Mr. Naeem Sadiq, in this article not only criticising United States to its war policy but the same

time also direct the United Nation to perform its duty to give justice to the victims by punishing aggressors. Expressing vary directly Sadiq considered this war as an unjust, illegal and immoral.

Again, phenomenally, 0.56 percent or only one letter is selected that sharply comment over Pakistani government's stance relates to Iraq war, in his letter dated 17 Marches 2003, in Dawn, Mr. M. Haider from New Jersey, USA, wrote "For Pakistan, the honor of being elected as a rotating member of the United Nations Security Council has come at the most inopportune time. Whichever way the government decides to vote on the upcoming resolution pertaining to Iraq, the consequences are likely to be negative for the country. Pakistan cannot quietly acquiesce to the wishes of the United States. The world-wide protests against the war are motivated by the simple logic that no matter how evil Saddam Hussein may be and is, the precedent of settling disputes by unilateral involvement of force should not be set. In other words, Pakistan cannot vote 'no' on the US-sponsored resolution in pragmatic consideration of the consequences of such a step and the realization that the war will be waged regardless. On the other hand, it cannot vote 'yes' for its moral implications. The most prudent course for Pakistan ought to be to abstain." (17 Marches 2003, Dawn)

This only letter, shows not only people of Pakistan was aware about issue related to Pakistani government stance in Pakistan but peoples of other parts of the world also concern about this issue, it was quite obvious that might most of the letter writer pertaining to this issue could not publish due to some invisible pressure.

### **Representation of Iraq War in Newspapers Cartoons**

It have been said that political cartoon express personal subjective perceptions of cartoonist about the realty but certainly one could not refuse that it portrait prevailing common sentiments. In newspapers, political images express prevalent fears about geopolitical threats and dangers; satirical cartoons question dominant power relations and knowledge; cartoonists even contest dominant representations of political affairs, such as Steve Bell's antigeopolitical eye in his depiction of the Falklands War (Dodds 1996). Cartoons are expected to be effective tools to challenge the foreign policy of a regime (Falah, Flint, and Mamadouh, 2010, p. no-152,153).

In this section political cartoons of the aforementioned newspaper Dawn and The Daily Times, have been consider to analysis from 16<sup>th</sup> March to 12<sup>th</sup> April 2003. In duration of 27 days the Dawn portrayed 27 cartoons regarding the Iraq war while The Daly Times published 34

cartoons. Both newspapers combinedly published 61 cartoons, these all cartoons were typically portrait critic of the war, by criticising of the United States, the United Nation and to the Pakistani Government. For the academic convenience these critical expressions of the cartoons have been classified and thereafter described in following themes such as, Politics of hypocrisy, Materialistic power politics, Double standards toward the UN and international law, New Colonial of 21<sup>st</sup> century, Hegemonic power practice.

### **Politics of Hypocrisy**

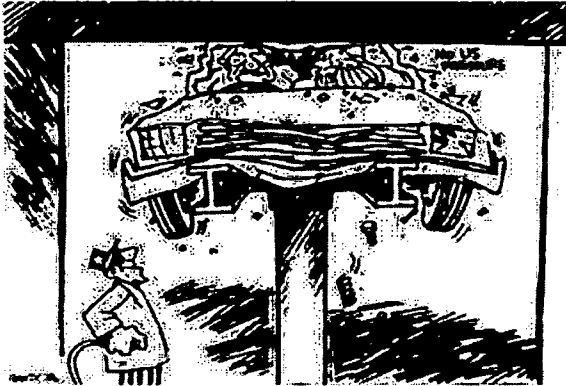
At the time of Iraq war Pakistani government have face enormous pressure not only to being a traditional ally of United States but due to it domestic politics because on the one side United States, forced Pakistan to cast its vote in favor of their resolution in United Nation Security Council to get legitimacy and on the side numbers of Pakistani peoples associated with various institution share Islamic brotherhood with Iraq therefore profoundly antagonist about war option and making instability in Iraq. Thus succumb to the pressure of these internal and external force Pakistan itself absence at the time of voting on United States resolution of Iraq war, in Azores summit at Spain. In their further demand United States insists to the Pakistan to give them military air base to air strike on Iraq thus Pakistani government find themselves in dilemma. Moreover Pakistan did not clear their stance regarding Iraq war, till 21 March, 2003, the report publish with title "Pakistan deplores military action: Call to preserve Iraq's sovereignty" on 21 March, quoted Foreign Minister Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri by saying "Pakistan deplores the initiation of military action against Iraq," This quotation clearly shows prevailing dilemma in Pakistani government, therefore cartoon number -1 is portrait that President Pervez Musharraf and Zafarullah Khan Jamali, then Prime Minister, sitting in a car bearing immense pressure from Uncle Sam like character. Both of the Pakistani representatives, even not able to reply or prevent him (Uncle Sam) to stop doing so.

In cartoon number -2 one minor Arab child standing in front of the Pakistani embassy probably come to observe Pakistani government stance on issue of Iraq war. But child find that Pakistani office bearer have shut down their embassy and running away hence child is laughing over them. The same time, cartoon also portrait that due to the existing pressure and politics of Hypocrisy Pakistani government even not manage to give response to anyone.

In cartoon number-3, like the cartoon number -2 Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali sprinting away from United States visit, one can observe expression of fear on his face, this is

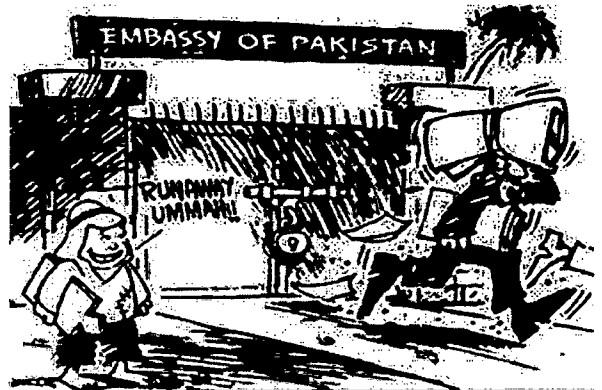
because he did not want to meet United State President Bush, and after it he will be responsible to give reply to ordinary citizen of Pakistan about their visit. Thus all three cartoon that illustrated here silently give message that at the time of Iraq war Pakistani government show politics of hypocrisy.

Cartoon Number -1



17 March 2003, Daily Times,

Cartoon Number-2



19 March 2003, Daily Times

Cartoon Number -3



23 March 2003, Daily Times,

## Materialistic power politics

Like the Arab media as mention earlier in chapter two Pakistani media also conceive Iraq war as a war for the material interest in which United States desire to control Iraq's oil fields, to fulfill the demand of its oil based economy. There are four cartons in this theme to be discuses, in cartoon number -4, representatives of United States and Britain belong to cooperate lobby of

both contrary putting their greedy eye over the Iraq's oil fields to exploit, cartoon also show despite due to the anthropogenic cause these oil field is suffering great damage and sustain loss although these greedy representatives observing it as a positive and prospours sign to gain economic profit out of regardless thousand of innocent peoples were die in the aggression. While cartoon number -5 is highly critical to United States, in this cartoon president Bush caring an hunter strip and force them to position as stairs so that he will able reach to oil drums and after reached near the oil drums Bush starting beating, to same peoples who help him to reach to the oil drums . It shows that United States will not tolerate anybody in the path of his material interest and for their interest it can leave its ally as well.

Cartoon Number- 4



31 March 2003, Dawn

Cartoon Number -5



4 April 2003, Dawn

Cartoon Number -6 portraits that some United States army person rising the oil pipe to pump-up oil from the Iraq land but between the oil pipe and the land having a resistance in the form of Saddam Hussain, thus to pump up the oil it is essential for the invaders to remove resistance from their path.

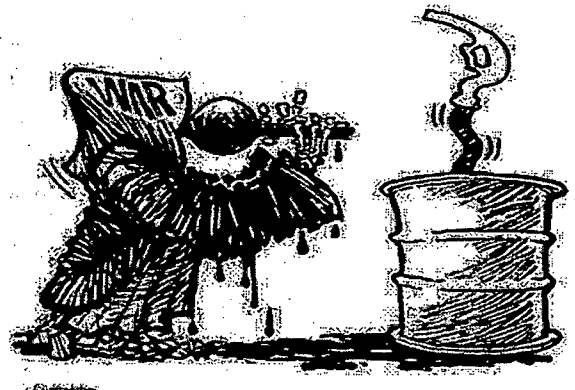
In cartoon number -7 a skeleton like human body carrying the lode of war to reach at oil drum. Showing nothing is left due to the prolong war. In contrast of this an oil feeder pipe raising from the oil drum and making the symbol of question mark ( “?” ), and questioning from the proponents of the war what you will get out of it since you have kill the humanity?

Cartoon Number- 6



5 April 2003 Dawn

Cartoon Number -7



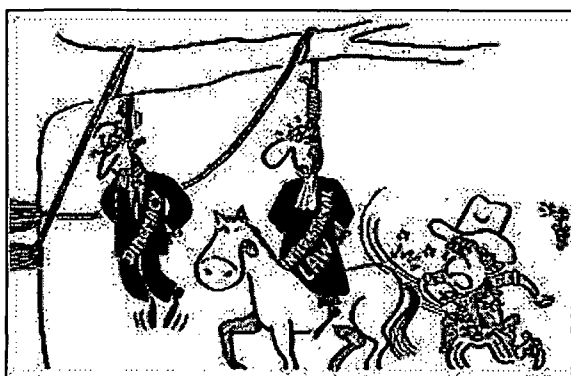
18 March 2003, The Daily Time

### **Double Standards toward the U.N and International Law**

This theme is brought from the study of the work of Falah, Flint, and Mamadouh, in 2010, on Arab media, the reason to bring this theme over here is that Pakistani media in their cartoon section, depict some cartoon that portraits United Nation as the weak organisation, since United States violates its law and at the same time consider it an ultimate institution to maintain world peace. In cartoon number -8, United States President, George Bush, shown the cowboy, how already killed the democracy, and with the same rope, now trying to kill international laws. Drawing show the united state does not take care to the international law, because it is constitute for the weak, small and economically backward state not for the hegemonic state that certainly United States.

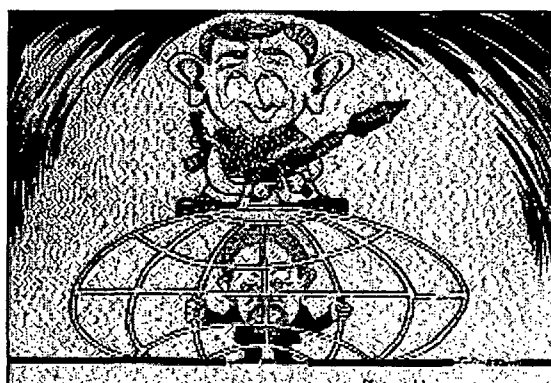
In cartoon number -9, Bush seating over the globe and inside the globe United Nation, Head Kofi Annan, and seem like the prisoner who can not resist against the Bush. In this cartoon Bush is carrying a rocket launches to silent, protest of the Kofi Annan. This portrait show United States what to control this international institution and this can be only possible when he will not kill but keep him alive so that he will be able to sit on the top of it and be able to manipulate it for self interest. The same inferior condition of the United Nation and Kofi Annan can be see in the cartoon number 10, cartoon depicts that Annan writing on its back side "Help Iraq" so that no one will be able to see him writing this, it shows that not only Pakistan but United Nation is also succumb under pressure of the United States.

