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The Urdu Press in India and Pakistan – A Comparison¹

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Introduction

Amongst the key binding factors between India and Pakistan, the Urdu language emerges as a significant one. While it is the national language of Pakistan, in India too, the generation of pre-partition individuals is most at home with the Urdu language. Interestingly, the current Prime Minister of India, Dr Manmohan Singh, does not know the Devanagari script and is conversant in Urdu. The same can be said of former Prime Minister, I. K. Gujral, who was more comfortable in Urdu. In fact, he was part of a committee to look into the promotion of the Urdu language in India. It would be pertinent to mention here that the Urdu language also played a crucial role in India's freedom struggle.³

Former Indian President, K. R. Narayan, while inaugurating the All India Urdu Editors Conference on 29 July 1999, emphasised the role of Urdu as a bridge between India and Pakistan and stated that,⁴ "...it is a lively link with the people of Pakistan." If one were to examine the reach of the Urdu press in Pakistan, Urdu newspapers have a much wider circulation than English newspapers. In fact, it is often said that to actually understand the pulse of the ordinary man or woman in Pakistan, it is important to know the opinions expressed by the Urdu press which, on most occasions, are radically different from those of the English press.⁵ In India too, the Urdu press is important and is read by the Muslim community, which is 15 percent of the total population. For many non-Muslims too (especially those who migrated from Pakistan), Urdu remains a first language and they still

¹ This paper was presented at an International Seminar on "India and Pakistan: The Costs of Conflict", organised by the Pakistan Studies Programme, Academy of Third World Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India on 19 and 20 March 2009.

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³ The Indian Express, "Hot off the presses, hope for Urdu", Firoz Bhakt Ahmed, 29 May 2000. For the role of the Urdu language in the freedom struggle, see The Hindu "Role of Urdu speaking community in freedom struggle highlighted", 17 June 2007. If one were to examine the contribution of Urdu to the freedom struggle, some of the important slogans coined during the freedom struggle were in Urdu. One such prominent slogan was '*Inquilab Zindabad!*' which means 'Long lives the revolution!' Even other patriotic songs such as '*Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamare dil mein hai*', whose English translation roughly means 'The desire for sacrifice is now in our hearts', were in Urdu.

⁴ Speech by K. R. Narayan, President of India, while inaugurating the All India Urdu Editors Conference, New Delhi, 29 July 1999. Source: Press Information Bureau Website, Government of India. Website link: <http://pib.myiris.com/speech/article.php3?fl=010608181801> – accessed on 5 February 2009.

⁵ *The Daily Times*, "Newspaper numbers decrease as readership increases", Qazi Asif, 4 March 2008.

go through the Urdu newspapers diligently. It is important perhaps to mention here that this generation is, however, fast withering away.⁶

Research Questions

This paper will provide an overview of the important Urdu newspapers in India and Pakistan and their ideological inclinations. It would then attempt to tackle the primary question of the possible approaches that the Urdu press in both countries could adopt towards the complex India-Pakistan relationship. A number of critical questions will be raised during the course of this analysis as follow:

1. What are the ideological leanings of Urdu newspapers in India and Pakistan?
2. Do emotional bindings have any influence on the coverage of events by Urdu newspapers in India?
3. On the whole, do the Urdu newspapers influence the relationship or are they influenced by the relationship?

Methodology

This paper will broadly use the coverage of events in the post-Kargil period as a case study. The main thrust of this paper will, however, be to examine the stand taken by Pakistani Urdu newspapers during the 2004-2005 period which was a relatively calmer time for India-Pakistan relationship. During this time, Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Singh took some important steps to give a fillip to the peace process between their two countries. In the case of the Indian Urdu newspapers, the period beginning 2003, when the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government began the peace process, has been used as a case study. The other period which will be used as a case study is the aftermath of the Mumbai massacre, where there were some unwarranted reactions from even saner quarters in the Urdu and the English press.

For this purpose, editorials from *Jang* (meaning war) and *Nawa-E-Waqt* in Pakistan, and from *The Rashtriya Sahara*, *Siasat* and *Daily Pratap* in India will be used as illustrations.

