

PRINT MEDIA AND TERRORISM IN PUNJAB:

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

A Thesis

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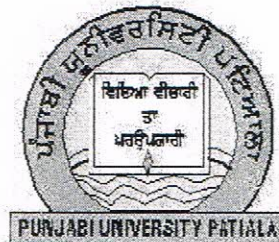
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by

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled 'PRINT MEDIA AND TERRORISM IN PUNJAB: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS' is a bonafied research work done by Manish Sirhindi during May 1, 2008 till June, 2015 submitted to the Punjabi University in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Mass Communication and Journalism and that the thesis has not previously formed the basis of the award of any degree, diploma, associate-ship, fellowship or other titles and that the thesis represents independent and original work on the part of the candidate under my guidance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The state of Punjab, one of the richest and fastest growing provinces of the nation was pushed into the 'dark days' by not one, but different forces. The role of the Press assumed special significance during the days of terrorism, as it had become a violent movement that affected a large number of people of the state either directly or indirectly. Moreover, unlike the previous movements in Punjab, where various outfits had come out with their own publications to spread their message amongst the masses, the terrorists of the Khalistan movement used the existing media to propagate their ideology and activities.

The study is an attempt to understand the political and social developments that took place over a period of time and how the media reacted to these developments, which finally pushed Punjab into the dark days and whether the media could have dealt with these developments in a better way. Even after the situation in Punjab had attained alarming proportions, some newspapers were busy carrying reports that only added to the gravity of the situation rather than contributing to the efforts to solve the Punjab problem.

Major Socio/Political/Religious movements in Punjab

Prior to the Khalistan Movement that spanned over two decades; a number of other movements had also swept Punjab. The understanding of these movements is also a must for understanding the background of the Khalistan Movement.

The Kuka Movement

These included the Kuka Movement, which was a small but important religious-political movement in Punjab of 1972. Kukas were not part of the mainstream Sikhism of the Sikhs. They wanted caste-abolition, permission of intermarriages, widow-remarriages, abstinence from country made liquor, meat and drugs.

Namdhari were also "Kuka" because their recited Gurbani in similar manner. Kukas wanted to throw away the British and restore Sikh Sovereignty over Punjab.

Kuka followers had to wear only hand woven clothes and boycott British education, laws and readymade products.

Thus Kuka movement had elements of “Non-Cooperation” and “civil disobedience” as well. It was founded by Bhagat Jawhar Mal aka Sian Sahib and later his disciples Balak Singh and Ram Singh carried forward the movement.¹

The Ghadar Movement

The Ghadar Movement started by the Ghadar Party that was an organization founded by Punjabi Indians in the United States and Canada with the aim of securing India's independence from British rule. Key members included Lala Hardayal, Sohan Singh Bhakna, Abdul Hafiz Mohamed Barakatullah, Kartar Singh Sarabha, and Rashbehari Bose.

After the outbreak of World War I, Ghadar party members returned to Punjab to agitate for rebellion alongside the Babbar Akali Movement. In 1915 they conducted revolutionary activities in central Punjab and organised uprisings. Their presence shook the hold of the British Empire and police surveillance in Punjabi villages increased in an attempt to crush the rebellion. The party is known for setting the foundation for future Indian revolutionary movements and served as a stepping stone for independence. Though predominantly Sikh, the party included members and leaders of many religions, demonstrating an accepting and democratic attitude towards all people as they united in their patriotism. After the conclusion of the war, the party in America split into Communist and Anti-Communist factions. The party was formally dissolved in 1948.²

There had been instances where newspapers carried provocative reports that were completely out of context. Such reports propelled the situations from bad to worst and added fuel to terrorism. The based Jalandhar press had played a devastating role for Punjab by assisting in spread of terrorism.

The Babbar Akali Movement

The Babbar Akali movement was a 1921 splinter group of "militant" Sikhs who broke away from the mainstream Akali movement over the latter's insistence on non-violence over Gurdwara reforms. The militant unit was established as Shaheed

Dal (Association of the Martyrs) in September 1920, later evolving into the Babbar Akali movement. By 1922, they had organized themselves into a military group and began killing informers, government officials, and ex-officials. They also published an illegal newspaper describing British exploitation of India. It was declared an unlawful association by the British in April 1923. They used religious imagery and discussed the loss of Sikh sovereignty in the Anglo-Sikh wars which helped them enjoy popular support. The Babbar Akali movement recruited from World War I veterans dissatisfied with broken land grant promises and former members of the Ghadar Party. Many of its members were killed in police encounters, 67 were taken alive and "5 were sentenced to death, 11 to transportation for life and 38 to various terms of imprisonment". Babbar Khalsa International was established in an attempt to emulate the Babbar Akalis.³

The Arya Samaj Movement

Arya Samaj (Noble Society) is an Indian religious movement that promotes values and practices based on the infallibility of the Vedas. The sect was founded by Swami Dayananda, a sannyasi, on 7 April 1875. Arya Samaj was formally established in Bombay on 7 April 1875 by Dayanand Saraswati. The group eventually found most of its support in Punjab. Pandit Lekh Ram and Arya Samaj in Punjab with Arya Samaj being an important sect amongst Punjabi Hindus.⁴

Pandit Lekh Ram (1858 – 6 March 1897) was an important Arya Samaj Hindu leader. He is famous for his encounters with the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. He also wrote a book in falsification of Ahmad's Barahin-e-Ahmadiyya and named it Takzeeb e Barahin Ahmadiyya (A falsification of the Barahin e Ahmadiyya). He was assassinated on March 6, 1897. Members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community claim that this was in accordance with the prophecies of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.⁴

Arya Samaj promoted the use of Hindi and discouraged the use of Punjabi language in Punjab. This was a serious point of difference between the Sikhs represented by the Akalis and the Arya Samaj during the period immediately following Indian independence and the demand for a Punjabi speaking state.⁴

The Punjabi Suba Movement

In the 1950s and 1960s, linguistic issues in India caused civil disorder when the central government declared Hindi as the main official language of India. For demanding Punjabi to be the official language of the Punjab a total of 12000 Sikhs were arrested for their peaceful demonstrations in 1955 including several Akali leaders including Tara Singh, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, and Jathedar of Akal Takht Achchhar Singh.⁵ The nationwide movement of linguistic groups seeking statehood resulted in a massive reorganization of states according to linguistic boundaries in 1956. At that time, Indian Punjab had its capital in Shimla, and though the vast majority of the Sikhs lived in Punjab, they still did not form a majority. But if Haryana and Himachal could be separated Sikhs could have a Punjab in which they could form a majority of 60 per cent against the Hindus being 40 per cent.⁵ The Akali Dal, a Sikh dominated political party active mainly in Punjab, sought to create a Punjabi Suba. This case was presented to the States Reorganisation Commission established in 1953.

The Khalistan Movement

The Khalistan movement is a nationalist political liberation movement, which seeks to create a separate country called Khalistan "The Land of the Pure" in the Punjab region of South Asia. The territorial definition of the proposed country ranges from the Punjab state of India to the greater Punjab region, including the neighbouring Indian states.⁶

The Punjab region has been the traditional homeland for the Sikhs. Before its conquest by the British it had been ruled by the Sikhs for 82 years; the Sikh Misls ruled over the entire Punjab from 1767 to 1799, till their confederacy was unified into the Sikh Empire by Maharajah Ranjit Singh. However, the region also has a substantial number of Hindus and Muslims, and before 1947, the Sikhs formed the largest religious group only in the Ludhiana district of the British province. When the Muslim League demanded a separate country for Muslims via the Lahore Resolution of 1940, a section of Sikh leaders grew concerned that their community would be left without any homeland following the partition of India between the Hindus and the Muslims. They put forward the idea of Khalistan, envisaging it as a theocratic state covering a small part of the greater Punjab region.⁷

After the partition was announced, the majority of the Sikhs migrated from the Pakistani province of Punjab to the Indian province of Punjab, which then included the parts of the present-day Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. Following India's independence in 1947, The Punjabi Suba Movement led by the Akali Dal aimed at creation of a Punjabi-majority state (Suba) in the Punjab region of India in the 1950s. Concerned that creating a Punjabi-majority state would effectively mean creating a Sikh-majority state, the Indian government initially rejected the demand. After a series of protests, violent clampdowns on the Sikhs, and the Indo-Pak War of 1965 the Government finally agreed to partition the state, creating a new Sikh-majority Punjab state and splitting the rest of the region to the states of Himachal Pradesh, the new state Haryana. Subsequently, the Sikh leaders started demanding more autonomy for the states, alleging that the Central government was discriminating against Punjab. Although the Akali Dal explicitly opposed the demand for an independent Sikh country, the issues raised by it were used as a premise for the creation of a separate country by the proponents of Khalistan.⁸

In 1971, the Khalistan proponent Jagjit Singh Chauhan travelled to the United States. He placed an advertisement in The New York Times proclaiming the formation of Khalistan and was able to collect millions of dollars from the Sikh Diaspora. On 12 April 1980, he held a meeting with the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of "National Council of Khalistan", at Anandpur Sahib. He declared himself as the President of the Council and Balbir Singh Sandhu as its Secretary General. In May 1980, Jagjit Singh Chauhan travelled to London and announced the formation of Khalistan. A similar announcement was made by Balbir Singh Sandhu, in Amritsar, who released stamps and currency of Khalistan. The inaction of the authorities in Amritsar and elsewhere was decried by Akali Dal headed by the Sikh leader Harchand Singh Longowal as a political stunt by the Congress (I) party of Indira Gandhi.⁹

The Khalistan movement reached its zenith in the 1970s and 1980s, flourishing in the Indian state of Punjab, which has a Sikh-majority population and has been the traditional homeland of the Sikh religion. Various pro-Khalistan outfits have been involved in a separatist movement against the government of India ever since. There are claims of funding from Sikhs outside India to attract young people into these pro-Khalistan militant groups.¹⁰

In the 1980s, some of the Khalistan proponents turned to militancy, resulting in counter-militancy operations by the Indian security forces. In one such operation, Operation Blue Star (June 1984), the Indian Army led by the Sikh General Kuldeep Singh Brar forcibly entered the Harimandir Sahib (the Golden Temple) to overpower the armed militants and the religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. The handling of the operation, damage to the Akal Takht (which is one of the five seats of temporal physical religious authority of the Sikhs) and loss of life on both sides, led to widespread criticism of the Indian Government. Many Sikhs strongly maintain that the attack resulted in the desecration of the holiest Sikh shrine. The Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her two Sikh bodyguards in retaliation. Following her death, thousands of Sikhs were massacred in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots in Delhi, termed as genocide by the congress activists and mobs.¹¹

In January 1986, the Golden Temple was occupied by militants belonging to All India Sikh Students Federation and Damdami Taksal. On 26 January 1986, the gathering passed a resolution (gurmatta) favouring the creation of Khalistan. Subsequently, a number of rebel militant groups in favour of Khalistan waged a major insurgency against the government of India. Indian security forces suppressed the insurgency in the early 1990s, but Sikh political groups such as the Khalsa Raj Party and SAD (A) continued to pursue an independent Khalistan through non-violent means. Pro-Khalistan organizations such as Dal Khalsa (International) are also active outside India, supported by a section of the Sikh Diaspora.¹²

In November 2015, a Sarbat Khalsa, or congregation of the Sikh community was called in response to recent unrest in the Punjab region. The Sarbat Khalsa adopted 13 resolutions to strengthen Sikh institutions and traditions. The 12th resolution reaffirmed the resolutions adopted by the Sarbat Khalsa in 1986, including the declaration of the sovereign state of Khalistan.¹³

It however remained a contentious issue whether the Khalistan Movement was a Political or Religious movement as both were interrelated during those days. While, it can easily be called a political movement given the fact that the extremists were struggling for a separate state, but as the movement was initially led by Jarnail Singh Bhindrawala, who was head of the Damdami Taksal and a known religious preacher.

With keen interest in the history of Punjab and a will to understand the rationale that pushed the state into days of terror, I, as a journalist, have studied as to what role did the print media of those days played either in curtailing or spreading terrorism.

During the terror days the reporters found it difficult to dig out investigative news stories or visit the affected persons as well as the terrorist outfits and their leaders to bring out the truth. Press-note journalism prevailed at large and under such circumstances the 'Truth is always a casualty'. The truth that was, if had been brought to light by the media, might have thwarted the uncalled for developments in the state.

Mark Tully and Satish Jacob in their book *Amritsar: Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle* observed that Mrs. Indira Gandhi (the then Prime Minister of India) blamed the Punjab crisis on the external forces which did not want to see a strong and united India. No doubt, they played a role and will continue to play a role by aiding and abetting Sikh extremists wedded to terrorism. But external forces alone could not and cannot threaten a country as potentially strong and stable as India. According to them India must look at their own country and weakness in its body which brought the country to the brink of political disaster.¹⁴

In this observation the two writers, who are also highly acclaimed journalists, seems to have perceived that a close watch on the political and social developments should be kept so that effective measures can be taken to prevent a situation like terrorism to go out of proportion. And what better media than the Press can undertake this task.

As media is considered to be a mirror of the society that keeps a watch on the political system and other developments and the possible consequences of these, therefore, it could have played a more proactive role in preventing the spread of terrorism.

It is believed that the sensitivity of the problem was not realised by the media during the early years of terrorism. Press remained a divided house and the division was on the basis of communal sentiments. Reports were sensationalized, manufactured and even communalised for vested interests to increase circulations,

influence public opinion and set an agenda either in favour of the militants or against them.

In his article on The Role of Media that was included in the list of articles published in Punjab in India Politics, S. Pritam Singh, a former educationist who taught economics in Panjab University, states that the power of media to manipulate and influence the masses can not be over-emphasized.¹⁶

He gave details of the news items that were being broadcast by the government controlled DD and AIR. In his article, Pritam Singh observed that government controlled media was used to project a false image of the Sikhs. This was not only annoying but also unsettling for a person with a Punjabi background.

There are so many other examples that testify the fact that a planned campaign had been launched to project the Sikh community as anti-national. The government controlled media was used extensively to propagate anti-Sikh messages. Therefore, it would be important to understand whether the free press had abided by the rules of reporting or was it also a part of the misinformation campaign, which not only did sow the seed of the problems, but also played a significant role in propelling the problem to the extend of no return.

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SIGNIFICANCE

Though, a number of attempts have already been made by several scholars to go into the details of the developments that brought the country to its worst political crisis ever-*The Punjab Crisis*-but this study would be dealing specifically with the role of media which is significant for redefining as to how the media should act under circumstances such as terrorism.

The research gains significance as it would add to our intellect and give us a fresh perspective as to how improvements can be brought about in the teaching and practice of journalism and would also help budding journalist to carry out their professional duties in a more mature manner.

Mr. M. V. Kamath in his article that was published in the book *The Punjab Story* stated that Punjab is a fairly well knit state with majority of the people bound together by the tie of religion that have no parallel anywhere else in the world.¹⁶

So what went wrong that the state plunged into the dark days and whether the media could have played a better role in thwarting such developments?

According to Dr. Amrik Singh, a former Vice-Chancellor of Punjabi University, Patiala and editor of the book *Punjab in Indian Politics-Issues and Trends*, the media had played a significant role in creating the image of Bhindrawala. He says 'With the tactical support extended to him by political powers from time to time and with the help of media, he (Bhindrawala) very soon acquired an image that excited the Sikh imagination.'¹⁷

The killings in Punjab were publicly condemned by the moderate Akalis. But it appears that such condemnations were not properly highlighted by the media in those days, which contributed to the rising communal gap between the Hindus and the Sikhs. Under a planned strategy the moderate Akalis were equated with extremists and this was the most visible expression to be seen in news items that were being published by a number of newspapers in those days.

Amrik Singh also observed that all Sikhs were portrayed as anti-patriotic and anti national in the media. He says that the chief protagonists who wanted 'Khalistan' lived in foreign countries and within the country not even a small fraction of Sikh

population asked for Khalistan. It was assumed that those demanding Khalistan were speaking on behalf of the whole community, which was not the fact. But did the media perform its duty of highlighting the general sentiments of the common Punjabis? It still remains to be seen.¹⁸

It is know fact that the Sikhs during the troubled times in Punjab felt alienated by the rest of the country, who had drawn a particular pictures of the Sikhs being anti- national. It is of grave importance to understand if the media played a proactive role in redefining the sense of nationalism by projecting the stand of common Punjabis or whether they were reporting only what the government or the terrorists had to say.

Man Singh Deora, editor of the book 'Aftermath of operation Blue Star' has collected a series of news reports that were published in the leading national dailies from New Delhi. A critical study of these news reports reveal that media was just presenting half of the picture and not the complete reality. Therefore, a study of the reports published by the English and the vernacular newspapers being published for within Punjab could reveal vital fact that would enable us redefine the role of the media with a new perspective.¹⁹

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The study is an honest attempt to enable us to understand whether the media had met with its social and political responsibilities in the right spirit or whether the media had failed to understand the consequences of what was being written in the newspapers.

It would also help us understand whether the newspapers were active in their very naive and mischievous ways to benefit from the terrorist activities or whether these played a positive role in the interest of the nation.

Working definition of Key terms

Terrorism

The term terror is derived from the Latin word 'Terrere' meaning 'to tremble' or 'To frighten from'. In modern times it was used during the French Revolution.

Significant theoretical explanations of the reasons of terrorist violence have been attempted by a number of scholars. From Hannah Arendt in her classic *On Violence* (1964) and Thomas Thornton in "Terror As a Weapon of Political Agitations" to Robert Ted Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, Martha Crenshaw in "The Causes of Terrorism" and Walter Laqueur in *The Age of Terrorism*.²⁰⁻²³

Whereas, Arendt forcefully argued that the acquisition and exercise of power is the principal reason for all kinds of violence including terrorism, riots, revolution and greed based crime, Thornton analysed the distinct reasons and advantages of terrorist violence in "internal war" situations.

Ted Gurr discussed the "Relative Deprivation" paradigm centered on the subjective or psychological discontent which made individuals and communities open to the option of violence. Social scientists studying terrorism broadly follow Walter's definition of terrorism as "the use of covert violence by a group for political ends".²⁰

Walter's *Terror and Resistance* develop a general theory focused almost exclusively on "Regime terror". The persuasive argument about seeing terrorism as a "social invention" and a "political choice" advanced the search for a diagnostic explanation of terrorist violence.²³

While, it has also been observed there is neither an academic nor an accurate legal consensus regarding the definition of terrorism. Various legal systems and government agencies use different definitions. Moreover, governments have been reluctant to formulate an agreed upon, legally binding definition. These difficulties arise from the fact that the term is politically and emotionally charged.²⁴

Angus Martyn in a briefing paper for the Australian Parliament has stated that "The international community has never succeeded in developing an accepted comprehensive definition of terrorism. During the 1970s and 1980s, the United Nations attempts to define the term foundered mainly due to differences of opinion between various members about the use of violence in the context of conflicts over national liberation and self- determination." These divergences have made it impossible to conclude a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism that incorporates a single, all- encompassing, legally binding, and criminal law definition of terrorism.²⁵

In the meantime, the international community adopted a series of sectoral conventions that define and criminalize various types of terrorist activities. In addition, since 1994, the United Nations General Assembly has condemned terrorist acts using the following political description of terrorism: "Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them."²⁶

A 2003 study by Jeffrey Record for the US Army quoted a source that counted 109 definitions of terrorism that covered a total of 22 different definitional elements.²³ "Terrorism expert Walter Laqueur also has counted over 100 definitions and concludes that the 'only general characteristic generally agreed upon is that terrorism involves violence and the threat of violence.' Yet terrorism is hardly the only enterprise involving violence and the threat of violence. So does war, coercive diplomacy, and bar room brawls".²⁷

As Bruce Hoffman has noted: "terrorism' is a pejorative term. It is a word with intrinsically negative connotations that is generally applied to one's enemies and opponents, or to those with whom one disagrees and would otherwise prefer to ignore."²⁸

Hence the decision to call someone or label some organization 'terrorist' becomes almost unavoidably subjective, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/cause concerned. If one identifies with

the victim of the violence, for example, then the act is terrorism. If, however, one identifies with the perpetrator, the violent act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or, at the worst, an ambivalent) light; and it is not terrorism." For this and for political reasons, many news sources (such as Reuters) avoid using this term, opting instead for less accusatory words like "bombers", "militants", etc.³⁰

In many countries, acts of terrorism are legally distinguished from criminal acts committed for other purposes.

Media

Media are the collective communication outlets or tools that are used to store and deliver information or data. It is either associated with communication media, or the specialized communication businesses such as: print media and the press, photography, advertising, cinema, broadcasting (radio and television), and/or publishing.³¹

The word medium is defined as "one of the means or channels of general communication, information, or entertainment in society, as newspapers, radio, or television."³²

The beginning of human communication through designed channels, i.e. not vocalization or gestures, dates back to ancient cave paintings, drawn maps, and writing. The Persian Empire (centered on present-day Iran) played an important role in the field of communication. It devised what might be described as the first real mail or postal system, which is said to have been developed by the Persian emperor Cyrus the Great (c. 550 BC) after his conquest of Media. The role of the system as an intelligence gathering apparatus is well documented, and the service was (later) called *angariae*, a term that in time turned to indicate a tax system. The Old Testament (Esther, VIII) makes mention of this system: Ahasuerus, king of Medes, used couriers for communicating his decisions.³³

The word communication is derived from the Latin root *communicare*. This was due to the Roman Empire also devising what might be described as a mail or postal system, in order to centralize control of the empire from Rome. This allowed for personal letters and for Rome to gather knowledge about events in its many widespread provinces. More advanced postal systems later appeared in the Islamic Caliphate and the Mongol Empire during the middle Ages.

The term "media" in its modern application relating to communication channels is traced back to its first use as such by Canadian communications theorist Marshall McLuhan, who stated in *Counterblast* (1954): "The media are not toys; they should not be in the hands of Mother Goose and Peter Pan executives. They can be entrusted only to new artists, because they are art forms." By the mid-1960s, the term had spread to general use in North America and the United Kingdom. ("Mass media", in contrast, was, according to H.L. Mencken, used as early as 1923 in the United States.)³⁴

The mass media are diversified media technologies that are intended to reach a large audience by mass communication. The technologies, through which, this communication takes place varies. Broadcast media such as radio, recorded music, film and television transmit their information electronically. Print media use a physical object such as a newspaper, book, pamphlet or comics, to distribute their information. Outdoor media are a form of mass media that comprises billboards, signs, or placards placed inside and outside of commercial buildings, sports stadiums, shops, and buses.³⁵

Other outdoor media

The outdoor Media include flying billboards (signs in tow of airplanes), blimps, skywriting, and AR Advertising. Public speaking and event organising can also be considered forms of mass media.

The Digital Media

The digital media comprises both Internet and mobile mass communication. Internet media provide many mass media services, such as email, websites, blogs, and Internet- based radio and television. Many other mass media outlets have a presence on the web, by such things as having TV ads that link to a website, or distributing a QR Code in print or outdoor media to direct a mobile user to a website. In this way, they can utilise the easy accessibility that the Internet has, and the outreach that Internet affords, as information can easily be broadcast to many different regions of the world simultaneously and cost-efficiently.

Print Media

In the broad sense, all printed matter; in a narrower but widespread usage, a synonym for “press,” used to refer to newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals. A fundamental means of informing the public and disseminating ideas, print is a powerful weapon of social and political struggle. It is an educational tool that can be used to spread scientific knowledge, contribute to cultural development, and create a world view.³⁶

Printing arose in Europe in the mid-15th century. Until radio and television began competing as information sources some five centuries later, print was the chief means of mass communication and the most important way to convey and preserve knowledge and ideas. The first printed works were books, brochures, and leaflets, with newspapers and journals first appearing in the early and middle of the 17th century, respectively. The first press agencies appeared in the mid- 19th century. Despite the assertions of some theoreticians, print did not lose its function and importance when radio and television developed in the 20th century; on the contrary, the continuing growth of the print media throughout the world attests to extension and expansion of both the function and importance of print.³⁶

The social role of the print media is determined by those who control the equipment and materials (printing presses, paper, and so forth) and the means for distribution. Print was first used mainly by the church to reinforce and spread religious ideology through the publication of religious literature. In the course of historical development, the church gradually lost its monopoly on the spiritual life of society, and a secular press arose to express and defend the ideology of the ruling classes. In the era of advanced capitalism, the press has become a means by which the bourgeoisie exerts ideological pressure on the workers. From the struggle with the “conservative” press, which obscured the awareness of the masses, there emerged a progressive and revolutionary press, which opposed the prevailing system and ideology. The revolutionary press grew and developed, causing it to be hated and persecuted by all reactionary forces.³⁶

The main objectives of the study are as follows:

OBJECTIVES

1. To study the objectivity of the news reports regarding important events.
2. To critically scrutinize the news reports on the basis of language used in the reports, whether it was provocative and used to sensationalise the news items.
3. To examine whether due importance was given to news stories of eminence by the newspapers or whether the newspapers were trying to sensationalize the acts of terror like the killings of innocents and men of prominence for their own vested interests of increasing their circulations, while important stories were not being published.
4. To study if the journalists during those days got sandwiched between the government agencies and the terrorist organisations or were they able to perform their journalistic duties in fair and free manner.
5. To study whether the ethics of news reporting were ignored in the days of terrorism.

HYPOTHESES

1. Media failed to carry out reports objectively.
2. Language used in news reports was provocative and used to sensationalise acts of terrorism as the newspapers were trying to sensationalize the acts of terror like the killings of innocents and men of prominence for their own vested interests of increasing their circulations, while important stories were not being published.
3. Due importance was no given to news stories of eminence by the newspapers.
4. Free press had failed to perform its duties as it got sandwiched between the government agencies and terrorist outfits with both mounting pressure on the publications houses to propagate 'their' point of view.
5. The basic ethics of news reporting were ignored in the days of terrorism.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Selection of newspapers

The selection of newspapers was based on their circulation, appeal and impact. Newspapers that were published from within the state including The Tribune and The India Express and Punjab Tribune along with the vernaculars published from Jalandhar including Ajit and Jagbani, were taken up for study.

While, other newspapers including the Time of India, The Hindustan Times, The Statesmen, The Hindu etc. were in circulation, but these were not selected for the study as these were not being published from within the state. Only the papers that were in wide circulation in state of Punjab and the prime focus of which was on the developments that were taking place in the state were selected.

Identification of important events

As the subject chosen for study deals with significant developments that took place over a period of more than two decades, thus important events were identified on the basis of following criteria:

1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.
2. Timing of the event.
3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.
4. Element of shock involved in the event.
5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.
6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.
7. Reaction of the people

List of Selected Events

Some of the important events that are listed below have taken up for study purposes on the basis of above mentioned criteria were:

1. April 13, 1973, passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.
2. 13 April 1978: Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's alleged ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar.
3. April 12, 1980, Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib.
4. January 4, 1980, Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal
5. April 24, 1980, assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi.
6. April 13, 1981, Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta.
7. September 9, 1981, assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala.
8. September 11, 1981, arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain.
9. September 20, 1981, surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometers from Amritsar.
10. September 29, 1981, hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.
11. October 16, 1981, Prime minister's meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal.
12. July 19, 1982, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple.
13. July 19, 1982 the police arrested Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh.

14. August 4, 1982, Harchand Singh Longowal announced 'dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.
15. November 19, 1982 to December 4, 1982, the Asian games and its aftermath.
16. April 23, 1983, killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound.
17. September 28, 1983, indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district.
18. October 5, 1983, a bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was traveling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road.
19. October 6, 1983, imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government.
20. November 18, 1983, another bus was hijacked and four Hindu passengers were shot dead. (Naushehra Pannuan bus killing)
21. December 15, 1983, Bhindranwale was forced to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas house by members of the Babbar Khalsa who were with Harchand Singh Longowal. (Tussle between Longowal and Bhindranwale)
22. January 26, 1984, Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25 (2) (b) of the constitution of India.
23. February 14, 1984 a tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab.
24. February 14, 1984, call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu-Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal.
25. February 19, 1984, violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat.

26. March 28, 1984 Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple, was shot dead.
27. March 31, 1984, home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b).
28. April 2, 1984, some 40 minor railway stations in Punjab were blown up.
29. April 3, 1984, Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists.
30. May 1, 1984, SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution.
31. May 9, 1984, Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar. He was outspoken about the anti-social elements who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple.
32. May 12, 1984, assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain.
33. June 1, 1984, army took over the state and cut off all communications with the outside world.
34. June 2, 1984, journalists are removed from Amritsar just before the operation blue star starts.
35. June 3 to 6, 1984, Operation Blue Star.
36. July 5, 1984, five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC-405 from Srinagar to Delhi.
37. July 10, 1984, white paper on the Punjab agitation.
38. August 24, 1984 hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.
39. October 31, 1984, assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

40. October 31, 1984, anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi.
41. January 16, 1985, attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh.
42. March 25, 1985, assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh.
43. May 10, 1985 Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility.
44. April 30, 1986. NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple: Operation Black Thunder I.
45. May 12 to 18, 1986: Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18.
46. June 23, 1985, bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board.
47. July 24, 1985, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv-Longowal accord.
48. August 20, 1985, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village.
49. January 26, 1986, onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations.
50. March 26, 1986, Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested.
51. April 22, 1986, AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.
52. April 29, 1986, an assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.
53. May 2, 1986 the paramilitary police undertook a 12-hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants, but almost all the major radical leaders manage to escape.

54. August 10, 1886: Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992.
55. July 7, 1987, 32 Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.
56. October 7, 1987, Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (Abroad)
57. October 13, 1987, Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar.
58. November 13, 1987, Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar.
59. May 29, 1988, government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India.
60. July 26, 1988: Sikh militants murder the head priest.
61. June 25, 1989, 27 RSS activists killed in a park in Moga.
62. December 6, 1990, the sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib. (Manchanda)
63. June 22, 1991, unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy-four people.
64. August, 31, 1995, assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh.

Duration of Coverage in newspapers

It was decided that after identifying the important events, the reports that were published by newspapers (examined) would be studied for a period of at least two days. In case of important events such as operation blue star the duration of coverage studied was increased to more number of days as events like these were reported for days together and it could not be justified to study the reporting of such events just for a couple of days.

Besides, the research scholar also interviewed some of the intellectuals, journalists and editors who were active during the days of terrorism in Punjab to bring out a comprehensive picture on print media and terrorism in Punjab.

Limitations of the study

While doing research work, one of the main limitations that the researcher came across was that some editions of the newspapers under study could not be traced. As there was a ban of newspaper printing during Operation Blue Star (June 2, 1984 till June 7, 1984), none of newspapers of this time period could be studied. Also records of some newspapers of particular dates were not available either with the publication houses which were duly visited by the research scholar and not even with the Punjab Archives. Some of these were stated to have been destroyed in the floods or have been lost to poor upkeep. Thus, these missing papers could not be included in the study.

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CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A review of existing scholarly articles, books, dissertations, conference proceedings and other writings relevant to a study being undertaken with focus on the area of research is a must as it provides the context of the problem which is being worked upon.

In case of this research work the review was a must to understanding the developments that had led to the spread of terrorism in Punjab, without which it would have been impossible to understand the polity of Punjab in the right perspective.

The review of literature brought into focus ‘the story’ which has already been told. It helped in giving a direction to the research that was undertaken and in developing new perspectives to the Punjab Problem with a sharp focus on the role of the media.

The review of books also helped in identifies gaps in current knowledge and also avoid reinventing the wheel by discovering the research already conducted on a topic. It sets the background on basis of which further explorations on a topic were carried out. It also increases the breadth of knowledge in your area of research and identifies seminal works already undertaken in the area.

The review also allows the intellectual context for the work and its positioning with other related research works.