Cartoon number-8



March 20, 2003

Cartoon Number-9



22 march 2003, Dawn

Cartoon number -11 show , United Nation as an hollow man, main characteristic of hollowness is that it shows emptiness of the space, while within a solid substance it shows excavated area, therefore Unites Nation assumed here as a organisation which seem be large and powerful but in really it is weak from the inside. This hollow United Nation appearing here as a healthy man how always show their power against politically week states not in front of the United Stated. While cartoon number -12 depict that a United States soldier showing a prisoner of war (POW,) in the Iraqi Television (T.V) and arguing that if one have doubt that United States army violating Geneva convention so they can clarify there doubt. Behind the soldier one minor child is laying give message that those are survive in massive attack and talking to the reporters they are lucky otherwise there were also killed. Cartoon gives silent message that at the time of war there were violation of Geneva Convention happened.

Cartoon Number -10



2 April 2003, Dawn

Cartoon Number -11



20 March 2003, The Daily Timed

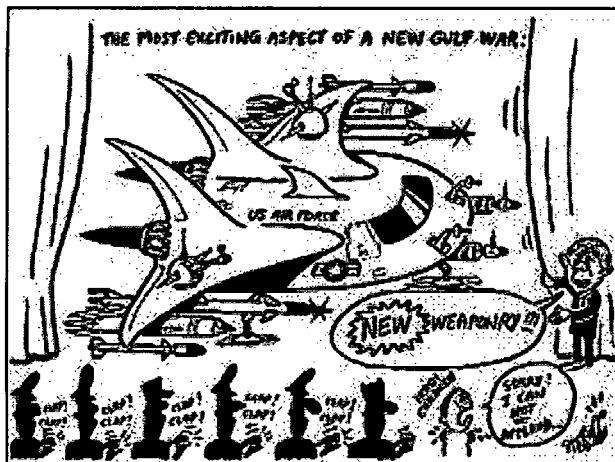


Cartoon Number -12



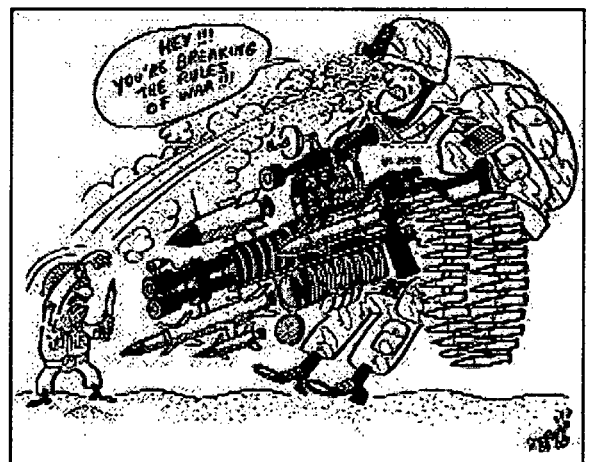
27 March, The Daily Times

Cartoon Number-13



16 March 2003, Dawn

Cartoon Number-14



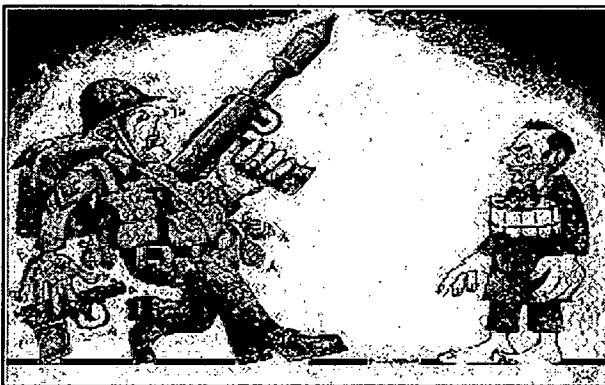
28 March 2003, Dawn

**New Colonial of 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Cartoons under this section depict that United States is a new colonist of the 21<sup>st</sup> century since they conducting aggression for the materialistic interest, not following honorable international laws and applying new sophisticated weaponry technology over third world country. In following cartoons commonly United State portrait as the new colonial because, United States itself using well sophisticated weaponry in against the Iraq for annex its territory in the name of threat to its security. Cartoon number -13 , shows that United sates president removing the cover and showing the new weaponry assembling with air force fighter jet that will proposed to be comes under use in 2003 gulf war or Iraq war. In this cartoon Bush is also showing that no one can challenge United States to achieve its extraterritorial goal. While in cartoon number

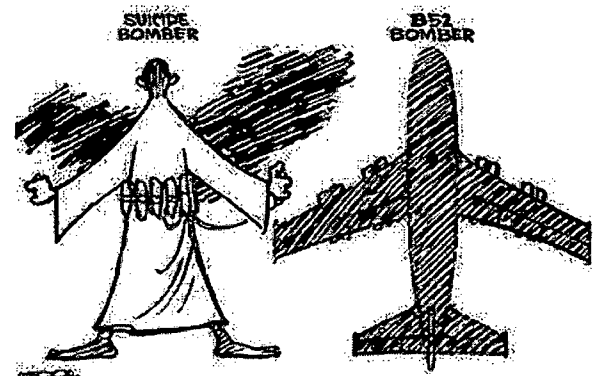
-14 a United States soldier carrying weapons and forcefully entering in the Iraq territory and here one can be conceive United States as a new colonial. On the other part in the same cartoon an Iraq soldier carrying a knife still arguing with United Sates soldier that you are violating the rules of war since you are brutally killing the people in the war as happened to practice Dark Age. Moreover cartoon number -15 and 16, depicts that United States is new colonist of the 21<sup>st</sup> century since it applying new methods of mass murdering with the help of its powerful technology over Iraq and other state of Arab World therefore in the lack of weapons these peoples resist this attempt to their own way, resistance against this colonial aggression can be see as the suicide bomber.

Cartoon Number- 15



1 April 2003, Dawn

Cartoon Number-16



1 April 2003, the Daily Timed

### Conclusion

From this study it has been observe that the role of media has always been creating impacts on life of the peoples and this can be prove by study of the Pakistani print media. In Pakistan, print media play as mobilizing force for change, it serve as an outlet of information , debate , discussion, resistance and representation at the time of Iraq war. By conducting above study it is very clear that the representation of Iraq war in Pakistani media is seem to be widespread but media actually leave some issues such as government stance regarding Iraq war. Whoever cartoon section of same newspapers not only portrait massive critic of United States to invasion in Iraq but slightly less criticize Pakistani government to not taking stance against the aggressor and this can be understand by viewing politics of hypocrisy section of the chapter. In following chapter competitive study of Indian and Pakistani print will take place than overall result would be come from the above study.

## **Chapter -4**

### **Representation of Iraq war in Indian Media**

The media as a whole considered to be fourth pillar of democracy in India, it conceive a core powerful force in Indian societies. Media in India started with the print media and today India is second largest consumers of newspaper in the world. The print media in India dates back to 1780, when first Indian newspaper started in Calcutta known as Bengal Gazette by 'James Augustus Hickey – Father of Indian Press'. The first newspaper in Indian language was printed in 1818 with the publication of 'Samachar Darpan' in Bengali. Till the independence of India, media face self censorship but after the independence from the British role, need of freedom of speech and expression was well accepted by civil society of India and such freedom was also declared by Supreme Court way back in 1950 when the Constitution of India was just operative and the Supreme Court of India started functioning. Thus the Indian constitution gives guarantee of freedom of expression to India media and every individual. Media in India enjoying their constitutional right of freedom of speech and expression, shaping values and norms, moulding attitudes and behaviour, and influencing the very process, of living. As a sub part of the media, the print media today become omnipresent space and publish variety of news. Growing educated population of India demands description of national and international events therefore working accordingly this demand, it is responsibility of print media to publish real and accurate reporting on any issue concerning its gravity of intranet of the peoples. Thus to fulfill this demand, at the time of Iraq war, Indian media played a significant role to disseminate the news relates to war and publish different perspective by the variety of scholars. These published news represented Iraq war in their own ways. Concerning the demand of this chapter, major newspapers have been examined and make convenient and objective to this chapter, two online Indian newspapers taken for analysis, and get to know how these newspapers, The Hindu and the Telegraph, represent the Iraq war. The Hindu, started in 1878 as a weekly, became a daily in 1889 and from then it gradually growing to the circulation of 14, 66,304 copies (ABC: July-December 2009) and a readership of about 4.06 million. The Hindu's independent editorial stand and balanced presentation appreciable not only among the Indian intellectuals but abroad also. ([www.thehindu.com](http://www.thehindu.com)).

While The Telegraph was launched on the 7th July, 1982, published by the ABP group of publications. The Telegraph in this short period of time of 26 years has become the largest circulated English daily in the most densely populated eastern region that published from Calcutta. It is claims that Telegraph is the only English newspaper launched in post independent India which has overtaken the established market leader in the region ([www.telegraphindia.com](http://www.telegraphindia.com)).

Similarly as third chapter, this chapter analysis various ways of represent of Iraq war as well, chapter attempt to give precise description of prominent facts pertaining to Iraq- war and that have been appease in online editions of The Hindu and The Telegraph. Moreover, chapter also analysis that how these newspapers use their reporting to put resistance in front of them who support war option in Iraq. To meet their proposed objective, chapter take under consideration of simple statistics such as combined average of topics wise total publish news, further it examine newspaper's editorial and letters to editorial section and finally, it , classify published cartoons of The Hindu and then interpreted cartoons according to theme. Here one thing is to noted that The Telegraph newspaper did not publish cartoons at the time of Iraq war therefore study of cartoon section is only deal with cartoons that have been publish in The Hindu newspaper. The description of these two newspaper's representation of Iraq War is as follow.

### **Indian Print Media and Representation of Iraq War**

As mention above at the time of Iraq war, Indian newspapers disseminated numbers of news relates to war and publish different perspective by the variety of scholar. Like the Pakistani newspapers, Indian newspapers also publishes frequent reporting regarding various aspects of war such as critics of the United States, United Nation, and perspective of the various scholars therefore to analysis these variety of reporting and to fulfill proposed objective of this research study, aging simple statistics like the third chapter such as total publish news regarding Iraq war that incorporate combined survey of front page, international, national , editorial and letters to the editors section, have been apply. Like third chapter, data for this chapter also, have been collected from online survey of The Hindu and The Telegraph's, websites; therefore this data may be considered as primary data. Starting from the day of Azores summit of United Nation Security Council at Spain on 16<sup>th</sup> March to next ten days till the 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, is chosen to study of two aforementioned online Indian newspaper , interpretation of collected data is as follow.