The Urdu Press in Pakistan

The Urdu newspapers in Pakistan have a much wider circulation than the English newspapers.⁷ As a result of this wide circulation, governments, both military and democratic regimes, have been keeping a close watch on them. It would not be incorrect to say that, to a certain degree, these governments have also curbed the Urdu press' independence. "Newspapers that publish in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, have a far broader reach than English newspapers, and are subjected to greater pressures by the state."⁸

⁶ Interview with Masoom Moradabadi. For a good illustration of how migrants from Pakistan are avid readers of Urdu newspapers, see Farouqui, A., "Redefining Urdu Politics in India", p. 235.

⁷ Interview with Murtaza Razvi, Dawn.

⁸ *Asia Times Online*, "Press vulnerable under sword of martial law", Beena Sarwar, 29 February 2000, weblink: <http://www.atimes.com/media/BB29Ce01.html> – accessed on 14 February 2009. For the point of establishment keeping a close eye on the Urdu Press, also see, Cohen, S., "The idea of Pakistan", p. 147.

Apart from this, many a time, the Urdu press in Pakistan adopts a conservative approach on issues. This cannot be attributed solely to state control; it is also due to the readership of these newspapers.⁹ Mushahid Hussein, a former journalist and Pakistan's former Minister for Information and Broadcasting, remarking on the state of the media in general, opined, "The media barons play a key role in providing 'legitimacy' to the state's ideology and its policies, while working to promote variants of the 'officially certified truth'. In any case, the media in Pakistan is dependent on the state for support, sustenance and, sometimes, survival."¹⁰ In fact, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in Pakistan has a cell called the Department of Reference and Research which keeps a close watch on what is written in editorials of newspapers – it even goes to the extent of identifying pro- and anti-government material.

Amongst the Urdu newspapers, *Jang*, published in Karachi, has the largest daily circulation of approximately 800,000 copies and a readership of seven million people.¹¹ *Jang* was founded in 1944 in New Delhi by Mir Khalil-ur-Rahman. Like many other Pakistani newspapers, *Jang* supported the cause of Pakistan. It is generally believed that, while the *Nawa-E-Waqt* group was close to General Zia-Ul-Haq and Nawaz Sharif, the *Jang* group was associated with the Bhutto regime. In the words of Ardeshir Cowasjee, a prominent columnist for *Dawn*, "In Bhutto's days, *Jang* and its owner/editor, Mir Khalil-ur-Rahman, were the good boys of the Urdu press which in this country was and is the section of the press which really matters."¹²

If one were to go through *Jang's* coverage of Indo-Pak relations, it would be pertinent to mention here that, during period of tensions between India and Pakistan, *Jang* has toed a nationalist line. At the same time, during periods of peace, it has not shied away from being an active participant in the peace process. A good illustration of this point is the fact that the *Jang* group hosted a meeting of parliamentarians from both India and Pakistan just a week before the Lahore Summit in February 1999. Similarly, *Jang* and *Panchjanya*, the mouthpiece of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, jointly organised an essay competition for their readers to suggest an agenda for the Agra Summit.¹³

The point that *Jang* is reasonable during peace times is quite clearly evident if one glances through some of its editorials, written during a peace process between both countries. One editorial stated that, "Pakistan reiterated its cooperation in realisation of the multi-billion gas pipeline from Iran to India via Pakistan." However, it added that some Indian experts were against the pipeline passing through Pakistan, as it would significantly benefit the country.¹⁴ While *Jang's* scepticism was based on economic rationale, *Nawa-E-Waqt's* stand, as will be discussed further later, was that the pipeline was a means of sidetracking the Kashmir issue and nothing else.

⁹ See Malik, Iftikhar Haider, "Culture and Customs of Pakistan" p. 136. Interview with Murtaza Razvi was also useful in gaining this insight.

¹⁰ *The Friday Times*, "Media Barons", Mushahid Hussein, 18 August 2006.

¹¹ Majid Sheikh, a journalist with Dawn provided these figures and this is an approximation. There is no real method of verifying the figures as even those available from the official sources are not wholly accurate. The website of *Jang* also gives the figure mentioned above.

¹² *Dawn*, "How the press failed us", Ardeshir Cowasjee, 7 February 1999.

¹³ *The Frontline*, "Post Agra time to converge", 4-17 August 2001.

¹⁴ Pakistan dailies mixed reaction to outcome of Musharraf's India visit, Source: Global security website: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/pakistan/2005/pakistan-050420-irna02.htm> – accessed on 9 January 2009.