While, the seeds of trouble in Punjab had been sown long before the youth picked up AK47s and went around firing bullets to create an atmosphere of fear and anxiety, it took a long time for the scholars to study the developments and come up with relevant conclusions in regard with the Punjab Crisis.

Most of the books started coming out in the late 80 and there was a flood of related books in the 90 and with many being published till date. While, there is are a large number of books that have been authored by men of eminences, politicians, journalists, social scientists, economic experts and those directly or indirectly

involved in the Khalistan struggle or counter insurgency efforts, but in this study only the relevant books have been revived to give a wider perspective to the understanding of the Punjab problem.

Amritsar: Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle

Mark Tully, Satish Jacob

In this highly acclaimed book, Mark Tully and Satish Jacob , who ran the BBC's bureau in Delhi, have traced the long build-up to the storming the Sikh stronghold, the shifts of power within the Sikh community and effort of central government both to utilize and control them. The book captures rise of Bhindranwale, whose extremism played wedge between Sikh and Hindu, Sikh and Sikh and Punjab and India, the indecisiveness of Indira Gandhi, who paid for the catastrophic aftermath with her life. Tully and Jacob bring tragedy of Sikh from many arresting angles. They met Bhindranwale and many other central characters in the drama. They gathered eye witness account from every quarter to fill in this remarkable picture of what occurred and present their thought provoking analysis of what happened.

The Punjab Story

Amarjit Kaur, Lt Gen Jagjit Singh Aurora, Khushwant Singh, MV Kamanth, Shekhar Gupta, Subhash Kirpekar, Sunil Sethi and Tavleen Singh

Highly praised pieces written by great authors like Amarjit Kaur, Lt Gen Jagjit Singh Aurora, Khushwant Singh, MV Kamanth, Shekhar Gupta, Subhash Kirpekar, Sunil Sethi and Tavleen Singh have been put together in this book which looks into different perspectives that help in understanding the Punjab Crisis that the country faced.

The Indian Army storming the Golden Temple in Amritsar and the historic and unprecedented event ended the growing terrorism perpetrated by the extremist Sikh leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his followers once and for all. But it left in its wake unsolved political questions that continued to threaten Punjab's stability for years to come. How, in a brief span of three years, did India's dynamic frontier state become a national problem? Who was to blame: the central government for

allowing the crisis to drift despite warnings, or the long-drawn-out Akali agitation, or the notorious gang of militants who transformed a holy shrine into a sanctuary for terrorists? First published two months after Operation Blue Star, *The Punjab Story* pieces together the complex Punjab jigsaw through the eyes of some of India's most eminent public figures and journalists. Writing with the passion and conviction of those who were involved with the drama, they present a wide-ranging perspective on the past, present and future of the Punjab tangle; and the truth of many of their conclusions having been borne out by time.

Operation Blue Star: The True Story

K.S. Brar

Operation Blue Star: The True Story is considered one of the most debated and controversial Indian military operations. Commanded by Lt. General Kuldip Singh Brar, the operation's aim was to get rid of Sikh separatists who took refuge inside the Golden Temple with heavy weapons.

This book is a true account of the entire operation and coming from the operation's commander, it becomes highly authentic. It is a minutely detailed account that is movingly honest and yet at times anguished. The author has hid nothing from the readers not even the reverses suffered by the Indian Army.

Operation Blue Star: The True Story was ordered by the Prime Minister of India – Indira Gandhi on 3rd June 1984. The operation was launched to remove Sikh separatists who had sought cover in the Golden Temple of Amritsar. They were amassing heavy machine guns and other weapons in this temple. These separatists were led by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and former Maj. Gen. Shabeg Singh.

This operation consisted of two components – Operation Metal and Operation Shop. The first one was restricted to the premises of the Golden Temple and the latter was to raid the countryside of Punjab to get hold of any suspects.

The Indian Army was ordered to storm the Amritsar Golden Temple on the night of 5th June 1984. The operation was led by Lt. General K.S. Brar under Gen. Sunderji. By the morning of 7th June, the Army troops had full control of the temple. Before the operation began, a media blackout was imposed in Punjab. A 36-

hour curfew was imposed in the state where electricity was interrupted and all means of transportation and communication were suspended, thereby cutting Punjab from the rest of the world. This operation led to numerous casualties among the militants, army, and even civilians.

One of the salient features of this book is that it details all the events of the operation in their true sense. Brar has ensured to capture even the miscalculations of the Army and the determination of the Sikh militants. Moreover, he provides photographs, documents to authenticate the facts disclosed here, and detailed operational sketch maps to give credence to this chronological account. The book covers all sorts of unexpected and unwanted traumas, heart-stopping climaxes and inevitable consequences of the Operation Blue Star. Operation Blue Star has been translated into Punjabi and has run into numerous reprints.

The Knights of Falsehood

By K.P.S. Gill

This book by the former Punjab director-general of police has aroused great interest because of the danger of the re-emergence of terrorism in the state. K.P.S. Gill's thesis is that the Akalis were mainly, if not solely, responsible for the rise of terrorism and that they backed it fully. The book, therefore, ends with a call to the Sikh people to "reject the Akali leadership and the (religious) institutions."

The book recalls the horrible crimes committed by the terrorists, how they ravaged the countryside and how the most sacred place of worship of the Sikhs was "converted into a place of torture and executions". The description is sure to make a powerful impact on the mind of any objective reader.

Gill rightly flays Hindu communalists for their duplicity, for adding fuel to the fire by persuading a large number of Hindu Punjabis to make false declarations about their spoken language, confirming "the false Akali thesis of Hindu treachery in the minds of the more gullible among the Sikhs".

However, he seems to believe that all this was a reaction to Sikh communalism and demands for a Sikh homeland by the Akalis. There is no doubt that Hindu communalism on the one hand and Sikh communalism on the other

added another murky dimension to the problem; but to say that one was a reaction to the other and to provide an alibi for it, is to miss the point.

The Akali leadership represents the interests of the Sikh landlords and capitalist farmers. It uses religion to mobilise the Sikh masses by making them believe that its class demands are, in fact, the demands of the Sikh community. They wanted to use terrorism to pressurize the Congress to agree to the formation of a theocratic state within, if not outside, India.

Gill is no Marxist and has no class approach. He ascribes the Akali perfidy to their "bigoted mind-set" and has no strategy to offer to fight them politically except on the basis of the "true teachings of Sikh gurus".

There are a number of references to how on specific occasions the conduct of the Congress party helped terrorism. However, there is no detailed analysis of the Congress' responsibility, which was no less than that of the Akalis. There is no mention of the fact that Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was brought into politics by the Congress.

This failure to unmask the Congress' role properly makes the book one-sided, and, therefore, not convincing enough. The part played by all political parties, including the Congress and the Akalis, in foiling the game of terrorists to spark off Hindu-Sikh riots and the initiative of the Left, especially the CPI, which mobilised public opinion against the terrorists, do not find any mention at all in the book.

However, his own thesis - that virtually the police alone are responsible for overcoming terrorism - is quite wrong. It flies in the face of facts and is dangerous. Terrorism cannot survive without the support of a section of the people with either genuine or imagined grievances; and it also cannot be fought without the support of the people.

It is not correct that on April 13, 1978, Bhindranwale accompanied the Jatha, which marched from the Golden Temple to the site of the Nirankari Sammelan, and fled from there. The fact is that after having declared that he would lead the Jatha, and heavily inciting those hearing his harangue, he quietly disappeared. Such minor mistakes, however, don't take away from the merit of the book.

Religion and Nationalism in India: The Case of the Punjab

Harnik Deol

This timely and significant study explores the reasons behind the rise in Sikh militancy over the 1970s and 1980s. It also evaluates the violent response of the Indian State in fuelling and suppressing the Sikh separatist movement, resulting in a tragic sequence of events which has included the raiding of the Golden Temple at Amritsar and the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The book reveals the role in this movement of a section of young semi-literate Sikh peasantry who were disaffected by the Green Revolution and the commercialisation of agriculture in Punjab. Drawing on a wide range of sources, Deol examines the role of popular mass media in the revitalisation of religion during this period, and the subsequent emergence of sharper religious boundaries.

Terrorism in Punjab

Satya Pal Dang

This book brings together all aspects of the problem in its national and international dimensions, a brilliant analysis of why it happened and provides an answer to what must be done to overcome the menace of terrorism and secessionism. The author has incorporated the perspective of the government as how it saw the Punjab problem and the policies that were adopted from time to time to deal with the crisis that posed a threat to the national polity.

India: The Siege Within-Challenges to a Nation's Unity

By M J Akbar

India: The Siege Within succeeds in explaining, as no other book has done, the resilient achievements of India's secular democracy as well as its vulnerability and failures. As such, it makes essential reading for everyone wishing to understand today's India. Here M.J. Akbar, one of India's most distinguished journalists, discusses the origins and nature of the strains on Indian unity which have deep roots in history.

Taking 1947 as his springboard, he provides a full historical, political and cultural survey of the main pressure points, and brings his analysis up to date to include the removal of Farooq Abdullah in Kashmir, and account of his meeting with Bhindranwale, the army operation at the Golden Temple, the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and their implications, for the future. Rising fundamentalism, separatism, the consequences of Partition, unease in Kashmir - on every side it seems that India's democratic unity is continually at risk.

Politics of Terrorism in India: The Case of Punjab

Sharda Jain

The emergence of non-state terrorism in recent times has posed a serious challenge to the existence of the state systems in all parts of the world. As the problem is imposed both on the national and international agenda, the present Book is timely and relevant. The learned author holds the view that terrorism is a product of bad politics and not necessarily a result of socio-economic justice. It is, accordingly, a political problem and needs political solution.

This book on terrorism covers a wide conceptual terrain and goes at length into the weird theme of politics of violence as also the causes and typologies of terror. Within this wide frame of reference, The Author posits the specific case of the recent upsurge of terrorism in Punjab. She traces an interconnection among terrorists within and across national boundaries. Here is a detailed and exhaustive as also a critical analysis of the objective situation. It is really a challenging task to examine, what she calls, "the menace of non- state insurgent terrorism, in the context of a pluralist society like India" but perhaps more perplexing is the problem of cutting out several a priori assumptions that plague an emotionally charged atmosphere.

The author states inter alia that secession based on the right of self-determination of a linguistic or religious group is illegitimate and unconstitutional. She expounds the thesis that, even if we accept the premise that Sikhs are a nation, "it is not essential for them to have a separate sovereign state". This observation is rather unexceptional in that it has been boldly argued that there can be full freedom and liberty without sovereignty. It is not necessary, the author states, that "the

nation and the state should coincide". Autonomy should satisfy aspiring nationalities, according to her well-argued case.

This highly researched and documented work, with a lot of primary source support, has tested several hypotheses and exploded familiar myths. One, that terrorism cannot be dismissed as a mindless activity for fun. It is a planned and premeditated act engineered by politically motivated groups or leaders.

Terrorism is more often counter-productive and fails invariably in its mission. Three, no other factor is more powerful than the political and in this too the internal forces play the most dominant role. The author has also recommended practical preventive, avertive measures against terrorism.

The violence of the green revolution: Ecological Degradation and Political Conflict in Punjab

Vandana Shiva

A world-renowned environmental leader and recipient of the 1993 Alternative Nobel Peace Prize (the Right Livelihood Award), Shiva has authored several bestselling books. Before becoming an activist, Shiva was one of India's leading physicists.

The author observes that the Green Revolution has been a failure. It has led to reduced genetic diversity, increased vulnerability to pests, soil erosion, water shortages, reduced soil fertility, micronutrient deficiencies, soil contamination, reduced availability of nutritious food crops for the local population, the displacement of vast numbers of small farmers from their land, rural impoverishment and increased tensions and conflicts. The beneficiaries have been the agrochemical industry, large petrochemical companies, and manufacturers of agricultural machinery, dam builders and large landowners.

According to the author the "miracle" seeds of the Green Revolution became mechanisms for breeding new pests and creating new diseases. It helps one understand the building blocks that finally ushers the discontent amongst the Punjabi farmers and laid the foundation of the conflict.

Khalistan Struggle: A Non-Movement

By Jagtar Singh

With Punjab having gone through many upheavals in the past six centuries, the period from 1978 till 1995 left some indelible scars on the psyche of the Punjabis. The state stood witness to the blood-soaked trouble promoted by the terrorists seeking a separate state for the Sikhs. The violence that swept the entire state left behind memories a Political conflict which according to KPS Gill was "a sheer madness and nothing else".

It saw killing of thousands, including common populace, top politicians, members of security forces and others killed.

It can be said without much doubt, that the turbulent period of blood shed imposed upon the people of the state had its roots in the past.

While many books throw light on the Punjab problem already on the stands, the book: *Khalistan Struggle- A Non Movement* — authored by Jagtar Singh, a senior journalist, can rightly be underlined as 'serious work done offering a critical commentary, while documenting history.'

Working as media person during the days when the violence was at its peak, Jagtar Singh gained much insight into the issues and what triggered the trouble. It would not be wrong to say that Jagtar Singh was qualified to handle this task as he had closely interacted with the players, including Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Harchand Singh Longowal, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Parkash Singh Badal and others who mattered at that point of time.

While, the author is not known for being professional historian, but the manner in which he has brought out the Sikh background, he presented himself as an emerging expert on the contemporary history, which is otherwise a considered to be bastion of the professionals.

The title of the book that calls the Khalistan struggle 'a non-movement', the author draws that "at one time it used to be said that Punjab had entered the long tunnel without an end in sight but then this struggle which is the 'first phase for the restoration of the dignity of the Sikhs in the words of `A0Bhindranwale', remained a

non-movement in the absence of unified command structure, lack of mass support and effective political front".

He further negates to justify use of the Darbar Sahib complex by militants for launching the agitation by claiming that the location of the Akal Takht, the supreme Sikh institution for prayer and politics symbolizing Sikh sovereignty was against the sacredness of the holiest of the holy shrine.

He hold the militants guilty of having defiling the Darbar Sahib much before the armed forces forcibly entered the shrine and desecrated it to flush out the terrorists. The author also sees the struggle as self-destructive campaign, the seeds of termination of which had been sown long before the actual action started.

With its gripping narration of the events of the violent era and also that of post-violence political scenario dating up to year 2007, when the SAD-BJP formed the government in the state for the second time in a decade, the book with its solid-fact-based details would continue to be the basis for the future academicians at the state, national and international levels to base their studies and interpret the era.

Embedded Journalism

By Jaspal Sidhu

While, a lot has already been written on the unprecedented violence that troubled Punjab for over two decades, surprisingly, very little is found on the role of media during that period of India's history.

The book, 'Embedded Journalism, Punjab' edited by Jaspal Singh Sidhu and Anil Chamadia, presents an analysis view of the role of the media and also elaborated the working conditions in which the journalists during those days had to work. Facing tactics like arm twisting, witch-hunting, transfers and other punitive actions against for writing anything that was to the disliking of the government agencies or the terrorist outfits, the journalists generally found themselves tight pressed while performing their professional duties

The book brings to fore the observations that a larger section of media had had become uncritical of the Congress government and was supporting its 'propaganda arm' which was trying to put a lid on state terrorism, branding political dissidence as anti-national activity and building public opinion in favor of the security forces that ruthlessly operated against the non-combatant populace.

The book takes its designate from the Western theoretical premise of 'embedded journalism' which was coined to define the 'orchestrated' media coverage by the US and its NATO allies during the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

The book puts in one place critical writings on the media that appeared in 1980-90s which otherwise are scattered and unnoticed by the intelligentsia. These media assessments were authored by eminent writer late Patwant Singh, Human Rights activist late Ram Narayan Kumar and Pritam Singh from Oxford. The book also has two unpublished government sponsored reports. One is a study of the media in Punjab by the V.G Vergese Committee in early 1990s and the other is an analysis of the entire Punjab media, as it existed in early 1980s, by Tirlok Singh Deep, a New Delhi-based journalist.

It also speaks of the control of media by the establishment that restricted public sector broadcasters AIR and Doordarshan, from free and fair flow of information. The book claims that while it was believed that the private media during those days which was fast increasing circulations would bring out the information as to what was happening, but it only proved to be an illusion. It dwells on the opinion that what actually happened was the other way round. The private media traded controlled and suppressed information to suit the interest of their corporate masters.

The book also recalls the verbal dictates and unwritten guidelines of the organisations that suppressed the journalists from reporting in line with the happenings instead of following the press note journalism.

The book has been edited by Jaspal Singh Sidhu, who retired as Special Correspondent of United News of India (UNI) New Delhi in December 2008 and has since then been writing on media, political affairs and environment issues and Anil Chamadia, Editor of Mass Media and Jan Media and Chairman of Media Studies Group, a media think tank, Anil Chamadia is three decade veteran in journalism and

worked in news channels and reputed media houses. It book incorporates the acclaimed article by Pritam Singh 'Inspired and Distorted Role of Media' and Journalism of Third kind by Patwant Singh.

The book says the role of the non-government print media in reporting the Punjab situation has always been disappointing. It says that a number of events were covered by the media in a manner which was not only unsatisfactory in terms of truthful reporting but had also been contrary to the spirit and values of secularism.

The books also says the media was complicit with the propaganda arm of the Congress government which portrayed the Sikhs as "demonic", 'seditious', 'terrorists' and 'traitors'.

It can be said that this book is a counter-hegemonic intervention to defines the media of those days as a one-sided mechanism of flow of information in which the only the government's stand and priorities were circulated by the media that was prevalent in those days.

**'Diary de Panne jo itihās ban Gaye: Sri. Darbar Sahib te Fauji Hamle Bare
by Harbir Singh Bhanwar**

The well known journalist and writer Harbir Singh Bhanwar penned an eye witness account narrating events of the troubled days as were witnessed by him. The books peaks of the human rights violations that the Sikhs and to face at the hands of the security agencies. The detailed narrations, which are made to look authentic with the elaborations that cannot be pended using the imaginations bring to fore the atrocities that the masses in general and the Sikhs in particular were suffering in Punjab.

In one of the instances he recalls, 'a close relative of Prof Dhawan is employed in Military camp of Amritsar. He paid a visit in the camp of (POWs) prisoners of war. He has informed that a large number of Sikhs are locked in a small room. A government officer has also approved it by saying that the Sikh prisoners are kept in a small room of newly built school building which has no electricity and water. Nearly 60-70 prisoners are locked in small room. There clothes are torn off, no treatment to wounds is given, and there is no arrangement to treat them. Sun's heat is tremendous, no fan is there. Two people suffered from diarrhea, they wanted to

release them but there is no facility so they came out through a small window to release them. They were immediately shot down by army. It was alleged that they were trying to escape. Many others too were killed by their hands tied at their back in a similar manner.’

The author also tries to draw a line against violence by claiming that ‘Sikh religion is the only religion which serves humanity without any discrimination of religion, caste, creed, color or race. It serves food in a community kitchen without any discrimination but the Indian army only could kill the thirsty, hungry or wounded persons. A Khalsa could never do it.’

The book is one honest attempt to highlight the human rights violations and the use of media by the propaganda arm of the union government which created instances to portray the Sikhs in bad light.

“Sant Bhindranwale de ru-b-ru June 84 di Patarkari”

By Jaspal Sidhu

A newly published book “Sant Bhindranwale De Ru-B-Ru June 84 Di Patarkari” authored by senior journalist Jaspal Singh Sidhu, who was working in Amritsar as a reporter of news agency UNI, during the days of Dharam Youth Morcha and the June 1984 attack on Darbar Sahib is a latest in the series of the books that have been published on the days of terrorism in Punjab and is amongst the very few book that are based on the role of the media.

The author is witness to many historical incidents of the crucial period of Sikh history. In his book he has shared his memories related to that phase of history and how the journalists faced the wrath of the terrorist outfits and also the government agencies which tried their best to gag the free media during those days.

The author’s narrations of the troubled times and how the security agencies would curtail the flow of information throws some new light on the restraints that the journalists had to face while performing their professional duties.

The book claims that prior to Operation Black Thunder Ajit Doval, a former Indian intelligence and law enforcement officer, who is the 5th and current National Security Adviser to Prime Minister Narendra Modi, used to live with the militants

inside the Darbar Sahib complex posing as top shot of the Pakistani intelligences arm ISI. The book also claims that Doval was awarded Kirti Chakra for spying on the militant outfits and making the operation black thunder a success.

The author has also given in insider account of the developments and politics behind delay in announcement of a separate Sikh state Khalistan in 1986 following which the government agencies undertook Operation Black Thunder.

The book also narrates the trying times that the author faced while reporting for the news agency and who the flow of information was curtailed by the security agencies for the media persons who tried to write the 'truth as it was'.

CHAPTER 3

TERRORISM AND MEDIA: AN INTERDEPENDENCE

History, specifically the past three decades, has provided plenty of examples of the mutually beneficial relationship between terrorist organizations and the media. As some remarkable terrorist attacks in history indicate, whether it is in the United States (US), Europe, or the Middle East, it is by and large the case that the architects of terrorism exploit the media for the benefit of their operational efficiency, information gathering, recruitment, fund raising, and propaganda schemes.¹

Terrorism is a category of political violence, which is intended to influence foreign and domestic governments, as well as communities. Terrorism uses its immediate victims and material targets for semiotic and symbolic purposes. Attacks are designed to create an atmosphere of fear or a sense of threat. In the same vein, terrorism can also refer to politically motivated deeds perpetrated by groups or individuals for the sake of communicating messages to a larger audience. In any case, the terrorists' need for media publicity and media's need for a greater readership and profits form a symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media.²

This symbiosis is not inevitable. Implementing certain policies that are different than the previous failed policies can facilitate the breaking of that cycle by forcing at least one side of the equation—the media—to act in a more responsible, more conscious, and more cooperative manner. Only then starving the terrorists of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend can become possible and more robust steps can be taken to win the ideological and actual battle against terrorism.

In the words of Brigitte Nacos, whether it is the relatively inconsequential arson by an amateurish environmental group or mass destruction by a network of terrorists, the perpetrators' media-related goals are the same: attention, recognition, and perhaps even a degree of respectability and legitimacy in their various publics. Media, in return, receives the attention of the public that is vital for its existence and benefits from record sales and huge audiences. To put it briefly, just as terrorism has to be communicated to have effect; the media has to cover the incidents in such a way to benefit from the public's eagerness to obtain information about terrorist

attacks. It is, therefore, fair to argue that there is a mutually beneficial relationship between terrorism and today's media.³

This symbiosis is indeed worth examining in greater detail, as it is as vicious and dangerous as it is largely overlooked.

The Media-Related Goals and Means of Terrorists

Without the media's coverage, the act's impact is arguably wasted, remaining narrowly confined to the immediate victim(s) of the attack, rather than reaching the wider 'target audience' at whom the terrorists' violence is actually aimed." In a similar vein, Stohl argues that terrorists are primarily interested in audience, not the victims, and emphasizes that how the audience reacts is as important as the act itself. Accordingly, winning the attention of the media, national and foreign publics, and decision-makers in a government is one of the primary goals of terrorists.⁴ To this end, terrorists carefully select the places in which they carry out their attacks in order to provide the best media coverage.

Indeed, the goals of terrorists are not solely confined to winning the attention of the masses. In addition to that, through the media, they aim to publicize their political causes, inform both friends and foes about the motives for terrorist deeds, and explain their rationale for resorting to violence.⁵ They further aim to be treated like regular, accepted, legitimate world leaders, as the media gives them a similar status. That is to say, for terrorists, the media functions as a tool to shrink the power asymmetry between them and the entity they fight against in an actual and ideological warfare, create an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, legitimize their acts, and reach greater audiences. Given these motives, terrorists arguably carry out their attacks rationally and strategically with full awareness of the influence of the media coverage on almost every segment of a society and government officials of almost all levels.

To illustrate this, Ayman al-Zawahiri, the current leader of al-Qaeda, argues that "[al- Qaeda is] in a battle, and more than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media. [Al-Qaeda is] in a media battle for the hearts and minds of the ummah."⁶

Terrorists' means of communication greatly vary. Indeed, technological advancements and changing audience behavior in the past decade enabled terrorist groups to utilize media tools with greater convenience. Specifically in the years since the Berlin Wall came down and the Soviet Union crumbled, the mass media of communication have changed in dramatic ways, mostly because of the global reach of the Internet and cellular phones.⁷

The picture above suggests that terrorists need the media to receive free publicity for their cause, transmit their messages, and garner support, recognition, and legitimacy.

How and Why the Media Covers Terrorism-Related Stories

Needless to say, terrorism is an attractive boon for media coverage, mainly because terrorist attacks make viewer ratings surge and profits increase. To be more specific, terrorism has many aspects that make it a very attractive subject for the media, as it has the elements of drama, danger, blood, human tragedy, miracle stories, heroes, shocking footage, and action. Another reason is that violence is a central and defining quality in contemporary television culture and is critical to the semiotic and financial momentum of contemporary media organizations.⁸ Indeed, the media has always been interested in reporting terrorism.

Also, the part of the reason why the media is that irresponsible and excessively profit-oriented in the context of terrorism is that a considerable number of top media executives today come from the corporate world, but not from the ranks of journalists.⁹

The problem does not lie in why the media covers terrorism, but lies in how the media covers terrorism. It is by and large the case that the media covers terrorist acts by writing sensation-seeking, enlarging anecdotic stories, especially on who is to blame, repeating the same images over and over again, separating physical and mental health consequences of disasters, and creating new syndromes.¹⁰

To understand how the media portrays terrorists and covers related stories and news, one should take a closer look at the mediums the media employs. The media generally uses agenda setting and framing to highlight and make certain issues more prominent than others. Agenda setting is the theory that the more attention a media

outlet pays to a certain phenomenon, the more importance the public attributes to such an issue.¹¹

A study carried out at the department of Journalism and Mass Communication has long established the fact that during the days of terrorism, the circulation of particular sections of the media saw unprecedented rise. The study proved to be an important link in understanding why some sections of media sided with terrorist outfits or political parties.

There is no doubt that terrorism must be reported. However, the way the events are framed and the extent to which it is covered is also important. Accordingly, in order to alter the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media, it is of high importance for the media to reevaluate and change its rhetoric when covering the terrorism-related news and stories. It is suggested that the media can adopt a better approach while covering acts of terrorism by reporting it as any other story in a more responsible and less “sensational” manner. Achieving this may not only prevent terrorists from using media coverage as an important publicity and recruitment tool, but may also prevent the emergence of an atmosphere of fear at the public level. It may also force government and security elite to make more rational decisions regarding countering terrorism and dealing with public outrage. Hence, news coverage with less repetition of horrific scenes, less traumatization, less sensation and more information and prudence are essential in the first place to break the symbiosis.

The media should have a conscious sense of its responsibilities to the public, as one of the goals of terrorists it to shake public confidence in their own security. Thus, objectivity and bipartisanship should be key when reporting a story. The media should present both sides of the story to the readers fairly and accurately without bias, so that the readers can make their own opinion of the news or story independent of the media’s negative influence. The media coverage of success stories should be balanced with the coverage of failure stories without speculation and dramatisation in order to add to the credibility of the source and public order in the aftermath of an attack.

Since a critical part of counterterrorism is information warfare, it is among the goals of terrorists to misinform the public and exploit the uncertainty and

suspicion emerged afterwards. Given these, the media should provide the clearest, most factual, and most balanced information to the extent it is possible to prevent the misinterpretation of terrorism-related incidents by the public and government officials who can possibly make suboptimal decisions regarding the countering moves. The media should especially avoid presenting extreme and blindly partisan viewpoints to raise ratings and use a plain language that everybody can understand in order not to invite panic.

Even though some advocate the use of media tools for propaganda against terrorists, specifically in the narrative warfare in radical extremism, this is generally fruitless, given that the media has certain limits and legal and moral obligations, while terrorists do not. It is also counterproductive, as media propaganda amplifies the perceived power of a terrorist organization. Instead, media can be employed as a public affairs and public diplomacy tool instead of a propaganda tool to influence foreign publics and potential recruits. To this end, without propaganda, through the “new” and “traditional” media tools, the extremist narrative can be countered with an equally clear and appealing narrative to deny access to the public terrorists draw their support from.

Since no terrorist group is alike, the media should differentiate between different types of terrorism and terrorist groups in order not to provoke and mobilize public against certain ethnic or religious minorities. In other words, it is of high importance not to cover news and stories in such a way to contribute to the “alienation” of the group in question and create an “us v/s them” scenario. Such dichotomy can give way to social unrest in multicultural societies that fail to integrate certain groups and trigger further attacks, as the anger and hopelessness become pushing forces for potential recruiters, sympathizers, and even moderates to uprising.

Governments can give assistance to media organs by giving the political context and background of any terrorism-related act or story, as it is ideally the ultimate goal of the media to correctly inform the audience. To this end, a government-media partnership that is better informing the public, refuting the arguments of terrorists, and depriving them of the publicity they need can be formed.

Media in Punjab

Since its birth, two and a quarter centuries ago, the print media in India has mirrored to a considerable extent the hopes and aspirations, fears and anxieties, interests and concerns of the people. It has been associated with all struggles and movements and causes aimed at promoting their welfare.

While, during the earlier movements in Punjab, the terrorist outfits came out with their own publications and were not dependent on the existing media to propagate their ideologies, the Khalistan Movement was different in terms of its relation with the media. During this movement, the terrorist outfits chose not to come out with their own publications, but use the existing media to reach out to a larger population. Newspaper houses and journalists were regularly threaten to carry out the statements of the terrorist outfits and at time terms and conditions of publishing news were also dictated to the newspaper house. No doubt the newspaper houses and journalists paid heavily for not adhering to the diktats issued by the terrorist organisations.¹²

Journalistic efforts in Punjabi started in the middle of 19th century. These are closely associated with the events that occurred in the Sikh political history. First, it was the rise of the Singh Sabha Movement in 1860s that provided the necessary momentum to the enterprise of journalism in and around Punjab. During the initial stages some magazines and journals were launched with the specific purpose of promoting Sikh religious ideals.

Literary journalism, essentially a secular enterprise, was apparently a later offshoot and became the reason for the emergence of 'little magazines', only towards the end of the 19th Century. It was through the efforts of Bhai Veer Singh, a noted Punjabi poet and novelist, that Khalsa Samachar, a weekly, was started in 1899. Known for its conservative outlook, substantive financial standing and well-reasoned articles, the magazine gave a new direction to Punjabi journalism, enriching both language and prose in the process. No wonder it is the longest surviving magazine in Punjabi today.¹³

From publishing poems literary reviews and short stories the paper devoted a large space to promoting articles relating to Gurbani, Sikh philosophy, history and

religion. Bhai Veer Singh's novel Satwanti was also first serialised in the paper. Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, a philanthropist and a great freedom fighter, founded The Tribune on February 2, 1881, in Lahore. It is currently published from Chandigarh and managed by a trust – the Tribune Trust. The Trust publishes a Punjabi daily known as Punjabi Tribune. In the beginning of the 20th Century, the material and historical conditions in Punjab and elsewhere underwent cataclysmic changes.

The Bolshevik Revolution in the erstwhile Soviet Union, the outbreak of World War I in Europe, the growing influence of imperialism in India and sporadic acts of resistance to it resulting in the sinking of Kamagatamaru and the Jallianwala Bagh episode were some of the historical events that helped in shaping an emergent political and national consciousness all over, especially in Punjab. Shedding its religious character, journalism was quick to adapt itself to these social and political changes. Redefining its thrust, it increasingly became a tool of mass awareness, social education and reform. Its reformist character was evident both in the content and form of literary journalism as also the manner in which it developed in the early decades of the 20th Century.