**Table-15**  
Page and date wise distribution of reports on Iraq war-2003, In The Hindu, Newspaper

Page Pertaining to the report	16 March	17 March	18 March	19 March	20 March	21 March	22 March	23 March	24 March	25 March
Front Page	0	1	5	6	6	4	4	4	2	2
International	5	3	5	11	12	16	10	7	7	5
National	1	11	1	0	2	4	5	7	3	4
Ed-OP	0	1	1	2	4	3	2	7	2	3
Letters to Editors	0	0	0	4	4	4	6	0	4	3
Total	6	16	12	23	28	31	27	25	18	17

Starting from the table -15 and 16, The Hindu on 17<sup>th</sup> March, published 16 reports regarding the United States attempt to get legitimacy of Iraq war while in the same day The Telegraph published almost equal numbers of news that around 17 news, it shows that after Azores summit of United Nation Security Council at Spain on 16<sup>th</sup> March, there is sudden increase in reporting pertaining to Iraq issue and this can be substantiate to further viewing the tables. Maximum numbers of reports related to Iraq war were publish on 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March, for instance on date of 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>, The Hindu publish 12, 23 and 28 news respectively on the other hand for the same dates The Telegraph publish 8, 0 and 10 reports (on the Date 18<sup>th</sup> March 2003 the Calcutta office of newspaper was closed therefore data is not available (NA)) respectively as well. While suddenly on 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March The Hindu publish 31 and 27 news respectively but unlikely The Telegraph publishes relatively low numbers of reports, which is 13 and 20 respectively. In the period of ten days The Hindu comparatively publish almost double numbers of reports regarding Iraq war that is 203 reports that of The Telegraph that 125.

**Table-16**

Page and date wise distribution of reports on Iraq war-2003, In The Telegraph Newspaper

Page Pertaining to the report	16 March	17 March	18 March	19 March	20 March	21 March	22 March	23 March	24 March	25 March	Total
Front Page	1	1	1	N.A	1	3	4	3	2	4	20
International	2	6	4	N.A	5	4	15	11	11	9	67
National	2	2	0	NA	1	4	1	3	3	0	16
Ed-OP	2	0	2	NA	3	2	0	0	2	0	11
Letters to Editors	0	8	1	NA	0	0	0	0	1	1	11
Total	7	17	8	NA	10	13	20	17	19	14	125

Talking about the other aspects of the tables-16, it have appears that on the front page The Hindu published 34 reports whereas giving less weight to Iraq war and its relative issue The Telegraph publish published 20 reports. According to characteristic of the front page both of the newspapers publish various statements and stance of government, political parties, organisation, and individuals in reactions of the current crises of Iraq. In front page on 17<sup>th</sup> March The Hindu publish a report with title "Opposition 'kept in the dark' on talks with Bush" in this report Senior Congress leaders have accused the Prime Minister, A.B.Vajpayee, of maintaining a covering of secrecy on his telephonic talk with the U.S. President, George W. Bush, in the recent past on Iraq, the report quoted Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, then, Congress Working Committee member, by saying "he had probably made some concessions to them, keeping us in the dark." In the same date, in next news giving more space to news related to war the Hindu, cited Communist Party of India (Marxist) politburo member, Sitaram Yechury, by accusing the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) Government at the Centre of pursuing a "subservient attitude towards the U.S." this report asked government to take a clear stand on the issue of war on Iraq. In this report Sitaram Yechury comment "The Vajpayee Government has said it would adopt a middle path. But there cannot be one in case of a war. Either you have to be in favour of it or against it,".

While in March 22<sup>nd</sup>, The Telegraph on it front page mention that India has refused to declare

three Iraqi diplomats in the embassy despite a United States request to expel them. Giving further reporting on war issue on the same date The Telegraph, published one bold report that proclaim the government stance on Iraq war, this report published under the title "Govt & Opposition split between 'deplore' & 'condemn'". These reports clearly mention that "The Opposition refused to adopt a three-line resolution proposed by the government as it did not contain the word "condemn". The Centre, which went with terms like "deplore" and "anguish", rejected the charge that it was hesitating to condemn the United States action". Thus it has appeared that at the time of war the Hindu gives more representation to newspapers related to the protest and critic against it than that of The Telegraph, while The Telegraph itself publishes significantly less numbers of news but some published news was really critical and questionable to Indian government in respect of its stance. Thus as far as front page is concerned the Indian print media not only publishes reports regarding war zone and other state's perspective on this event, but equally Indian government stance also.

In international page as well, The Telegraph publishes 67 reports while The Hindu publishes slightly higher numbers of news by achieving 81 reports on its international page. Vaiju Narayane in this report on 25<sup>th</sup> March in The Hindu, with title "France rejects U.S. plea", mentions that "In pursuance of its tough anti-war policies, France has rejected calls by Washington to expel Iraqi diplomats in Paris. It has also refused to freeze Iraqi assets in France." Further he elaborates that at the time of war French President, Jacques Chirac, opposed all efforts by the U.S. and Britain to legitimise the war. Moreover reports were also pointing out that Mr. Chirac challenges the U. S., the more his popularity appears to rise, Vaiju's argument was based on a poll that was conducted during the time of war and indicates Mr Chirac's popularity has touched 80 per cent, up from 74 per cent last week.

The Hindu publishes significant numbers of news in their National page in its ten days course of reporting on Iraq war, it has published 38 reports on war, while again The Telegraph attains less relatively less numbers of news by scoring 16 in duration of ten days. In national page reports were generally showed protest demos and protest meetings against the Iraq war for instance report appears on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, describes that by taking a position in behalf of Congress Party Natwar Singh then, head of the AICC's foreign affairs department cited "What the United States and its allies are doing is condemnable". Thus by publishing considerable numbers of news in its different pages including national, editorial and letters to editor section

these newspapers consider Iraq war on of the significant even that could be narrate in newspaper space.

**Table -17**

Table showing date wise, average numbers of reports at per page in online The Hindu & The Telegraph

Dates	Total numbers of reports in publish The Hindu	Average numbers of reports at per page in The Hindu	Total numbers of reports publish in The Telegraph	Average numbers of reports at per page in Telegraph	Combined total of reports in The Hindu & The Telegraph	Combined Average of reports at per page in The Hindu & The Telegraph
16 March	5	1	3	0.6	8	0.8
17 March	8	1.2	12	2.4	20	2.0
18 March	12	2.4	6	1.2	18	1.8
19 March	23	4.6	NA	NA	23	2.3
20 March	21	4.2	7	1.4	28	2.8
21 March	26	5.2	13	2.6	39	3.9
22 March	17	3.4	13	2.6	30	3.0
23 March	21	4.2	15	3	36	3.6
24 March	14	2.8	14	2.8	28	2.8
25 March	12	2.4	11	2.2	23	2.3

For detail, see tables -15, table-16 and appendix-9

By studying date wise, average numbers of reports at per page in already surveyed newspapers it have been observe from the table -17, that in 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> March the Hindu publish 1, 1.2 and 2.4 reports at per page respectively, whereas after the 18<sup>th</sup> March boom in reporting were occur, in this respect on 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> March highest number of reporting has been registered that was 4.6, 4.2 and 5.2 reports at per page respectively, while for the same dates such as on 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> March The Telegraph published almost similar numbers of reporting with The Hindu, but difference crop up for the dates of 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> March when The Telegraph publish, 1.4, and 2.6 reports at per page for the dates of 16<sup>th</sup> March and 18<sup>th</sup> March respectively respectively. This shows that The Telegraph give less representation to news related to Iraq war, moreover this low numbers of reporting have been happen to be existence at that time when it was clearly mention that United States, acted as the aggressor.



There may be various theoretical explanation of this phenomena but it seem to somehow regional and readership related cause for this low number of reporting on the issue of Iraq war that have be elaborate letter in this chapter.

Meanwhile if we see combined average of reports at per page in The Hindu and The Telegraph on 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>th</sup> March, from the table -17, it can be interpret that the combined average for these date is 0.8, 2.0 and 1.8 respectively, but it have been come into view that due to the low performance of The Telegraph, in its individual representation of reports at per page, the combined average almost show distorted representation of reports at per page as we take into consideration further dates for instance on the dates of 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>th</sup> March the combined average is 2.3, 2.3, and 3.9 whereas for the same date The Hindu publish 4.6, 4.2 and 5.2 reports at par page, it show that combined average express only half of the numbers of reporting that of The Hindu.

**Table 18**

Table shows topics wise average of reports from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, in The Hindu & The Telegraph

Report on Iraq war with topic	Total numbers of reports in the The Hindu	Total numbers of reports in The Telegraph	Combined total of reports	Cumulative % of Combined reports
Comment and commentary on Official Indian Gove. Statement/stance	9	5	14	5.53
Official U.S Gove. Statement	14	11	25	9.88
Description on war zone	25	27	52	20.55
Critic of war by Indian peoples, institutions etc.	34	16	50	19.76
Critic of war by rest of the world	57	13	70	27.67
Reporting on effect of war in Indian and its bilateral relation with U.S	20	22	42	16.66
Total	159	94	253	100.

For detail see appendix -10

As it been mentioned earlier that like the Pakistani news paper the Indian news papers also publish numbers of reporting regarding Iraq war by covering various aspects of war hence it is very necessary to classify this wide range of reporting in some precise topics therefore to the

academic convenience these topics of the reports can be view such as official Indian government statements, official United States government statements, description on war zone, critic of war by Indian peoples, institutions etc., Critic of war by rest of the world and finally reporting that discuss effect of war in Indian and its bilateral relation with U.S. Thus the table-18 shows topics wise average of reports from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, in The Hindu & The Telegraph.

The table -18 has shows that maximum number of reporting have been occurs on the topic of United States critic. Reports that discussed and give comment about the Indian government stance on Iraq war, attain only 5.53 percent of total publish reports, in this percentage The Hindu share 9 reports while share of The Telegraph almost half it that is 5 reports . Some of the report were very prominent among all publish repots such as writing about the Indian Prime minister's Atal Behari Vajpayee stance on war on 21<sup>st</sup> March, in The Hindu, Amit Baruah, publish a report with titled "Unjustified, says India" mentioned that India said , the United States' "military action" against Iraq lacked "justification". Further in same day The Hindu narrate expression of Prime Minister by saying Mr. Vajpayee, expressed "deep anguish" at the fact that the U.N. Security Council was unable to reach agreement on the course of action to be adopted on Iraq. This above citation mention that during time of war there was widespread dissents regarding the United States action therefore it was come into view that most of the political parties debate on government stance to use the terms like "deplore" , "anguish" and "condemn" to the United States action, consequently concerning this demand The Hindu publish comparatively more news on Indian government stance regarding Iraq war.

Out of the total publish 159, reports, The Hindu publish 91, critical reports including combined critics of war from the India and rest of the world, in other words The Hindu publish total 91, reports that critics the United States aggression on Iraq whereas revising their tendency out of the total publish news in The Telegraph, only 29 reports were critically analysis the Iraq war, this low number of data, again reviles the fact that the telegraph gives relatively less weight to news pertaining to Iraq war. Due to this practice cumulative percentage of combined reports seem to be slightly less that of the individual number of reporting in The Hindu. Out of the total publish reports around 27 percent reports express critics of the war from rest of the world, while critics of the war by Indian activist, scholars and political leaders etc. score around 19.76 percent.