In another editorial on 19 April 2005, *Jang*, while commenting on the meeting between General Musharraf and Dr Singh, carried the headline “President Musharraf satisfied with India tour” and reported:

President Pervez Musharraf has expressed satisfaction over his talks and meetings with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and other Indian leaders. He said that his tour was fruitful and will help to strengthen the relations between two countries, while it will help to normalise the atmosphere on both sides as well. After a one on one meeting with Manmohan, he told media that a positive attitude was adopted from both countries, and both leaders had discussed all issues including Kashmir boldly. The importance of such talks can't be denied if we keep in view the larger interest of common people of both countries. A free and fair business relationship will help both nations. As far as the Indian stance on Kashmir issue is concerned, India looked a bit flexible on this core issue, the Indian Foreign Minister's admission that there is a need to resolve Kashmir issue but it will take time, is a proof that India admits it is a burning question between both countries. The talks with the Indian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on the Kashmir issue also strengthen the Pakistani stance of the issue.¹⁵

While *Jang* is not as anti-India as other Pakistani Urdu newspapers such as *Nawa-E-Waqt*, it would be naive to assume that it is totally rational in its coverage of India-Pakistan relations. However, it definitely takes a nationalistic line during periods of tension between both countries. Perhaps the difference in the approach of both newspapers is summed up by Mushahid Hussein, who is of the view that, “*Jang* viewed Urdu as the basis of Pakistani nationalism while *Nawa-E-Waqt* saw Islam and Iqbal as the pillars of Pakistani nationalism.”¹⁶ Yet, there have been phases where *Jung* has adopted a jingoistic line. Its reporting following the Mumbai attacks clearly reflected this. An editorial dated 16 January 2009 had the headline “Bring the real face of India in front of international community”. It reported:

A fierce blame game started from Indian government against Pakistan after the Mumbai attacks. This shows that the Indian leadership was awaiting such an incident to react in a specific manner. The proofs and reasons New Delhi presented during this period are baseless and full of flaws. Anyone can judge easily that it is nothing but propaganda against Pakistan. If this series of blames is a strategy for the upcoming elections in India, it is a dangerous and dirty trick of Indian agencies, and the international community should notice it. Pakistan has reacted in a mature manner in response to the Indian Prime Minister's, Foreign Minister's and Defence Minister's immature behaviour and threats of surgical strikes.¹⁷

After *Jang*, *Nawa-E-Waqt* has the second largest circulation of 500,000 copies a day in Pakistan.¹⁸ The group played an active role in the freedom struggle. According to Dr Mehdi

¹⁵ Translation done by Tahir Malik, Waqt News TV Channel.

¹⁶ *The Friday Times*, “Media Barons”, Mushahid Hussein, 18 August 2006.

¹⁷ Translation provided by Tahir Malik.

¹⁸ For figures, see Press Reference website, Weblink: <http://www.pressreference.com/No-Sa/Pakistan.html>, accessed on 10 March 2009. Figures are approximated, but Majid Sheikh of Dawn and Tahir Malik, a senior journalist working with *Waqt TV* channel also gave similar estimates.

Hasan, the management of the newspaper, it "...struggled hard in mobilising Muslim public opinion in support of the Pakistan movement until Pakistan appeared on the map of the world as a sovereign state."¹⁹ The *Nawa-E-Waqt* group has developed good relations with all establishments, but has been especially close to Zia and Sharif.

The newspaper tends to follow a hardline vis-à-vis India. The editor of the newspaper, Majeed Nizami, is said to have remarked on more than one occasion that he would only visit India in a tank:

...India could have attacked us if we were not [a] nuclear power. Please don't have a soft corner for India. I never went to India and when Zia-ul-Haq asked me to go, I said I would go to India only on a tank.²⁰

The newspaper can be said to have a tough stand on Kashmir and is jingoistic at times.²¹ Some illustrations from Saeed Naqvi are useful for understanding the ideological leanings of *Nawa-E-Waqt* well.²² In 2004, the people of the subcontinent, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee told the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, had once fought colonialism together in the 1857 war of independence. The twist *Nawa-e-Waqt* gave to this statement was that "Vajpayee considers united action in the past as more important than the more recent partition!" It added that, "Like the Congress, neither is Vajpayee willing to accept partition nor the two nation theory. What an allegation against a man who visited Minar-e-Pakistan to underscore India's acceptance of Pakistani nationhood."