The Desh Darpan, the oldest and at one time the most widely circulated nationalist Punjabi daily in Eastern India, was established in 1930 in Calcutta to unite and raise the revolutionary voice of the Punjabi community against the British rule. Niranjan Singh Talib, a close associate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, was running the paper. Desh Darpan also brought out Punjabi weekly, Khalsa Gazette, for many years. Niranjan Singh Talib moved to Punjab and became the President of Punjab Pradesh Congress. A prominent poet, writer and scholar of Calcutta, S. Raghbir Singh Bir, of Atam Science fame, took charge of Desh Darpan. The Daily Navi Prabhat was started in 1952 from Calcutta. Both the daily papers have survived the onslaughts of harsh times and are the only papers being published regularly outside of Punjab for so long even though with miniscule circulation.

Navi Parbhat also published weekly Shan-e-Punjab for several years. Hardev Singh is the present editor. The Sikh Review, a theological, educational and socio-cultural monthly, was founded by Captain Bhag Singh and his team of dedicated Sikh intellectuals in 1953. Several Punjabi newspapers have been published from abroad

since 1913 Ghadhar movement. Ghadhar party activists promoted Punjabi journalism by starting publications from many countries in Europe and America.¹⁴

Besides, The Tribune started its publication from Lahore in 1981 and in the post independence newspapers like The Indian and ventured into Punjab journalism. By the end of the last century The Hindustan Times and The Times of India also started publications from Punjab.

With the leftist movements gaining grounds in Punjab, these organisations also came up with their own publications to play a role in the opinion making of the residents of Punjab.

Terrorism in Punjab

The insurgency in the Indian state of Punjab originated in the late 1970s, as Sikh revolutionaries alongside Khalistan proponents turned to militancy. The roots of the insurgency were very complex with the main factors being inadequate recognition of Sikhism and the Punjabi language and mistreatment from the Indian Congress Government since its formation 1947. With all schools in Punjab teaching Punjabi children Hindi, parents and community leaders started to become concerned.¹⁵

The Punjabi Suba civil movement was started to address the language issue and restore Punjabi as the official language of Punjab. The Punjabi Suba movement was banned by the government on April 14, 1955.¹⁵ During this time the Sikhs were faced with much humiliation and difficulties including peaceful protesters and innocent pilgrims being beaten, hit with bricks, arrested, and temple raids.¹⁶ Following the Indo-Pak war of 1965 Punjabi was finally recognized as the official language of Punjab in 1966 when the Punjab land was further split into the states of Himachal Pradesh, the new state Haryana and Current Day Punjab.¹⁷

However this did not solve all problems, the Sikh community still feeling alienated within India, put forward a resolution to address all grievances they had with the Indian state. In 1973, the Sikhs put forward the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.¹⁸ Within this resolution were issues included both religious and political concerns. From easy issues of recognizing Sikhism as a religion to allowing all states within India to set local state level policies and not be forced to get permission from the central government. The Anandpur Resolution was rejected by the government but the

religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale joined the Akali Dal to launch the Dharam Yudh Morcha in 1982, a peaceful march, in order to implement Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

Thousands of people joined the movement, feeling that it represented a real solution to demands such as a larger share of water for irrigation and the return of Chandigarh to Punjab. The Congress government decided to repress the mass agitation with a heavy hand; over a hundred people were killed in the police firings.¹⁹ The security forces arrested over 30,000 Sikhs in two-and-a-half months. After this Bhindranwale suggested it was time for a militant approach with the help of arms and weapons to solve the problems of majority Punjab population leading to the beginning of the insurgency.

On June 6, 1984 Bhindranwale was shot dead in Operation Blue Star and on October 31, 1984 Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards Satwant Singh and Beant Singh. These two events played a major role to the Sikh and Anti-Sikh violence that would consume Punjab till the early 1990s.

Available Explanations of Terrorist Violence in Punjab

Terrorism in Punjab or "The Punjab Crisis", as it generally referred to, has been the subject matter of a number of descriptive studies which have tried to come up with convincing explanations with indirect reference to several factors which were perceived to have played a role in aggravating the situation in Punjab. Such as, Tully and Jacob's Amritsar: Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle and the pre analytical M. J. Akbar's India: the Siege Within-Challenges to a Nation's Unity. Some others including Amrik Singh's Punjab in Indian Politics, Issues and Trends (1985), Terrorism in Punjab by Satyapal Dang, V. D. Chopra and Ravi M. Bakay (2000), The Untold Story of Punjab Terrorism by Birbal Nath (2008), and Knights of Falsehood by K. P. S. Gill (1997) have focused on the ground level practical reality through which attempts were made to explain what happened and why it so happened.

The books have been based on the observations made by their authors and take note of various factors which are interrelated, but discussing the variations under different sub-headings and the frameworks of explanation are unavoidable. These have been broadly discussed here.

1. Predominance of Culture and Religion in Punjab

Institutional, cultural and regional developments in South Asia have always prompt many and varied questions amongst scholars and practitioners. The realities in this part of the world defy the widely accepted ideologies of secularism, as religion continuous to be central to all activity.

According to Harnik Deol in India, nationalism had a cultural and religious context and “religion dominated the social bond that defined the characteristics of the nation.” Scholars are of the view that it is a global phenomenon that religious revolt against secular ideology often accompanies a modern state.²⁰

Harnik Deol traces the resurgence of religious nationalism to the weakening of political institutions and loss of faith in secular institutions. She sees it as a main cause of general weakening of the moral fabric that leads to divisiveness where religious masks the pretense as moral exemplars.²⁰

V. D. Chopra observes that the concept that the Sikhs were an ethnic or racial minority was introduced, both overtly and covertly, by the British rulers to further their policy of divide and rule.

Mark Juergensmeyer says that "On the cosmic level", what happened in Punjab was “a battle between truth and evil” and a response to the threat posed to the identity and moral vision of the Sikhs.²¹ The apparently religion-driven politics was more a consequence of the crisis created in society by a small section of Sikhs who perceived modernisation that came with prosperity as a menace to their religious faith. Mark Tully and Satish Jacob say that the Sikhs also faced an old threat of losing their identity to Hinduism, which had absorbed some of the other religions that were born in the country such as Buddhism.

As M.J. Akbar pointed out that, if the Indian Muslim was destroyed, Islam would still survive, whether in southeast Asia, central and west Asia, or Africa. But Sikhism had no geographical base apart from the Punjab.

According to Master Tara Singh, a veteran Akali leader and freedom fighter, who was a prominent figure in Sikh politics for more than forty years, Khalsa Panth would either be a ruler or rebel. ...the Sikhs constitute a separate political entity

(which means) that they must act as a single group in politics, that they can be rulers or rebels and that religion and politics are inseparable.

The situation in Punjab deteriorated as violence escalated with the murders of Hindus and Sikhs. During this turmoil, the Akai Dal began another agitation in February 1984 protesting against clause (2) (b) of Article 25 of the Indian constitution, which defines Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains as Hindus. Several Akali leaders were arrested for burning the Indian constitution in protest.²² This testified that religion had always and would continue to dominate this part of the world even in the times to come.

2. The Political Aspect

K. P. S. Gill says that the peculiar susceptibility of the people of this region to the creed of the Kalashnikov had raised important questions. History, culture, economics and a unique constellation of political forces would all be a part of any answer to these questions.²³

He says that no single political party or segment of the Punjab leadership, or individual leader, can be singled out for blame in this regard - the failure of leadership in the state has been comprehensive.²⁴

Sharda Jain holds the view that terrorism is a product of bad politics and not necessarily a result of socio-economic justice. It is, accordingly, a political problem and needs political solution. She traces an interconnection among terrorists within and across national boundaries. She calls it "the menace of non-state insurgent terrorism, in the context of a pluralist society like India".²⁵

For her secession based on the right of self-determination of a linguistic or religious group is illegitimate and unconstitutional. She expounds the thesis that, even if we accept the premise that Sikhs are a nation, "it is not essential for them to have a separate sovereign state". This observation is rather unexceptional in that it has been boldly argued that there can be full freedom and liberty without sovereignty. It is not necessary that "the nation and the state should coincide". Autonomy should satisfy aspiring nationalities, according to her well-argued case.²⁵

The highly researched and documented work of Sharda Jain, with a lot of primary source support, has tested several hypotheses and exploded familiar myths. One, that terrorism cannot be dismissed as a mindless activity for fun. It was a planned and premeditated act engineered by politically motivated groups or leaders.²⁵

It can be rightly said that the terrorism is more often counter-productive and fails invariably in its mission. Three, no other factor is more powerful than the political and in this too the internal forces play the most dominant role.

3. The Socio-Economic Dimension

It would be inappropriate to discuss the Punjab crisis without bringing into consideration the socio-economic aspects as these had instilled a feeling of deprivation amongst the Punjabi populace making it easy for the ideologies of separatism seep into the common psychic easily. There were several grievances that people of Punjab had which perhaps had not been addressed by the Indian government.

Even as the green revolution brought along prosperity but it also incited a feeling of disparity amongst many. With green revolution also came the conflict over control of water resources. The areas of dispute can be listed as follows: (1) quantity of water available; (2) share of available water per state; and (3) mode of distribution of water. The new technology aimed at engineering 'not just seeds but social relations as well.'

As per the official reports the number of the land-less doubled in Punjab soon after the introduction of the green revolution. With capital intensive agriculture the ratio of landless workers in the total agricultural workforce increased from 17.3 per cent in 1961 to 32.1 per cent in 1971 and this went up to 40 per cent by 1983. According to another study, 24 per cent of the small peasants and 31 per cent of the marginal peasants in Punjab lived below the poverty line.

On the whole, most of the demands in the Anandpur Sahib resolution were for making agriculture more profitable. It was through the Akali Dal, and its economic and political programme, that the demands of the rising class of capitalist farmers were sought to be realised. The demand for State autonomy, though it may have a variety of other justifications in the framework of ideologies of different

political parties, can also be seen meaningfully in the Punjab context only as a demand for growth of these economic interests under the aegis of their own political representatives.

Some scholars are of the opinion that Punjab was given unfair and incongruent treatment as compared to other Indian states with respect to economic issues and this fueled the reaction of Sikhs. Repeated stifling of attempts to resolve Punjab's economic grievances, by the central government, added a dubious political element to the problems.

It can be underlined that "the disparities of political power" created by the "tacit and open restructuring" which led to the farmers' sudden loss of control over knowledge". The resulting multidimensional insecurities (which it created) were "the hidden externalities of the 'miracle' of Green Revolution.

Against the provisions of the Indian constitution—the Indian government introduced sections 78 to 80 in the Punjab Reorganization Act, 1966, under which the central government “assumed the powers of control, maintenance, distribution and development of the waters and the hydel power of the Punjab rivers.” With seventy-five percent of Punjab’s river water being diverted to non-riparian states of Haryana and Rajasthan, the Sikhs perceived the central government’s violation of the Indian constitution as a measure to break the Sikhs economically, since the vast majority of the people of Punjab are dependent on agriculture.²⁶

These were just some of the factors that prepared the perfect breeding grounds for a movement that soon turned violent and engulfed Punjab for a long time.

4. The Conflict and the Political Manipulation

The conflict in Punjab had important historical roots. However, some scholars see it as a result of centralized power operating in a predominantly heterogeneous society. The conflict in Punjab to a great extent was fueled by political ambitions of those at the center and those who wanted to wrest control of the Punjab assembly.

This is evident from the observations made by Mark Tully and Satish Jacob, who said that unlike his mother, Rajiv Gandhi realized that Punjab was a political problem which should be handled by politicians.²⁷

The confrontation in Punjab began in 1973 when the Akali Dal issued the Anandpur Sahib Resolution calling for the establishment of a "Sikh Autonomous Region" with its own constitution.

The Resolution outlined seven main objectives:

1. The transfer of the federally administered city of Chandigarh to Punjab.
2. The transfer of Punjabi speaking and contiguous areas to Punjab.
3. Decentralization of states under the existing constitution, limiting the central Government's role.
4. The call for land reforms and industrialization of Punjab, along with safeguarding the rights of the weaker sections of the population.
5. The enactment of an all-India Gurdwara (Sikh house of worship) act.
6. Protection for minorities residing outside Punjab, but within India.
7. Revision of government's recruitment quota restricting the number of Sikhs in armed forces.

Based on this resolution the Akali Dal led a series of peaceful mass demonstrations to present its grievances to the central government. However, every time the ball went to the Congress court, it was kicked out one way or another because Mrs. Gandhi considers it a good electoral calculation. Opposition in Punjab built upon the feeling that political power in New Delhi was inaccessible and unresponsive to local needs.

Even as efforts were made to negotiate with the Akali Dal, but the courtiers surrounding Mrs. Gandhi obfuscated every issue. K. P. S. portrayed the leaders as "Knights of Falsehood", which could well be taken as a provocation to the scholars as well as leaders of the movement to rethink such ideas and ideals which he describes as "falsehood" in terms of their dialectical relationship with such traditions. In one of his publication Satya Pal Dang also directs attention to the dubious role played by the Congress and the Akali leaderships.

From the widely accepted literature that has so far been published it is easy to conclude that political manipulation both at the center and the state level hindered the process that could have otherwise thwarted the spread of violence in Punjab.

Pakistan involvement

Pakistan has been deeply involved in the training, guiding and arming Sikh militants. Wadhawa Singh, Chief Babbar Khalsa International (BKI), Lakhbir Singh Rode, Chief, International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF), Paramjit Singh Panjwar, Chief, Khalistan Commando Force (KCF), Gajinder Singh, Chief, Dal Khalsa International (DKI) and Ranjit Singh Neeta, Chief, Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF) permanently based in Pakistan, have been coordinating militant activities of their outfits in Punjab and elsewhere in India under the guidance of Pak ISI. Pak ISI agents regularly escort Sikh militants for trans-border movement and provide safe havens for their shelter and dumps for weapons and explosives.²⁹

Interrogation reports of Sikh militants arrested in India suggest training of Sikh youth in Pakistan (including arms training in the use of rifle, sniper gun, LMG, grenade and causing explosions using gunpowder) and possession of arms and explosives by the Pak-based Sikh militant leaders. These IRs also suggest plans of Pak ISI through Pak based terrorists to cause explosions in big cities like Amritsar, Ludhiana, Chandigarh, Delhi and targeting of VVIPs.²⁹

Terrorist outfits that were active in Punjab

During the days of terrorism a number of terrorist organisations were active in Punjab. Prominent among these were Babbar Khalsa International, Khalistan Zindabad Force and Khalistan Commando Force.

Babar Khalsa International

Babbar Khalsa International (BKI) also known as Babbar Khalsa, is a Khalistani militant organisation based in India. The Indian and the British government considers Babbar Khalsa a terrorist group, while its supporters consider it to be a resistance movement and it played a prominent role in the Punjab insurgency. Babbar Khalsa International was created in 1978, after a number of Sikhs were killed in clashes with the Nirankari sect. It was active throughout the 1980s in

the Punjab insurgency but its influence declined in the 1990s after several senior members were killed in fake encounter killings with police. Babbar Khalsa International has since been declared to be a terrorist organisation in many countries, including Canada, Germany, India, and the United Kingdom.³⁰⁻³⁸

The name Babbar Khalsa is taken from the Babbar Akali Movement of 1920, which agitated against British colonial rule in India. The modern-day Babbar Khalsa was created as a result of the bloody clash on April 13, 1978, between groups of Amritdhari Sikhs of Akhand Kirtani Jatha who went to protest against a gathering of the rival Nirankari sect. The confrontation led to the murder of thirteen demonstrators. When a criminal case was filed against the Nirankari leader, he had his case transferred to neighboring Haryana state, where he was acquitted the following year. This gave rise to new organisational expressions of Sikh aspirations outside the Akali party, and an angry sentiment that if the government and judiciary would not prosecute enemies of Sikhism, taking extrajudicial measures could be justified to avenge the death of Sikhs. Among the chief proponents of this attitude was the Babbar Khalsa founded by Talwinder Singh Parmar. 39-41

When Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Baba responsible for what Sikhs perceived to be the innocent deaths of the aforementioned thirteen, was shot dead on April 24, 1980, it was Ranjit Singh who surrendered and admitted to the assassination. The Babbar Khalsa was considered the most dangerous, well-armed, and puritanical of the various Sikh militant organisations fighting Indian rule in Punjab. Whereas other militant organisations made some compromise with the tenets of Sikhism during the militancy period, Babbar Khalsa stood alone in its insistence on the strict compliance of the rules of the Khalsa brotherhood. According to C. Christine Fair, Babbar Khalsa was more concerned with propagating the ideas of Sikhism, than with the actual Khalistan movement.⁴¹

Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF)

The Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF) is a militant group, and is part of the Khalistan movement to create a Sikh homeland called Khalistan via armed struggle.

Activities

The Khalistan Zindabad Force is headed by Ranjit Singh Neeta, a native of Jammu and Kashmir. He was listed among India's 20 most wanted persons in 2008.⁴³

The strength and striking capabilities of the Khalistan Zindabad Force are currently unknown, but it is reported that attempts have been made for the Khalistan Zindabad Force and other militant groups from Kashmir to co-ordinate their efforts. In December 2005 the European Union classified the Khalistan Zindabad Force as a terrorist organisation, freezing its monetary assets throughout its 25 member countries. The Khalistan Zindabad Force was reported to still be active in 2008. Claims and denials of responsibility have been reported in the name of the Khalistan Zindabad Force for a May 2009 attack at the Gurdwara Nanaksar in Vienna, Austria, that left Rama Nand, a leader of the Dera Sach Khand dead, 17 injured, and sparked riots across northern India.⁴²⁻⁵⁴

Khalistan Commando Force

The Khalistan Commando Force or KCF is an armed Sikh organisation operating in the Indian state of Punjab. According to the US State Department, and the Assistant Inspector General of the Punjab Police Intelligence Division, the KCF was responsible for many assassinations in India, including the 1995 assassination of Chief Minister Beant Singh. The KCF is a controversial organisation. Its conception was directly the result of the activities in 1984 and the military action undertaken by the Indian armed forces culminating in the shelling of the Golden Temple. As per the Indian government, the KCF is classified as a terrorist organisation, However they are not globally declared as a terrorist organisation despite the violent acts of murder and assassinations committed by them. Most notably, The KCF is not designated as a terrorist organisation by United States Department of State. Khalistan Commando forces members claim to be freedom fighters and have support among a section of Sikh diaspora. The Khalistan Commando Force was founded by Manbir Singh Chaheru in 1986. On 8 August 1986, Punjab Police arrested Manbir Singh Chaheru ("Hari Singh"), and he was eventually killed or disappeared while in police custody. After Chaheru was arrested, former police officer Sukhdev Singh, also known as Sukha Sipahi, took command of the KCF. Sukhdev Singh changed his name to Labh Singh and assumed the title of "General".

After his death the KCF was headed by Kanwarjit Singh Sultanwind. On 18 October 1989, Kanwarjit Singh Sultanwind,⁶⁸ and another two KCF members were arrested by police near Jalandhar. While one member managed to escape, Kanwarjit Singh Sultanwind, then 23 years old, swallowed a cyanide capsule to avoid giving information about the group.

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CHAPTER 4

THE TURBULENT YEARS OF PUNJAB (1973-1995):

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

The span of over two decades that saw bloodshed in every corner of the state had proved to be most disastrous phase for the state. While a number of earlier movements had also spread in the state, but during the Khalistan Movement a number of events took place in the state that were not only shocking but also had a long lasting impact on the social, political and communal fabric of the state. After going through the recorded history of that period, the research scholar selected 66 such events that re-shaped the future of Punjab. Here is a brief account of these events and the reasons behind the selection of these events for the research work.

1. April 13, 1973, passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.

The Working Committee of the Akali Dal adopted a policy resolution in a conference held at Anandpur Sahib which advocated for the federal structure in which the Central Government should actualize the federal concept of India by granting autonomy to the provincial government in all the areas except Defence, currency and foreign relations. Initially, the resolution it did not attract much attention. However, the excesses committed during the period of Internal Emergency accentuated the demand for more powers to the States. The manner in which the Fundamental Rights of the citizens were infringed by the Constitutional Amendments carried out by the Congress at the Centre, embittered the moderate voices within the Akali Dal in Punjab. ¹

The Anandpur Sahib Resolution was presented at the 18th Session of the All India Akali Conference at Ludhiana on 28-29 October 1978.

The resolution underlined:

1. Propagation of Sikhism, its ethical values and code of conduct to combat atheism.
2. Preservation and keeping alive the concept of distinct and sovereign identity of the Panth and building up of appropriate condition in which the national

sentiments and aspirations of the Sikh Panth will find full expression, satisfaction and facilities for growth.

3. Eradication of poverty and starvation through increased production and more equitable distribution of wealth and also the establishment of a just social order sans exploitation of any kind.
4. Vacation of discrimination on the basis of caste, creed or any other ground in keeping with basic principles of Sikhism.
5. Removal of disease and ill health, checking the use of intoxicants and provision of full facilities for the growth of physical well-being so as to prepare and enthuse the Sikh Nation for the national defence.
6. The 18th session of the All India Akali Conference takes strong exception to the discrimination to which the minorities in other states are being subjected and the way in which their interests are being ignored. As such, it demands that injustice against the Sikhs in other states should be vacated and proper representation should be given them in government service, local bodies and state legislatures, through nominations, if need be.
7. The 18th session of the All India Akali Conference notes with satisfaction that mechanization of farming in the country has led to increase in the farm yield and as a result the country is heading toward self-sufficiency in food grain. However, the session feels that poor farmers are unable to take to mechanization because of the enormity of the cost involved. As such, the Shiromani Akali Dal urges upon the Government of India to abolish the excise duty on tractors, so that with the decrease in their prices, the smaller farmers may also be able to avail themselves of farm machinery and contribute to increase in agricultural produce of the country.
8. This conference of the Shiromani Akali Dal appeals to the Central and State governments to pay particular attention to the poor and labouring classes and demands that besides making suitable amendments in the Minimum Wages

Act, suitable legal steps be taken to improve the economic lot of the labouring class, to enable it to lead respectable life and play a useful role in the rapid industrialization of the country.

9. This session seeks permission from the Government of India to install a broadcasting station at the Golden Temple, Amritsar, for the relay of Gurbani Kirtan for the spiritual satisfaction of those Sikh who are living in foreign lands. The session wishes to make it clear that the entire cost of the proposed broadcasting project would be borne by the Khalsa Panth and its over all control shall vest with the Indian Government. It is hoped that the Government would have no hesitation in conceding this demand after due consideration.
10. This mammoth gathering of the Shiromani Akali Dal strongly urges upon the Government of India to make necessary amendments in the following enactment for the benefit of the agricultural classes who have toiled hard for the sake of larger national interests: 1. Hindu Succession Act be suitably amended to enable a woman to get rights of inheritance in the properties of her father-in-law instead of the father's. 2. The agricultural lands of the farmers should be completely exempted from the Wealth Tax and the Estate Tax.
11. This vast gathering of the Shiromani Akali Dal strongly impresses upon the Government of India that keeping in view that economic backwardness of the scheduled and non-scheduled castes, provisions proportionate to their population should be made in the budget for utilization for their welfare. A special ministry should be created at the Centre as a practical measure to render justice to them on the basis of reservations.
12. The Congress government is called upon to vacate the gross injustice, discrimination done to Punjab in the distribution of Ravi Beas waters. The Central government must also give approval for the immediate establishment of six sugar and four textile mills in Punjab so that the State may be able to implement its agro-industrial policy. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution acquired the hallowed status of Magna Carta of Sikh demands as raised by Sikh party, Shiromani Akali Dal. From 1978 onwards, it remained the epicenter around

which subsequent demands were woven from time to time. Thus, the issue of Centre-State relations, which was put on the back burner during Indira Gandhi's totalitarian regime, along with other democratic demands of the Akali Dal crystallized in the form of Anandpur Sahib Resolutions. The 'Provincial Autonomy' which was guaranteed even by the Government of India Act 1935, was demanded by the Akali Dal with more financial and administrative powers to the states. It was this resolution which by and large became the basis of the Khalistan movement in Punjab.

The event was selected as

- 1. It was Significance and as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Importance gained by the event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 2. 13, April 1978: Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's alleged ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar.**

On 13th April 1978 Sikhs gathered at Amritsar for the Baisakhi celebrations. During the **Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's allegedly ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh**. As a Jatha of devoted Sikhs reached the site of the convention, violence erupted during which 13 Sikhs were killed and many were injured.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

3. April 12, 1980, Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib.

On 12 April 1980, Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of "National Council of Khalistan", at Anandpur Sahib. He declared himself as the President of the Council and Balbir Singh Sandhu as its Secretary General.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. January 4, 1980, Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal.**

Following the bloody Massacre at Amritsar on April 13, 1978, and a case was registered against Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh. The case was transferred Punjab and Haryana High Court which acquitted the Nirankari head and his associated. The Sikhs approached the Supreme Court which transferred the case to the court of RS Gupta, Additional Session Judge, Karnal. On January 4, 1980 the court again acquitted the Nirankari chief and all other sixty odd accused.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

5. April 24, 1980, assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi.

On the evening of 24 April 1980, one Ranjit Singh, who had managed to get a job of carpenter at the Nirankari headquarters in Delhi fired at Nirankari head Gurbachan Singh, through a window when he returned from a public function at about 11 pm. Ranjit Singh managed to escape. The FIR named twenty people for the murder, including some associated with Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

6. April 13, 1981, Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta.

On April 13, 1981, the self proclaimed Secretary General of Khalistan Balbir Singh Sandhu stepped up political and diplomatic assault on the union government of India when he issues the first ever Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 4. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*

7. September 9, 1981, assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala.

Lala Narain was assassinated allegedly assassinated for his criticism of Bhindrawale. He was shot dead on 9 September 1981, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while returning to Jalandhar from Patiala. Both the Government and Surjeet Jalandhari, project the murder as the murder of a person deeply involved in investigating criminal cases in Punjab.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

8. September 11, 1981, arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain.

Jarnail Singh was vocal against Lala Jagat Narain and he was one of the prime suspects in his killing. Two days after the assassination, police issued warrants for the arrest of Bhindranwale. A police search in Chando Kalan, a Haryana village, failed to arrest Jarnail Singh. Bhindranwale surrender on September 20 1981. after his arrest sporadic violence was reported over the next few days. Bhindranwale was released on bail on 15 October.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

9. September 20, 1981, surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometers from Amritsar.

The Sant offered himself for arrest on 20 September 1981. This was followed by, a spate of violence. The Sant was released after the Central Home Minister, Giani Zail Singh, declared in the Parliament on 14 October 1981.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

10. September 29, 1981, hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.

An Indian Airline plane which had 111 passengers and 6 crew members on board was hijacked by 5 knife-wielding Sikh separatists of Dal Khalsa. Dal Khalsa had been vociferous those days with its demands for a separate Sikh homeland. The Aircraft en route to New Delhi was rerouted to Lahore. The leader Gajender Singh talked to Natwar Singh, India's ambassador in Pakistan to put forth his demands. But, in a surprise move which was commended later, Pakistan agreed to India's request to ensure the passenger's safety. As a consequence, Pakistani commandos launched an offensive in which all terrorists were overpowered and the passengers were secured along with the aircraft. The hijackers were later put on trial in Pakistan where they were sentenced to Life imprisonment.²

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 4. Reaction of the people*

11. October 16, 1981, Prime minister's meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal.

On October 16, 1981 The first round of talks between New Delhi and the Shiromani Akali Dal (S.A.D.). The list of forty-five demands has been replaced with a list of fifteen demands. The top demand is the unconditional release of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.³

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 3. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*

12. July 19, 1982, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple.

Following the danger of being arrested for threats he had made against some nationalist organizations, Jarnail Singh moved to the holy Akal Takhat even as Giani Kirpal Singh, the head priest of the place objected to the same.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*

13. July 19, 1982 the police arrested Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh.

Bhai Amrik Singh and Bhai Thara Singh were arrested by the police on On the 19th of July, 1982 following which Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale started sending a group of volunteers every day to protest against the government.

This event was selected because:

1. *Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
2. *Element of shock involved in the event.*
3. *Reaction of the people*

14. August 4, 1982, Harchand Singh Longowal announced 'dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

The Anandpur Sahib resolution came into limelight in the 1982 when H S Longowal and Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale joined hands to launch the Dharam Yudh Morcha for its implementation. Many joined the movement.

This event was selected because:

1. *Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
2. *Timing of the event.*
3. *Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
4. *Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
5. *Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
6. *Reaction of the people*

15. November 19, 1982 to December 4, 1982, the Asian games and its aftermath.

The Akali Dal decided to hold a protest against the union government during the opening ceremony of the Asian Games that commenced at Delhi on November 19, 1982. The Prime Minister called Haryana Chief Minister and asked him to stop the Sikhs from entering Delhi to prevent any disruption of the games. The Haryana police allegedly humiliated the Sikhs.

On January 4, 1983 there was a mass stoppage of traffic on the major highways. On June 17, 1983 rail traffic was halted by large-scale protests. A state-wide work stoppage was held on August 29, 1983. On January 26, 1984 article 25(a)

of the constitution indicating Sikhs are Hindus was publicly burned. Finally, Sant Longowal announced that as of June 3, 1984 would practice civil disobedience by refusing to pay land revenue, water and electricity bills, and block the flow of grain out of Punjab. ⁴

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

16. April 23, 1983, killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound.

On April 23, 1983, Deputy Inspector-General of Police Atwal was gunned down at the steps of the Golden Temple, on the orders of Bhindranwale.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

17. September 28, 1983, indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district.

On September 28 1983 there was indiscriminate firing on persons on their morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district. The attack was reportedly aimed at killing Hindus

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 3. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 4. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 5. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 6. Reaction of the people*

18. October 5, 1983, a bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was traveling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road.

On October 5, 1983, Hindu passengers were alighted from the bus from near Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was traveling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

19. October 6, 1983, imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government.

On October 6, 1983, the crisis in Punjab took a dramatic turn with the imposition of President's Rule and dismissal of the Darbara Singh government. But the extremist killings continued and on the surface it appeared that nothing much had changed. What the government's action, and the reaction to it did emphasise, was that more than any other time since the crisis erupted, the time for a settlement was at hand.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

20. November 18, 1983, another bus was hijacked and four Hindu passengers were shot dead. (Naushehra Pannuan bus killing)

It was yet another incident which had brought to light the rising feeling of communalism in Punjabi psyche and its importance can not be undermined.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Timing of the event.*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 3. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

21. December 15, 1983, Bhindranwale was forced to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas house by members of the Babbar Khalsa who were with Harchand Singh Longowal. (Tussle between Longowal and Bhindranwale)

On December 15, 1983 Bhindranwale and his supporters were forced to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas house by members of the Babbar Khalsa, who reportedly acted at the behest of Harcharan Singh Longowal.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Timing of the event.*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*

22. January 26, 1984, Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India.

The Akali Dal started another agitation to protest against clause (2) (b) of Article 25 of the Indian constitution, which ambiguously states "the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jain or Buddhist religion".

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

23. February 14, 1984 a tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab.

It was an important development as far as the national polity was concerned. Had these talks succeeded, it could have gone a long way in resolving the Punjab crisis and prevent Operation Blue Star the seeds of which had been sown long back.

24. February 14, 1984, call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu-Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal.

On February 14, 1984, during the Bandh call in Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, which was called by Hindu Surakshsha Samiti, with the support of the Congress, many incidents of mob violence against the Sikhs took place. These included the burning of the Gurdwaras. The violence in Haryana continued for three days.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

25. February 19, 1984, violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat.

The anti Sikh violence in Haryana continued for three days. Tractor loads of rioters collected at various points in the State. Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal is said to have delivered an inflammatory speech at Faridabad.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

26. March 28, 1984 Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple, shot dead.

The daring daylight murder of Harbans Singh Manchanda, the Delhi Sikh Gurudwara Management Committee (DSGMC) president on March 28 barely a few hundred yards from New Delhi's police headquarters, has clearly revealed how helpless the security forces are against the terror tactics of Sikh extremists.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

27. March 31, 1984, home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b).

With the government finding no solution to break the stalemate between the Akalis and its stand on the Punjab issue and the violence escalating across the state, the home minister on March 31, 1984, declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b).