**Table -19**

Topic wise publication of Articles in Editorial Section from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> 2003, March in The Hindu & The Telegraph

Topics of the Published Articles	Topics wise Published Articles in The Hindu editorial	Topic wise expression of Articles in The Hindu editorial in percentage	Topics wise Published Articles in in The Telegraph editorial	Topic wise expression of Articles in The Telegraph editorial in percentage	Combined numbers of articles	Topic wise expression of Cumulative numbers in percentage
U. S Gove. critic	20	33.70	5	17.24	25	28.40
U. S Ally critic	1	1.7	1	3.45	2	2.27
U. N critic	2	3.4	1	3.45	3	3.41
U. S India relation regarding war	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discussion on Indian Gove. Stance on the war	1	1.69	0	0	1	1.69
Articles not related to war	33	55.94	21	72.41	54	61.36
Descriptive Report on war	2	3.9	1	3.45	3	3.40
Total publish	59		29		88	

For detail see appendix -11, appendix-12 and appendix-13

The above mentioned table -18 give precise understanding of topics and percentage of their publish reports as a whole but it does not give newspaper page wise data fore example how many article and letters have publish on editorial –opinion and letters to the editorial pages ? Therefore to cater this demand table number -19 and 20 can be interpreted. By studying table -19, it have been come into view that The Hindu publish total 5, articles in their ten days course of reporting while showing prolong less numbers of reporting, The Telegraph publish only 20 article. Out of the 59 articles that had published on The Hindu, 20 articles provide clearly United State’s critic, whereas 5 articles from The Telegraph publish United States critics. Both of the newspapers combinedly publish 64 articles that contain approximately 28 percent of the total percentage. Only 2.27 percent, 3.41 articles have discussed about the United Sates ally critics such as Britain, Spain and Israel and United Nation respectively. Some of the article consider to be extremely circle regarding war for instance the article publish in The Hindu, written by the Mushirul Hasan under the title “The new face of colonialism” mention that “An

American 'victory' is assured. But the U.S. has lost the moral authority that it wielded in certain circles... Overriding the U.N. and disregarding public opinion will cost the U.S. dearly.....

There is no dusk or dawn in Iraq. The day ends with destruction; the dawn raises fear of more bombings from the Persian Gulf. The American appetite to kill and destroy is insatiable, but then how many more can they kill? Soon the war front will be silent and the American and British soldiers will go home to receive medals for killing innocent people and brutalising a society. But, then, there will be another day when the muezzin calls the faithful for prayer. The sound of Allah-o-Akbar (God is Great) will resonate, and reinforce the people's determination to fight naked aggression not through acts of terrorism but through a secular awakening. Their allies in this just war are not just Muslims but people of different ideologies, faiths, and nationalities. Extremism and terrorism is a recipe for disaster, and will destroy this extraordinary alliance against U.S. imperialism. Make sure that does not happen. Freedom is in peril, but defend it in cooperation with democratic and secular forces.” (Mushirul Hasan, *The Hindu*, 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,).

Out of the total published articles that is 88, 54 articles does not pertained to Iraq war, despite this , by performing significantly *The Hindu*, published 26 articles related to Iraq war while *The Telegraph* publish only 8 articles. At the time of the Iraq war, most of the individuals intellectuals and organisation sought that the aggression of United State clearly show violation of Article 2 of the UN charter, therefore The United Nations charter requires such cases of crimes against humanity to be referred to the International Criminal Court (ICC) for investigation and prosecution. It is, therefore, a moral and legal responsibility of the UN Security Council to formally declare the illegality of the war against Iraq and request to the ICC for immediate trial and prosecution of persons who apply aggressive war policy against innocent Iraqi people. (25<sup>th</sup> March 2003 in *Dawn*, Onlie edition). Despite this fact that after commencement of war United Nation also become subject to criticism, very low number of articles have been occurs in both Indian newspapers, both newspapers combinedly publish total 3. Similar kind of low numbers of reporting have appears in the case of Britain. It is well establish that the Britain were the key ally of the United States at the time of the Iraq war and his army accompany with

United States army invaded in Iraq therefore Indian newspapers should trying to examine their role as well, but giving less importance to British presence in war both The Hindu and The Telegraph published very low numbers of reporting about the Britain's role in Iraq war, and treat it as an passive subject, this can be prove by screening table -19, the table clearly shows that both new papers published only one article each in their editorial .

**Table-20**

Topic wise publication of Letters in Letters to the Editorial Section from 16<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> 2003, March in The Hindu & The Telegraph

Letters with topic	Topics wise Published Letters in The Hindu	Topics wise Published Letters The Telegraph	Cumulative number of total letters	Topic wise expression of Cumulative numbers of letters in parentage
U.S Gove. Critic	16	8	24	19.84
U.S Ally critic	0	0	0	0
U.N critic	3	0	3	2.48
Comment on U.S - India relation regarding war	1	0	1	0.83
Comment on Indian Gove. Stance on war	0	0	0	0
Letter favor war	0	1	1	0.83
Letter not related to war	34	58	92	76.03
Total publish	54	67	121	

The letters to the editorial section can be conceive as an essential part of the newspapers since it reflect democratic space, wherein every on can uphold their arguments, this space give voice to every common man who can write and read. Letter to the editorial section can be conceive as an outlet in which everyone can register their grievance and dissent against the unjust. But some argument also challenge the autonomy of this space because its been observe that it is depend upon the editors, managing director or other key designation that what to publish and

what not publish , moreover which kind of subject or issue should be selected to invite letters over it . Therefore to study validity of this challenging argument it is necessary that we also analysis letter to the editorial space regarding Iraq war.

By come across from the table - 20, one can say that in the ten days study time , both The Hindu and The Telegraph, combinedly publish total 121 letters , out of these total publish letters only 29 letters comes under the topic of Iraq war while 92 publish letters does not related to Iraq war. But argument is that again topic wise expression of cumulative numbers of letters, shows distorted image of this table, by looking topics wise published letters in The Hindu, it have been appears that newspaper publish total 54 lattes within the ten days, out of total publish letters, 34 letters that shows almost 63 percent of it, dose not related to the Iraq war, in the same time it also shows that remaining 37 percent letters in The Hindu were pertaining to the Iraq war. Going into the further statistic it is come into the view that for the same period The Telegraph publish total 67 letters, out of the total publish letters, 58 letters that shows almost 86.56 percent of it , dose not pertain to Iraq war, it clearly depict that newspaper publish 13 percent letter related to Iraq war. Thus at this point we can see the difference in the topic wise reporting because whereas 37 percent published letters in The Hindu, were commenting over the Iraq war while only 13 percent published letters in The Telegraph, pertain to war.

By overlooking the fact that topic wise cumulative numbers of letters shows distorted image of whole table-20, so it's been come into view that about 19.84 percent letters registered their critical against the United State, 2. 48 percent letters critics United Nation to not functioning properly and finally only 0.83 percent or only one letter critic to Indian government about their stance of war. In his only letter about Indian stance, Mr. Norma Louis, from Mumbai write to The Hindu editorial on 19 March that "India prefers the balancing act on Iraq", he further mentioned that "The truth of the matter is that it is the balancing act of the unprincipled. It is the balancing act of those who live in a fool's paradise", and at last he quoted Pastor Niemoller (how gives his words during Hitler's rule in Germany) by saying "First they came for the Jews, but I did nothing (or preferred to do a balancing act), because I am not a Jew. Then they came for the socialists, but I did nothing because I am not a socialist. Then they came for the Catholics, but I did nothing because I am not a Catholic. Then they came for me, but by then

there was no one left to help me!” This renowned quotation directly or indirectly reviles the opinion of the writer that he is insisting from the Indian government that they must clear their stance, and forcefully condemn this unjust war otherwise it could be happened with the India in near future. As far as statistics of these two Indian newspapers is concern, The Telegraph, publish relatively less numbers of news that of The Hindu. The Telegraph, deals with Iraq issue as the secondary one, in lack of the data one can make only inferential description on the hypothetical basis that this phenomena occurs because the newspaper having a regional states and might it concern international news as a secondary source of information. Whereas The Hindu is India’s National daily which give extensive reporting on international issues regardless it pertaining to India or not thus this difference appear because on the one hand The Hindu, having a national status while on the another hand The Telegraph, having a regional status.

## **Representation of Iraq War in Newspapers Cartoons**

It is emphasize that cartoons represent most of the prevailing fact bout the politics, they express popular public opinions and try to mobilize to the peoples about wrongdoings thus study of the twenty three days published cartoons, from 16<sup>th</sup> March to 12<sup>th</sup> April 2003, has been conducted. Basically, the study tries to scrutinize the representation of Iraq war in Indian newspaper cartoons. By observing these cartoon, it have been unearth that within the twenty three days of time The Hindu publish total 24 cartoons on Iraq war issue, 7 cartoons, out of these total publish cartoons were highly critical to Indian government stance on Iraq war, 13 cartoons is critics United States and finally 4 cartoons were critics United Nation, to not conducting its function properly by maintain world peace. In the study of cartoons there are three prominent themes have been identified such as hypocrisy of Indian government, United Nation as a weak regime and self destructive colonial attempt, thus discussion and interpretations of cartoons have been give according to these themes. Whereas, it must be noted that The Telegraph did not published any cartoons on its online edition therefore following study of only consider cartoons that have been publish on The Hindu’s online edition. The interpretation of cartoons is as follow.

### **Hypocrisy of Indian government**

It have been discussed earlier in this chapter that at the time of Iraq war Indian government did

not clear their stance despite the fact that significant number of people, politicians, intellectuals and even artist were urge for the government to criticized this attempt of war. Whereas Indian government at that time only taking shelter of term such as “deplore” and “anguish”, in India most of the political parties and their leaders debate on government’s stance to use the terms like “deplore” , “anguish” and “ condemn”, therefore the cartoon number -1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 reflect that how Indian government trying to bypass these issues.

In cartoon number-1, the picture of two Indian leaders and one United States leader who wears a helmet in printed US, driving its army tank and expressing that he not only ignoring the “World Opinion” to stop the aggression but at the same time do not cares the life of the innocent peoples. Responding over this pathetic behavior of United State’s leader Indian leaders is saying that “NO..NO... WE DON’T WANT TO HURT, ANYBODY’S FEELINGS. While cartoon number -2, portrait that again two Indian politicians discussing while one riding a newspaper on the topic of “BRITISH MP,s RESIGN” owing to “ IRAQ WAR” whereas another leader sitting on chair with his placard , this placard put down inversely with very irresponsible manner in-between foots of the politician. One Indian politician comment that as write in cartoon “GOOD OUR GOVT.CHOSE A MIDDLE PATH—OTHERWISE WE WOULD’HAVE HAD TO TAKE A HIGH MORAL GROUND TOO. It shows, if Indian government takes clear stance by support the Iraq war so unwillingnesslly they would have resign on the basis of high moral ground to criticized government as well. Thus one can say that these leaders like to politicize Iraq war only for their vote bank politics

Cartoon Number -1



25 March 2003, The Hind

Cartoon Number -2



21 March 2003, The Hindu



Cartoon Number -3



7 April 2003, The Hind

Cartoon Number -4



9 April 2003, The Hindu

Similarly in cartoon number -3, a politician showing a paper in a questionable manner to his colleague with writing "WAR UNJUST", consequently he further comments to alert his colleague to be "CAREFUL WITH THE LANGUAGE - IT SHOULD PLEASE BOTH THE ANTI-WAR GROUPS AND THE POST-WAR CONTRACTS LOBBY". This cartoon clearly portrays that at the time of Iraq war, India wants to satisfy all the anti war protesters and invaders of the war by the help of the language that used in diplomacy, in addition this cartoon not only shows tactics of terms that use by the Indian government but cooperate interest of Indian business lobby who desires to get post-war reconstruction projects in Iraq.