In another editorial, *Nawa-e-Waqt* quoted Punjab's Governor Khalid Maqbool's criticism of the *jehadi* groups for being the main impediment to a liberal polity in Pakistan. The newspaper lashed out at the Governor (and President Musharraf and Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali), "Don't fool yourselves that your entreaties have brought India to the negotiating table. It is the sacrifice of the *jehadis* that has forced India to the negotiating table."²³

In examining the approach of *Nawa-e-Waqt* towards economic relations with India, for example, the talk of the gas pipeline, unlike *Jang* which only talks about economic apprehensions, *Nawa-E-Waqt* expresses these apprehensions but also adds that the pipeline is an attempt to sidetrack from Kashmir.²⁴ On 11 February 2005, *Nawa-E-Waqt* carried an editorial that the Pakistan people were greatly incensed at the project of the Iranian gas pipeline transiting through Pakistan to India. The newspaper said it was folly on the part of the Petroleum Minister, Amanullah Khan Jadoon, to welcome the Indian request to discuss the pipeline to increase its diameter from 20 inches to 40 inches. The editorial stated that Pakistan should not betray its Kashmir policy for the fee of US\$500 million that it is expected to get from the transit pipeline. Pakistan should think of Kashmir which the Indians were unwilling to discuss and the dams they were building to make Pakistan go dry. The pipeline would allow India to become prosperous while Pakistan would get only US\$500 million.

¹⁹ *Dawn*, "The Muslim press and the independence movement", Dr Mehdi Hasan, 30 December 2006.

²⁰ *The Nation*, "Country's solidarity linked with The Two Nation Theory", 26 October 2008.

²¹ Tsui, Amy and Tollefson James W., "Language policy, culture and identity in Asian Contexts", (Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2007), p. 227.

²² *The Indian Express*, "Vajpayee clears the way", Saeed Naqvi, 16 January 2004.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *The Daily Times*, "Second Opinion: Are our Politicians wiser now?", Khaled Ahmed, 15 April 2005.

Regarding the Manmohan Singh-Musharraf talks mentioned earlier in this newspaper, *Nawa-E-Waqt* was more pessimistic than *Jang*. In an editorial dated 19 April 2005, it stated that India was trying to backtrack from Kashmir, and with reference to India, stated that the talks were "...attempts to make the core issue a *korh* (empty) issue."²⁵

After the Mumbai attacks, *Nawa-E-Waqt* upped the ante against India. On 19 January 2009, the newspaper, in an editorial titled "Indian army chief's threat and our responsibilities", while once again making the accusation that India was trying to distract the world from Kashmir, stated that:

The Indian Army Chief has threatened Pakistan over recent Mumbai carnage and said that India is considering all options, including a full army attack. The real scenario is that India is using Mumbai attacks to build a huge international pressure against Pakistan, and rotating [the] international community's attention from the core Kashmir issue between these two neighbouring countries. India's government is not only creating this war hysteria to hide its illegibility of good governance and real problems but also to score more points against Pakistan.²⁶

In the aftermath of the Lahore attack on Sri Lankan cricketers, it is interesting to note that *Nawa-E-Waqt* took a strong line vis-à-vis India, pointing a finger to Indian involvement in the attacks on Sri Lankan cricketers.²⁷

If one draws conclusions, it would be incorrect to say that the Urdu press is monolithic in nature – there seems to be some clear differences between the main newspapers. While *Nawa-E-Waqt* seems closed to any relationship with India till the Kashmir issues is resolved, *Jang*, in times of relative peace, perhaps due to its business interest in India, seems more open to a relationship with India and is keen on expanding economic relations between the two countries. However, during tense periods, both newspapers adopt a hardline, jingoistic approach.

The Urdu Press in India

The major Urdu newspapers in India are *Daily Munsif* (with a circulation of 60,000 copies per day),²⁸ *Siasat* (the second largest newspaper), with a circulation of about 42,000 copies per day²⁹, *The Rashtriya Sahara* and *Sahafat*. Published from Hyderabad, *Siasat* was founded by Abid Ali Khan in 1949. *Rahnuma-E-Deccan*, *Daily Munsif* and *Etemaad* are the other dailies published in Hyderabad. Most of the Urdu newspapers are Muslim-owned. However, some like *Hind Samachar*, *Daily Pratap* and *Daily Milaap* are Hindu-owned. All the Hindu-owned newspapers were set up by refugees who had migrated from Pakistan. *Hind Samachar* was started by Lala Jagat Narain in 1948.³⁰

²⁵ Translation provided by Tahir Malik.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Interview with Murtaza Razvi.