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

28. April 2, 1984, some 40 minor railway stations in Punjab were blown up.

On 2nd April 1984, some 40 minor railway stations in Punjab were blown up. It was another incident of violence with which the extremists were trying to mount further pressure on the government to concede to their demands.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

29. April 3, 1984, Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists.

Just a day after blowing up railway stations in the state, the extremists on April 3, 1984, shot dead Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab University Senate and syndicate, in Chandigarh. Three young terrorists were said to be involved in the assassination.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

30. May 1, 1984, SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution.

With Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution having attained the proportion of a major issue, the SGPC formed 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made to the constitutions.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*

3. *Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
4. *Element of shock involved in the event.*
5. *Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
6. *Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
7. *Reaction of the people*

31. May 9, 1984, Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar. He was outspoken about the anti-social elements who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple.

On 9th May, Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar. He was outspoken about the anti-social elements who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple.

This event was selected because:

1. *Timing of the event.*
2. *Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
3. *Element of shock involved in the event.*
4. *Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
5. *Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
6. *Reaction of the people*

32. May 12, 1984, assassination of Romesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain.

After the brutal killing of the Editor in Chief of the Punjab Kesri Group Lala Jagat Narain, his son Romesh Chander, who had taken over as the new Editor in Chief of the Group also fell to the bullets of the Sikh extremists. There was great deal of shock involved in the incident which also brought to fore the rise of force against the existing media by the terrorist outfits.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

33. June 1, 1984, army took over the state and cut off all communications with the outside world.

On June 1, 1984 the Indian army took over the state and cut off all communications with the outside world. At 12:40 hrs the CRPF and BSF started firing at "Guru Ram Das Langar" building. The Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police Force, under orders of the Army, started firing upon the Complex, in which at least eight people died.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

34. June 2, 1984, journalists are removed from Amritsar just before the operation blue star starts.

Journalists were removed from Amritsar before the operation blue star. The Indian army had already sealed the international border from Kashmir to Ganga Nagar, Rajasthan. At least seven divisions of army were deployed in villages of Punjab. By nightfall media and the press were gagged and rail, road and air services in Punjab were suspended. Foreigners' and NRIs' entry was also banned. General Gauri Shankar was appointed as the Security Advisor to the Governor of Punjab. The water and electricity supply was cut off

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

35. June 3 to 6, 1984, Operation Blue Star.

A complete curfew was observed with the army and Para-military patrolling all of Punjab. The army sealed off all routes of ingress and exit around the temple complex. This was the beginning of the operation blue star to flush out the Sikh extremists from the Golden Temple.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*

3. *Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
4. *Element of shock involved in the event.*
5. *Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
6. *Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
7. *Reaction of the people*

36. July 5, 1984, five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC-405 from Srinagar to Delhi.

Seven Sikhs hijacked an Indian Airlines jetliner flying from Delhi to Srinagar. The plane was taken to UAE where the defense minister of UAE negotiated the release of the passengers.

The event was selected because:

1. *Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
2. *Timing of the event.*
3. *Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
4. *Element of shock involved in the event.*
5. *Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
6. *Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
7. *Reaction of the people*

37. July 10, 1984, white paper on the Punjab agitation.

This "White Paper" Published by Government of India on July 10, 1984 presents government of India's perspective on the Punjab agitation launched by Shromani Akali Dal during the years 1981-1984. It is the official version about government of India's parleys with the Akalis on their demands and lists reasons and circumstances which led to the military action against the Sikhs and their Gurdwaras in Punjab in June 1984. It blames the Akalis for their declaration of Anandpur

resolution, their forcible stopping of the digging of Satluj-Yamuna link canal, their connivance with the Sikh militants, reign of terror let loose by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his band of Sikh militants, interference of certain foreign countries to fish in the troubled waters and the role of anti-social elements. It also gives a list of people killed in military action and the arms and ammunitions recovered from the killed militants and the Sikhs shrines. It tries to justify the government action but gives no convincing reply regarding the redressal of genuine demands of the Sikhs.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

38. August 24, 1984 hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.

Seven young hijackers demanded an Indian Airlines jetliner, on a domestic flight from Chandigarh to Srinagar with 100 passengers on board, be flown to the United States. The plane was taken to Lahore and then to Karachi and finally to Dubai where the defense minister of UAE negotiated the release of the passengers. It was related to the secessionist struggle in the Indian state of Punjab. The hijacker was subsequently repatriated by UAE authorities to India, who handed over the pistol recovered from the hijacker. Investigations revealed that the pistol was manufactured in Germany and was part of 75 pistols consigned from Germany to CAO, PO Box 1040, Islamabad. The Pakistani Foreign Ministry denied the accusation.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

39. October 31, 1984, assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, was assassinated at 09:20 on 31 October 1984, at her Safdarjung Road, New Delhi residence. She was killed by two of her bodyguards, Satwant Singh and Beant Singh, in the aftermath of Operation Blue Star, the Indian Army's June 1984 assault on the Golden Temple in Amritsar which left the Sikh temple heavily damaged.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

40. October 31, 1984, anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi.

Following the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984, anti-Sikh riots broke out in New Delhi during which a large number of Sikhs were massacred. Around 2,700 deaths were reported in the violence.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

41. January 16, 1985, attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh.

On January 16, 1985, attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh who had passed a resolution on October 31, expressing grief over the murder of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

42. March 25, 1985, assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh.

BJP leader Krishan Lal Manchanda was shot dead by extremists the day after Rajiv's Hussainiwala visit and a police officer a week later sending shock waves across the state and political leadership.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

43. May 10, 1985 Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured.

Sikh terrorists bombed buses and trains carrying Hindu passengers here and in adjacent northern India states Friday, killing more than 30 people and injuring at least 100 in what appeared to be a well-organized campaign of revenge for the slayings of hundreds of Sikhs after last year's assassination of Indira Gandhi.

The event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

44. April 30, 1986. NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple; Operation Black Thunder I.

Operation Black Thunder is the name given to two operations that took place in India in the late 1980s to flush out remaining Sikh activists from the Golden Temple using 'Black Cat' commandos of the National Security Guards¹ Like Operation Blue Star, these attacks were on Khalistani militants who were using the Golden Temple in Amritsar, Punjab as a base. The first Operation Black Thunder took place on 30 April 1986. About 300 National Security Guards commandos stormed the Golden Temple, the holiest shrine of the Sikhs, along with 700 Border Security Force troops and captured about 300 Sikh militants. The operation, which lasted eight hours, was approved by then Chief Minister of Punjab Surjit Singh Barnala of Shiromani Akali Dal.⁵

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

45. May 12 to 18, 1986: Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18.

Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) began on 9 May 1988 in Amritsar and ended with the surrender of the militants on 18 May. The operation was commanded by Kanwar Pal Singh Gill who was the DGP of Punjab Police. Snipers were used in this operation. Compared to

Operation Blue Star, little damage was inflicted on the Golden Temple. In what was reported as a successful operation, around 200 militants surrendered, 41 were killed. Gill stated that he did not want to repeat the mistakes made by the Indian army during Operation Blue Star. This operation was described as a severe setback to the Khalistan movement. In contrast to prior operations, minimum force was used under full public scrutiny. It is remembered for the free access the news media was provided unlike during Operation Blue Star. The day after the militants surrendered, nine reporters were allowed into the Temple complex. Kirtan was resumed at the Golden Temple on 23 May 1988 after a two-week break during this operation. While Operation Blue Star was widely considered poorly executed and shambolic because of the egregious loss of civilian lives and the damage done to both the Golden Temple and Sikh relations with the government (culminating in the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her bodyguards and anti-Sikh riots), Operation Black Thunder was far more successful with the blockade tactics paying dividends, and has been credited with breaking the back of the Sikh separatist movement. Soon after this operation, the Indian Government banned the use of religious shrines for political and military purposes and increased penalties for the possession and use of illegal weapons, as part of its strategy to fight extremism in the Punjab region. In 2002 Sarabjit Singh who was the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar at the time published a book "Operation Black Thunder: An Eyewitness Account of Terrorism in Punjab". The account was criticised by Kanwar Pal Singh Gill who claimed that the operation was initially called "Operation Gill" before being renamed "Operation Black Thunder". 6

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

46. June 23, 1985, bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board.

Air India Flight 182 was an Air India flight operating on the Montreal, Canada–London, UK–Delhi, India route. On 23 June 1985, the Boeing 747-237B serving the flight (C/N 21473/330, registration VT-EFO, "Emperor Kanishka") was destroyed by a bomb at an altitude of 31,000 feet (9,400 m). It crashed into the Atlantic Ocean while in Irish airspace. It was the first bombing of a 747 jumbo jet. A total of 329 people were killed, including 268 Canadian citizens, 27 Britons and 24 Indians. The majority of the victims were Canadian citizens of Indian ancestry. The incident was the largest mass murder in Canadian history. It was the deadliest terrorist attack involving an aero plane until the September 11, 2001, attacks. It is also the deadliest aircraft bombing. The bombing of Air India 182 occurred at the same time as the Narita Airport bombing. Investigators believe that the two plots were linked, and that those responsible were aiming for a double bombing. However, the bomb at Narita exploded before it could be loaded onto the plane.⁷

This event was selected because:

1. *Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
2. *Element of shock involved in the event.*
3. *Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
4. *Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
5. *Reaction of the people*

47. July 24, 1985, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv-Longowal accord.

Also known as Punjab accord, the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, is an accord signed by Rajiv Gandhi and Harcharan Singh Longowal on 24 July 1985. The government accepted the demands of Akali Dal who in turn agreed to withdraw their agitation.

The accord attracted opposition from several orthodox Sikh leaders of Punjab as well as from the politicians of Haryana. Some of its promises could not be fulfilled

due to the disagreements. Harcharan Singh Longowal was assassinated by the Sikh militants opposed to the accord.⁸

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

48. August 20, 1985, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village.

August 20, 1985, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village. He had been instrumental in signing the Punjab Accord much to the disliking of a section of the extremists.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

49. January 26, 1986, onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations.

It was in January 26, 1986, onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations. It was an important step toward consolidation of the terrorist movement in Punjab which had reaching consequences on the spread of terrorism in the state over the coming years.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

50. March 26, 1986, Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested.

Bhai Mohkam Singh of the Damdami Taksal was arrested by the police on his way to Anandpur Sahib on March 26, 1986 for his alleged involvement in several crimes.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Timing of the event.*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 3. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 4. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 5. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 6. Reaction of the people*

51. April 22, 1986, AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.

The splitting up of the All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) into the two fractions led by Manjit Singh and Kahlon was an important development. While one fraction was open about its links with the extremists, the other was supported the Khalistan movement in a subtle way.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 3. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 4. Reaction of the people*

52. April 29, 1986, an assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.

On 29 April 1986, an assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takht made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan. These events were followed by a decade of violence and conflict in Punjab before a return to normality in the region.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

53. May 2, 1986 the paramilitary police undertook a 12-hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants, but almost all the major radical leaders manage to escape.

Sikh militants continued to use and occupy the temple compound and on 1 May 1986, Indian paramilitary police entered the temple and arrested 200 militants that had occupied Harmandir Sahib for more than three months. On 2 May 1986 the paramilitary police undertook a 12-hour operation to take control of Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar from several hundred militants, but almost all the major radical leaders managed to escape. In June 1990, the Indian government ordered the area surrounding the temple to be vacated by local residents in order to prevent militant's activity around the temple.⁹

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

54. August 10, 1986: Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992.

General Arun Vaidya, Chief of the Indian Army, who ordered Operational Blue Star had settled at Pune after his retirement from the army. On 10 August 1986, Jinda and Sukha shot to him to death. Eight to nine shots were fired at him. He reportedly died on the spot.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 3. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 4. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 5. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 6. Reaction of the people*

55. July 7, 1987, 32 Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.

As many as 38 bus passengers near Lalru, district Patiala, Punjab, on July 7, 1987. The incident installed fear amongst the common people.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

56. October 7, 1987, Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (Abroad)

On October 7, 1987, Aulakh and his associates declared Khalistan's independence from India. Aulakh was declared as the President by the Panthic Committee selected by the Sarbat Khalsa in 1986.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 3. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 4. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 5. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*

57. October 13, 1987, Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar.

October 13, 1987, Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

58. November 13, 1987, Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar.

From Nasik Jail Bhai Tarsem Singh Sahib and Bhai Sukhdev Singh were taken to the fields of village Agvan-Khurd by the Punjab Police. There the Punjab Police shot dead Bhai Sahib and Bhai Sukhdev Singh.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

59. May 29, 1988, government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India.

While Operation Blue Star was widely considered poorly executed and shambolic because of the egregious loss of civilian lives and the damage done to both the Golden Temple and Sikh relations with the government (culminating in the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her bodyguards and anti-Sikh riots), Operation Black Thunder was far more successful with the blockade tactics paying dividends, and has been credited with breaking the back of the Sikh separatist movement. Soon after this operation, the Indian Government banned the use of religious shrines for political and military purposes and increased penalties for the possession and use of illegal weapons, as part of its strategy to fight extremism in the Punjab region.¹¹

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Timing of the event.*
- 3. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 4. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 5. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 6. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 7. Reaction of the people*

60. July 26, 1988: Sikh militants murder then head priest Sohan Singh.

Sikh gunmen today killed a head priest of the Golden Temple and another prominent Sikh who had criticized armed militants, officials in Punjab said.

It was the first killing of such a senior priest in memory, officials said. Two other head priests had escaped assassination attempts earlier. The Golden Temple is Sikh's holiest shrine. "These were religious people, they were not involved in politics," said Balwant Singh Ramoowalia, a Member of Parliament from an Akali Dal faction who condemned the killings. The Akali Dal Party is the main Sikh political group.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

61. June 25, 1989, 27 RSS activists killed in a park in Moga.

On June 25 the terrorist attack on an RSS Shakha in Moga Town, Punjab resulted in loss of lives of 18 Swayamsevaks and 6 others. 28 others were injured.⁴¹

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

62. September, 1989, guidelines were issued to check police excesses.

In an attempt to improve the image of the police the state government came up with guidelines to check police excesses and violation of the human rights.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

62. December 6, 1990, the sensational killing of director All India Radio, K. K. Talib. (Manchanda)

The threats issued by the Panthic Committee were reinforced by the chilling murder of R K Talib, Station Director, All India Radio (AIR), on December 6, 1990.⁵⁶ The unnerving nature of the 'code' and the methods of its imposition is discernible in the testimonies of editors and correspondents to the Press Council Sub-Committee, which confirmed that they had no doubt about the seriousness of the threats received.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 2. Element of shock involved in the event.*
- 3. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.*
- 4. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.*
- 5. Reaction of the people*

63. June 22, 1991, unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy-four people.

By December 1991, Punjab had registered a record 5,300 killings by militant forces, criminal gangs and security forces, up from some 4,000 in 1990. Among those killed were many candidates to the state assembly and national Parliament, 82 some of whom were assassinated by militant groups contesting the elections and others by gunmen apparently associated with political parties. Militants boycotting the elections also engaged in indiscriminate attacks on civilians. Days before the polls were scheduled to open in Punjab on June 22, unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy-four people. Originally scheduled for June, the Punjab elections were postponed until September following the election of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. On September 18, the elections were again canceled, and tentatively rescheduled for February 1992.

64. August, 31, 1995, assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh

Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh was assassinated in a bomb blast at the secretariat complex in Chandigarh on August 31, 1995. The blast claimed the lives of 17 others including 3 Indian commandos. Beant Singh was accompanied by his close friend Ranjodh Singh Mann on the day of assassination. Dilawar Singh Jaisinghvala of Babbar Khalsa International acted as the suicide bomber; later, the backup bomber Balwant Singh Rajoana was also convicted for the killing. In 2012, a Chandigarh court sentenced Balwant Singh to death. A number of Sikhs protested against the decision, and campaigned to stop the execution of Balwant Singh Rajoana. On 28 March 2012 the Government of India stayed the execution of Rajoana after Punjab Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal met President Pratibha Patil seeking clemency for him.

This event was selected because:

- 1. Significance and magnitude of the event as far as the national polity was concerned.*
- 2. Importance of the event for the people of Punjab.*
- 3. Element of shock involved in the event.*

4. Importance gained by an event because it had a far-reaching consequence.

5. Significance given to an event by the newspapers.

6. Reaction of the people

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CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Data interpretation is an important part of any research that is a must to make sense of numerical data that has been collected, analyzed, and presented. Statistical analysis is the most common method of assessing numerical data interpreting data to make predictions is known as inferential statistics.

As most important part of the Date Interpretation and Analysis is collection of data. In case of this study, data was gathered from more than 790 daily editions of six newspapers namely- The Tribune, The Indian Express, Punjab Tribune, Ajit and Jagbani. For the purpose a total of 64 important events that were indentified based on the criteria set in the research methodology were used.

The data thus collected was used to understand how many reports related to the selected events were carried by a particular newspaper and how much space was given by the paper on page one and other pages over the next two days of the occurrence of the event. In certain cases news coverage of paper for more number of days was also studied depending upon the importance of the particular event.

The data was also used to ascertain the number of photographs, related to the events that were carried by the newspapers. Besides, the data also brought to light the kind of display that the reports were given and the page placements to understand the emphasis laid by the newspapers on a particular event or events.

The process of data collection spanned over three years. Extra caution has been used to avoiding any sort of bias during collection of the data. Utmost care was taken to make certain there is no margin of error, while collecting the data. The researcher is confident that any omission would be minimum and only coincidental.

As figuring out what data means is just as important as collecting it while, interpreting the data, all efforts were made to discern the differences between the various statistics that were collected.

The Tribune

The Tribune, which is now published from Chandigarh was founded on 2 February 1881, in Lahore (now in Pakistan), by Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, a philanthropist, and is now run by a trust comprising of five persons as trustees. It is a major Indian newspaper with a worldwide circulation. In India, it is the leading English daily for Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, and the Union Territory of Chandigarh.

During the days of terrorism The Tribune remained neutral and most of the reports that were published focused on the actual developments. Simple plain reporting was at the crux of The Tribune reports which did not indulge in any sort of sensationalism while reporting the acts of terrorism. The statements issued by the government found prominent display in the paper. The editorials that were carried in the paper also used sobering words that appeared to have an effect of calming down the infuriated feelings that prevailed during the days of terrorism in Punjab. The newspaper however did to relent in voicing the concerns of the general masses when in one of its editorials the paper says ‘peace is thus presumed to have not returned to the state as long as the army remains there.’

The paper also voiced the concerns of the Sikh community as a whole when it says ‘the threatened observation of ‘Shaheedi Divas’ on July 15 should be seen in the perspective of a community in desperate need to reassert its identity.’ Here the paper does not seem to side with any particular side, but speaks of the general feelings that were felt by a community as a whole. The tone and tenure of the language used also does not appear to be carrying any provocations.

At the start of the research the scholar had drawn five objectives on the basis of which five hypotheses were also drawn and the study was carried out. During the research while some of these hypothesis gained ground with documented evidence supporting what initially was just a fragment of thought, some other hypothesis were proved to be wrong during the study.

Tables of the Tribune

Abbreviations: P-Prominent, T-Top, PR-Plain Reporting, NP-Non Provocative, S-Straight, B-Bold, D-Double, M-Middle of the page , L-Left of the page, R-Right of the page, SH-Sub Heading, P-(under language subhead)-Provocative, C-Centre of the page, B-bottom of the page

Table: 1. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
1.	April 13, 1973, Passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.	April 14	Paper Untraceable								
		April 15	Paper Untraceable								
2.	13 April 1978 Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's alleged ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar.	April 14	1/2	1/78	1	P	T	S	PR	NP	
		April 15	1/1	1/48	1	P	M	S	PR	NP	
3.	April 12, 1980 Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib.	April 13	No Coverage								
		April 14	No Coverage								
4.	January 4, 1980 Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal	January 5	1/1	1/24	1	P	M	S	PR	NP	
		January 6	No Coverage								

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Nirankar’s Head Gurbachan Singh’s alleged ridiculing of Sikh’s 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar**’ the paper carried 2 reports spread over 78 Cm.sq. col space on page 1 on April 14. It had 1 photograph. The display given to the news reports was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. In case of ‘**Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal**’ the paper carried single report on January 5 which was given 34 Cm.sq. col space. It had 1 photograph. The display given to the news report was prominent with middle page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. While, no coverage was given to ‘**Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib,**’ the editions of April 14 and April 15, 1973 were untraceable.

Table: 2. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
5.	April 24, 1980, Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi.	April 25	1/1	1/24	1	P	M	S	PR	NP
		April 26	1/3 9/1	1/130 9/16	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
6.	April 13, 1981	April 14	No Coverage							

	Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta.	April 15	No Coverage
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Data Interpretation

In case of ‘Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 on April 25 with 24 Cm.sq. col space. It had 1 photograph. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative.

Table: 3. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
7.	September 9, 1981 Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group,	September 10	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	2	P	T	S	PR	NP

	near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala.	September 11	1/3 9/1	1/130 9/16	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
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Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of ‘Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala’ the paper carried 4 reports on page 1 that were given a total of 135 Cm.sq. col space. Two related photographs were also carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the in page. It also carried 4 reports on page 14 which were given a total of 168 Cm.sq. col of space on September 10. On September 11, the paper carried 3 related reports on page one and a single report on page 9. The space given was 130 and 16 Cm.sq. col respectively. On both dates the language used was non-provocative and structure of the story was plain reporting.

Table: 4. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
8.	September 11, 1981 Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh	September 12	1/1 14/1	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP

	Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain.	September 13	No coverage							
9.	September 20, 1981 Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar.	September 21	1/2 9/2	1/89 9/ 35	2	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		September 22	1/2 3/2	1/108 3/ 45	N	P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of ‘**Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain,**’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 that were given a total of 88 Cm.sq. col space. One related photographs were also carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top left of the in page. It also carried 1 report on page 14 which were given a total of 26 Cm.sq. col of space on September 12. On September 13, the paper did not give any coverage to the event. While covering ‘**Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar,**’ the paper carried a total of 2 reports on page one the next two days that were spread over 89 Cm.sq. col 2related reports were carried page 9 which were given a space of 35 Cm.sq. col The displays given to the all the reports were prominent with bold and double headlines. The structure of the news report was plain reporting and language used was non-provocative.

Table: 5. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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10.	September 29, 1981 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	September 30	1/2 3/3	1/129 3/55		P	T	BD	PR	NP
		October 1	1/3 3/1	1/58 3/25		P	T	BD	PR	NP
11.	October 16, 1981 Prime minister's meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal.	October 17	No Coverage							
		October 18	1/1 16/1	1/65 16/23	2	P	TL	BD	PR	NP
12.	July 19, 1982, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple.	July 20	There was a report on Bhindranwale lunching a Morcha but no mention of his moving into the golden temple.							
		July 21	No Coverage							

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of '**Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore**' the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 that were given a total of 129 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the page. It also carried 3 reports on page 3, which were given a total of 55 Cm.sq. col of space on September 30. On October 1, the paper carried three reports on page 1 and a single report on page three. The display given to the news reports on both the days was prominent with bold and double headlines. The page placement of the news reports was also on top of the page. In case of '**Prime minister's meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal,**' the paper did not give any coverage to the event on October 17, but carried a detailed report on page one the next day which was continued on page 16. Total space given was 65 on page one and 23 on page 16. Two related photographs were also carried. The story structure remained plain reporting and the language was non provocative. The paper did not cover the event of '**Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple**'.

Table: 6. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

S. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	Reverse plate
13.	July 19, 1982 The police arrested Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh.	July 20	No Coverage								
		July 21	No Coverage								
14.	August 4, 1982 Harchand Singh Longowal announced `dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.	August 5	1/1	1/56		P	M	S	PR	NP	N

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals the paper gave no coverage to ‘**police arresting Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh**’ while in case of ‘**Harchand Singh Longowal announced `dharma Yudh’ or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the paper**’ gave wide coverage to the event. On August 5 it carried a report on page 1 and gave a total of 56 Cm.sq. col space with prominent display and straight headlines. The story structure and language used remained plain and non-provocative, respectively.

Table: 7. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page = no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	Reverse plate
15.	November 19, 1982 to December 4, 1982 The Asian games and its aftermath.	November 20	1/1	1/24		P	M	S	PR	NP	
		November 21	1/1	1/56		P	TL	BD	PR		Y
		November 22	1/1	1/48		P	TL	B	PR	NP	
		November 23	1/1	1/87		P	TR	BD	PR	NP	
		November 24	1/2 8/2	1/76 8/ 55	1	P	TR	BS	PR	NP	
		November 25	1/ 2 7/ 2	1/85 7/80	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP	
		November 26	1/ 2	1/54		P	T	BS	PR	NP	
		November 27	1/ 3 7/ 1	1/67 7/23		P	T	BS	PR	NP	
		November 28	1/ 2 9/1	1/76 9/11	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP	
		November 29	1/ 1	1/50		P	T	BS	PR	NP	
		November 30	1/ 3	1/35		P	T	BS	PR	NP	
December 1	1/2	1/76		P	T	BS	PR	NP			

		December 2	1/1	1/24		P	T	BS	PR	NP	
		December 3	1/1	1/19		Dismissive	M	S	PR	NP	
		December 4	6/1	6/15		Dismissive	Bottom	S	PR	NP	

Data Interpretation

Huge coverage was given to this event which had a major political angle to it. The paper continued to cover the developments on daily basis giving prominent display to the multiple news reports. Sufficient space was given to these news reports ranging from 24 Cm.sq. col To 87 Cm.sq. col for a single report. Most of the related news were carried on page one which many continued on internal pages also. However, during the last days of the event, the space being given reduced and dismissive displays were given to the news reports bring to fore the fact that the importance of an event for a newspaper reduces as the number of days pass. However, the structure of the story remained plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative.

Table: 8. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
16.	April 23, 1983, Killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound.	April 24	1/ 2	1/ 90	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		April 25	1/ 2 7/ 2	1/85 7/80	1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Good coverage was given to this event which as the paper carried 2 related reports on page 1 on April 24 and that was given a total of 90 Cm.sq. col space with 1 photograph. On April, 25, it carried 1 report on page 1 and 2 on page 7. Space given was 85 Cm.sq. col on page 1 and 80 on page 7. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 9. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
17.	September 28, 1983 Indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district.	September 29	1/1 12/1	1/34 12/27	2	P	T	S	PR	NP	
		September 30	1/1	1/33		P	M	S	PR	NP	
18.	October 5, 1983 A bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road.	October 6	No Coverage								
		October 7	1/2	1/98	1	P	T	B	PR	NP	

Data Interpretation

Good coverage was given to this event which as the paper carried 1 related report on page 1 on September 29 and that was given a total of 34 Cm.sq. col space with two photographs. It also continued the report on page 12 where 27 Cm.sq. col space was given. Two photographs were carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On September 30, the paper carried 1 report on page 1. The space given was 33 Cm.sq. col respectively. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of '**A bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road**', while, the paper did not give any coverage to the event the very next day, on October 7 it carried two reports on page 1 that were given a total of 98 Cm.sq. col of space. One related photograph was also carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 10. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
19.	October 6, 1983	October 7	1/1	1/ 48	1	P	T	B	PR	NP

	Imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government.	October 8	1/1	1/82	2	P	T	B 2SH	PR	NP
20.	November 18, 1983 Another bus was hijacked and four Hindu passengers were shot dead. (Naushehra Pannuan bus killing)	November 19	1/1	1/91		P	T	S	PR	NP
		November 20	1/3	1/117	2	P	TM	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of the above two events good coverage was given by the newspaper with sufficient space. In case of '**Imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government,**' a 48 Cm.sq. col report was carried on October 7. The paper also had a photograph. On October 8 it carried and 82 Cm.sq. col report. It also had two related photographs. The headlines on both the days were bold and on October 8 it also carried 2 sub headings to lay emphasis on the importance of the story. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of '**Naushehra Pannuan bus killings,**' the paper carried 1 report on November 19 and 3 reports on November 20. While, on first day of the coverage, it gave 91 Cm.sq. col of space, the second day the space given was 117 Cm.sq. col The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 11. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
21.	December 15, 1983 Bhindranwale was forced to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas house by members of the Babbar Khalsa who were with Harchand Singh Longowal. (tussle between Longowal and Bhindranwale)	December 16	1/1	1/42		P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		December 17	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of the above event good coverage was given by the newspaper with sufficient space on the very next day. But no coverage was given on December 17. It carried one report on page 1 with 42 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 12. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
22.	January 26, 1984 Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India.	January 27	1/1	1/27		P	M	SB	PR	NP
		January 28	1/1 16/1	1/57 16/24		P	TL	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The event of ‘**Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India**’ was given good coverage by the newspaper. On January 27 it carried 1 report with 27 Cm.sq. col space and on January 28, it carried 1 report on page one which was given 57 Cm.sq. col of space and continued on page 16 where it got 24 Cm.sq. col of space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 13. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
23.	February 14, 1984 A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab.	February 15	1/1	1/60		P	ML	S	PR	NP
		February 16	No coverage							
24.	February 14, 1984 Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal.	February 15	1/2 16/2	1/80 16/68	1	P	TR	SB	PR	NP
		February 16	1/2 11/4	1/139 14/155	1	P	ML	SB	PR	NP
25.	February 19, 1984 Violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat.	February 20	1/2	1/57		P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		February 21	1/7 16/2	1/173 16/58	1	P	TM	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab**’ The above table reveals that on February 15 the paper carried 1 page 1 report with 60 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight. The display given was prominent and page placement was on middle left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. ‘**Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal**’ attracted huge coverage by the paper as carried six reports over the next two days with sufficient space and photographs. These reports were placed significantly on the front pages with straight and bold headlines. The reporting remained plain and language was non provocative.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
26.	March 28, 1984 Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the	March 29	1/1 6/1	1/34 6/30		P	TL	SB	PR	NP

	Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple, was shot dead.	March 30	No Coverage
27.	March 31, 1984 Home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b).	April 1	No Coverage
		April 2	No Coverage
28.	April 2, 1984 Some 40 minor railway stations in Punjab were blown up.	April 3	No Coverage
		April 4	No Coverage

Data Interpretation

The above table states that in case of ‘**Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple was shot dead.**’ the paper carried one report on page with 34 cms sq, space which was continued on page 6 where 30 Cm.sq. col space was given. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given to the other events listed in this table.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
29.	<p style="text-align: center;">April 3, 1984</p> <p>Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists.</p>	April 4	1/1 12/1	1/38 12/30	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		April 5	1/1	1/20	1	P	TR	SB	PR	NP
30.	<p style="text-align: center;">May 1, 1984</p> <p>SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution.</p>	May 2	No Coverage							
		May 3	No Coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists,**’ the paper carried 1 report on April 4 which was given 38 Cm.sq. col space and a photograph. It carried a related news report on page 12 which was given 30 cm s q. space. Next day also it carried a 20 Cm.sq. col report on page 1 with a photograph. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given in case of ‘**SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution**’.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
31.	<p>May 9, 1984</p> <p>Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar. He was outspoken about the anti/social elements who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple.</p>	May 10	1/1 12/1	1/56 12/29	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
		May 11	No Coverage							

32.	May 12, 1984 Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain.	May 13	1/2	1/61	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		May 14	1/3	1/102	1	P	ML	SB	PR	NP