Cartoon number -4, depicts that one politician (because in India, politicians often wear traditional dress, mostly "Kurta Pajama") carrying a "THESAURUS," a type of dictionary in which words with similar meanings are grouped together, therefore cartoon illustrates a kind of scenario wherein government's minister and other political leaders try to defend their government by adopting a position so that they will be able to reflect their image as representatives who opposed Iraq war but actually not make an annoyance to pro war lobby. By observing the quotation that script "MUST BE WORKING ON THE IRAQ RESOLUTION", it can be said that in the condition where Pakistan, has been unable to take a clear stand, economy and trade issues as well, India is too concerned about not offending the United States hence they must be working properly on Iraq war issue, using tactics of terms with help of

thesaurus.

In cartoon number – 5, United States President George. W. Bush's, like character wearing a dress like cowboy and exposing their masculinity and saying that he is praise from the response of Mr. Jasvant Sinha, then foreign affair minister of India, that at the time of Iraq war. This cartoon was appear in The Hindu when Mr. Bush declare his victory over the Baghdat , and therefore he is praise from of the Indian government to maintain silence in throughout course of war.

Cartoon Number -5



11 April, 2003, The Hind

Cartoon Number -6



9 April 2003, The Hindu

It is clear till now that above mentioned five cartoons under the theme of Hypocrisy of Indian government, showing almost common image in which Indian government bypassing from clear stance regarding Iraq war and same time trying to show that there is no external and internal pressure on them. It has also appeared that, during the Iraq war, The Hindu, exposed the issue like “Indian government stance” in their cartoon space because government was speaking tactic oriented language in their diplomacy by using words such as “deplore” and “anguish” and hesitating to condemn the United States action.

### **United Nation as a Weak Regime**

Like the Arab newspapers, The Hindu also in their cartoon section, depicts some cartoons that portray the United Nations as a weak international regime, since the United States is violating its law and even more Geneva Convention despite not liable to punishment. These cartoons express their silent protest against the United Nations on the basis of its inefficiency.

In cartoon number-6, a television news reporter cite by saying that “In a statement the U.S President has asked The U.N.....oops, sorry—Saddam, to leave his country within 48 hrs.” Meanwhile, one person who is watching this news, frown and being surprise over this news. Through this portrait cartoonist is giving a hidden message that The United States, so called hegemonic power always take unilateral decision regardless United Nation approval and do not respect about the morality.

Cartoon Number -7



20 March, 2003, The Hind

Cartoon Number -8



10 April 2003, The Hindu

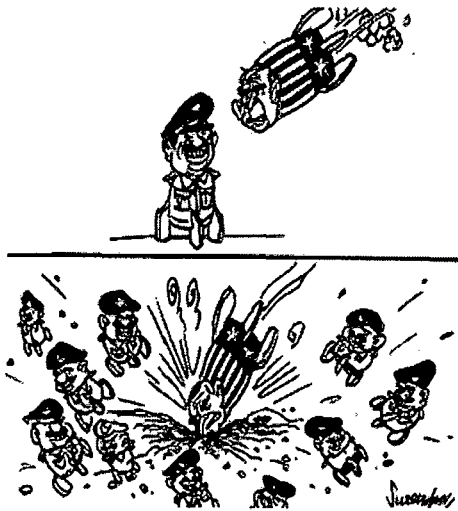
The cartoon number – 7, shows a character like the Head of the United Nation’s Mr. Kofi Annan, standing on crossroads and seem like disappointed because of empty bottle. In the right hand he is carrying a bottle with print “Democracy” while on the left hand taking a bag with print U.N. therefore this cartoon is portraying, despite most key person of United Nation take seriously to democracy since they hold it in their right hand still there is no democracy is remain in the world long way of unilateralism.

### Self Destructive Colonial Attempt

Under this theme four cartoons being selected for the interpretation because commonly these cartoons depict that United States have been making colonial attempt over Iraq, in the name of the weapons of mass destruction and to destroy terrorist network. This aggression is happening only for material interest of United States but latter this colonial attempt convert into self destruction as it happen in Vietnam War. Cartoonist claims, in these cartoons that might United

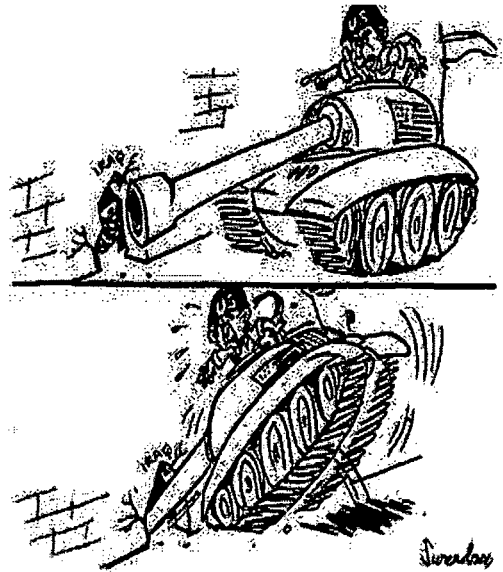
States able to triumph in war zone but not in the mind of the Iraqi peoples.

Cartoon Number -9



21 March, 2003, The Hind

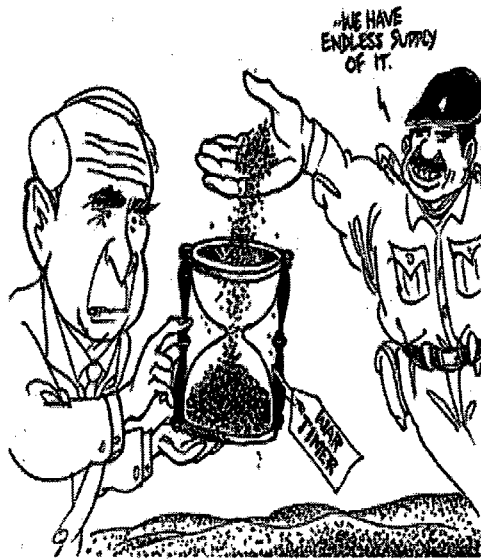
Cartoon Number -10



30 March 2003, The Hindu

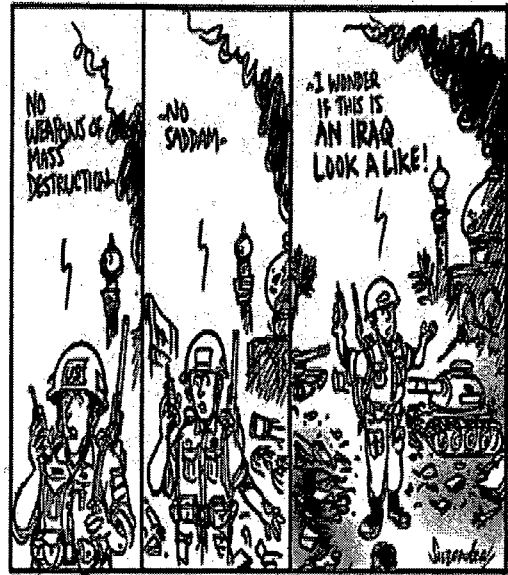
In cartoon number-9, it has been shows, the two characters that seem like Presidents of United States, George W. Bush and Iraqi President Saddam Husain. The Bush's cartoon is trying to hit Saddam as a United State's missile since it paint with shade of the Unites State's flag but the target that is Saddam, escape out of it and remains the safe while damage occurs for the United State's missile itself. The cartoon is showing that despite United State makes pre emptive strike in the name of self –security but will not able to safe it self indeed. Likewise In the cartoon number -10, again cartoonist try to mention about situation of war and how United State suffering the lose due to the tyrant who was conceive as relatively tiny personality in front of the United States. Cartoon shows that soldiers which seem like the Bush, driving the army tank to hit an Iraqi soldier who hidden in small hole but in reaction this hidden tiny soldier make counters attack and pull tank inside.

Cartoon Number -11



3 April, 2003, The Hind

Cartoon Number -12



11 April 2003, The Hindu

Portraying about the duration of the war, cartoon number-11, depict that the cartoon of Saddam Husain putting the sand in the classical sand watch and comment "We Have Endless Supply of It" while the sand watch hold by Bush. This cartoon might trying to mention that there is no limitation till when this Iraq war will end because United States can defeat the Iraqi army but not Iraqi peoples, the Bush administration were underestimate the power of Saddam Husain and make unnecessary pre-emptive strike but now due to this aggression he (United States administration) trapped in the desert of Iraq and do not know when he will come out or escape. The cartoon number -12 shows three images of same United State's soldier, who is surprise after making widespread destruction in Iraq to find weapons of mass destruction and Saddam Husain but lastly wonder because after crucial war in which lot of innocent peoples and soldier were dies but still he will fail to achieve its goal.

## **Conclusion**

After observing above study it is clear that at the time of Iraq war, The Hindu, give relatively more representation to critics of the Iraq war not only in their front, editorial and international page but cartoon section than The Telegraph, The Hindu, publish significantly cartoons on the theme of Indian government stance and United State's war critics because it was come into view that most of the political parties debate on government stance to use the terms like "deplore", "anguish" and "condemn" to the United States action, consequently concerning this demand The Hindu, publish comparatively more news on Indian government stance regarding Iraq war. By observing the cartoon section it is clear that the cartoons not only reviles politics in India regarding Iraq war and critics it but at the same time blame to United States President, George W. Bush, to unleashed his military power to conduct illegal, immoral and unjustifiable invasion of Iraq, it also belief that it is nothing short of a crime against humanity.

## **Chapter-5**

### **Conclusion of the study**

#### **A Comparative Study of Representation in Indian and Pakistani Media**

From previous chapters it is clear that print media having potential to reach among the common peoples and act as a mobilizing force for change, as an institution it serves as the source of information. As it mention earlier that today the media space considered to be a means of transmission of information, it is an outlet that represent the reality through various ways, its have responsibility to not only narrate, portrait and describe, events but must play critical role in a system where it exist. Keeping in to the mind these above compulsion for a genuine reporting, prominent newspapers of India and Pakistan were studied for analysis, after analyzing representation of prominent newspapers, its come to know that reporting of the media shows some similarity and difference in terms of topic wise reporting and in depiction of cartoons. As far as topic wise reporting is concerned both Pakistani and Indian print media given extensive reporting on the Iraq war and the previous chapters provides qualitative and quantitative account of it, but to reach at a proficient level of description of any phenomena, it is always worthwhile to conduct a comparative study.

The comparative study of previous chapters is not only essential to reach at proficient level of description but to have a rational conclusion as well. To reach a conclusion, again, simple statistics have been apply such as combined average of topics wise total published reports, examination of newspaper's editorial , letters to editorial section and finally, discussion on published cartoons . As it is already mentioned that The Telegraph, newspaper did not publish cartoons on its online publication at the time of Iraq war therefore discussion is only centered on The Hindu, in context of Indian print media.

#### **Comparative Study of Indian and Pakistani Newspapers**

As mention earlier, both Pakistani and Indian print media given extensive reporting on the Iraq war, third and fourth chapters represent it respectively, these chapter attempt to

give precise description of prominent facts pertaining to Iraq- war, to further elaborate these facts and findings the following statistic have been applied.