²⁸ For figures, see Munsif Daily website: http://www.munsifdaily.com/ABOUT_US_.html. Masoom Moradabadi, Secretary of the All India Urdu Editors Conference, also gave similar estimates.

²⁹ Approximated figure available from the Audit Bureau of Circulation survey (July-December 2005) and interview with Moradabadi.

³⁰ See Ather Farouqui. "Muslims and Media Images: News versus Views". p. 225-227.

As far as Urdu newspapers in India are concerned, there is not much to distinguish the viewpoints vis-à-vis peace initiatives. Unlike Pakistan where there are differences of opinions between *Jang* and *Nawa-E-Waqt* over peace overtures, most Urdu newspapers in India seemed to be in favour of peace initiatives. However, there are differences between the attitudes of newspapers such *Daily Pratap*, with pro-BJP leanings, and the other Urdu newspapers in times of tension between India and Pakistan.

During interviews, it appeared that the message emanating from these newspapers was that if Indian Muslims wanted peace with Pakistan, the reasons were no different from that of other Indians interested in a harmonious relationship with that country. While till the 1960s and 1970s, there was some sense of affinity towards Pakistan, this has totally transformed now. In the present scenario, the Urdu newspapers, if anything, are more critical of Pakistan as partition had only weakened the Indian Muslims:³¹

The attitude of Muslims towards Pakistan saw a transformation after the breakup of Pakistan in 1971. And whatever traces of sympathy were left were wiped out with the outbreak of ethnic conflict against Muhajirs (the Urdu-speaking Indian immigrants to Pakistan) in Karachi. Very few Indian Muslims today have any sympathy for that country on the basis of religion, culture or language. All Muslims in India had never accepted the two-nation theory. Those accepted this theory had migrated to Pakistan. However, there was a measure of religio-cultural and linguistic sympathy for Pakistan, more because of cultural and blood relations than anything else. Even that greatly diminished with major events like [the] break-up of Pakistan and [the] ethnic conflict.³²

An examination of the editorials in Indian Urdu newspapers around 2003 when the National Democratic Alliance government, led by Prime Minister Vajpayee, resumed the peace process, most newspapers were positive about the process, including the Hindu-owned Urdu newspapers. However, while *Daily Pratap*, (a BJP-affiliated newspaper), was harsh on Pakistan, the Urdu newspapers praised the Vajpayee government's initiative. The Urdu newspapers were quite surprised that a BJP-led government, which was perceived to be extremely hawkish in its foreign policy, took the peace initiative vis-à-vis Pakistan.

The nationalist Urdu-language *The Rashtriya Sahara*, in an editorial titled "Pakistan's cold response" on 28 October 2003 wrote:

The response of the political leadership in Pakistan to India's recent 12-point peace initiative is not very encouraging and, contrary to the initial optimism, no drastic change of situation in the current Indo-Pak equation seems to be coming. Such a cold response from Pakistan is in keeping with its past record. However, Pakistan should take a realistic view of India's proposals which would serve the interests of the two countries equally by bringing the people on the two sides of the subcontinent closer and promoting bilateral relations.³³

³¹ Interview with Masoom Moradabadi.

³² The Secular Perspective, "Minorities and Kargil Conflict", Asghar Ali Engineer, 1-15 August 1999, Weblink: <http://ecumene.org/IIS/csss18.htm> – accessed on 15 February 2009.

³³ Translations of Urdu newspapers taken from "Pakistan accepts Vajpayee's confidence building measures", an analysis, done for the global security website, with news reports from various countries. Source: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/pakistan/2003/www31101.htm> – accessed on 21 December 2008.