Data interpretation

In case of '**Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar,**' the paper carried a page 1 report with 56 Cm.sq. col space and a photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given the next day. In case of '**Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain**' the paper carried 1 report in page 1 with 61 Cm.sq. col space and a photograph on May 13 and on may 14 it carried three related news that were given 102 Cm.sq. col, space. One photograph was also carried. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
33.	June 1, 1984 Army took over the state and cut off all communications with the outside world.	June 2	No Publications were carried out these days								
		June 3	No Publications were carried out these days								
34.	June 2, 1984 Journalists are removed from Amritsar just before the operation blue star starts.	June 3	No Publications were carried out these days								
		June 4	No Publications were carried out these days								
35.	June 3 to 6, 1984 Operation Blue Star.	June 4	No Publications were carried out these days								
		June 5	No Publications were carried out these days								
		June 6	No Publications were carried out these days								
		June 7	No Publications were carried out these days								
36.	July 5, 1984 Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/405 from Srinagar to Delhi.	July 6	1/3 14/4	1/110 14/98	1	P	T M	BD	PR	NP	
		July 7	1/4 14/2	1/154 14/87		P	T M	BD	PR	NP	

Data Interpretation

During the **Operation Blue Star** there was a ban of newspaper publication and no edition of the paper was brought out during these days. In case of ‘**Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/405 from Srinagar to Delhi,**’ the paper carried 3 reports on page 1 with 110 Cm.sq. col space on July 6 and a photograph. It also had 4 related reports on page 14 where 98 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 7, it carried 4 reports on page 1 and 2 on page 14. 154 Cm.sq. col space was given on page 1 and 87 sq. cm on page 87. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 16. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
37.	July 10, 1984 White paper on the Punjab agitation.	July 11	1/1	1/56		P	M	S	PR	NP
		July 12	1/1	1/65		P	M	S	PR	NP
38.	August 24, 1984 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	August 25	1/3 14/4	1/102 14/69	1	P	TM	BD	PR	NP
		August 26	1/6 9/4	1/157 9/98	2	P	TM	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**White paper on the Punjab agitation**’ the paper carried 1 report each for the next two days which were given 56 Cm.sq. col and 65 Cm.sq. col of space. The display was prominent and headline straight. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore**’ huge coverage was given by the paper with 3 page 1 stories spread over 102 Cm.sq. col on August 25 with 4 related reports on page 14 with 69 Cm.sq. col space. The next day it carried 6 reports on page 1 spread over 157 Cm.sq. col and two photographs. The display was prominent and headline straight, bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

39.	October 31, 1984 Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.	November 1	1/2 9/3	1/127 9/123	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 2	1/3 14/4	1/108 14/126	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
40.	October 31, 1984 Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi.	November 1	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 2	1/3 14/2	1/58 14/46	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
41.	January 16, 1985 Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh.	January 17	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		January 18	1/1	1/88	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi,’** the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 127 Cm.sq. col and 3 reports on page 9 spread over 123 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 108 Cm.sq. col and 4 on page 14 spread over 126 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi,’** the paper gave huge coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 58 Cm.sq. col and 2 on page 14 spread over 46 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh,’** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on January 17. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On January 18, it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 88 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 17. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
42.	March 25, 1985 Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh.	March 26	1/2 9/1	1/78 9/ 35	2	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		March 27	1/1	1/34	1	P	T left	SB	PR	NP
43.	May 10, 1985 Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility.	May 11	1/2	1/78	1	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		May 12	1/2	1/56		P	T	D	PR	NP
44.	April 30, 1986 NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I.	May 1	1/2	1/88	2	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		May 2	1/2	1/129		P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh,’** the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 78 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 35 Cm.sq. col on March 26. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 108 Cm.sq. col and 4 on page 14 spread over 126 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility,’** the paper gave good coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 78 Cm.sq. col on May 12. It carried 1 photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 12 it carried 2 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 56 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I,’** the paper gave good coverage with 2 reports on page 1 spread over 88 Cm.sq. col on May 1. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 2 it carried 2 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 129 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 18. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
45.	May 12 to 18, 1986 Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18.	May 13	1/3 3/1	1/58 3/ 25		P	T	D	PR	NP
		May 14	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		May 15	1/1 16	1/65 16/68	2	P	TL	B D	PR	NP
		May 16	1/3 3/1	1/58 3/2		P	T	D	PR	NP
		May 17	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		May 18	1/3 3/1	1/58 3/25		P	T	D	PR	NP
		May 19	1/1	1/88	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
46.	June 23, 1985 Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board	June 24	1/2	1/98	2	P	TL	B D	PR	NP
		June 25	1/3	1/78		P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with multiple reports on page 1 and internal pages for the next seven days. The displays were prominent and headline straight bold and double in certain cases. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 98 Cm.sq. col on June 24. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 23 it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 78 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 19. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
47.	July 24, 1985 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant	July 25	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/27	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP

	Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.	July 26	1/2 14/3	1/68 14/38	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
48.	Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village.	August 21	1/1	1/88	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		August 22	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
49.	Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations.	January 27	No coverage							
		January 28	No coverage							
50.	Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested.	March 27	1/1 14/1	1/38 14/26	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		March 28	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.’** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 27 Cm.sq. col on July 25. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 26, it carried 2 related reports on page 1 spread over 68 Cm.sq. col and 3 on page 14 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col . in case of **‘H S Longowal being shot dead’** the paper carried 1 report on page one which was given 88 Cm.sq. col space. On August 21 and on August 22 it carried a related news which was spread over 34 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations,’** no coverage as given by the paper. In case of **‘Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested,’** the paper gave good coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 14 spread over 26 Cm.sq. col on March 27. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 20. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
51.	April 22, 1986 AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.	April 23	1/1	1/77		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		April 24	No Coverage							
52.	April 29, 1986 An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.	April 30	1/1	1/98	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		May 1	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
53.	May 2, 1986 The paramilitary police undertook a 12/hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants.	May 2	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 3	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col on April 23. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 98 Cm.sq. col on April 30. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 1 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 34 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 21. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
54.	August 10, 1886 Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army	August 11	1/1 9/1	1/64 9/48	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP

	Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992.	August 12	1/4	1/78	2	P	T	S	PR	NP
55.	July 7, 1987, 32 Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.	July 8	1/1	1/78	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		July 9	No coverage							
56.	October 7, 1987 Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad)	October 8	1/1	1/38		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		October 9	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992,’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 64 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 48 Cm.sq. col on August 11. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On August 12 it carried 4 related reports on page 1 spread over 78 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 78 Cm.sq. col It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad),’ the paper gave coverage with 1

report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col on October 8. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 22. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
57.	October 13, 1987, Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar.	October 14	1/1	1/48		P	T	B	PR	NP
		October 15	No coverage							
58.	November 13, 1987, Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar.	November 14	1/1	1/88	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
		November 15	No coverage							
59.	May 29, 1988 Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India.	May 30	1/1	1/24		P	T	SD	PR	NP
		May 31	No coverage							
60.	July 26, 1988: Sikh militants murder the then head priest.	July 27	1/1 14/1	1/48 14/14	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		July 28	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 48 Cm.sq. col on October 14. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 88 Cm.sq. col It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 24 Cm.sq. col on May 30. The display was prominent and headline straight and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Sikh militants murder the then head priest,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 48 Cm.sq. col on July 27 and a single report on page 14 spread over 11 Cm.sq. col It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 23. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
61.	June 25, 1989 RSS activists killed in a park in Moga.	June 26	1/1	1/98	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		June 27	No Coverage							

62.	December 6, 1990 The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib. (Manchanda)	December 7	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		December 7	No coverage							
63.	June 22, 1991 Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people.	June 23	1/1	1/38	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		June 24	1/1	1/34	1	P	T L	SB	PR	NP
64.	August, 31, 1995, assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh.	October 1	1/6 9/4	1/156 9/136	2	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		October 2	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**RSS activists killed in a park in Moga,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 98 Cm.sq. col on June 26 17. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib (Manchanda),**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on December 7. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col on June 23. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 24 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 34 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non

provocative. In case of ‘**Assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh**’. the paper gave huge coverage with 6 reports on page 1 spread over 156 Cm.sq. col and 4 reports on page 9 spread over 136 Cm.sq. col on October 1. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On October 2 it carried 4 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 135 Cm.sq. col and 4 on page 14 spread over 168 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Findings and discussion

1. The Tribune carried a total of 214 news related to the selected events. Which means that on an average the paper carried 3 to 4 news reports for every event that was studied.
2. A total of 9097 sq. cm of space was given to these events on page one and 3949 sq. cm was given on internal pages. Which means that out of a total space of 13046 which was given these events 69.73 per cent space was given on page 1 and 32.27 per cent space was given on internal pages.
3. The paper gave prominent displays to selected events.
4. The page placements of the news items suggested that due importance was given to the news items.
5. The structure of the news reports remained plain and the language used was non-provocative

Ajit

Ajit started its circulation as an Urdu language weekly in 1941 from Shaheed Sikh Missionary Collage Amritsar. Ajit Singh Ambalvi was its first editor. In November 1942, it became daily newspaper and began printing from Lahore. After independence it moved its base to Jalandhar and Sadhu Singh Hamdard became its editor. In 1955, its name was changed to Ajit Patrika and language changed from Urdu to Punjabi. Later in 1957, its name was changed back to Ajit.

During the days of terrorism Ajit continued to maintain a pro Sikh stance. “The Punjabi press, Ajit, being sympathetic to the Sikhs, emphasized the existence of a composite Punjabi identity including both Hindus and Sikhs whereas the Punjabi Hindus repudiated this plank of ‘Punjabiya’,” observed Jaspal Singh Sidhu.

It catered to the rural Punjabi population and its circulation rose drastically during the days of terrorism. Bhog advertisements eulogizing known criminals and murders as ‘martyrs’ and calling on public to attend samanagms were largely carried out in Ajit.

Use of words like ‘Shaheed’ for those directly involved in acts of terrorism was quite common in the newspaper. The editorials were direct reflection of the Hindu-Sikh divide, whether it was ‘actual or perceived’ is a question which remains to be answered. In one of the editorials the newspaper appeared favorably inclined towards the Sikh body SGPC when it said ‘sarkaar banan toh baad na kewal Shiromani Committee di hond nu challenge kita giya hai par is de shaktishali pardhan Gurcharan Singh Tohra nu v astifa den te majboor kita giya hai’ (after the government came too power not only the existence of Shiromani Committee has been challenged but its powerful president Gurcharan Singh Tohra was also made to resign. Editorial like these made it evident that the inclination of the newspaper was pro Sikh.

Tables of Ajit

Abbreviations: P-Prominent, T-Top, PR-Plain Reporting, NP-Non Provocative, S-Straight, B-Bold, D-Double, M-Middle of the page , L-Left of the page, R-Right of the page, SH-Sub Heading, P-(under language subhead)-Provocative, C-Centre of the page, B-bottom of the page

Table: 1. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
1.	April 13, 1973, Passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.	April 14	Paper missing								
		April 15									
2.	13 April 1978 Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's alleged ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar.	April 14	1/2	1/78	1	P	T	S	PR	NP	
		April 15	1/1	1/48	1	P	M	S	PR	NP	
3.	April 12, 1980 Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib.	April 13	No Coverage								
		April 14	No Coverage								
4.	January 4, 1980 Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal	January 5	1/1	1/24	1	P	M	S	PR	NP	
		January 6	No Coverage								

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘Nirankar’s Head Gurbachan Singh’s alleged ridiculing of Sikh’s 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar’** the paper carried 2 reports spread over 78 Cm.sq. col space on page 1 on April 14. It had 1 photograph. The display given to the news reports was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. In case of **‘Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal’** the paper carried single report on January 5 which was given 34 Cm.sq. col space. It had 1 photograph. The display given to the news report was prominent with middle page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. While, no coverage was given to **‘Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib,’** the editions of next two days did not have any coverage, while the editions of April 14 and April 15, 1973 in which reports regarding **‘Passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal’** would have been carried were untraceable.

Table: 2. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
5.	April 24, 1980,	April 25	1/1	1/98	1	P	M	S	PR	NP

	Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi.	April 26	1/3	1/111	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
6.	April 13, 1981 Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta.	April 14	No Coverage							
		April 15	No Coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 on April 25 with 98 Cm.sq. col space. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. On April 26, the paper carried 3 reports on page 1 which were given 111 Cm.sq. col space. The The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative.

Table: 3. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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7.	September 9, 1981 Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala.	September 10	The News Paper did not carry a detailed report on the incident but there was only one headline on top of the paper (even above the newspaper's master head) which mentioned that Lala Ji had been gunned down						
		September 11	1/4 4/3	1/178 14/168	1 1	P	T	S	PR

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of 'Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala' the paper did not carry a detailed report the very next day but there was only a headline on top of the paper (even above the newspaper's master head) which mentioned that Lala Ji had been gunned down. The paper carried four 4 reports on page 1 on September 11 that were given a total of 178 Cm.sq. col space and three related news were carried on page 4 which were given a total of 168 sq. cm space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the in page.

Table: 4. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page = no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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8.	September 11, 1981 Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain.	September 12	1/3 6/2	1/115 6/40		P	TL	B 4SH	PR	P
		September 13	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	P
9.	September 20, 1981 Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar.	September 21	1/2 9/1	1/78 9/ 35	2	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		September 22	1/2 3/ 2	1/108 3/ 45		P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of ‘Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain,’ the paper carried 3 report on page 1 that were given a total of 115 Cm.sq. col space, while 2 report were carried on page 2, which were given 40 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was top left. The headline was bold with four sub headings. On September 13, the paper had one report on page one which was given 34 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent with top left placement on the page and headline was bold and straight.

While covering ‘Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar,’ the paper carried a total of 2 reports on page one the next two which was given 78 Cm.sq. col space. One related report was carried page 9 which were given a space of 35 Cm.sq. col The displays given to the all the reports were prominent with bold headline. The structure of the news report was plain reporting and language used was non provocative

Table: 5. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
10.	September 29, 1981 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	September 30	1/2	1/111		P	T	D	PR	NP
		October 1	1/3 3/ 1	1/58 3/ 25		P	T	D	PR	NP
11.	October 16, 1981 Prime minister’s meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal.	October 17	1/1	1/65		P	TL	B	PR	NP
		October 18	No Coverage							
12.	July 19, 1982, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale	July 20	1/1 6/1	1/52 6/14	1	P	TR	B	PR	NP

	moved into the premises of the Golden Temple.	July 21	1/1 6/1	1/42 6/26		P	TR	BD	PR	NP
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Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of **‘Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore’** the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 that were given a total of 111 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the page on September 30. On October 1, the paper carried three reports on page 3 reports on page 1 which were given 58 Cm.sq. col space and had q report on page three which was given 25 Cm.sq. col space. The display given to the news reports on both the days was prominent with bold and double headlines. The page placement of the news reports was also on top of the page. In case of **‘Prime minister’s meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal,’** the paper carried one report on october 17 which was given 65 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent with told left placement on the page. The paper did not carry any report the very next day i.e. on October 18 in case of **‘Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple’** the paper carried one report on page 1 which was spread over 52 Cm.sq. col on page 1. it was continued on page 6 where it was given 14 Cm.sq. col space on July 20. on July 21, the paper had one report on page 1 spread over 42 Cm.sq. cols. It was continued on page 6 where 26 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display given to the news reports on both the days was prominent with bold and double headlines. The page placement of the news reports was also on top right of the page

Table: 6. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

S. no	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
13.	July 19, 1982 The police arrested Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh.	July 20	1/1	1/18	1	D	MR	B	PR	NP
		July 21	No Coverage							
14.	August 4, 1982 Harchand Singh Longowal announced `dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.	August 5	1/1	1/30		P	TR	BD		NP
		August 6	1/1	1/87		P	TR	BD	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals in case of '**police arresting Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh**' the paper carried one report on page one on July 20 while was given 18 Cm.sq. col space. The display was dismissive and page placement was middle right. The headline was bold. In case of '**Harchand Singh Longowal announced `dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the paper**' gave wide coverage to the event. On August 5 it carried a report on page 1 and gave a total of 30 Cm.sq. col

space with prominent display and straight headlines. The story structure and language used remained plain and non-provocative, respectively. On August 6, the paper carried one report on page one which was given a total of 87 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent with top right page placement and plain reporting.

Table: 7. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
15.	November 19, 1982 to December 4, 1982 The Asian games and its aftermath.	November 20	1/1 6/1	1/58 6/23	1	P	TM	B4	PR	NP
		November 21	1/1	1/16		P	TR	B	PR	NP
		November 22	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 23	1/4 4/4	1/135 14/68	1 1	P	T	S	PR	P
		November 24	1/1 4/1	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		November 25	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	P

		November 26	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 27	1/4 4/2	1/135 14/88	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		November 28	1/1 4/3	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	P
		November 29	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		November 30	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	P
		December 1	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		December 2	1/1 14/2	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		December 3	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	P
		December 4	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Huge coverage was given to this event which had a major political angle to it. The paper continued to cover the developments on daily basis giving prominent display to the multiple news reports. Sufficient space was given to these news reports ranging from 23 Cm.sq. col to 168 Cm.sq. col for a single report. Most of the related news were carried on page one which many continued on internal pages also. The structure of the story remained plain reporting and the language used was found to be provocative on November 23 , November 25, November 28, November 30 and December 3 when paper tried to highlight the point that the sikh community was being sidelined and subjected to unjust treatment by the authorities in Haryana which had a provicating effect on the minds of the readers especially the Sikh readers.

Table: 8. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
16.	April 23, 1983, Killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound.	April 24	1/4 14/3	1/135 14/118	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		April 25	1/1 14/1	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Good coverage was given to ‘Killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound’ The paper carried 4 related reports on page 1 on April 24 and that were given a total of 135 Cm.sq. col space. It also had three reports on page 14 where 118 Cm.sq. col space was given. On April, 25, it carried 1 report on page 1 and 1 on page 14. Space given was 88 sq. cm on page 1 and 26 Cm.sq. col on page on page 14. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top and top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 9. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
17.	September 28, 1983 Indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district.	September 29	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		September 30	3/1	3/10		D	MR	BD	PR	NP
18.	October 5, 1983 A bus was hijacked from Dhillwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road.	October 6	No Coverage							
		October 7	1/1 8/1	1/130 8/37		P	T	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district**’, the paper carried 1 related report on page 1 on September 29 and that was given a total of 34 Cm.sq. col space with one photograph. The display given was prominent and

page placement was on top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On September 30, the paper carried 1 report on page 3. The space given was 10 Cm.sq. col. The display given was dismissive and page placement was Middle right. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of 'A bus was hijacked from Dhillwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road', while, the paper did not give any coverage to the event the very next day, on October 7 it carried 1 report on page 1 that was given a total of 130 Cm.sq. col of space. It also had 1 report on page 8 wwhich was given 37 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 10. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
19.	October 6, 1983 Imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government.	October 7	1/1	1/56	1	P	T	B	PR	NP
		October 8	1/1 8/1	1/48 8/14	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
20.	November 18, 1983 Another bus was hijacked and	November 19	1/1	1/32	1	P	TL	B	P	NP

	four Hindu passengers were shot dead. (Naushehra Pannuan bus killing)	November 20	1/1	1/54		P	TL	B	P	NP
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Data Interpretation

In case of the above two events the newspaper gave sufficient space. In case of ‘**Imposition of president’s rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government,**’ a 56 Cm.sq. col report was carried on October 7 on page one. On October 8 it carried and 48 Cm.sq. col report on page 1 and 14 Cm.sq. col report on page 8. The headlines on both the days were bold and on October 8 it also carried to lay emphasis on the importance of the story. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top right and top left, respectively. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Naushehra Pannuan bus killings,**’ the paper carried 1 report on November 19 and 1 report on November 20. While, on first day of the coverage, it gave 32 Cm.sq. col of space, the second day the space given was 54 Cm.sq. col The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 11. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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21.	December 15, 1983 Bhindranwale was forced to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas house by members of the Babbar Khalsa who were with Harchand Singh Longowal. (tussle between Longowal and Bhindranwale)	December 16	1/1	1/38		1	P	TL	B4	PR
		December 17	Newspaper untraceable							

Data Interpretation

In case of the above event on December 16 the paper carried one report on page 1 with 38 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 12. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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22.	January 26, 1984 Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India.	January 27	Paper untraceable							
		January 28	1/1	1/56		1	P	TL	B4	PR

Data Interpretation

In case of the event of 'Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India' the January 27 edition of the paper was untraceable but carried a page one report on January 28 which was given 56 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 13. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/format	Language
23.	February 14, 1984	February 15	1/1	1/56		P	ML	S	PR	NP

	A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab.	February 16	No coverage							
24.	February 14, 1984 Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal.	February 15	1/4	1/111		1	P	T	PR	PR
		February 16	1/3	1/110			P	TL	B4	PR
25.	February 19, 1984 Violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat.	February 20	1/1	1/85			P	T	B	PR
		February 21	1/4	1/85			P	T	B	PR

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab**’ the above table reveals that on February 15 the paper carried 1 page 1 report with 56 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight. The display given was prominent and page placement was on middle left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. The event ‘**Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal**’ attracted huge coverage by the paper as carried four reports the next day on page 1 which was given 111 Cm.sq. col space. On February 16 also the paper had three related reports in page 1 which were given 110 Cm.sq. col space.. These reports were placed significantly on the front pages with straight and bold headlines. The reporting remained plain and language was non provocative in case of ‘**Violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat,**’ the paper had a 85 Cm.sq. col story on page one

on February 20 and four stories on February 21 which were also given 85 Cm.sq. col space on page one. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top of the paper.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
26.	March 28, 1984 Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple, was shot dead.	March 29	1/1 6/1	1/45 6/17	1		P	TL	B	PR	
		March 30	1/2 6/1	1/76 6/15	2		P	TL	B	PR	
27.	March 31, 1984 Home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b).	April 1	No Coverage								
		April 2	No Coverage								

28.	April 2, 1984 Some 40 minor railway stations in Punjab were blown up.	April 3	No Coverage
		April 4	Paper untraceable

Data Interpretation

The above table states that in case of ‘**Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple was shot dead.**’ the paper carried one report on page with 45 cms sq, space which was continued on page 6 where 17 Cm.sq. col space was given. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On March 30, the paper had two related reports on page 1 and 1 on page 6. while on page 1 75 Cm.sq. col space as given, on page 6 only 15 Cm.sq. col space was given. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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29.	April 3, 1984 Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists.	April 4	1/1 8/1	1/33 8/24	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
		April 5	No Coverage							
30.	May 1, 1984 SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution.	May 2	1/1	1/33	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
		May 3								

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists,**’ the paper carried 1 report on April 4 which was given 33 Cm.sq. col space and a photograph. It carried a related news report on page 8 which was given 24 cm s q. space. Next day also gave no coverage to the event. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given in case of ‘**SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution**’ the page had a page one report on May2 which was given 33 Cm.sq. col of space. The display was prominent with top right placement with bold headline. The language used by non-provocative.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
31.	May 9, 1984 Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar. He was outspoken about the anti/social elements who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple.	May 10	1/1 12/1	1/56 12/29	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
		May 11	No Coverage							
32.	May 12, 1984 Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain.	May 13	1/1 8/1	1/91 8/52	1	P	MR	BD	PR	NP
		May 14	1/1	1/48		P	TR	BD	PR	NP

Data interpretation

In case of ‘**Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar,**’ the paper carried a page 1 report with 56 Cm.sq. col space and a photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. It also carried 1 report on page 12 where 29 Cm.sq. col space was given. In case of ‘**Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Group Editor Hind Samachar group**’ the paper carried 1 report in page 1 with 91 Cm.sq. col space on page 1 and 1 report was on page 8 which was given 18 Cm.sq. col space. On May 14, it carried three related 1 news that was given 48 Cm.sq. col, space. One photograph was also carried. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
33.	<p style="text-align: center;">June 1, 1984</p> <p>Army took over the state and cut off all communications with the outside world.</p>	June 2	No Publications were carried out these days								
		June 3	No Publications were carried out these days								

34.	June 2, 1984 Journalists are removed from Amritsar just before the operation blue star starts.	June 3	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 4	No Publications were carried out these days							
35.	June 3 to 6, 1984 Operation Blue Star.	June 4	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 5	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 6	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 7	No Publications were carried out these days							
36.	July 5, 1984 Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/405 from Srinagar to Delhi.	July 6	1/2	1/98		P	T M	BD	PR	NP
		July 7	1/4	1/154		P	T M	BD	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

During the **Operation Blue Star** there was a ban of newspaper publication and no edition of the paper was brought out during these days. In case of ‘**Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/405 from Srinagar to Delhi,**’ the paper carried 2 related reports on page 1 with 98 Cm.sq. col space on July 6. The display was prominent and bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 7, it carried 4 reports on page 1 which were given 114 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 16. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
37.	July 10, 1984 White paper on the Punjab agitation.	July 11	1/1	1/24	1	P	M	S	PR	NP
		July 12	1/1	1/24	1	P	M	S	PR	NP
38.	August 24, 1984 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	August 25	1/3 6/2	1/115 6/40		P	TL	B 4SH	PR	NP
		August 26	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	B S	PR	NP
39.	October 31, 1984 Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.	November 1	1/6	1/287	1	P with black background	T	BD	PR	NP
		November 2	1/1 14/2	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BD	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**White paper on the Punjab agitation**’ the paper carried 1 report each for the next two days which were given 24 Cm.sq. col space each. The display was prominent and headline straight. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of

‘Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore’ huge coverage was given by the paper with 3 page 1 stories spread over 115 Cm.sq. col it also carried a related story on page 6 where 40 Cm.sq. col space was given on August 25. The next day it carried 1 report on page 1 spread over 34 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight, bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi,’** the paper gave huge coverage with six related reports on page 1 spread over 287 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent with a black background and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 1 related report on page 1 that were spread over 88 Cm.sq. col 1 on page 14 spread over 26 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

40.	October 31, 1984 Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi.	November 1	1/1 9/1	1/65 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 2	1/3 14/2	1/58 14/46	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
41.	January 16, 1985 Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh.	January 17	1/1	1/62	1	P	TL	B	P	NP
		January 18	½	1/58		P	MC	BD	P	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi,’** the paper gave huge coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 65 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and

bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 58 Cm.sq. col and 2 on page 14 spread over 46 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 62 Cm.sq. col on January 17. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On January 18, it carried 2 related reports on page 1 spread over 58 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 17. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
42.	March 25, 1985 Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh.	March 26	1/1	1/64	1	P	MC	BD	PR	NP
		March 27	1/1	1/54	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP
43.	May 10, 1985	May 11	1/5	1/139	-----	P	TL	BD	PR	NP

	Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility.	May 12	Paper untraceable							
44.	April 30, 1986 NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I.	May 1	1/2	1/88	2	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		May 2	1/2	1/129		P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh,**’ the carried one report on 1 spread over 64 Cm.sq. col on March 26. It carried 1 photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried one related report on page 1 that were spread over 54 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility,**’ the paper gave good coverage with five related reports on page 1 spread over 139 Cm.sq. col the page of on May 12 was untraceable The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**NSG commandoes stormed the Goden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I,**’ the paper gave good coverage with 2 reports on page 1 spread over 88 Cm.sq. col on May 1. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 2 it carried 2 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 129 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 18. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
45.	May 12 to 18, 1986 Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18.	May 13	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 14	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		May 15	1/1 14/1	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		May 16	1/1	1/34	1	P	T left	B S	PR	NP
		May 17	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 18	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		May 19	1/1 14	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
46.	June 23, 1985 Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board.	June 24	1/1	1/134	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with multiple reports on page 1 and internal pages for the next seven days. The displays were prominent and headline straight bold and double in certain cases. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 134 Cm.sq. col on June 24. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting an language was non provocative. On June 23 it carried 1 related report on page 1 which was continued on page 6 and was spread over 130 on page 1 and 19 on page 6 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 19. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
47.	July 24, 1985 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the	July 25	1/1	1/35		P	TL	BD	PR	NP
		July 26	1/1	1/82		P	TR	BD	PR	NP

	Rajiv/Longowal accord.		6/1	6/7						
48.	Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village.	August 21	3/1	1/150			P	B	PR	NP
		August 22	1/6	1/153	1		P	BD	PR	NP
49.	Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations.	January 27	No coverage							
		January 28	No coverage							
50.	Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested.	March 27	1/1 14/1	1/38 14/26	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		March 28	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 35 Cm.sq. col. on July 25. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 26, it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 82 Cm.sq. col which was continued on page 6 where it was given 7 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**H S Longowal being shot dead**’ the paper carried one report on page 1 which was spread over 150 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On August 22 the paper had six reports on page 1 that were spread over 153 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of ‘**Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations,**’ no coverage as given by the paper. In case of ‘**Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested,**’ the paper gave good coverage

with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 14 spread over 26 Cm.sq. col on March 27. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 20. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
51.	April 22, 1986 AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.	April 23	1/1	1/77		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		April 24	No Coverage							
52.	April 29, 1986 An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.	April 30	1/1	1/98	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		May 1	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
53.	May 2, 1986 The paramilitary police undertook a 12/hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants.	May 2	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 3	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col on April 23. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 98 Cm.sq. col on April 30. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 1 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 34 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 21. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
54.	August 10, 1886 Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992.	August 11	1/1 6/1	1/157 6/8	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
		August 12	1/1	1/15		P	TR	B	PR	NP

55.	July 7, 1987, 32 Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.	July 8	Full Page coverage	Full page		P	Full page	BD	PR	NP
		July 9	1/4 6/1	1/240 6/36		P	T	B	PR	NP
56	October 7, 1987 Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad)	October 8	1/1	1/38		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		October 9	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 157 Cm.sq. col which was continued on page 6 where it was given 8 Cm.sq. col space. on August 11. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On August 12 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 15 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.**’ the paper gave a full page coverage on July 8. On July 9 it had 4 related news on page 1 spread over 240 Cm.sq. col which were continued on page 6 where 36 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad),**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col on October 8. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 22. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
57.	October 13, 1987, Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar.	October 14	1/1	1/32		P	T	B	PR	NP
		October 15	No coverage							
58.	November 13, 1987, Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar.	November 14	1/1	1/59	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
		November 15	No coverage							
59.	May 29, 1988 Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India.	May 30	1/1	1/24		P	T	SD	PR	NP
		May 31	No coverage							
60.	July 26, 1988: Sikh militants murder the then head priest.	July 27	1/1 14/1	1/48 14/14	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		July 28	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of **'Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar,'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 32 Cm.sq. col on October 14. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **'Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar,'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 59 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **'Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India,'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 24 Cm.sq. col on May 30. The display was prominent and headline straight and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **'Sikh militants murder the then head priest,'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 48 Cm.sq. col on July 27 and a single report on page 14 spread over 11 Cm.sq. col It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 23. Showing Reports of terrorism in Ajit

Sr. No.	Ajit	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
61.	RSS activists killed in a park in Moga.	June 25, 1989	June 26	1/2	1/146		P	T	B	PR	NP
		June 27	1/1	1/82		P	TL	B	PR	NP	
62.	December 6, 1990 The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib. (Manchanda)	December 7	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP	
		December 7	No coverage								
63.	June 22, 1991 Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people.	June 23	1/1	1/32	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP	
		June 24	No Coverage								
64.	August, 31, 1995, assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh.	October 1	Full Page	Full page	2	P	T	SB	PR	NP	
		October 2	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP	

Data Interpretation

In case of **'RSS activists killed in a park in Moga,'** the paper gave GOOD coverage with 2 reports on page 1 spread over 146 Cm.sq. col on June 26. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 27, it had one report on page 1 spread over 82 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of **'The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib (Manchanda),'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on December 7. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **'Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people,'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 32 Cm.sq. col on June 23. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 24 it had no coverage

In case of **'Assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh'**, the paper gave full page coverage and related photographs on October 1. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On October 2 it carried 4 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 135 Cm.sq. col and 4 on page 14 spread over 168 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Findings and discussion

1. The Ajit newspaper carried 178 news related events identified for study. Which means on an average the newspaper carried 2 to 3 reports for each event. .
2. The paper gave a total of 5373 Cm.sq. coluare of space to these news items on page one and a total of 2581 Cm.sq. coluare of space was given to the news on other pages of the paper. Which means that out of the total 7954 Cm.sq. col 67.55 per cent of the reports were carried on page 1 and 32.45 per cent reports were carried on inside pages.
3. The paper gave prominent displays to selected events.
4. The page placements of the news items suggested that due importance was given to the news items.
5. The structure of the news reports remained plain and the language remained mostly non-provocative with only a few exceptions.