By looking at Table -21, under consideration of front page, international, national, letter and editorial page, in their ten days course of coverage on the topic of Iraq war, Dawn published total 312 reports, The Daily Times 289 and The Hindu comparatively published almost double numbers of reports that is 203 that of The Telegraph that is 125. By publishing total 312 reports within the ten days Dawn seem to be highest scorer newspaper. The Daily Times published relatively less numbers of reports in their front page than Dawn, for instance it was 101, in Dawn's front page while it was less then half in The Daily Time that is 41. The Hindu published 34 reports whereas giving less weight to Iraq war and its relative issue, The Telegraph published minimum numbers of reports among all four surveyed newspapers that is 20 reports on its front page.

**Table-21**  
Page wise distribution of reports on Iraq war-2003, In Dawn, The Daily Times, The Hindu & The Telegraph

Page Pertaining to the report	Total reports pertain to Iraq war in Dawn	Total reports pertain to Iraq war in the Daily times	Total reports pertain to Iraq war in The Hindu	Total reports pertain to Iraq war in The telegraph
Front Page	101	41	34	20
International	113	110	81	67
National	39	75	38	16
OP-ED	42	41	25	11
Letters to Editors	17	22	25	11
Total	312	289	203	125

In international page and editorial page, again Dawn publish maximum numbers of news than the other surveyed newspapers, significantly in international page Dawn published 113 reports while in editorial page 42 articles, for the same pages The Daily Times, published 110 and 41 reports respectively. On its international and editorial page The Hindu, published relatively less numbers of reports than both of the Pakistani newspapers



that is 81 and 25 respectively whereas The Telegraph again appears to be less performing newspaper.

Discussing the letters to editors section The Hindu, appears to be newspaper who give maximum representation at the voice of the peoples by published 25 letters regarding Iraq war, while second most number can see in The Daily Time who is publishing 22 letters. Surprisingly in letter to Editorial section the Dawn publishes relatively less numbers of letters that is around 17 letters in duration of ten days, it was surprisingly in a sense that within the proposed time Dawn publish enormously 312 reports regarding the Iraq war that seem to be highest numbers of news among all the surveyed newspapers , consequently, Dawn also dominated in terms of numbers of reporting in international and editorial –opinion page, therefore it envisage that it will give equal representation to the view of the peoples regarding Iraq war. Thus after observing Table -21, the extraordinary performance of Dawn and The Daily Times as well, has not prevailed in editorial-opinion page.

Observing another aspect of study, as mentioned earlier, at the time of Iraq war Pakistani and Indian print media publish numbers of news regarding Iraq war in verity of topics such as reaction of various organization, effect of war over various international and national institutions, effect of war over bilateral relation of Pakistan, and news related to war zone etc. To make the study more precise, objective and to escape the complexity of the overclassification, all published news have classified in six topics, as it displayed in Table -22, and 23 these classified categories are, comment and commentary over concerning official government statements, official United States government statements, critic of war in the state, and critic of war from outside the state and finally effect of war in concerning state and its bilateral relation with United States.

**Table -22**  
Table shows topics wise coverage of reports from 16<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,  
in Dawn & The Daily Times

Report on Iraq war with topic	Combined total of reports in Pakistani newspapers	Cumulative % of Combined of reports in Pakistani newspapers	Combined total of reports in Indian newspapers	Cumulative % of Combined reports in Indian newspapers
Comment and commentary on Concern Offi Gove. Statement	19	4.05	14	5.53
Official U.S Gove. Statement	36	7.68	25	9.88
Description on war zone	63	13.43	52	20.55
Critic of war in the state	164	34.96	50	19.76
Critic of war at outside state	110	23.45	70	27.67
Effect of war in Pakistan and its bilateral relation with U.S	77	16.41	42	16.66
Total	469	100.	253	100.

For detail see appendix -7

As far as first topic is concern of above classifications such as comment and commentary on concerning official government statements, it is come into view that similar to letters to the editorial section (in Table – 21) again Indian newspapers in this topic in Table-22, published slightly more reports than the Pakistani counterpart, that is 5.52 percent reports published in Indian newspapers while 4.05 in Pakistani, appearance of slightly low percentage in this topic is significant and questionable. It is significant because the news published under this topic, gives their comment and commentary about government stance, mobilized the people about their own government stance and indirectly force government to clear their stance about the war. It is also significant in a sense, as mention earlier (as in table-21) that the Dawn and The Daily Times published maximum numbers of reports within ten days but unlikely this topic proportionately give less representation to reports that comment over government stance.

**Table -23**

Table shows topics wise coverage of reports from 16<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, in Dawn, The Daily Times, The Hindu and The Telegraph with their concern proportion of percentage.

Report on Iraq war with topic	Reports in the Dawn	Dawn %	Reports in The Daily Times	The Daily Times	Reports in The Hindu	The Hind %	Reports in The Telegra	The Telegrap
Comment & commentary on concern Offi. Gove. Statement	12	4.16	7	3.87	9	6.28	5	5.31
Official U.S Gove. Statement	24	8.33	12	6.62	14	8.80	11	11.70
Description on war zone	38	13.19	25	13.81	25	15.72	27	28.72
Critic of war in the state	71	24.65	93	51.38	34	21.38	16	17.02
Critic of war from outside the state	77	26.73	33	18.23	57	35.85	13	13.82
Effect of war in concerning and its bilateral relation with U.S	66	22.91	11	6.07	20	12.58	22	23.40
Total	288		181		159		94	

It is well familiar that at the time of Iraq war, both Indian and Pakistani government were played with tactic of term, therefore it was desirable that newspapers of both states gives equal representation to reports that comment over government stance. Looking at the Table -23, it can be view that The Hindu published approximately 6 percent of reports on Indian government stance, The Telegraph publish 5 percent of reports whereas Pakistani news , Dawn and The Daily Times papers perform very less in this topic by publishing approximately 4 and 3 percent reports respectively about their own government stance. The Indian newspapers by their reporting try to encountered government to not clearing their stance and plying with tactic of term such as “deplore”, “anguish”, and “condemn”.

But it is come into view in Pakistan that there where no sufficient discussion or reporting has been take place on the issue of diplomatic terminology.

By taking into account the above categories from Table number -22, it have been appears that critics of war that raise in the state were get maximum representation in the Pakistani newspapers, having total 164 reports, it shows that out of the total published reports around 34 percent reports were sharply represented critic of war, while for the same topic Indian newspapers combindly published 50 reports that comprise around 19.76 percent and appears to be slightly less. Looking again critical representation of war from outside the states, Indian newspapers published around one third of reports that of Pakistani newspapers that was 70 reports, whereas it was 110 in Pakistani newspapers. By merging the figures of two topics such as critics of Iraq war in the state and critics from outside the states, apparently Pakistani newspapers published around 58.41percent reports only for give critical representation to Iraq war while Indian newspapers give comparatively less representation to critic of war as whole by publishing approximately 47 percent reports.

The Table -24 shows topic wise publication of cartoon in three newspapers, Daws, The Daily Times & The Hindu, from 16<sup>th</sup> March to 12<sup>th</sup> April 2003, the data illustrate that Pakistani newspapers were give much emphasis to cartoons that critics Unites State for instance Dawn publish total 30 cartoons pertaining to Iraq war, out of this number, 26 cartoons were sharply critics United Sates , 2 cartoons were give critic on Pakistani government stance while only one cartoon each critic United Nation and other states. The performance of The Daily Times, seem to be improve that of the Dawn since it have publish total 34 cartoons on Iraq war , out of total cartoons, 22 cartoons were criticized United States. By examine government role in Iraq war, it publish 4 critical cartoons on government's hypocrisy. Talking about The Hindu, it is come into view that though The Hindu publish less numbers of cartoons but still out of total 24 cartoons 7 cartoons critics Indian government or recognize Indian government response on Iraq war as hypocritical while 13 cartoons criticized United States and 4 cartoon to United

Nations, It Shows That proportionately The Hindu, publish more reports on government stance while Pakistani newspapers only considered their cartoons on United States critic.

**Table -24**

Table shows topic wise publication of cartoon in the Daws, The Daily Times & The Hindu from 16<sup>th</sup> March to 12<sup>th</sup> April 2003,

Topic of the cartoons	Numbers of cartoons, in Dawn(Pakistan)	Numbers of cartoons, in Daily Times (Pakistan)	Numbers of cartoons, in The Hindu(India)
U.S Critic	26	22	13
U.N Critic	1	2	4
Their own government critic	2	4	7
Critic of other i.e., UK, Arab States etc.	1	6	0
Total	30	34	24

For detail: See above selected online newspapers from 16<sup>th</sup> March to 12<sup>th</sup> April 2003

It have been clear that in Indian and Pakistani newspapers, United States face extensive criticism for its Iraq policy, this enormous number of critic in above mention table such as table -21, 22 & table-23 is an outcome of aforementioned ten days study of front page, national page, international page, editorial and letters to editorials while table -24, gives somehow different picture of Iraq war in media space, therefore after analyzing table -24, including above mentioned all table we can say that not only there is some deficit in the reporting of some issues but some similarity as well.

Concerning the aforementioned comparative study, now one can move to describe the findings such as underrepresentation of government stance and recognition this war as Imperialist attempt, these finding of study is as follow.

### **Under representation of Reports**

As it analyses in previous tables that at the time of Iraq war, Pakistani newspapers publish numbers of reports regarding the concern issue, but apparently it shows some deficit therein, due to this some issues prominently get overrepresentation that of the other. There are two criteria that confirmed the response of Pakistani media as a underrepresentative towards some issues, first Pakistani news papers give much emphasis to news related to United States critics, consequently report related to Pakistani government stance on Iraq war, were overlook and secondly, since Dawn and The Daily Times, published total 312 and 289 reports respectively, this significant amount of reporting contains only negligible numbers of letters to editors.

### **Underrepresentation of Government Stance**

At the time of Iraq war like the Indian government, Pakistan also use tactic of terms so that repercussion of taking stance would not be appears therefore Pakistani government try to maintain silent over war issue as much as they could do. For instance, in a report published on 17th March, Dawn quoted that “ Govt asked to adopt clear stance on Iraq” , mention that the Pakistani government should adopt an unequivocal stance against the United States and United Kingdom’s bellicosity against Iraq. This was the view of the speakers at a meeting of the Communist Mazdoor-Kissan Party held at the press club on Sunday. (Dawn, 17th March 2003).

Analysing the above tables and chapters, it has been appear that the report related to Pakistani government’s stance is notably view in minimum number in Pakistani newspapers, despite lot of the domestic political party, institution were putting presser on the government to condemn war, still Pakistani newspapers published minimum number of reporting on this issue and at that time print media in Pakistan, manage to maintain almost silent and this silent or deficit of reporting on Pakistani government

stance can be seen in three sections of newspaper such as, general news section that include front page, national international and editorial page, second letters section and finally cartoon section

**Underrepresentation in General News Section:** It is one of the largest parts of the newspaper; contain almost whole newspaper excluding letters to editorial and cartoon section. It was conceived that to criticize the government, Pakistani newspapers would publish maximum numbers of reports in this section but due to camouflage practice newspapers did not publish, any sufficient reporting on government stance about Iraq war.