The differences in approach towards the peace process are most profound in the editorials of *Siasat*, published from Hyderabad, and *Daily Pratap*, published from Delhi. In its editorial on 27 October 2003, *Siasat* praised the peace initiative. However, it was surprised by the BJP government's decision. The pro-BJP *Daily Pratap*, on the other hand, praised the BJP's initiative but was critical of Pakistan saying, "As usual, Islamabad has refused to be excited by the Indian offer saying that the proposals do not include a dialogue that Pakistan has been insisting upon...Although the proposals have been widely welcomed by its own people, Pakistan finds it politically and diplomatically more advantageous to make noise over holding talks than to work on solid ground preparation for lasting peace."³⁴

The tone of the Urdu newspapers during periods of tension, for example, the reactions to the Mumbai attacks, also provide important insights of their approaches to India-Pakistan relations. While some Urdu newspapers were harsher on Pakistan than Hindi or English newspapers, others like *The Rashtriya Sahara* took a saner stand than their counterparts in the English and Hindi press in India and the Urdu press in Pakistan, and pleaded for sanity. For example, *The Rashtriya Sahara*, in its editorial on 2 December 2008, wrote:

The greatest need of the time is not to lose our senses and balance of mind and to make efforts to go to the root of the entire conspiracy and reach the real masters of these terrorists (*asal aqaon tak pahonchne ki koshish ki jaaye*)... As the name of ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence] and Pakistan is clearly coming up in this episode and that country itself is bearing the brunt of terrorism for a long time, it becomes imperative for it to provide to its neighbouring country all possible cooperation, information and facilities necessary for inquiring into these abominable (*ghinaoni*) activities. If an effort is not made to resolve this very serious problem through talks, mutual cooperation and information concerning the activities of the terrorists, the result can be so ferocious (*bhaynak*) for both the countries and particularly for Pakistan that would be hard to imagine.³⁵

Another interesting point about the Indian Urdu newspapers, which emerged after the Mumbai attacks, is many of them went along with the views of India's Minority Minister, A. R. Antulay, that the killing of Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad chief, Hemant Karkare, during the Mumbai attack, was linked to the Malegaon blasts that the officer and his team were investigating.³⁶ *The Rashtriya Sahara* had a headline editorial titled "Was he a victim of bullets of terrorists or someone else's?"³⁷

Conclusion

It would be a mistake to assume that mere ideology dictates the Urdu press in Pakistan.³⁸ What would explain the fact that *Jang* supports friendship with India in times of peace and toes a totally different line when there is a strain in the relationship? *Nawa-E-Waqt*, which is more ideological in approach, follows a more belligerent approach. However, the English

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ *The Indian Express*, "From the Urdu Press", Seema Chishti, 5 December 2008.

³⁶ *The Indian Express*, "His words find echo in Muslim fears", Seema Chishti, 19 December 2008.

³⁷ *The Indian Express*, "From the Urdu Press", Seema Chishti, 5 December 2008.

³⁸ Conversation with Murtaza Razvi, Magazines Editor, *Dawn* on 18 February 2009.

publication of the same group is less jingoistic. Does this have anything to do with the readership of the newspaper?³⁹

In India, while the Urdu press is not cut off from the mainstream press, there are certain sections which take a more anti-American and anti-Israeli line. The differences between the English press and certain Urdu newspapers were most visible post-Mumbai when some of the Urdu newspapers supported Minister Antulay's assertion that Karkare's killing was suspicious since he was investigating the Malegaon blasts.⁴⁰

One more important point is the fact that some of the Hindu-owned newspapers such as *Daily Pratap* take a diametrically opposite stand from the other Urdu newspapers. In a way, there is a subtle division between Muslim-owned and Hindu-owned Urdu newspapers.⁴¹ It has been rightly stated that, "Urdu journalism is yet to recover from the shadow of the two-nation theory."

In conclusion, in discussing the role of the Urdu press in India-Pakistan relationship, one can say that *Jang* supports the peace process in times of relative peace. On the other hand, many of the Urdu newspapers in India not only support peace but also call for sanity even in moments of tension between the two countries, for example, in the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks. However, the views expressed in jingoistic and ideological newspapers such as *Daily Pratap* are a mirror image of those expressed in *Nawa-E-Waqt*. Both treat the problem between the nations as a religious one and are full of nationalist rhetoric.

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³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ *The Indian Express*, "His words find echo in Muslim fears", Seema Chisthi, 19 December 2008,

⁴¹ *The Indian Express*, "Hot off the presses, hope for Urdu", Firoz Bhakt Ahmed, 29 May 2000.

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