Jagbani

The Hind Samachar group also having its base in Jalandhar first published its Hindi newspaper, Punjab Kesri, in 1965 and later its Punjabi newspaper, Jagbani, in 1978.

In one of his articles established author Jaspal Singh Sidhu, who has a vast understanding of the media and terrorism in Punjab, said that Lala Jagat Narain was a Arya Samaj media leaders who was not confined to the rejection of the demands raised by the Akali s, but he begun publishing Punjabi newspaper Jagbani in the Gurumukhi script to rope in the Punjabi-knowing urban Hindu readership and he went to the extent of meddling in the Sikh religious affairs penning down provocative editorials in his newspapers. [62]

The assertion by Sidhu found credence in this study also. On more than one occasion the scholar came across articles and news items in the Jagbani which made it clear that Jagbani had a communal inclination. The fact that there were repeated attacks on the top management of the newspaper and even its hawkers to prevent its circulation in Punjab also vindicates this statement.

In one of the editorials that was published after the killing of Chaudhary Balbir Singh, the Jagbani observed 'kade kuch Akali netawan nu riha kar ke uhna da pratikaran dekiya janda hai, te kade kuch horan akali netawan ate workran nu riha karan da élan kita janda hai.....'. ... 'assi sapasth sabdan vich sarkaar nu warning dena chande hain ke punjab which kale dina di wapsi bade teji naal shuru ho gai hai'. The editorial clearly states the anti-Akali stance of the newspaper.

Tables of Jagbani

Abbreviations: P-Prominent, T-Top, PR-Plain Reporting, NP-Non Provocative, S-Straight, B-Bold, D-Double, M-Middle of the page , L-Left of the page, R-Right of the page, SH-Sub Heading, P-(under language subhead)-Provocative, C-Centre of the page, B-bottom of the page

Table: 1. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
1.	April 13, 1973, Passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.	April 14	1/1	1/77		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		April 15	No Coverage							
2.	13 April 1978 Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's alleged ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar.	April 14	1/1 14/1	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		April 15	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
3.	April 12, 1980 Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib.	April 13	1/1 9/1	1/58 9/23	1/1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		April 14	No Coverage							

4.	January 4, 1980 Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal	January 5	1/1 14/1	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		January 6	No Coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘Passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.’** the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was spread over 77 Cm.sq. col pace on April 14, The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. On July 15, no coverage was given to the event. In case of **‘Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh’s alleged ridiculing of Sikh’s 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar’** the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was spread over 88 Cm.sq. col and continued on page 14 where 26 Cm.sq. col space was given on April 14. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. On April 15 the paper carried 1 related report on page 1 which was spread over 34 Cm.sq. cols. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan at Anandpur Sahib’** the paper carried one report on page 1 which was spread over 34 Cm.sq. col was a continued on page 9 where 23 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of **‘Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal’** the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was spread over 88 Cm.sq. cols and continued on page 14 where 26 Cm.sq. col space was given.

Table: 2. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
5.	April 24, 1980, Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi.	April 25	1/1	1/56	1	P	M	S	PR	NP
		April 26	1/1	1/65	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
6.	April 13, 1981 Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta.	April 14	1/1	1/34		P	T	B	PR	NP
		April 15	No Coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi**’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 on April 25 with 56 Cm.sq. col space. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. On April 26, the paper carried 1 related report on page 1 which were given 65 Cm.sq. col space. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. in case of ‘**Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta**’ the paper carried 1 related news on page 1 which was spread over 33 Cm.sq. col. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative

Table: 3. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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7.	September 9, 1981 Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala.	September 10	The paper carried full page report on the incident with details about Lala jee on the internal pages. A large number of photographs highlighting the association of Lala jee with top shots including Prime Minister and Chief Minister were carried on the internal pages							
		September 11	1/4 14/8	1/275 14/full page	5	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of ‘**Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala**’ the paper carried multiple reports that were spread all over the front page the paper also carried details about Lala jee on the internal pages. A large number of photographs highlighting the association of Lala jee with top shots including Prime Minister and Chief Minister were carried on the internal pages. On September 11, the paper carried 4 related reports on page 1 which were spread over 275 Cm.sq. col of the space and then there were eight reports on page number 14 which were spread on the full page. The The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative

Table: 4. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
8.	September 11, 1981 Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain.	September 12	1/1 14/1	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		September 13	1/1	1/34	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
9.	September 20, 1981 Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar.	September 21	1/2	1/77	1/1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		September 22	1/4 14/4	1/106 14/148	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of ‘**Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain,**’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was spread over 88 Cm.sq. col and was continued on page 14 where 26 Cm.sq. col space was given on September 12. The display given was prominent and page placement was top left. The headline was bold with four sub headings. On September 13, the paper had one report on page one which was given 33 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent with top left placement on the page and headline was bold and straight. While covering ‘**Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar,**’ the paper carried a total of 2 reports on page one the next two which was given 77 Cm.sq. col space September 21. on September 22, the paper carried 4 related news on page 1 which were continued on page 14. on page 1 106 Cm.sq. col space was given and on page 14 148 Cm.sq. col space was given. The displays given to the all the reports were prominent with bold headline. The structure of the news report was plain reporting and language used was non provocative

Table: 5. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
10.	September 29, 1981 Hijacking of Indian	September 30	1/2	1/125 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP

	Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	October 1	1/4	1/225	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
11.	October 16, 1981 Prime minister's meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal.	October 17	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		October 18	No coverage							
12.	July 19, 1982, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple.	July 20	1/1	1/22	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		July 21	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of '**Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore**' the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 that were given a total of 125 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the page on September 30. On October 1, the paper carried three reports on page 4 reports on page 1 which were given 225 Cm.sq. col space and had a report. The display given to the news reports on both the days was prominent with bold and double headlines. The page placement of the news reports was also on top of the page. In case of '**Prime minister's meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal,**' the paper carried one report on October 17 which was given 65 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent with told left placement on the page. The paper did not carry any report the very next day i.e. on October 18 . In case of '**Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden**

Temple' the paper carried one report on page 1 which was spread over 22 Cm.sq. col on page 1. The display given to the news reports on both the days was prominent with bold and double headlines. The page placement of the news reports was also on top right of the page

Table: 6. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

r. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
13.	July 19, 1982 The police arrested Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh.	July 20	1/1	1/37	1	D	MR	B	PR	NP	
		July 21	No Coverage								
14.	August 4, 1982 Harchand Singh Longowal announced `dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.	August 5	Paper Untraceable								
		August 6	Paper Untraceable								

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals in case of '**police arresting Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh**' the paper carried one report on page one on July 20 while was given 37 Cm.sq. col space. The display was dismissive and page placement was middle right. The headline was bold. In case of '**Harchand Singh Longowal announced `dharma Yudh` or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the paper**' the editions of August 5 and August 6 were untraceable.

Table: 7. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
15.	November 19, 1982 to December 4, 1982 The Asian games and its aftermath.	November 20	1/2 5/2	1/102 5/56	2	P	T	B	PR	NP
		November 21	1/1 8/1	1/100 8/44	2	P	TR	B	PR	NP
		November 22	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 23	½	1/135	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP

		November 24	1/1 14/1	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		November 25	1/1	1/34	1	P	T L	BS	PR	NP
		November 26	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 27	1/1	1/22		P	T	S	PR	NP
		November 28	1/1	1/35	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		November 29	1/1	1/34	1	P	T L	BS	PR	NP
		November 30	1/1	1/77	1	P	T	B	PR	NP
		December 1	1/1	1/35	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		December 2	1/1	1/88	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		December 3	1/1	1/34	1	P	T L	BS	PR	NP
		December 4	1/1	1/35	1	P	T	B	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Huge coverage was given to this event which had a major political angle to it. The paper continued to cover the developments on daily basis giving prominent display to the multiple news reports. Sufficient space was given to these news reports ranging from 22 Cm.sq. col to 100 Cm.sq. col for a single report. Most of the related news were carried on page one which many continued on internal pages also.

Table: 8. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
16.	April 23, 1983, Killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound.	April 24	1/4 8/2	1/56 8/78	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		April 25	1/1	1/44	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Good coverage was given to '**Killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound**' The paper carried 4 related reports on page 1 on April 24 and that were given a total of 56 Cm.sq. col space. It also had three reports on page 8 where 78 Cm.sq. col space was given. On April, 25, it carried 1 report on page 1. Space given was 44 sq. cm on page 1. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top and top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 9. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
17.	September 28, 1983 Indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district.	September 29	½	1/135	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		September 30	1/1	1/22	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
18.	October 5, 1983 A bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road.	October 6	No Coverage							
		October 7	1/1 8/1	1/130 8/37			P	T	SB	PR

Data Interpretation

In case of '**Indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district**', the paper carried 2 related reports on page 1 on September 29 and that was given a total of 135 Cm.sq. col space with one photograph. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On September 30, the paper carried 1 report on page 1. The space given was 22 Cm.sq. col. The display given was prominent and page placement was top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of '**A bus was hijacked from Dhillwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road**', while, the paper did not give any coverage to the event the very next day, on October 7 it carried 1 report on page 1 that was given a total of 130 Cm.sq. col of space. It also had 1 report on page 8 which was given 37 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 10. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
19.	October 6, 1983 Imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government.	October 7	1/1	1/56	1	P	T	B	PR	NP
		October 8	1/1 8/1	1/48 8/14	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
20.	November 18, 1983 Another bus was hijacked and four Hindu passengers were shot dead. (Naushehra Pannuan bus killing)	November 19	1/1	1/32	1	P	TL	B	P	NP
		November 20	1/1	1/54		P	TL	B	P	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of the above two events the newspaper gave sufficient space. In case of ‘**Imposition of president’s rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government,**’ a 56 Cm.sq. col report was carried on October 7 on page one. On October 8 it carried and 48 Cm.sq. col report on page 1 and 14 Cm.sq. col report on page 8. The headlines on both the days were bold and on October 8 it also carried to lay emphasis on the importance of the story. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top right and top left, respectively. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Naushehra Pannuan bus killings,**’ the paper carried 1 report on November 19 and 1 report on November 20. While, on first day of the coverage, it gave 32 Cm.sq. col of space, the second day the space given was 54 Cm.sq. col. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 11. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
21.	December 15, 1983 Bhindranwale was forced	December 16	1/1	1/35		1	P	TL	B4	PR

	<p>to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas house by members of the Babbar Khalsa who were with Harchand Singh Longowal. (tussle between Longowal and Bhindranwale)</p>	<p>December 17</p>	<p>Newspaper untraceable</p>
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Data Interpretation

In case of the above event on December 16 the paper carried one report on page 1 with 35 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 12. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
22.	January 26, 1984	January 27	Paper untraceable							

	Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India.	January 28	Paper untraceable
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Data Interpretation

In case of the event of 'Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India' the January 27 and January 28 editions of the paper was untraceable.

Table: 13. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
23.	February 14, 1984 A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab.	February 15	1/1 6/1	1/38 6/8	1	P	M	B	PR	NP
		February 16	1/1 5/1	1/44 5/12		P	ML	BD	PR	NP
24.	February 14, 1984 Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh	February 15	1/4	1/ 120	7	P	FULL PAGE	B	PR	P

	and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal.	February 16	1/3 5/1	1/235 5/41	6	P	TOP FULL	B	PR	NP
25.	February 19, 1984 Violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat.	February 20	1/1	1/90	1	P	T	B	PR	NP
		February 21	1/1	1/75		P	TL	B	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab**’ the above table reveals that on February 15 the paper carried 1 page 1 report with 38 Cm.sq. col space which was continued on page 6 where 8 Cm.sq. col space was given. The headline was straight. The display given was prominent and page placement was on middle left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. The next day the paper carried 1 related report which was given 44 Cm.sq. col space on page 1 and 12 Cm.sq. col on page 5. The event ‘**Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal**’ attracted huge coverage by the paper as carried four reports the next day on page 1 which was given 120 Cm.sq. col space on February 15. The Display was very prominent news items placed all over the page. On February 16 also the paper had three related reports in page 1 which were given 235 Cm.sq. col space.. These reports were placed significantly on the front pages with straight and bold headlines. The placement on the top The reporting remained plain and language was provocative as the newspaper appeared to be taking sides with the Hindu leader Pawan Kumar Sharma. In case of ‘**Violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat,**’ the paper had a 90 Cm.sq. col story on page one on February 20 and 1 related report on February 21 which were also given 75 Cm.sq. col space on page one. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top of the paper.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
26.	March 28, 1984 Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple, was shot dead.	March 29	1/1	1/45	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP	
		March 30	1/3 6/1	1/11 6/10	3	P	TL	B	PR	NP	
27.	March 31, 1984 Home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b).	April 1	1/1 8/1	1/22 8/6		P	T	B	PR	NP	
		April 2	No Coverage								
28.	April 2, 1984 Some 40 minor railway stations in Punjab were blown up.	April 3	No Coverage								
		April 4	No Coverage								

Data Interpretation

The above table states that in case of '**Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple was shot dead.**' the paper carried one report on page which was given 45 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On March 30, the paper had 1 related report on page 1 with 11 Cm.sq. col space, which was continued on page 6 where 10 Cm.sq. col space was given. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of '**Home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b)**' the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was given 22 Cm.sq. col space.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
29.	April 3, 1984 Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated	April 4	1/2	1/48		P	T	B	PR	NP

	member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists.	April 5	No Coverage							
30.	May 1, 1984 SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution.	May 2	1/1	1/33	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
		May 3	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists,’** the paper carried 2 reports on April 4 which was given 48 Cm.sq. col space on page 1. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given in case of **‘SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution’** the paper had 1 report on page one on May 2 which was given 33 Cm.sq. col of space. The display was prominent with top right placement with bold headline. The language used by non-provocative.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
31.	May 9, 1984 Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar. He was outspoken about the anti/social elements who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple.	May 10	1/1	1/58	5	P	T	B	PR	NP
		May 11	1/3	1/46	2	P	T	B	PR	NP
32.	May 12, 1984 Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain.	May 13	1/4 8/1	1/191 8/52	5	P	MR	BD	PR	NP
		May 14	1/4 6/6	1/48 6/220		P	TR	BD	PR	NP

Data interpretation

In case of ‘**Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar,**’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was given 58 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. The next day it also carried 1 report on page one which was given 11 Cm.sq. col space. In case of ‘**Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Group Editor Hind Samachar group**’ the paper carried 4 reports on page 1 with 191 Cm.sq. col space on page 1 and 6 reports on page 8 which were given a total of 152 Cm.sq. col space. On May 14, it carried 4 related news on page 1 which were given 48 Cm.sq. col space and 6 news reports were carried on page 6 which were given 220 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
33.	June 1, 1984 Army took over the state and cut off all communications with the outside world.	June 2	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 3	No Publications were carried out these days							
34.	June 2, 1984	June 3	No Publications were carried out these days							

	Journalists are removed from Amritsar just before the operation blue star starts.	June 4	No Publications were carried out these days							
35.	June 3 to 6, 1984 Operation Blue Star.	June 4	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 5	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 6	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 7	No Publications were carried out these days							
36.	July 5, 1984 Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/405 from Srinagar to Delhi.	July 6	1/3	1/40		P	TR	BD	PR	NP
		July 7	6/3	6/52						
			2/3	2/176	1	P	T	B	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

During the **Operation Blue Star** there was a ban of newspaper publication and no edition of the paper was brought out during these days. In case of '**Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/405 from Srinagar to Delhi,**' the paper carried 3 related reports on page 1 with 140 Cm.sq. col space on July 6. The display was prominent and bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 7, it carried 3 reports on page 1 which were given 176 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 16. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
37.	July 10, 1984 White paper on the Punjab agitation.	July 11	1/1 5/1	1/192 5/20		P	T	B	PR	NP
		July 12	No Coverage							
38.	August 24, 1984 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	August 25	1/3 6/2	1/296 6/40		P	TL	B 4SH	PR	NP
		August 26	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	B S	PR	NP
39.	October 31, 1984 Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.	November 1	1/6	1/196	1	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		November 2	1/1 14/2	1/88 14/26	1	P	TL	BD	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘White paper on the Punjab agitation’** the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 which was given 192 q. cm. space each. It was continued on page 5 where 20 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and headline straight. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of ‘**Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore**’ huge coverage was given by the paper with 3 page 1 stories spread over 115 Cm.sq. col it also carried a related story on page 6 where 40 Cm.sq. col space was given on August 25. The next day it carried 1 report on page 1 spread over 34 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight, bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with four related reports on page 1 spread over 296 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 1 related report on page 1 that were spread over 88 Cm.sq. col 1 on page 14 spread over 26 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

40.	October 31, 1984 Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi.	November 1	1/4 4/4	1/331 9/156	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 2	1/3 14/2	1/58 14/46	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
41.	January 16, 1985 Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh.	January 17	1/3	1/45	1	P	TL	B	P	NP
		January 18	1/2 5/2	1/60 5/12		P	MC	BD	P	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with 4 reports on page 1 spread over 331 Cm.sq. col and 4 report on page 4 spread over 156 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 58 Cm.sq. col and 2 on page 14 spread over 46 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh,**’ the paper gave coverage with 3 report on page 1 spread over 45 Cm.sq. col On January 17. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On January 18, it carried 2 related reports on page 1 spread over 60 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 17. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
42.	March 25, 1985 Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh.	March 26	1/1	1/82	1	P	MC	BD	PR	NP
		March 27	1/1	1/54	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP
43.	May 10, 1985	May 11	1/5	1/186		P	TL	BD	PR	NP

	Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility.	May 12	1/3 8/3	1/279 8/24	6	P	TL	B	PR	NP
44.	April 30, 1986 NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I.	May 1	1/3 8/3	1/152 8/29	1	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		May 2	1/3	1/120	1	P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh,**’ the carried one report on 1 spread over 86 Cm.sq. col on March 26. It carried 1 photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried one related report on page 1 that were spread over 54 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility,**’ the paper gave good coverage with five related reports on page 1 spread over 186 Cm.sq. col on May 12 the paper carried 3 reports on page 1 spread over 279 Cm.sq. col. These were continued on page 8 where 24 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**NSG commandoes stormed the Goden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I,**’ the paper gave good coverage with 3 reports on page 1 spread over 152 Cm.sq. col on May 1. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 2 it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 120 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 18. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
45.	May 12 to 18, 1986 Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18.	May 13	1/1 5/1	1/77 5/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 14	1/4	1/35	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		May 15	1/1	1/88	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		May 16	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	B S	PR	NP
		May 17	1/1	1/77	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 18	1/4	1/135	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		May 19	1/1	1/88	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
46.	June 23, 1985 Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board.	June 24	1/1	1/106	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		June 25	1/1 6/1	1/103 6/19		P	TR	B	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with multiple reports on page 1 and internal pages for the next seven days. The displays were prominent and headline straight bold and double in certain cases. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 106 Cm.sq. col on June 24. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting an language was non provocative. On June 23 it carried 1 related report on page 1 which was continued on page 6 and was spread over 103 on page 1 and 19 on page 6 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 19. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
47.	July 24, 1985 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.	July 25	1/1	1/126		P	TL	BD	PR	NP
		July 26	1/1	1/78		P	TR	BD	PR	NP
48.	August 20, 1985 Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village.	August 21	1/2	1/210		P	T	B	PR	NP
		August 22	1/3	1/178 8/65	1		P	BD	PR	NP

49.	January 26, 1986 Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations.	January 27	No Coverage							
		January 28	No Coverage							
50.	March 26, 1986 Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested.	March 27	1/1 14/1	1/38 14/26	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		March 28	No Coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 126 Cm.sq. col. on July 25. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 26, it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 78 sq Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**H S Longowal being shot dead**’ the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 which was spread over 210 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On August 22, the paper had 3 reports on page 1 that were spread over 178 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of ‘**Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations,**’ no coverage as given by the paper. In case of ‘**Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested,**’ the paper gave good coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 14 spread over 26 Cm.sq. col on March 27. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 20. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
51.	AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.	April 23	1/1	1/29		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		April 24	No Coverage							
52.	An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.	April 30	1/1	1/102	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		May 1	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
53.	May 2, 1986 The paramilitary police undertook a 12/hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants.	May 2	1/3 9/1	1/120 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 3	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 27 Cm.sq. col on April 23. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 102 Cm.sq. col on April 30. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 1 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 34 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. **In case of ‘The paramilitary police undertook a 12/hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants’** the paper carried 3 reports on page 1 which were spread over 120 Cm.sq. cols. On Mat the paper carried 4 reports spread over 168 Cm.sq. cols. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative

Table: 21. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
54.	August 10, 1886 Assassination of General A S	August 11	1/1 5/1	1/104 6/15	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP

	Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992.	August 12	1/1	1/36		P	TR	B	PR	NP
55.	July 7, 1987, 32 Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.	July 8	Full Page coverage	Full page		P	Full page	BD	PR	NP
		July 9	1/4	1/207		P	T	B	PR	NP
56.	October 7, 1987 Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad)	October 8	1/1	1/38		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		October 9	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 104 Cm.sq. col which was continued on page 5 where it was given 15 Cm.sq. col space. on August 11. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On August 12 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 36 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.**’ the paper gave a full page coverage on July 8. On July 9 it had 4 related news on page 1 spread over 207 Cm.sq. col which. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad),**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col on October 8. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 22. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
57.	October 13, 1987, Manbir Singh	October 14	1/1	1/36		P	T	B	PR	NP

	Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar.	October 15	No coverage							
58.	November 13, 1987, Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar.	November 14	1/1	1/72	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
		November 15	No coverage							
59.	May 29, 1988 Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India.	May 30	1/1	1/28		P	T	SD	PR	NP
		May 31	No coverage							
60.	July 26, 1988: Sikh militants murder the then head priest.	July 27	1/1	1/52	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		July 28	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 36 Cm.sq. col on October 14. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 72 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 28 Cm.sq. col on May 30. The display was prominent and headline straight and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Sikh militants murder the then head priest,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 52 Cm.sq. col on July 27 and a single report on page 14 spread over 11 Cm.sq. col It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 23. Showing Reports of terrorism in Jagbani

Sr. No.	Jagbani	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
61.	June 25, 1989 RSS activists killed in a park in Moga.	June 26	1/2	1/146		P	T	B	PR	NP
		June 27	1/1	1/82		P	TL	B	PR	NP
62.	December 6, 1990 The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib. (Manchanda)	December 7	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		December 8	No coverage							
63.	June 22, 1991 Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people.	June 23	1/1	1/36	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		June 24	No Coverage							
64.	August, 31, 1995, assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh.	October 1	Full Page	Full page	2	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		October 2	1/4 6/4	1/188 14/136	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of **'RSS activists killed in a park in Moga,'** the paper gave GOOD coverage with 2 reports on page 1 spread over 146 Cm.sq. col on June 26. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 27, it had one report on page 1 spread over 82 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of **'The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib (Manchanda),'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on December 7. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **'Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people,'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 36 Cm.sq. col on June 23. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 28 it had no coverage

In case of **'Assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh'**, the paper gave full page coverage and related photographs on October 1. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On October 2 it carried 4 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 188 Cm.sq. col and 4 on page 6 spread over 136 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Findings and discussion

1. The Jagbani Newspaper paper carried a total of 259 news related to the selected events, which means that on an average the paper carried 4 reports per event that was studied.
2. A total of 9265 sq. cm of space was given to these events on page one and 1735 sq. cm was given on internal pages. Which means that out of the total coverage given to these events which was 11,000 cm col. 84.22 per cent space was given on page one and 15.78 per cent space was given on internal pages.
3. The paper gave prominent displays to selected events.
4. The page placements of the news items suggested that due importance was given to the news items.
5. The structure of the news reports remained plain and the language remained mostly non-provocative with only a few exceptions.

Punjabi Tribune

Punjabi Tribune came into being on August 15, 1978 and was lunched by the The Tribune Trust.

Being a paper owned by a trust the Punjabi Tribune maintained a neutral stance through out the dark days. The Punjabi Tribune appealed to the section of Punjabi readers in urban and semi urban areas.

There were instances when the paper gave considerable space to the condemnation by the moderators as in the case of killing of BJP leader Manchanda following which the Punjabi Tribune carried a two column news item highlight the statement of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, who condemned the act. Such news aided in generating sympathetic public sentiments rather than aggravating the situation.

Tables of Punjabi Tribune

Abbreviations: P-Prominent, T-Top, PR-Plain Reporting, NP-Non Provocative, S-Straight, B-Bold, D-Double, M-Middle of the page, L-Left of the page, R-Right of the page, SH-Sub Heading, P-(under language subhead)-Provocative, C-Centre of the page, B-bottom of the page

Table: 1. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	Reverse plate	Box
1.	April 13, 1973, Passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.	April 14	1/1	1/48		P	T	BS	PR	NP		
		April 15	No Coverage									

2.	13 April 1978 Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's alleged ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar.	April 14	1/1 5/1	1/98 5/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP	
		April 15	1/1	1/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP	
3.	April 12, 1980 Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib.	April 13	1/1 9/1	1/58 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP	
		April 14	No Coverage								
4.	January 4, 1980 Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal	January 5	1/1 5/1	1/98 5/34	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP	
		January 6	No Coverage								

Data Interpretation

In case of 'Passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.' the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was spread over 48 Cm.sq. col pace on April 5, The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. On July 15, no coverage was given to the event. In case of 'Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's alleged ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar' the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was spread over 98 Cm.sq. col and continued on page 5 where 34 Cm.sq. col space was given on April 5. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. On April 15 the paper carried 1 related report on page 1 which was spread over 34 Cm.sq. cols. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of 'Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of

Khalistan at Anandpur Sahib' the paper carried one report on page 1 which was spread over 34 Cm.sq. col was a continued on page 9 where 23 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of '**Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal**' the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was spread over 98 Cm.sq. cols and continued on page 5 where 34 Cm.sq. col space was given.

Table: 2. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
5.	April 24, 1980, Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi.	April 25	1/1	1/62	1	P	M	S	PR	NP
		April 26	1/1	1/48	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
6.	April 13, 1981 Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta.	April 14	1/1	1/28		P	T	B	PR	NP
		April 15	No Coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi**’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 on April 25 with 62 Cm.sq. col space. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. On April 26, the paper carried 1 related report on page 1 which were given 48 Cm.sq. col space. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. in case of ‘**Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta**’ the paper carried 1 related news on page 1 which was spread over 33 Cm.sq. col. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative

Table: 3. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
7.	September 9, 1581 Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala.	September 10	1/4 14/4	1/172 14/188	2	P	T	S	PR	NP
		September 11	1/3 5/1	1/122 5/56	1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above Table reveals that in case of ‘Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala’ the paper carried 4 reports on page 1 that were given a total of 172 Cm.sq. col space. Two related photographs were also carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the in page. It also carried 4 reports on page 14 which were given a total of 188 Cm.sq. col of space on September 10. On September 11, the paper carried 3 related reports on page one and a single report on page 5. The space given was 122 and 56 Cm.sq. col respectively. On both dates the language used was non-provocative and structure of the story was plain reporting.

Table: 4. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
8.	September 11, 1981 Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain.	September 12	1/1 6/1	1/98 6/33	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		September 13	1/1	1/34	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
9.	September 20, 1981	September 21	1/2	1/88	1/1	P	T	BS	PR	NP

	<p align="center">Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar.</p>	<p align="center">September 22</p>	<p align="center">1/4 6/4</p>	<p align="center">1/106 6/68</p>	<p align="center">1 1</p>	<p align="center">P</p>	<p align="center">T</p>	<p align="center">S</p>	<p align="center">PR</p>	<p align="center">NP</p>
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Data Interpretation

The data collected in above Table reveals that in case of ‘**Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain,**’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was spread over 98 Cm.sq. col and was continued on page 6 where 33 Cm.sq. col space was given on September 12. The display given was prominent and page placement was top left. The headline was bold with four sub headings. On September 13, the paper had one report on page one which was given 33 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent with top left placement on the page and headline was bold and straight. While covering ‘**Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar,**’ the paper carried a total of 2 reports on page one the next two which was given 88 Cm.sq. col space September 21. on September 22, the paper carried 4 related news on page 1 which were continued on page 6. on page 1 106 Cm.sq. col space was given and on page 6 68 Cm.sq. col space was given. The displays given to the all the reports were prominent with bold headline. The structure of the news report was plain reporting and language used was non provocative

Table: 5. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
	September 29, 1981 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	September 30	$\frac{1}{2}$	1/220 12/48	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		October 1	$\frac{1}{4}$	1/165	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
11.	October 16, 1981 Prime minister's meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal.	October 17	1/1 9/1	1/77 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		October 18	No coverage							
12.	July 19, 1982, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple.	July 20	1/1	1/36	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		July 21	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above Table reveals that in case of ‘**Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore**’ the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 that were given a total of 220 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the page on September 30. On October 1, the paper carried three reports on page 4 reports on page 1 which were given 165 Cm.sq. col space and had a report. The display given to the news reports on both the days was prominent with bold and double headlines. The page placement of the news reports was also on top of the page. In case of ‘**Prime minister’s meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal,**’ the paper carried one report on October 17 which was given 65 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent with told left placement on the page. The paper did not carry any report the very next day i.e. on October 18 . In case of ‘**Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple**’ the paper carried one report on page 1 which was spread over 36 Cm.sq. col on page 1. The display given to the news reports on both the days was prominent with bold and double headlines. The page placement of the news reports was also on top right of the page

Table: 6. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

s. no	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
13.	The police arrested Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh.	July 20	1/1	1/48	1	D	MR	B	PR	NP
		July 21	No Coverage							

14.	August 4, 1982 Harchand Singh Longowal announced 'dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.	August 5	Paper Untraceable							
		August 6	1/1	1/42		P	M	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above Table reveals in case of 'police arresting Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh' the paper carried one report on page one on July 20 while was given 48 Cm.sq. col space. The display was dismissive and page placement was middle right. The headline was bold. In case of 'Harchand Singh Longowal announced 'dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the paper' the paper' gave wide coverage to the event. On August 5 it carried a report on page 1 and gave a total of 42 Cm.sq. col space with prominent display and straight headlines. The story structure and language used remained plain and non-provocative, respectively.

Table: 7. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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15.	November 19, 1882 to December 4, 1882 The Asian games and its aftermath.	November 20	1/2 5/2	1/88 5/56	2	P	T	B	PR	NP
		November 21	1/1 8/1	1/78 8/44	2	P	TR	B	PR	NP
		November 22	1/1 9/1	1/62 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 23	1/2	1/135	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		November 24	1/1 12/1	1/88 12/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		November 25	1/1	1/34	1	P	T L	BS	PR	NP
		November 26	1/1 9/1	1/62 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 27	1/1	1/27		P	T	S	PR	NP
		November 28	1/1	1/35	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		November 29	1/1	1/34	1	P	T L	BS	PR	NP
		November 30	1/1	1/62	1	P	T	B	PR	NP
		December 1	1/1	1/35	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		December 2	1/1	1/88	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		December 3	1/1	1/34	1	P	T L	BS	PR	NP
December 4	1/1	1/35	1	P	T	B	PR	NP		

Data Interpretation

Huge coverage was given to this event which had a major political angle to it. The paper continued to cover the developments on daily basis giving prominent display to the multiple news reports. Sufficient space was given to these news reports ranging from 27 Cm.sq. col to 78 Cm.sq. col for a single report. Most of the related news were carried on page one which many continued on internal pages also.