In a report published with title “Pakistan deplores military action: Call to preserve Iraq’s sovereignty” on 21 March. Pakistan government made official statement that they deplored the US-led military action against Iraq and called for giving priority to avert humanitarian disaster for the Iraqi people. Report quoted Foreign Minister Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri by saying “Pakistan deplores the initiation of military action against Iraq,” in his further account Mr. Kasuri said military action should not prolong and Pakistan was not among those 35 countries supporting attack on Iraq. “Whether they are 55 or 35 countries, we are certainly not among them and will never endorse any military action.” very interestingly when asked why the government was just deploring and was not condemning the military action, Mr. Kasuri said Pakistan had made its position very clear. “But if you insist then I would advise you to consult Oxford dictionary and see the meaning of deploring”. (21 March, 2003, The Daily Times).

After getting this strong answer from the Pakistani government, newspapers did not publish reporting on the issue that comment on the terms such as “deploring”, and “condemn” while in Indian media The Telegraph, published one of the bold reports that proclaimed about the government stance on Iraq war, this report published under the title “Govt & Opposition split between ‘deplore’ & ‘condemn’”. These reports clearly mention that “The Opposition refused to adopt a three-line resolution proposed by the government as it did not contain the word “condemn”. The Centre, which went with

terms like “deplore” and “anguish”, rejected the charge that it was hesitating to condemn the United States action”. Thus it has been appeared that at the time of war some published news was really critical and questionable to Indian government in respect of government’s stance. By critics the Indian government stance on Iraq war, The Telegraph on 24 March 2003, publish an opinion entitled “Words On The War” in this article author mentioned that “When pressed with the need to frame an all-party resolution on the attack on Iraq, India is faced with some sort of a linguistic schism. Consensus on this matter has been stalled because the Centre wants to be heard as “deploring” the war in a state of “anguish”, whereas the opposition wants to “condemn” it more unequivocally. The prime minister is particularly good at dealing with such rhetorical crises, because his favourite “middle path” is the best thing to be trod in such situations.” Therefore not only in newspapers but Indian opposition political party also critics’ government to playing with the word.

As it is mentioned earlier, according to Table -23, it can be view that The Hindu published approximately 6 percent of reports on Indian government stance, The Telegraph publish 5 percent of reports whereas Pakistani news, Dawn and The Daily Times papers perform very less in this topic by publishing approximately 4 and 3 percent reports respectively about their own government stance. The Indian newspapers by their reporting try to encountered government to not clearing their stance and plying with tactic of term such as “deplore”, “anguish”, and “condemn”. But it is come into view in Pakistan that there where no sufficient discussion or reporting has been take place on the issue of diplomatic terminology.

Thus the clear stance of the Pakistani government in the Iraq war somehow vague but much unfortunate is that this issue does not get better representation in Pakistan newspapers because print media try to bypass from this issue, therefore they overrepresented the critic of United State to making attempt of war in stand of counter its own government to not participating in United Nation Security Council meeting in Azores at Spain. It was widespread that at the time of United Nation Security Council meeting in Azores, at Spain for voting on United States resolution on Iraq war, at that



time Pakistan was an elected member (Rotating member) and having legal right to cast their vote against United State's Iraq war resolution but later Pakistan was abstention, thus ignoring the fact out of the 146 articles (according to table-13) only 4 articles give critical to the United Nation, similarly only 6 articles, is discuss Pakistani government's stance regarding Iraq war.

**Underrepresentation in letters to editorial section:** The letters to the editorial section can be conceive as an essential part of the newspapers since it reflect democratic space, wherein every on can uphold their arguments, this space give voice to every common man who can write and read. Letter to the editorial section can be conceive as an outlet in which everyone can register their grievance and dissent against the unjust. But some argument also challenge the autonomy of this space because its been observe that it is depend upon the editors, managing director or other key designation that what to publish and what not , moreover which kind of subject or issue should be selected to invite letters. Therefore to examine validity of this argument it is necessary that analysis of the letter to the editorial space regarding Iraq war should be conduct.

If review at Table -21, it exhibit that in their ten days course of reporting, Dawn published total 312 reports and The Daily Times 289 reports, By publishing total 312 reports within the ten days Dawn seem to be highest scorer newspaper but surprisingly, in letter to Editorial section the Dawn publishes relatively less numbers of letters that is around 17 letters. Out of the total publish letters 0.56 percent or only one letter (according to table-14) is selected that sharply comment over Pakistani government's stance relaturs to Iraq war. By calculate the percentage of letters in total publish reports, proportionately Hindu appears to be newspaper which gives highest representation to Iraq war, for instance out of the total published report on the Iraq war in The Hindu, 12 percent of news regarding Iraq war were publish in The Hindu's letters to editorial section, The Telegraph published 8.8, The Daily Times -7.62 while Dawn publish around 5 percent news in its letters section. Thus this can be view as pessimistic response of Pakistani print media, one possible description of this phenomena is that the news that publish in letters section face comment in forthcoming edition of news papers, if newspaper invite or select comment on particular topic, so it is a moral obligation of

newspaper to publish counter comment on the same topic in their forthcoming editions, therefore due to this practice a series of discussion and debate have stated among the writers of the letters and even this practice make more vibrant to that particular issue rather maintain silent over it. Thus it may be possible that due to the indirect pressure these newspapers did not invite government critics.

**Underrepresentation in cartoon section:** as it is mention earlier the table -24 shows topic wise publication of cartoon in three newspapers, Dawn, The Daily Times & The Hindu, from 16<sup>th</sup> March to 12<sup>th</sup> April 2003, the data illustrate that Pakistani newspapers were give much emphasis to cartoon's that criticized Unites State rather then criticizing its own government to not taking stance on the Iraq issue, for instance Dawn publish total 30 cartoon's pertaining to Iraq war, out of this number, only 2 cartoons were give critic on Pakistani government stance . The Daily Times, published total 34 cartoons on Iraq war, by examine government role in Iraq war, it published 4 critical cartoons on government's hypocrisy. Though The Hindu publish less numbers of cartoons but still out of total 24 cartoons 7 cartoons critics Indian government or recognize Indian government response on Iraq war as hypocritical, It Shows That proportionately The Hindu, publish more cartoons on Indian government stance while Pakistani newspapers only considered their cartoons on United States critic. Some of its cartoons were really critical to Indian government such as in cartoon -3 and 4 at chapter number -4.

### **Imperialist Attempt**

As far as war critics is concern the Pakistani newspapers narrate brilliant story of war by debunked the justifications that given by the United States for instance, To justify the war against Iraq United States give case of Kurdish Town called Halabja ,where 16 March 1988, lot of Kurds were die by the aggression of Iraq army. Therefore to use this incidence United States desires to justify their aggression on Iraq but report publish in Pakistani newspaper strongly antagonist against United States, this report was entitled "*Kurd chemical survivors wary of world's attention*" this report was quoted one of survivors of 16 March 1988, by saying "If America is using this attack on Halabja as a justification for war, then they should have attacked Saddam in 1988, not now," said

Rubar Mohammad. Star Hussein Allahkerem, 46, another survivor of the attack, mentioned that the United States, was supporting the Iraqi president at the time of the attack in his war against neighbouring Iran, he said he was furious Washington and its allies could use Halabja to justify their own ends. "At that time the outside world was with Saddam," he said. (17 March Dawn by Mike Collett-White)

Similarly to Pakistani newspapers Indian newspapers also condemned the Iraq war and conceive it as a colonial attempt, for example in The Hindu editorial page the article written by the Mushirul Hasan with title "The new face of colonialism" said that "An American 'victory' is assured. But the U.S. has lost the moral authority that it wielded in certain circles... Overriding the U.N. and disregarding public opinion will cost the U.S. dearly," an another report in The Hindu on 19<sup>th</sup> March, editorial section, under the title of "An unjustifiable war", also critics the United State by labeling it as an imperialist state these all reports make sharp critic to United States .

Talking about the letter to the editorial section on 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003 The Hindu G. David Milton, gives his comment on Iraq war and said " The U.S. President, George W. Bush, has unleashed his military power, engendering enormous human suffering to bask in vicarious glory. Thanks to his illegal, immoral and unjustifiable invasion of Iraq, which is nothing short of a crime against humanity, he will go down in history as a warmonger of the worst kind." He further elaborate that "everyone knows they are using their military might to conquer and colonies a sovereign state to loot its oil wealth."

Finally in conclusion one can say , it has been observe that the role of media has always been creating impacts on life of the peoples and this can be prove by study of the Pakistani and Indian newspapers since response of the peoples at the time of Iraq war, was so strong in both of the states. By conducting above study it is very clear that the representation of Iraq war in Pakistani media is seem to be widespread but media actually leave some issues such as government stance regarding Iraq war. Whoever cartoon section of same newspapers not only portrait massive critic of United States to invasion in Iraq but slightly less criticize Pakistani government to not taking stance against the

aggressor .After observing above study it is also clear that at the time of Iraq war, The Hindu, give relatively more representation to critics of the Iraq war not only in their front, editorial and international page but cartoon section. The Hindu, publish significantly cartoons on the theme of Indian government stance and United State's war critics because it was come into view that most of the political parties debate on government stance to use the terms like "deplore", "anguish" and "condemn" to the United States action, consequently concerning this demand The Hindu, publish comparatively more news on Indian government stance regarding Iraq war and this is shows how significance difference have observed after this study in terms of less questionability of Pakistani media toward their own government.

## Appendix -1

Table showing date wise, average numbers of reports at per page in two leading online newspapers The Daily Times and Dawn

Dates	Calculation of total published reports in Dawn	Average numbers of reports at per page in The Dawn	Calculation of total publish in The Daily Times	Average numbers of reports at per page in The Daily Times	Calculation of combined published reports in Dawn & The Daily Times	Combined average of reports at per page in The Daily Times & The Dawn
16 March	$18/5=3.6$	3.6	$26/5=5.2$	5.2	$44/10=4.4$	4.4
17 March	$31/5=6.2$	6.2	$19/5=3.8$	3.8	$50/10=5$	5
18 March	$23/5=4.6$	4.6	$17/5=3.4$	3.4	$40/10=4$	4
19 March	$30/5=6$	6	$24/5=4.8$	4.8	$54/10=5.4$	5.4
20 March	$32/5=6.4$	6.4	$27/5=5.4$	5.4	$59/10=5.9$	5.9
21 March	$43/5=8.6$	8.6	$42/5=8.4$	8.4	$85/10=8.5$	8.5
22 March	$41/5=8.2$	8.2	$37/5=7.4$	7.4	$78/10=7.8$	7.8
23 March	$31/5=6.2$	6.2	$36/5=7.2$	7.2	$67/10=6.7$	6.7
24 March	$33/5=6.6$	6.6	$35/5=7$	7	$68/10=6.8$	6.8
25 March	$30/5=6$	6	$26/5=5.2$	5.2	$56/10=5.6$	5.6

The above appendix shows calculation of average published reports at per page, to find average published reports at per page, total numbers of publish reports of concern day, have been divide from total numbers of page that is five such as front page, national page, international page, opinion-editorial page and letters to the editorial. But to find combined average, the total combined published reports of Dawn and The Daily Times have divided from 10, since it contains 5 pages each, from two newspapers.

## Appendix -2

Table Shows Topics Wise Coverage of Reports From 16<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003, in Dawn & The Daily Times in percentage

Report on Iraq war with topic	Total numbers of reports in the Daily times	Total numbers of reports in The Dawn	Combined total of reports	Cumulative % of Combined of reports
Official Pakistani Gove. Statement	7	12	19	$19 \times 100 / 471 = 4.04$
Official U.S Gove. Statement	12	24	36	$36 \times 100 / 471 = 7.55$
Description on war zone	25	38	63	$63 \times 100 / 471 = 13.2$
Critic of war by Pakistani peoples, institutions etc.	93	71	164	$164 \times 100 / 471 = 34.71$
Critic of war by rest of the world	33	77	110	$110 \times 100 / 471 = 24.26$
Effect of war on internal Pakistan conditions and its bilateral relation	11	68	77	$77 \times 100 / 471 = 16.34$
Total	181	290	471	100

### Appendix-3

Table shows range of topics appear in the Editorial- Opinion section of  
Dawn newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,

Articles with topic	16-Mar	17-Mar	18-Mar	19-Mar	20-Mar	21-Mar	22-Mar	23-Mar	24-Mar	25-Mar	Total numbers of
U.S Gove. Critic	1	1	4	2	2	1	5	3	0	2	21
U.S Ally critic	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
U.N critic	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
U.S Pak relation regarding war	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	7
Pak Gove. critic	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	4
Articles not related to war	3	6	3	3	4	3	2	3	4	3	34
Total publish	7	9	8	6	7	6	7	6	9	7	72

### Appendix-4

Table shows range of topics appear in the Editorial- Opinion section of The Daily Times Newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,

Articles with topic	16-Mar	17-Mar	18-Mar	19-Mar	20-Mar	21-Mar	22-Mar	23-Mar	24-Mar	25-Mar	Total numbers of reports
U.S Gove. critic	1	3	3	3	3	4	1	3	3	3	27
U.S Ally critic	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
U.N critic	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
U.S Pak relation regarding war	0	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	9
Pak Gove. critic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Articles not related to war	5	4	4	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	28
Critic of India	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4
Total publish	8	7	8	7	8	7	6	8	7	8	74



### Appendix -5

Table shows percentage calculation of topics appear in the Editorial-Opinion section of The Daily Times Newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003

Articles with topic	The dawn editorial	Topic wise % expression of the Dawn's editorial	The Daily times editorial	Topic wise % expression of the Daily times editorial	Cumulative numbers of topic	Combined % expression
U.S Gove. critic	21	$21 \times 100 / 72 = 29.17$	27	$27 \times 100 / 74 = 36.49$	$48 \times 100 / 146 = 32.88$	32.88
U.S Ally critic	4	$4 \times 100 / 72 = 5.56$	2	$2 \times 100 / 74 = 2.70$	$6 \times 100 / 146 = 4.11$	4.11
U.N critic	2	$2 \times 100 / 72 = 2.77$	2	$2 \times 100 / 74 = 2.70$	$4 \times 100 / 146 = 2.74$	2.74
U.S Pak relation regarding war	7	$7 \times 100 / 72 = 9.72$	9	$9 \times 100 / 74 = 12.16$	$16 \times 100 / 146 = 10.96$	10.96
Pak Gove. critic	4	$4 \times 100 / 72 = 5.56$	2	$2 \times 100 / 74 = 2.70$	$6 \times 100 / 146 = 4.11$	4.11
Articles not related to war	34	$32 \times 100 / 72 = 44.44$	28	$28 \times 100 / 74 = 37.82$	$62 \times 100 / 146 = 42.47$	42.47
Critic of India	0	$0 \times 100 / 72 = 00$	4	$4 \times 100 / 74 = 5.40$	$4 \times 100 / 146 = 2.74$	2.74
Total publish	72		74			

## Appendix- 6

Table shows range of topics appear in the letters to editors section of Dawn newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,

Articles with topic	16-Mar	17-Mar	18-Mar	19-Mar	20-Mar	21-Mar	22-Mar	23-Mar	24-Mar	25-Mar	Total numbers of reports
U.S Gove. critic	4	4	2	2	2	0	0	2	0	1	17
U.S Ally critic	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
U.N critic	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
U.S Pak relation regarding war	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
Pak Gove. critic	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Letter not related to war	8	12	9	9	11	14	12	9	11	9	104
Total publish	13	17	13	11	13	14	12	11	13	12	129

### Appendix-7

Table shows range of topics appear in the Letters to Editor Section of The Daily Times newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,

Articles with topic	16-Mar	17-Mar	18-Mar	19-Mar	20-Mar	21-Mar	22-Mar	23-Mar	24-Mar	25-Mar	Total numbers of reports
U.S Gove. critic	0	2	3	0	2	2	1	1	1	2	14
U.S Ally critic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U.N critic	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3
U.S Pak relation regarding war	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Pak Gove. critic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Letters not related to war	3	3	3	4	2	3	4	4	3	3	32
Critic of India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total publish	4	5	6	4	4	6	6	6	4	5	50

## Appendix -8

Table shows percentage calculation of topics appear in the Letters,  
In section of Opinion- Editorial- of Dawn Newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to  
25<sup>th</sup> March 2003

Articles with topic	Total numbers of reports	Total numbers of reports	Cumulative number of total letters	% expression of Cumulative numbers of topic
U.S Gove. critic	17	14	31	$31 \times 100 / 179 = 17.32$
U.S Ally critic	1	0	1	$1 \times 100 / 179 = 0.56$
U.N critic	3	3	6	$6 \times 100 / 179 = 3.35$
U.S Pak relation regarding war	3	1	4	$4 \times 100 / 179 = 2.23$
Pak Gove. critic	1	0	1	$1 \times 100 / 179 = 0.56$
Letter not related to war	104	32	136	$136 \times 100 / 179 = 75.95$
Total publish	129	50	179	

### Appendix -9

Table showing date wise, average numbers of reports at per page in two leading online newspapers, The Hindu and The Telegraph

Dates	Total numbers of reports in publish The Hindu	Average numbers of reports at per page in The Hindu	Total numbers of reports publish in The Telegraph	Average numbers of reports at per page in Telegraph	Combined total of reports in The Hindu & The Telegraph	Combined Average of reports at per page in The Hindu & The Telegraph
16 March	5/5=1	1	3/5=0.6	0.6	8/10=0.8	0.8
17 March	8/5=1.2	1.2	12/5=2.4	2.4	20/10=2.0	2.0
18 March	12/5=2.4	2.4	6/5=1.2	1.2	18/10=1.8	1.8
19 March	23/5=4.6	4.6	NA	NA	23/10=2.3	2.3
20 March	21/5=4.2	4.2	7/5=1.4	1.4	28/10=2.8	2.8
21 March	26/5=5.2	5.2	13/5=2.6	2.6	39/10=3.9	3.9
22 March	17/5=3.4	3.4	13/5=2.6	2.6	30/10=3	3.0
23 March	21/5=4.2	4.2	15/5=3	3	36/10=3.6	3.6
24 March	14/5=2.8	2.8	14/5=2.8	2.8	28/10=2.8	2.8
25 March	12/5=2.4	2.4	11/5=2.2	2.2	23/10=2.3	2.3

The above appendix shows calculation of average published reports at per page, to find average published reports at per page, total numbers of publish reports of concern day, have been divide from total numbers of page that is five such as front page, national page, international page, opinion-editorial page and letters to the editorial. But to find combined average, the total combined published reports of Dawn and The Daily Times have divided from 10, since it contains 5 pages each, from two newspapers.

## Appendix -10

Table Shows Topics Wise Coverage of Reports from 16<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup>  
March 2003, in Hindu & The Telegraph in percentage

Report on Iraq war with topic	Total numbers of reports in the The Hindu	Total numbers of reports in The Telegraph	Combined total of reports	Cumulative % of Combined reports
Comment and commentary on Official Indian Gove. Statement/stance	9	5	$14 \times 100/253=5.53$	5.53
Official U.S Gove. Statement	14	11	$25 \times 100/253=9.88$	9.88
Description on war zone	25	27	$52 \times 100/253=20.55$	20.55
Critic of war by Indian peoples, institutions etc.	34	16	$50 \times 100/253=19.76$	19.76
Critic of war by rest of the world	57	13	$70 \times 100/253=27.67$	27.67
Reporting on effect of war in Indian and its bilateral relation with U.S	20	22	$42 \times 100/253=16.66$	16.66
Total	159	94	253	100.

## Appendix-11

Table shows range of topics appear in the Editorial- Opinion section of  
The Hindu newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,

Articles with topic	16-Mar	17-Mar	18-Mar	19-Mar	20-Mar	21-Mar	22-Mar	23-Mar	24-Mar	25-Mar	Total numbers of reports
U.S Gove. Critic	0	1	1	2	3	2	1	5	2	3	20
U.S Ally critic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
U.N critic	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
U.S India relation regarding war	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discussion on Indian Gove. Stance on war	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Descriptive Report on war	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Articles not related to war	6	5	4	4	3	3	3	0	3	2	33
Total publish	6	6	5	6	7	6	5	8	5	5	59

## Appendix-12

Table shows range of topics appear in the Editorial- Opinion section of  
The Telegraph newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003,

Articles with topic	16-Mar	17-Mar	18-Mar	19-Mar	20-Mar	21-Mar	22-Mar	23-Mar	24-Mar	25-Mar	Total numbers of reports
U.S Gove. Critic	1	0	0	NA	2	1	0	0	1	0	5
U.S Ally critic	0	0	0	NA	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
U.N critic	0	0	1	NA	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
U.S India relation regarding war	0	0	0	NA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discussion on Indian Gove. Stance on war	0	0	0	NA	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Descriptive Report on war	0	0	0	NA	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Articles not related to war	1	3	3	NA	2	2	2	2	2	4	21
Total publish	2	3	4	NA	4	4	2	2	4	4	29



### Appendix -13

Table shows percentage calculation of topics appear in the Editorial-  
Opinion section of The Daily Times Newspaper from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003

Topics of the Published Articles	Topics wise Published Articles in The Hindu editorial	Topic wise expression of Articles in The Hindu editorial in percentage	Topics wise Published Articles in The Telegraph editorial	Topic wise expression of Articles in The Telegraph editorial in percentage	Combined numbers of articles	Topic wise expression of Cumulative numbers in percentage
U. S Gove. critic	20X100/59=33.70	33.70	5X100/29=17.24	17.24	25X100/88=28.40	28.40
U. S Ally critic	1X100/59=1.7	1.7	1X100/29=3.45	3.45	2X100/88=2.27	2.27
U. N critic	2X100/59=3.4	3.4	1X100/29=3.45	3.45	3X100/88=3.41	3.41
U. S India relation regarding war	0X100/59=0	0	0X100/29=0	0	0X100/88=0	0
Discussion on Indian Gove. Stance on the war	1X100/59=1.69	1.69	0X100/29=0	0	1X100/88=1.69	1.69
Articles not related to war	33X100/59=55.94	55.94	21X100/29=72.41	72.41	54X100/88=61.36	61.36
Descriptive Report on war	2X100/59=3.9	3.9	1X100/29=3.45	3.45	3X100/88=3.40	3.40
Total publish	59		29		88	

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