Table: 8. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
16.	April 23, 1983, Killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound.	April 24	1/4 5/2	1/62 5/102	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		April 25	1/1	1/56	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Good coverage was given to '**Killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound**' The paper carried 4 related reports on page 1 on April 24 and that were given a total of 62 Cm.sq. col space. It also had three reports on page 5 where 102 Cm.sq. col space was given. On April, 25, it carried 1 report on page 1. Space given was 56 sq. cm

on page 1. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top and top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative

Table: 9. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
17.	September 28, 1983 Indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district.	September 29	½	1/122	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		September 30	1/1	1/33	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
18.	October 5, 1983 A bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road.	October 6	No Coverage							
		October 7	1/1 8/1	1/198 8/42		P	T	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district**’, the paper carried 2 related reports on page 1 on September 29 and that was given a total of 122 Cm.sq. col space with one photograph. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On September 30, the paper carried 1 report on page 1. The space given was 33 Cm.sq. col. The display given was prominent and page placement was top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of ‘**A bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road**’, while, the paper did not give any coverage to the event the very next day, on October 7 it carried 1 report on page 1 that was given a total of 198 Cm.sq. col of space. It also had 1 report on page 8 which was given 42 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 10. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
19.	October 6, 1983	October 7	1/1	1/42	1	P	T	B	PR	NP

	Imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government.	October 8	1/1 8/1	1/38 8/14	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
20.	November 18, 1983 Another bus was hijacked and four Hindu passengers were shot dead. (Naushehra Pannuan bus killing)	November 19	1/1	1/36	1	P	TL	B	P	NP
		November 20	1/1	1/62		P	TL	B	P	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of the above two events the newspaper gave sufficient space. In case of '**Imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government,**' a 42 Cm.sq. col report was carried on October 7 on page one. On October 8 it carried and 38 Cm.sq. col report on page 1 and 14 Cm.sq. col report on page 8. The headlines on both the days were bold and on October 8 it also carried to lay emphasis on the importance of the story. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top right and top left, respectively. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of '**Naushehra Pannuan bus killings,**' the paper carried 1 report on November 19 and 1 report on November 20. While, on first day of the coverage, it gave 36 Cm.sq. col of space, the second day the space given was 62 Cm.sq. col The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 11. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
21.	December 15, 1983 Bhindranwale was forced to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas house by members of the Babbar Khalsa who were with Harchand Singh Longowal. (tussle between Longowal and Bhindranwale)	December 16	1/1	1/68		1	P	TL	B4	PR
		December 17	Newspaper untraceable							

Data Interpretation

In case of the above event on December 16 the paper carried one report on page 1 with 68 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 12. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Tribune

Sr. No.	The Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
22.	January 26, 1984 Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India.	January 27	1/1	1/44		P	M	SB	PR	NP
		January 28	1/1 8/1	1/62 8/24		P	TL	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The event of ‘**Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India**’ was given good coverage by the newspaper. On January 27 it carried 1 report with 44 Cm.sq. col space and on January 28, it carried 1 report on page one which was given 62 Cm.sq. col of space and continued on page 8 where it got 24 Cm.sq. col of space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 13. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
23.	February 14, 1984 A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab.	February 15	1/1 6/1	1/48 6/18	1	P	M	B	PR	NP
		February 16	1/1 5/1	1/52 5/12		P	ML	BD	PR	NP
24.	February 14, 1984 Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal.	February 15	¼	1/ 198	7	P	T	B	PR	P
		February 16	1/3 5/1	1/198 5/38	6	P	T	B	PR	NP
25.	February 19, 1984 Violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat.	February 20	1/1	1/90	1	P	T	B	PR	NP
		February 21	1/1	1/75		P	TL	B	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of '**A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab**' the above table reveals that on February 15 the paper carried 1 page 1 report with 48 Cm.sq. col space which was continued on page 6 where 8 Cm.sq. col space was given. The headline was straight. The display given was prominent and page placement was on middle left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. The next day the paper carried 1 related report which was given 52 Cm.sq. col space on page 1 and 12 Cm.sq. col on page 5. The event '**Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal**' attracted huge coverage by the paper as carried four reports the next day on page 1 which was given 198 Cm.sq. col space on February 15. The Display was very prominent news items placed all over the page. On February 16 also the paper had three related reports in page 1 which were given 198 Cm.sq. col space.. These reports were placed significantly on the front pages with straight and bold headlines. The placement on the top The reporting remained plain and language was provocative as the newspaper appeared to be taking sides with the Hindu leader Pawan Kumar Sharma. In case of '**Violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat,**' the paper had a 90 Cm.sq. col story on page one on February 20 and 1 related report on February 21 which were also given 75 Cm.sq. col space on page one. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top of the paper.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
26.	<p align="center">March 28, 1984 Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple, was shot dead.</p>	March 29	1/1	1/44	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP	
		March 30	1/3 6/1	1/26 6/22	3	P	TL	B	PR	NP	
27.	<p align="center">March 31, 1984 Home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b).</p>	April 1	1/1 8/1	1/22 8/6		P	T	B	PR	NP	
		April 2	No Coverage								
28.	<p align="center">April 2, 1984 Some 40 minor railway stations in Punjab were blown up.</p>	April 3	No Coverage								
		April 4	No Coverage								

Data Interpretation

The above table states that in case of '**Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple was shot dead.**' the paper carried one report on page which was given 44 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On March 30, the paper had 1 related report on page 1 with 26 Cm.sq. col space, which was continued on page 6 where 22 Cm.sq. col space was given. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of '**Home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b)**' the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was given 22 Cm.sq. col space.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
29.	April 3, 1984	April 4	1/2	1/56		P	T	B	PR	NP

	Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists.	April 5	No Coverage							
30.	May 1, 1984 SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution.	May 2	1/1	1/56	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
		May 3	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists,**’ the paper carried 2 reports on April 4 which was given 56 Cm.sq. col space on page 1. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given in case of ‘**SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution**’ the paper had 1 report on page one on May 2 which was given 56 Cm.sq. col of space. The display was prominent with top right placement with bold headline. The language used by non-provocative.

Table: 16. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
31.	May 9, 1984 Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar. He was outspoken about the anti/social elements who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple.	May 10	1/1	1/78	5	P	T	B	PR	NP
		May 11	1/3	1/33	2	P	T	B	PR	NP
32.	May 12, 1984 Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain.	May 13	1/4 8/1	1/165 8/65	5	P	MR	BD	PR	NP
		May 14	1/4 6/6	1/48 6/178		P	TR	BD	PR	NP

Data interpretation

In case of ‘**Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar,**’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 which was given 78 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. The next day it also carried 1 report on page one which was given 11 Cm.sq. col space. In case of ‘**Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Group Editor Hind Samachar group**’ the paper carried 4 reports on page 1 with 165 Cm.sq. col space on page 1 and 6 reports on page 8 which were given a total of 165 Cm.sq. col space. On May 14, it carried 4 related news on page 1 which were given 48 Cm.sq. col space and 6 news reports were carried on page 6 which were given 178 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 17. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
33.	June 1, 1984 Army took over the state and cut off all communications with the outside world.	June 2	No Publications were carried out these days								
		June 3	No Publications were carried out these days								
34.	June 2, 1984	June 3	No Publications were carried out these days								

	Journalists are removed from Amritsar just before the operation blue star starts.	June 4	No Publications were carried out these days							
35.	June 3 to 6, 1984 Operation Blue Star.	June 4	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 5	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 6	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 7	No Publications were carried out these days							
36.	July 5, 1984 Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/565 from Srinagar to Delhi.	July 6	1/3 6/3	1/56 6/44		P	TR	BD	PR	NP
		July 7	2/3	2/210	1	P	T	B	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

During the **Operation Blue Star** there was a ban of newspaper publication and no edition of the paper was brought out during these days. In case of '**Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/565 from Srinagar to Delhi,**' the paper carried 3 related reports on page 1 with 156 Cm.sq. col space on July 6. The display was prominent and bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 7, it carried 3 reports on page 1 which were given 210 Cm.sq. col space. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 18. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
37.	July 10, 1984 White paper on the Punjab agitation.	July 11	1/1 5/1	1/176 5/48		P	T	B	PR	NP
		July 12	No Coverage							
38.	August 24, 1984 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	August 25	1/3 6/2	1/220 6/40		P	TL	B 4SH	PR	NP
		August 26	1/1	1/46	1	P	TL	B S	PR	NP
39.	October 31, 1984 Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.	November 1	1/6	1/230	1	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		November 2	1/1 14/2	1/76 14/26	1	P	TL	BD	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**White paper on the Punjab agitation**’ the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 which was given 176 q. cm. space each. It was continued on page 5 where 48 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and headline straight. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of ‘**Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore**’ huge coverage was given by the paper with 3 page 1 stories spread over 115 Cm.sq. col it also carried a related story on page 6 where 40 Cm.sq. col space was given on August 25. The next day it carried 1 report on page 1 spread over 46 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight, bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with four related reports on page 1 spread over 230 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 1 related report on page 1 that were spread over 76 Cm.sq. col 1 on page 14 spread over 26 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 19. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

40.	October 31, 1984 Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi.	November 1	1/4 4/4	1/220 9/178	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 2	1/3 8/2	1/65 8/46	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
41.	January 16, 1985 Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh.	January 17	1/3	1/45	1	P	TL	B	P	NP
		January 18	1/2 5/2	1/60 5/12		P	MC	BD	P	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with 4 reports on page 1 spread over 220 Cm.sq. col and 4 report on page 4 spread over 178 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 65 Cm.sq. col and 2 on page 8 spread over 46 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh,**’ the paper gave coverage with 3 report on page 1 spread over 45 Cm.sq. col On January 17. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On January 18, it carried 2 related reports on page 1 spread over 60 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 20. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
42.	March 25, 1985 Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh.	March 26	1/1	1/88	1	P	MC	BD	PR	NP
		March 27	1/1	1/65	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP

43.	May 10, 1985 Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility.	May 11	1/5	1/198		P	TL	BD	PR	NP
		May 12	1/3 8/3	1/176 8/33	6	P	TL	B	PR	NP
44.	April 30, 1986 NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I.	May 1	1/3 8/3	1/106 8/29	1	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		May 2	1/3	1/98	1	P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh,**’ the carried one report on 1 spread over 86 Cm.sq. col on March 26. It carried 1 photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried one related report on page 1 that were spread over 65 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility,**’ the paper gave good coverage with five related reports on page 1 spread over 198 Cm.sq. col on May 12 the paper carried 3 reports on page 1 spread over 176 Cm.sq. col. These were continued on page 8 where 33 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**NSG commandoes stormed the Goden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I,**’ the paper gave good coverage with 3 reports on page 1 spread over 106 Cm.sq. col on May 1. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 2 it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 98 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 21. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
45.	May 12 to 18, 1986 Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18.	May 13	1/1 5/1	1/65 5/33	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 14	¼	1/42	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		May 15	1/1	1/65	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		May 16	1/1	1/44	1	P	T left	B S	PR	NP
		May 17	1/1	1/65	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 18	1/4	1/92	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		May 19	1/1	1/65	1	P	TL	B S	PR	NP
46.	June 23, 1985	June 24	1/1	1/76	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP

Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board.	June 25	1/1 6/1	1/88 6/19		P	TR	B	PR	NP
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Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with multiple reports on page 1 and internal pages for the next seven days. The displays were prominent and headline straight bold and double in certain cases. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 76 Cm.sq. col on June 24. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting an language was non provocative. On June 33 it carried 1 related report on page 1 which was continued on page 6 and was spread over 88 on page 1 and 19 on page 6 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 22. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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47.	July 24, 1985 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.	July 25	1/1	1/103		P	TL	BD	PR	NP
		July 26	1/1	1/56		P	TR	BD	PR	NP
48.	August 20, 1985 Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village.	August 21	1/2	1/178			P	B	PR	NP
		August 22	1/3	1/156 8/56	1		P	BD	PR	NP
49.	January 26, 1986 Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations.	January 27	No coverage							
		January 28	No coverage							
50.	March 26, 1986 Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested.	March 27	1/1 5/1	1/38 5/26	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		March 28	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 103 Cm.sq. col. on July 25. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 26, it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 56 sq Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**H S Longowal being shot dead**’ the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 which was spread over 178 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On August 22, the paper had 3 reports on page 1 that were

spread over 156 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of ‘**Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations,**’ no coverage as given by the paper. In case of ‘**Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested,**’ the paper gave good coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 5 spread over 26 Cm.sq. col on March 27. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 23. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
51.	AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.	April 23	1/1	1/33		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		April 24	No Coverage							
52.	An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.	April 30	1/1	1/112	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		May 1	1/1	1/46	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP

53.	May 2, 1986 The paramilitary police undertook a 12/hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants.	May 3	1/3 9/1	1/56 9/36	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 4	1/4 14/4	1/135 14/168	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 27 Cm.sq. col on April 36. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 112 Cm.sq. col on April 30. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 1 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 46 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. **In case of ‘The paramilitary police undertook a 12/hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants’** the paper carried 3 reports on page 1 which were spread over 56 Cm.sq. cols. On Mat the paper carried 4 reports spread over 168 Cm.sq. cols. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative

Table: 24. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
54R	August 10, 1886 Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992.	August 11	1/1 5/1	1/76 6/33	1	P	TR	BD	PR	NP
		August 12	1/1	1/42		P	TR	B	PR	NP
55.	July 7, 1987, 32 Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.	July 8	1/1	1/78	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		July 9	1/4	1/56		P	T	B	PR	NP
56.	October 7, 1987 Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad)	October 8	1/1	1/42		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		October 9	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of **'Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992,'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 76 Cm.sq. col which was continued on page 5 where it was given 33 Cm.sq. col space. on August 11. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On August 12 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 42 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **'Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.'** the paper gave a full page coverage on July 8. On July 9 it had 4 related news on page 1 spread over 56 Cm.sq. col which. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **'Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad),'** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 42 Cm.sq. col on October 8. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 25. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
57.	October 13, 1987, Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar.	October 14	1/1	1/28		P	T	B	PR	NP
		October 15	No coverage							
58.	November 13, 1987, Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar.	November 14	1/1	1/56	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
		November 15	No coverage							
59.	May 29, 1988 Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India.	May 30	1/1	1/28		P	T	SD	PR	NP
		May 31	No coverage							
60.	July 26, 1988: Sikh militants murder the then head priest.	July 27	1/1	1/65	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		July 28	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 28 Cm.sq. col on October 14. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 56 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 28 Cm.sq. col on May 30. The display was prominent and headline straight and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Sikh militants murder the then head priest,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 65 Cm.sq. col on July 27 and a single report on page 14 spread over 11 Cm.sq. col It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 26. Showing Reports of terrorism in Punjabi Tribune

Sr. No.	Punjabi Tribune	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
61.	RSS activists killed in a park in Moga.	June 26	1/2	1/103		P	T	B	PR	NP
		June 27	1/1	1/76		P	TL	B	PR	NP

62.	December 6, 1990 The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib. (Manchanda)	December 7	1/1 9/1	1/64 9/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		December 8	No coverage							
63.	June 22, 1991 Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people.	June 23	1/1	1/44	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		June 24	No Coverage							
64.	August, 31, 1995, assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh.	October 1	Full Page	Full page	2	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		October 2	1/4 6/4	1/210 14/103	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘RSS activists killed in a park in Moga,’** the paper gave GOOD coverage with 2 reports on page 1 spread over 103 Cm.sq. col on June 26. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 27, it had one report on page 1 spread over 76 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of **‘The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib (Manchanda),’** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 64 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 9 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on December 7. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people,’** the paper gave coverage with 1

report on page 1 spread over 44 Cm.sq. col on June 23. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 28 it had no coverage

In case of '**Assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh**', the paper gave full page coverage and related photographs on October 1. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On October 2 it carried 4 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 210 Cm.sq. col and 4 on page 6 spread over 103 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Findings and discussion

1. The Punjabi Tribune carried a total of 270 news related to the selected events, which means that on an average the paper carried 4 reports per event that was studied.
2. A total of 9375 sq. cm of space was given to these events on page one and 2363 sq. cm was given on internal pages. Which means that out of the total coverage given to these events that was 11,738 cm col. 79.86 per cent space was given on page one and 20.14 per cent space was given on internal pages.
3. The paper gave prominent displays to selected events.
4. The page placements of the news items suggested that due importance was given to the news items.
5. The structure of the news reports remained plain and the language remained mostly non-provocative with only a few exceptions.

The Indian Express

In 1931, the Indian Express was started by an Ayurvedic doctor, P. Varadarajulu Naidu, at Chennai (then known as Madras), being published by his "Tamil Nadu" press. Soon under financial difficulties, he sold the newspaper to Swaminathan Sadanand, the founder of The Free Press Journal, a national news agency.

In 1933 The Indian Express opened its second office in Madurai, launching the Tamil edition, Dinamani. Sadanand introduced several innovations and reduced the price of the newspaper. Faced with financial difficulties, he sold a part of his stake to Ramanath Goenka as convertible debentures. In 1935, when The Free Press Journal finally collapsed, and after a protracted court battle with Goenka, Sadanand lost ownership of Indian Express. The Newspaper brought out a separate edition from Chandigarh in 1977 and soon found itself reporting some of the most violent happening that were taking place all over Punjab.

The newspaper which was read by the elite and the thinking class was known for its anti-establishment stance remained strongly against the acts of terrorism. The newspaper completely adhered to journalistic ethics while reporting the important happenings with negligible sensationalism. The editorials that were carried laid bare the newspaper's anti-terrorism stance which repeatedly advocated that measures to bring peace in the state should be taken up.

Mostly the newspaper carried reports which was rich in content and had details that made sense, instead of indulging in sensationalism. One of the editorials that was published in the newspaper after group clashes in Punjab and Haryana read 'the worsening of communal divide in Punjab and Haryana resulting in group clashes, deaths and panic during the recent past in most ominous development that must immediately be reversed'. The newspaper also avoided use of communal words like Hindus and Sikhs in almost all reports and instead used words like 'community leaders' while referring to leaders of a particular section of the society.

The newspaper also stood against communal forces as in one of the editorial it was clearly mentioned 'it is sad that members of a community should be set on those of another and assaulted and humiliated anywhere. Such actions invite reprisal and hate. No group of persons should be held hostage for the alleged sins of their kin else where. This is barbarous and repugnant to the tenants of civilization.' This even vindicates the observation made during the study that the Indian Express stood against communal forces.

Tables of The Indian Express

Abbreviations: P-Prominent, T-Top, PR-Plain Reporting, NP-Non Provocative, S-Straight, B-Bold, D-Double, M-Middle of the page , L-Left of the page, R-Right of the page, SH-Sub Heading, P-(under language subhead)-Provocative, C-Centre of the page, B-bottom of the page

Table: 1. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
1.	April 13, 1973, Passing of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution by the Akali Dal.	April 14	Paper had not launched Punjab Edition								
		April 15	Paper had not launched Punjab Edition								
2.	13 April 1973 Nirankar's Head Gurbachan Singh's alleged ridiculing of Sikh's 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar.	April 14	1/1	1/24	1	P	T	S	PR	NP	
		April 15	1/1	1/24	1	P	M	S	PR	NP	
3.	April 12, 1980 Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib.	April 13	No Coverage								
		April 14	No Coverage								
4.	January 4, 1980 Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal	January 5	1/1	1/24	1	P	M	S	PR	NP	
		January 6	No Coverage								

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Nirankar’s Head Gurbachan Singh’s alleged ridiculing of Sikh’s 10th Guru Gobind Singh in a Nirankari Convention held in Amritsar**’ the paper carried 2 reports spread over 24 Cm.sq. col space on page 1 on April 14. It had 1 photograph. The display given to the news reports was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. In case of ‘**Acquittal of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at Karnal**’ the paper carried single report on January 5 which was given 34 Cm.sq. col space. It had 1 photograph. The display given to the news report was prominent with middle page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative. While, no coverage was given to ‘**Jagjit Singh Chauhan held a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of 'National Council of Khalistan', at Anandpur Sahib,**’ the editions of April 14 and April 15, 1973 were untraceable.

Table: 2. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/format/format	Language
5.	Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi.	April 25	1/1	1/22	1	P	M	S	PR	NP
		April 26	1/3 2/1	1/56 2/16	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
6.	April 13, 1981	April 14	No Coverage							

	Balbir Singh Sandhu, Khalistan Secretary General, issued the first blue and gold Khalistan Passport to Gopal Singh Shahid, a farmer from Mehta.	April 15	No Coverage
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Data Interpretation

In case of ‘Assassination of Nirankari chief Gurbachan Singh at his house at New Delhi’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 on April 25 with 22 Cm.sq. col space. It had 1 photograph. The display given to the news report was prominent with top page placement. The headline was straight and the story structure was plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative.

Table: 3. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
7.	September 9, 1981 Assassination of Lala Jagat	September 10	1/2 2/2	1/48 2/76	2	P	T	S	PR	NP

	Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala.	September 11	1/1 2/1	1/65 2/16	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
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Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of ‘**Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, founder of the Hind Samachar group, near Amaltas Motel on the national highway while he was returning to Jalandhar from Patiala**’ the paper carried 4 reports on page 1 that were given a total of 48 Cm.sq. col space. Two related photographs were also carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the in page. It also carried 4 reports on page 14 which were given a total of 76 Cm.sq. col of space on September 10. On September 11, the paper carried 3 related reports on page one and a single report on page 2. The space given was 65 and 16 Cm.sq. col respectively. On both dates the language used was non-provocative and structure of the story was plain reporting.

Table: 4. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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8.	September 11, 1981 Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain.	September 12	1/1	1/48	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
		September 13	No coverage							
9.	September 20, 1981 Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar.	September 21	1/2	1/56	2	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		September 22	1/2 3/2	1/83 3/ 45	N	P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of ‘**Arrest warrants of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in case related to assassination of Lala Jagat Narain,**’ the paper carried 1 report on page 1 that were given a total of 48 Cm.sq. col space. One related photographs were also carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top left of the in page. It also carried 1 report on page 14 which were given a total of 16 Cm.sq. col of space on September 12. On September 13, the paper did not give any coverage to the event. While covering ‘**Surrender of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the subsequent violence that broke out outside Gurudwara Gurdarshan Parkash, Mehta about 45 kilometres from Amritsar,**’ the paper carried a total of 2 reports on page one the next two days that were spread over 56 Cm.sq. col 2related reports were carried page 9 which were given a space of 35 Cm.sq. col The displays given to the all the

reports were prominent with bold and double headlines. The structure of the news report was plain reporting and language used was non-provocative.

Table: 5. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
10.	September 29, 1981 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	September 30	1/2 3/1	1/76 3/55		P	T	BD	PR	NP
		October 1	1/3 3/1	1/58 3/ 25		P	T	BD	PR	NP
11.	October 16, 1981 Prime minister's meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal.	October 17	No Coverage							
		October 18	1/1 2/1	1/65 2/23	2	P	TL	BD	PR	NP
12.	July 19, 1982, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple.	July 20	Paper untraceable							
		July 21	No Coverage							

Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals that in case of ‘**Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore**’ the paper carried 2 reports on page 1 that were given a total of 76 Cm.sq. col space. The display given was prominent and page placement was on the top of the page. It also carried 3 reports on page 3, which were given a total of 55 Cm.sq. col of space on September 30. On October 1, the paper carried three reports on page 1 and a single report on page three. The display given to the news reports on both the days was prominent with bold and double headlines. The page placement of the news reports was also on top of the page. In case of ‘**Prime minister’s meeting with the representatives of Akali Dal,**’ the paper did not give any coverage to the event on October 17, but carried a detailed report on page one the next day which was continued on page 16. The story structure remained plain reporting and the language was non provocative. The paper did not cover the event of ‘**Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale moved into the premises of the Golden Temple**’.

Table: 6. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
13.	The police arrested Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh.	July 19, 1982	July 20	No Coverage						
			July 21	No Coverage						

14.	August 4, 1982 Harchand Singh Longowal announced 'dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.	August 5	1/1	1/36		P	M	S	PR	NP
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Data Interpretation

The data collected in above tables reveals the paper gave no coverage to 'police arresting Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh' while in case of 'Harchand Singh Longowal announced 'dharma Yudh' or religious war to fight for implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the paper' gave wide coverage to the event. On August 5 it carried a report on page 1 and gave a total of 36 Cm.sq. col space with prominent display and straight headlines. The story structure and language used remained plain and non-provocative, respectively.

Table: 7. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
15.	November 19, 1982 to December 4, 1982	November 20	1/1	1/24		P	M	S	PR	NP
		November 21	1/1	1/36		P	TL	BD	PR	
		November 22	1/1	1/48		P	TL	B	PR	NP

The Asian games and its aftermath.	November 23	1/1	1/87		P	TR	BD	PR	NP
	November 24	½ 2/2	1/56 2/ 55	1	P	TR	BS	PR	NP
	November 25	1/ 2 2/ 2	1/48 2/40	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
	November 26	1/ 2	1/54		P	T	BS	PR	NP
	November 27	1/ 3 2/ 1	1/33 2/23		P	T	BS	PR	NP
	November 28	1/ 2 2/1	1/56 2/11	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
	November 29	1/ 1	1/50		P	T	BS	PR	NP
	November 30	1/ 3	1/35		P	T	BS	PR	NP
	December 1	½	1/56		P	T	BS	PR	NP
	December 2	1/1	1/24		P	T	BS	PR	NP
	December 3	1/1	1/19		Dismi ssive	M	S	PR	NP
	December 4	2/1	2/15		Dismi ssive	Bottom	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Huge coverage was given to this event which had a major political angle to it. The paper continued to cover the developments on daily basis giving prominent display to the multiple news reports. Sufficient space was given to these news reports ranging from 24 Cm.sq. col To 87

Cm.sq. col for a single report. Most of the related news were carried on page one which many continued on internal pages also. However, during the last days of the event, the space being given reduced and dismissive displays were given to the news reports bring to fore the fact that the importance of an event for a newspaper reduces as the number of days pass. However, the structure of the story remained plain reporting and the language used was non-provocative.

Table: 8. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
16.	April 23, 1983, Killing of Punjab Police Deputy Inspector General (DIG) A. S. Atwal, who was shot dead as he was leaving the Golden Temple compound.	April 24	1/ 2	1/ 56	1	P	T	S	PR	NP
		April 25	1/ 2 3/ 2	1/45 3/38	1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Good coverage was given to this event which as the paper carried 2 related reports on page 1 on April 24 and that was given a total of 56 Cm.sq. col space with 1 photograph. On April, 25, it carried 1 report on page 1 and 2 on page 7. Space given was 45 Cm.sq. col on page 1 and

38 on page 7. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 9. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
17.	September 28, 1983 Indiscriminate killing of the Hindus out for morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district.	September 29	1/1 2/1	1/34 2/27	2	P	T	S	PR	NP
		September 30	1/1	1/33		P	M	S	PR	NP
18.	October 5, 1983 A bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road.	October 6	No Coverage							
		October 7	1/2	1/98	1	P	T	B	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

Good coverage was given to this event which as the paper carried 1 related report on page 1 on September 29 and that was given a total of 34 Cm.sq. col space with two photographs. It also continued the report on page 2 where 27 Cm.sq. col space was given. Two photographs were carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On September 30, the paper carried 1 report on page 1. The space given was 33 Cm.sq. col respectively. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

In case of '**A bus was hijacked from Dhilwan village in Kapurthala district and six Hindus were separated and shot dead. The bus was travelling from Amritsar to Delhi on the GT road**', while, the paper did not give any coverage to the event the very next day, on October 7 it carried two reports on page 1 that were given a total of 98 Cm.sq. col of space. One related photograph was also carried. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 10. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
19.	October 6, 1983	October 7	1/1	1/ 48	1	P	T	B	PR	NP

	Imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government.	October 8	1/1	1/76	2	P	T	B 2SH	PR	NP
20.	November 18, 1983 Another bus was hijacked and four Hindu passengers were shot dead. (Naushehra Pannuan bus killing)	November 19	1/1	1/56		P	T	S	PR	NP
		November 20	1/3	1/98	2	P	TM	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of the above two events good coverage was given by the newspaper with sufficient space. In case of '**Imposition of president's rule in Punjab and suspension of Darbara Singh government,**' a 48 Cm.sq. col report was carried on October 7. The paper also had a photograph. On October 8 it carried and 76 Cm.sq. col report. It also had two related photographs. The headlines on both the days were bold and on October 8 it also carried 2 sub headings to lay emphasis on the importance of the story. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of '**Naushehra Pannuan bus killings,**' the paper carried 1 report on November 19 and 3 reports on November 20. While, on first day of the coverage, it gave 56 Cm.sq. col of space, the second day the space given was 98 Cm.sq. col The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 11. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
21.	December 15, 1983 Bhindranwale was forced to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas house by members of the Babbar Khalsa who were with Harchand Singh Longowal. (tussle between Longowal and Bhindranwale)	December 16	1/1	1/42		P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		December 17	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of the above event good coverage was given by the newspaper with sufficient space on the very next day. But no coverage was given on December 17. It carried one report on page 1 with 42 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 12. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
22.	January 26, 1984 Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India.	January 27	1/1	1/27		P	M	SB	PR	NP
		January 28	1/1 2/1	1/38 2/24		P	TL	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

The event of ‘**Akali Dal announced a New Agitation for burning article 25(2) (b) of the constitution of India**’ was given good coverage by the newspaper. On January 27 it carried 1 report with 27 Cm.sq. col space and on January 28, it carried 1 report on page one which was given 38 Cm.sq. col of space and continued on page 16 where it got 24 Cm.sq. col of space. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 13. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
23.	February 14, 1984 A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab.	February 15	1/1	1/60		P	ML	S	PR	NP
		February 16	No coverage							
24.	February 14, 1984 Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal.	February 15	1/2 3/2	1/80 3/68	1	P	TR	SB	PR	NP
		February 16	1/2 3/2	1/78 3/98	1	P	ML	SB	PR	NP
25.	February 19, 1984 Violence broke out in Haryana as eight Sikhs lost their lives in clashes in Panipat.	February 20	1/2	1/38		P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		February 21	1/7 2/2	1/173 2/58	1	P	TM	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**A tripartite meeting was conveyed by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab**’ The above table reveals that on February 15 the paper carried 1 page 1 report with 60 Cm.sq. col space. The headline was straight. The display given was prominent and page placement was on middle left. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. ‘**Call by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu/Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then chief minister Bhajan Lal**’ attracted huge coverage by the paper as carried six reports over the next two days with sufficient space and photographs. These reports were placed significantly on the front pages with straight and bold headlines. The reporting remained plain and language was non provocative.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
26.	March 28, 1984 Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the	March 29	1/1 2/1	1/34 2/30		P	TL	SB	PR	NP

	Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple, was shot dead.	March 30	No Coverage
27.	March 31, 1984 Home minister declared that the government would be prepared to consult SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh Community as well as legal experts to under take legislation to amend Article 25 (2) (b).	April 1	No Coverage
		April 2	No Coverage
28.	April 2, 1984 Some 40 minor railway stations in Punjab were blown up.	April 3	No Coverage
		April 4	No Coverage

Data Interpretation

The above table states that in case of '**Harbans Singh Machanda, president of the Delhi Gurudwara management committee, who had called for the expulsion of Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple was shot dead.**' the paper carried one report on page with 34 cms sq, space which was continued on page 2 where 30 Cm.sq. col space was given. The headline was straight and bold. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given to the other events listed in this table.

Table: 14. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language	
29.	April 3, 1984 Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists.	April 4	1/1 2/1	1/26 2/30	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP	
		April 5	1/1	1/20	1	P	R	SB	PR	NP	
30.	May 1, 1984 SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution.	May 2	No Coverage								
		May 3	No Coverage								

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab university Senate and syndicate, shot dead in Chandigarh by three young terrorists,**’ the paper carried 1 report on April 4 which was given 26 Cm.sq. col space and a photograph. It carried a related news report on page 12 which was given 30 cm s q. space. Next day also it carried a 20 Cm.sq. col report on page 1 with a photograph. The display given was prominent and page placement was on top. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given in case of ‘**SGPC forms 21-member committee of experts to suggest relevant amendments that could be made in Article 25 (2) (b) of the Indian Constitution**’.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
31.	May 9, 1984 Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar. He was outspoken about the anti/social elements who had taken refuge in the Golden Temple.	May 10	1/1 2/1	1/56 2/29	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
		May 11	No Coverage							

32.	May 12, 1984 Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain.	May 13	1/2	1/48	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		May 14	1/3	1/68	1	P	ML	SB	PR	NP

Data interpretation

In case of ‘**Giani Pratap Singh, aged 85, former head priest of Akal Takt was shot dead in Amritsar,**’ the paper carried a page 1 report with 56 Cm.sq. col space and a photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. No coverage was given the next day. In case of ‘**Assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain**’ the paper carried 1 report in page 1 with 48 Cm.sq. col space and a photograph on May 13 and on may 14 it carried three related news that were given 68 Cm.sq. col, space. One photograph was also carried. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 15. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
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33.	June 1, 1984 Army took over the state and cut off all communications with the outside world.	June 2	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 3	No Publications were carried out these days							
34.	June 2, 1984 Journalists are removed from Amritsar just before the operation blue star starts.	June 3	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 4	No Publications were carried out these days							
35.	June 3 to 6, 1984 Operation Blue Star.	June 4	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 5	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 6	No Publications were carried out these days							
		June 7	No Publications were carried out these days							
36.	July 5, 1984 Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/405 from Srinagar to Delhi.	July 6	1/3	1/87	1	P	T M	BD	PR	NP
		July 7	1/4	1/78		P	T M	BD	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

During the **Operation Blue Star** there was a ban of newspaper publication and no edition of the paper was brought out during these days. In case of '**Five youth hijack Indian airline airbus flight IC/405 from Srinagar to Delhi,**' the paper carried 3 reports on page 1 with 87 Cm.sq. col space on July 6 and a photograph. It also had 4 related reports on page 14 where 98 Cm.sq. col space was given. The display was prominent and bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 7, it carried 4 reports on page 1 and 2 on page 14. 78 Cm.sq. col space was given on page 1 and 87 sq. cm on page 87. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 16. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
37.	July 10, 1984 White paper on the Punjab agitation.	July 11	1/1	1/48		P	M	S	PR	NP
		July 12	1/1	1/53		P	M	S	PR	NP
38.	August 24, 1984 Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore.	August 25	1/3 2/1	1/88 2/36	1	P	TM	BD	PR	NP
		August 26	1/6 2/2	1/87 2/98	2	P	TM	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**White paper on the Punjab agitation**’ the paper carried 1 report each for the next two days which were given 48 Cm.sq. col and 53 Cm.sq. col of space. The display was prominent and headline straight. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore**’ huge coverage was given by the paper with 3 page 1 stories spread over 88 Cm.sq. col on August 25 with 4 related reports on page 14 with 69 Cm.sq. col space. The next day it carried 6 reports on page 1 spread over 87 Cm.sq. col and two photographs. The display was prominent and headline straight, bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

39.	October 31, 1984 Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.	November 1	1/2 3/2	1/110 3/78	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 2	1/3	1/48	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
40.	October 31, 1984 Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi.	November 1	1/1 2/1	1/77 2/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		November 2	1/3	1/58	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
41.	January 16, 1985 Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh.	January 17	1/1 2/1	1/77 2/23	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		January 18	1/1	1/88		P	TL	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 110 Cm.sq. col and 3 reports on page 2 spread over 110 Cm.sq. col On November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 48 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Anti Sikh riots break out in Delhi,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 2 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on November 1. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 58 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Attempt was made to kill Jathedar Kirpal Singh,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 2 spread over 23 Cm.sq. col on January 17. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On January 18, it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 88 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 17. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
42.	March 25, 1985 Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh.	March 26	1/2 2/1	1/78 2/35	2	P	T	B D	PR	NP
		March 27	1/1	1/34	1	P	T left	SB	PR	NP
43.	May 10, 1985 Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility.	May 11	1/2	1/78	1	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		May 12	1/2	1/48		P	T	D	PR	NP
44.	April 30, 1986 NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I.	May 1	1/2	1/88	2	P	T	BD	PR	NP
		May 2	1/2	1/72		P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘Assassination of Kishan Lal Manchanda, general secretary of BJP was shot dead in Chandigarh,’ the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 78 Cm.sq. col and 1 report on page 2 spread over 35 Cm.sq. col on March 26. It carried 2 photographs.

The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On November 2 also it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 48 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Bomb blast in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 109 were injured. Babbar Khalsa took responsibility,’** the paper gave good coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 78 Cm.sq. col on May 12. It carried 1 photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 12 it carried 2 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 48 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘NSG commandoes stormed the Golden Temple. Operation Black Thunder I,’** the paper gave good coverage with 2 reports on page 1 spread over 88 Cm.sq. col on May 1. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 2 it carried 2 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 72 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 18. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
45.	May 12 to 18, 1986 Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took	May 13	1/3 3/1	1/42 3/ 25		P	T	D	PR	NP
		May 14	1/1	1/26	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP

	place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18.	May 15	1/1	1/48	2	P	TL	BD	PR	NP
		May 16	1/3 3/1	1/42 3/2		P	T	D	PR	NP
		May 17	1/1	1/26	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		May 18	1/3 3/1	1/42 3/25		P	T	D	PR	NP
		May 19	1/1	1/56	1	P	TL	BS	PR	NP
46.	June 23, 1985 Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board.	June 24	1/2	1/98	2	P	TL	BD	PR	NP
		June 25	1/3	1/78		P	T	D	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Operation Black Thunder II (sometimes just referred to as Operation Black Thunder) took place and ended with the surrender of the militants on May 18,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with multiple reports on page 1 and internal pages for the next seven days. The displays were prominent and headline straight bold and double in certain cases. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Bomb explosion resulted in the crash of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board,**’ the paper gave huge coverage with two reports on page 1 spread over 98 Cm.sq. col on June 24. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 23 it carried 3 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 78 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 19. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
47.	July 24, 1985 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.	July 25	1/1 2/1	1/77 2/27	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		July 26	1/2 2/1	1/68 2/38	1 1	P	T	S	PR	NP
48.	August 20, 1985 Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village.	August 21	1/1	1/56	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		August 22	1/1	1/26	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
49.	January 26, 1986 Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations.	January 27	No coverage							
		January 28	No coverage							
50.	March 26, 1986 Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested.	March 27	1/1	1/38	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		March 28								

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal sign the Rajiv/Longowal accord.’** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 Cm.sq. col on July 25. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On July 26, it carried 2 related reports on page 1 spread over 68 Cm.sq. col. In case of **‘H S Longowal being shot dead’** the paper carried 1 report on page one which was given 56 Cm.sq. col space. On August 21 and on August 22 it carried a related news which was spread over 26 Cm.sq. col. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Onward panthic committee went all out to gain recognition and support from various international militant organizations,’** no coverage as given by the paper. In case of **‘Bhai Mokham Singh, spokesman of Damdami Taksal arrested,’** the paper gave good coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col On March 27. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 20. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
51.	April 22, 1986	April 23	1/1	1/56		P	T	BS	PR	NP

	AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.	April 24	No Coverage							
52.	April 29, 1986 An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.	April 30	1/1	1/98	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		May 1	1/1	1/42	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
53.	May 2, 1986 The paramilitary police undertook a 12/hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants.	May 2	1/1	1/56	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		May 3	1/2	1/98	1	P	T	S	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**AISSF splits into Manjit Faction and Kahlon faction.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 56 Cm.sq. col on April 23. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**An assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan.**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 98 Cm.sq. col on April 30. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On May 1 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 42 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**The paramilitary police undertook a 12/hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants**’ the newspaper carried 1 report spread over 56 Cm.sq. col on May 2 and 2 reports spread over 98 Cm.sq. col on May 3. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 21. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/form/format	Language
54.	August 10, 1886 Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992.	August 11	1/1	1/38	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		August 12	1/4	1/48	2	P	T	S	PR	NP
55.	July 7, 1987, 32 Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.	July 8	1/1	1/48	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		July 9	No coverage							
56.	October 7, 1987 Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad)	October 8	1/1	1/38		P	T	BS	PR	NP
		October 9	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘Assassination of General A S Vaidya, the Chief of Army Staff at the time of Operation Blue Star, was also killed by Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Harjinder Singh Jinda in Pune. Both were sentenced to death, and hanged on 7th October, 1992,’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col On August 11. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On August 12 it carried 4 related reports on page 1 spread over 48 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘Hindus were pulled out of the bus and shot, near Lalru in Punjab.’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 48 Cm.sq. col It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘Khalistan was declared an independent state, and Council of Khalistan, headed by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, was formed. (abroad),’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col On October 8. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 22. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/format/format	Language
57.	October 13, 1987, Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief	October 14	1/1	1/36		P	T	B	PR	NP

	of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar.	October 15	No coverage							
58.	November 13, 1987, Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar.	November 14	1/1	1/76	1	P	TL	B	PR	NP
		November 15	No coverage							
59.	May 29, 1988 Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India.	May 30	1/1	1/24		P	T	SD	PR	NP
		May 31	No coverage							
60.	July 26, 1988 Sikh militants murder the then head priest.	July 27	1/1	1/36	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		July 28	No coverage							

Data Interpretation

In case of ‘**Manbir Singh Chaheru, chief of Khalistan Liberation force (KLF) was killed while trying to escape from police custody near Amritsar,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 36 Cm.sq. col on October 14. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Tarsem Singh Kohar, Lt. General of KCF was killed trying to escape from police near Amritsar,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 76 Cm.sq. col It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of ‘**Government banned both political and military use of the shrines in India,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 24 Cm.sq. col on May 30. The display was prominent and headline straight and double. The structure was plain reporting and language was non

provocative. In case of ‘**Sikh militants murder the then head priest,**’ the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 36 Cm.sq. col on July 27 It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Table: 23. Showing Reports of terrorism in The Indian Express

Sr. No.	The Indian Express	Date	Page No./No. of News Items	Page =no./ Space given to all the news in cms	No. of photographs in all related news	Display	Page placement	Headline	Story structure Angle/ Focus/ content/format/format	Language
61.	June 25, 1989 RSS activists killed in a park in Moga.	June 26	1/1	1/98	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		June 27	No coverage							
62.	December 6, 1990 The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib. (Manchanda)	December 7	1/1	1/77	1	P	T	BS	PR	NP
		December 7	No coverage							
63.	June 22, 1991 Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people.	June 23	1/1	1/38	1	P	TL	SB	PR	NP
		June 24	1/1	1/34	1	P	T L	SB	PR	NP

64.	August, 31, 1995, assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh.	October 1	1/6	1/156	2	P	T	SB	PR	NP
		October 2	1/4	1/135	1	P	T	SB	PR	NP

Data Interpretation

In case of **‘RSS activists killed in a park in Moga,’** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 98 Cm.sq. col on June 26 17. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘The sensational killing of director all India radio, K. K. Talib (Manchanda),’** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 77 sq. cm On December 7. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Unidentified gunmen opened fire on passenger trains near the city of Ludhiana, killing at least seventy/four people,’** the paper gave coverage with 1 report on page 1 spread over 38 Cm.sq. col on June 23. It carried one photograph. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On June 24 it carried 1 related report on page 1 spread over 34 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. In case of **‘Assassination of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh’.** the paper gave huge coverage with 6 reports on page 1 spread over 156 Cm.sq. col On October 1. It carried 2 photographs. The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative. On October 2 it carried 4 related reports on page 1 that were spread over 135 Cm.sq. col The display was prominent and headline straight and bold. The structure was plain reporting and language was non provocative.

Findings and discussion

6. The paper carried a total of 192 news related to the selected events. Which means that on an average the paper carried around 3 news reports for every event that was studied.
7. A total of 5895 sq. cm of space was given to these events on page one and 1235 sq. cm was given on internal pages. Which means that out of a total space of 7130 which was given these events, 82.68 per cent space was given on page 1 and 17.32 per cent space was given on internal pages.
8. The paper gave prominent displays to selected events.
9. The page placements of the news items suggested that due importance was given to the news items.
10. The structure of the news reports remained plain and the language used was non-provocative

Conclusion

Sr. No.	Newspaper	No. of News		Space Given		Percentage	
		Total No.	Avg. per event	Front Page In sq. col	Internal pages In sq col.	On front page	Internal pages
1.	The Tribune	214	3-4	9097	3949	69.73 %	32.27%
2.	The Indian Express	192	3	5895	1235	82.68 %	17.32%
3..	Ajit	178	2-3	5373	2581	67.55%	32.45%
4.	Jagbani	259	4	9265	1735	84.22 %	15.78 %
5.	Punjabi Tribune	270	4	9375	2363	79.86 %	20.14 %
	Total	1113	3-4	39005	11863	69.59 %	30.41 %

From the data collected above, the following fact have come to light

1. Punjabi Tribune gave the maximum coverage the 64 events that were selected from the study as it carried 270 reports related to the selected happenings followed by Jagbani which carried 259 reports related to the events
2. Jagbani gave the maximum space to these events on page one as 84.22 per cent of the total space given was the newspaper was on page one followed by the Indian Express which gave 82.68 per cent of the total space on the front page
3. The five newspaper collectively carried 1113 news related to the selected events
4. On an average 3 to 4 reports related to the selected events were carried by the newspapers.
5. A total of 39005 cm sq col. space was given on page 1 and 11863 sm sq col was given on internal pages which means that 69.59 per cent of space was given on page one and 30.42 per cent of space was given on internal pages.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The study has been a sincere attempt to understand the role played by the media during the days of terrorism in Punjab. Though, a lot has been said about the Punjab problem by some of the most acclaimed authors, journalists and even those who had been directly or indirectly involved in insurgency and counter insurgency efforts, but a detailed and critical examination based on research and study of the coverage given by newspapers during from 1973 till 1995 to understand the role of media has not been attempted prior to this study.

During the course of research, the scholar not only came across what has already been penned down, but the study also brought to fore some of the startling facts about how and why the media took sides either with the terrorist organisations or with some political outfits and government agencies.

The incorrigible facts brought to light by examining the most voluminous and detailed writings that were carried out in the newspapers on acts of terrorism have also helped in understanding how the media was responding to the political and social developments that were taking place in Punjab during the dark days.

During the study, besides examining the objectivity of the news reports, the scholar also scrutinised the language used in the reports and whether due importance was given to a news report in terms of space given and placement on the paper which can be easily comprehended from data which has been collected for each important event.

It came to light that newspapers gave sufficient space and bold displays to the news stories related to selected events. However, the issue related to use of language to 'plant ideas' in the Punjabi psyche remains controversial.

The major difference in the news coverage amongst the five important newspapers that were studied has emerged that in certain cases the language used was provocative and aimed at sensationalizing happenings. It study also confirmed that the newspapers were taking sides, either with the government agencies or with

the terrorist outfits.

It also came to light that during the Khalistan Movement the terrorist organisations used the media, and vice versa, to meet vested interests. While, the terrorist organisations used the media to propagate their ideologies, the media houses highlighted the acts of terrorism to create sensationalism and use the same to increase their circulations and enhance the paper's appeal and impact on the readership. The papers also affected the public opinions.

This symbiosis between the terrorist organisations and the newspapers houses is worth examining in greater detail, as it is as vicious and dangerous as it is largely overlooked. The newspaper houses got engaged in a vicious cycle of gaining from the acts of terrorism, without considering the consequences of the same.

The Khalistan Movement terrorism proved to be an attractive boon for print media coverage, mainly because terrorist attacks made circulations soar and increase profits. The study also reconfirmed that the terrorism has aspects that make it an attractive subject for the print media, as it has the elements of drama, danger, blood, human tragedy, miracle stories and heroics that appeal to the human psychology.

However, it has come to light that the problem does not lie in why the media covers terrorism, but lies in how the media covers terrorism. During the days of terrorism in Punjab the print media, especially the Jalandhar based newspapers, covered terrorist acts by writing sensation-seeking, enlarging anecdotic stories.

The news reports confirmed that politics of fear was at play and also remained a dominant motif for newspapers. While reporting about terrorism the newspapers made victimization, crime, danger and fear very relevant to everyday experiences.

The print media also used agenda setting and framing to highlight and make certain issues more prominent than others. More attention was laid on certain events while others were simply brushed aside by the newspapers houses. The newspapers selected some aspects of 'perceived realities' and made these more salient in news reports, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition.

The media indeed profited from the drama terrorism created as the circulation

of Jalandhar based Newspapers, which indulged in sensationalizing the happening, soared between 1978 and 1988. While, the circulation of Ajit when up from 46,000 in 1978 to 1,24,00 in 1988, the circulation of Jagbani also increased from 900 to 97,000 during this period. However, the circulation of Punjabi Tribune, which did not sensationalise the happenings, did not rise so drastically. In 1978 the paper was circulating around 30,000 copies and in 1988 it circulation had risen only to 46,000.

The study also brought to light that the print media directly or indirectly served the interests of terrorists during the Khalistan Movement. The print media glorified the acts of terrorism, which gave them (terrorist organisations) the upper hand in creating an atmosphere of fear that helped them further their political cause and also created ripe conditions for propaganda and recruitment.

It can be argued that the print media during those days helped the terrorist organisations in meeting their goals and objectives. The coverage given by the print media had a crucial impact on the way terrorists started communicating with the masses and carry out attacks. The print media also helped the terrorist outfits in Punjab to gain a foothold in the people's daily lives. In case of the Khalistan Movement the terrorists outfits had understood this mechanism and had used the print media for more coverage and draw massive publicity and the opportunity to showcase their ability to strike and create terror.

At the beginning of the research work five objectives had been draw which included study the objectivity of the news reports, scrutinize the news reports on the basis of language used, to examine whether due importance was given to news stories of eminence and if the newspapers were trying to sensationalize the acts of terror for their own vested interests of increasing their circulations, while important stories were not being published. One of the main objectives of the study was to examine if the journalists during those days got sandwiched between the government agencies and the terrorist organisations and failed to perform their journalistic duties and to study if the ethics of news reporting were ignored in the days of terrorism

During the research, all these objectives were fulfilled. Four out of five hypotheses that were used for the research work were proved to be correct, while one of these was found to incorrect.

On the basis of these objectives, five hypotheses had been drawn that questioned the objectivity of the media reports and the kind of language that was being used. The study started with a perception that provocative language was used by newspapers to embroider acts of terrorism. Though, it was found that due importance was given to news stories of eminence by the newspapers, the study also established that free press had failed to perform its duties as it got sandwiched between the government agencies and terrorist outfits with both mounting pressure on the publications houses to propagate 'their' point of view. It also came to light that the basic ethics of news reporting were ignored in the days of terrorism.

The hypothesis that the media failed to carry out reports objectively, was proved to be correct in most of the events that were studied. By objectivity it is meant that while covering hard news, reporters don't convey their own feelings, biases or prejudices in their stories. They accomplish this by writing stories using a language that is neutral and avoids characterizing people or institutions in ways good or bad.

During the research it was observed that objectivity by and large was a causality. While, reporting acts of terrorism use of words that toyed with the human feelings or appealed to the religious psyche of the readers were used freely, especially by the Jalandhar based media. The editorials that followed only corroborated this observation.

There were several news items studied in which newspapers used words by which 'personal' feelings were quickly conveyed with the use of adjectives which in general are to be avoided while reporting hard stories.

It came to light that both Ajit and Jagbani made it a point to use words like 'Sikh' and 'Hindu' which showed the communal inclinations of the two news papers. However, the other four newspapers that were studied did not show any such inclinations.

Headlines like 'Jathedar Kirpal Singh Utte tin Sikh Naujawana Walon Hamla', (Three Sikh youth attacked Jathedar Kirpal Singh) that was carried out by Jagbani after the assassination attempt on the life of Jathedar Kirpal Singh, clearly showed that a deliberate attempt had been made to highlight the point that 'Sikh youth' had carried out the attack, while, Ajit carried the same report in which there

was no mention of the 'Sikh youths'. The Tribune, The Indian Express and Punjabi Tribune also choose not to specify the religion of the assassinations.

The use of 'communal words' in the news created a sense of insecurities amongst the Punjab population and it can be rightly said that a subtle campaign was going on to divide the Punjabis on communal lines. While, it was the agenda of the terrorist outfits to do so, the newspapers also became a party to this campaign for vested interests of increasing their circulations, appeal and impact of the paper and have an overall affect on public opinion.

In case of assassination of Jathedar Harchand Singh Longowal, the Jagbani made it a point to highlight the fact that the Jathedar was murdered by 'militants,' while, Ajit carried a page one report in which the language had a more human touch 'Sant Longowal Gollian Lagan Karan Akal Challana Kar Gaye,' (Sant Longowal died after being hit by bullets) the news report was given somewhat religious colour by highlighting Sant's association with the Sikh Panth.

The Punjabi Tribune carried a non-sensationalizing report the headline of which read 'Sant Harchand Singh Longowal Goli Naal Halak' (Saint Longowal died after being hit by bullets). The headline by the Tribune was brief 'Akal Takht Jathedar Fired Upon' and an editorial the next day termed the assassination as 'crime against peace'. The Indian Express editorial 'Darkness at Noon' also spoke about how efforts to bring normalcy in Punjab had taken a hit due to the assassination of the Sant, who only a few days back had signed the Rajiv-Longowal pact.

In one of the editorial, the 'Ajit' blamed the incidents in Punjab to have provoked communal feelings amongst the Hindus and Sikhs. While, it would be inappropriate to say that any direct references had been made to draw communal lines, but use of words like 'Hindus' and 'Sikhs' definitely had a communal effect on the minds of the readers as the editorial did not specifically mention that there were no differences amongst the Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab and both were a part of a well knit society who could not be separated.

It can also be said from examining a number of other editorials carried out in the print media that while, the newspapers were not promoting the idea a separate

state, but a sense of communalism was creeping in the Punjabi psyche through the kind of news reports that were being published in newspapers.

The second hypothesis regarding the language used in news reports being provocative and was used to sensationalise acts of terrorism for vested interests of newspapers that of increasing their circulations was also proved to be correct.

By no doubt, acts of the terrorism were used to meet vested interests by the publication houses. Details of newspaper circulations (between 1978 to 1988) mentioned on page 130 has already established the fact that during the days of terrorism, the circulation of particular sections of the print media saw unprecedented rise. These details proved to be an important link in understanding, why some sections of media sided with terrorist outfits or political parties. It is also a known fact that terrorism enhances the community's hunger for news and the increase in circulation vindicates this statement.

A peculiar format of reporting that was observed during the study was that Jagbani would sensationalize the killings by carrying out headlines which read 'Punjab which 12 Halak' (12 killed in Punjab) that would have shocking effect on the readers. It would only be after one read the report that it came to light that only four were killed in acts of terrorism, while the others had died in separate accidents across the state.'

Reports of terrorist act were highlighted and overemphasized with pictorial contents, while acts of moderation were given dismissive displays. For example, when various organisations went all out to condemn the Moga killings or the assassination of Congress leader Vishwa Nath Tiwari or any other acts of terrorism in which innocent lives were lost, such statements were given dismissive displays or no display at all by Jalandhar based newspaper.

The acts of moderation, when appeals were made to people to maintain peace or statements were issued by the Sikh Priests were also not highlighted as much as the acts of terrorism.

While it was observed that The Tribune, The Punjabi Tribune and The Indian Express used language that was not only moderate, but the news reports were balanced and presented an unbiased picture of the happenings.

Use of words that would had a sensational effect on the readers' mind was a

common practice of Jalandhar based media, which showed little or no restraint in using words and statements that would catch the attention of the readers adding to their anxiety.

The newspapers would also jump to conclusion that would prove to be wrong in the long run. This was done as a part of the newspaper strategy to sensationalise the events. When on July 24, 1985, the Rajiv Rajiv-Longowal accord was signed between the two leaders, the Jagbani was quick to react 'Kender Akali Samjhota; Chandigarh Punjab nu milya' (Centre-Akali Pact: Punjab gets Chandigarh). While the fact remains the issues is till date a bone of contention between Punjab and Haryana.

When a tripartite meeting was convened by the government as last effort to break the stalemate in Punjab on February 14, 1984, the Ajit carried the news item right along with the master head of the newspaper. It can be rightly said that newspaper was displaying even the positive developments in a way that intended to provoke public interest and excitement. The reason for doing so was increasing the newspaper circulation.

While reporting on the July 7, 1987, Lalru bus killings the Ajit carried the headline which read, 'bus musafir de katleam de sab toh bhiaank aatwadi kare virudh aaj Panjab band da sanjha sadha' (Against the horrible killings of bus passengers, a call has been given for Punjab Bandh). The paper used words like 'bhiaank' (horrible) and 'katleam' (killings) which provoked fear and interest.

The reporting in The Tribune was found to be non-sensational. The newspapers remained centered around straight and simple reporting. During the the Asian games in 1982 one of the headlines in the paper read 'Tohra, 100 More Court Arrest' which was quite direct and simple. When the Akalis leaders were released on December 2, 1980, the headline read 'Badal, Tohra among 16,000 freed.'

At various occasions, The Tribune appeared to be carrying the official version issued by the government. When Bhindranwale was forced to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas by members of the Babbar Khalsa on December 15, 1983, the report carried by the paper was largely based on the concerns being shown by the union government on the development. However, the language used was non-provocative and non-sensationalizing.

In case of a call given by Hindu Suraksha Samiti for Punjab bandh on February 14, 1984 and the subsequent Hindu-Sikh riots that broke out in Punjab and Haryana and the fiery speech by the then Chief Minister Bhajan Lal, the focus of the newspaper was on violence, but one report from Karnal suggested that there were instances of Hindus providing shelters to Sikh neighbours, which appears to be conciliatory. The report from Punjab highlighted that meeting of peace committees were held across the state. On page 11, The Tribune carried news in which leaders deplored the violence and one of the news items criticized the government for being unprepared. It suggested that the paper had been comprehensive in its reporting and took into consideration the general reaction of the people.

Following the April 3, 1984 killing of Dr Vishwa Nath Tiwari, nominated member of Rajya Sabha and acting member of Panjab University Senate and syndicate, the paper carried an editorial the headline which read 'Killers come to Chandigarh', which appeared to be fear provoking.

On August 21, 1985, after the Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was shot dead in a Gurdwara near his home village, the lead story in the Jagbani read 'Sant Longowal Sangrur Nere Aatwadiya Hatho Katal' (Saint Longowal killed by terrorists) which suggested that the paper intended to send out a message that Longowal had been killed by the terrorists, which indeed was the objective of the terrorist outfits.

Following the assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Akal Takhat made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan on April 29, 1986, the Jagbani carried a report which read 'Panthk Kameti walon Khalistan banaon da aelan; Rajiv walon mukable da hukam' (Panthic Committee has announced formation of Khalistan: Rajiv (the then Prime Minister) orders resistance (against the announcement), which was quite sensationalizing.

When on May 2, 1986, the paramilitary police undertook a 12-hour operation to take control of the Golden Temple at Amritsar from several hundred militants, Jagbani carried an editorial which read 'Aatwadiyan nu complex te mud dakhhal hon toh rokan lyi parbandh kite jan' (arrangements should be put in place to prevent terrorists from entering the golden temple complex).

When on July 10, 1984, the White Paper on the Punjab agitation was released, the reports in the newspapers laid focus on the fact that the ‘Wakhwadi lahir nu videsi ton madad hasil si’ (the separatist movement received help from foreign countries)

Following the June 23, 1985 crashing of Air India Jumbo Jet Kanishka killing 329 passengers and crew on board, the paper carried the report next day which read ‘Bharti jambo 325 musafirani samet samunder ch digya’ (Indian Jumbo plane fell into ocean with 325 passengers). The report was non-sensationalizing and non-provocative.

During the study the third hypothesis that due importance was not given to news stories of eminence by the newspapers was found to be incorrect.

This hypothesis was proved wrong during the study as it emerged that most of the news that were selected for studied during the research work were given ample importance and space.

While, most of the stories were given prominent display on page one by the newspapers, some were carried distinctively. In case of the assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, while the Aajit did not carry a detailed report the very next day, but it did carry a reverse plate on the top of the newspapers’ master head to lay emphasis on the importance of the happening. There were instances when newspapers had no coverage and did not carry even a single report in regard with some of the developments, but happenings that rattled the state or the nation were never given a go by the newspapers. In an interview at Chandigarh on March 5, 2015 at Chandigarh, Sidhu Damdami, the former editor of the Punjabi Tribune, said during those days the means of sending news reports to the desk were limited and this was one of the reasons why in some cases the newspapers could not carry reports in regard with important happening the very next day.

In case of Jagjit Singh Chauhan, who was the founder of the Khalistan movement holding a meeting with Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of the ‘National Council of Khalistan at Anandpur Sahib on April 12, 1980 the Indian Express, The Tribune, Aajit and Punjabi Tribune carried no reports, while Jagbani carried detailed news reports the next day. However, such missing out of reports, whether deliberate or otherwise, was found to be limited only to a few reports, which perhaps did not hold much importance at that time but gained

significance as the Khalistan Movement gained momentum converting Punjab into a national crisis.

Another important fact that came to light was that free press had failed to perform its duties as it got sandwiched between the government agencies and terrorist outfits that wanted the publications houses to propagate their point of view. This hypothesis was by and large proved to be correct.

During the study, it was observed that in actual there was a one sided flow of information. The press note journalism prevailed and investigative journalism had become a thing of the past.

In order to ensure the fairness of the news stories it is must for reporters to remember that there are usually two sides – and often more – to most issues, and that those differing viewpoints should be given roughly equal space in any news story. It was found that while covering the events it was very rare that the newspapers would incorporate the versions of the citizens, who were directly or indirectly affected by happenings that were taking place in Punjab.

The general sentiments of the people which should have been given equally space in the newspapers were found to be missing in context with the 64 events, the coverage of which was studied. The newspapers failed to bring out a neutral picture of the developments.

It also came to light that generally press note journalism prevailed in the state. Most of the editors with whom the scholar got a chance to work and discuss the Punjab problem, maintained that there was a ‘death sentence’ for non compliance of the Panthi Press Code that was made real by the brutal killing of R K Talib, Station Director of AIR, who was gunned down at his official residence at Chandigarh.

The brutal killing of R K Talib, Station Director of AIR, had an adverse impact on the manner in which news were gathered and then published. Many reporters with whom the scholar interacted admitted that most of the times press notes were carried ‘as these were’ under the fear of the terrorists, who would not desist from issuing threats to the journalists and kill in case of non-compliance. They confirmed that most of the times they would avoid visiting the scene of the terrorist violence, out of the fear of coming under an attack either by the terrorist organisations or government agencies.

Working under these circumstances, the editors and the journalists felt that objectivity and fairness of news reporting had taken a hit. The fact that killing of thousands of innocent youth by the security agencies went unreported during the days of terrorism is yet example that vindicates that free press could not reach out to the common populace. The case of human activist Jaswant Singh Khalra, who was murdered by the Punjab police cops for coming out with the number of Punjabi youths, who had been cremated unidentified at several cremation grounds in and around Amritsar, was a glaring example of how the print media had failed to highlight the atrocities that were being meted out to the people of Punjab. Only press notes sent by the terrorist organisations or the government agencies were getting printed in the newspapers.

Another important observation that came to light was that the flow of information was either restricted or distorted for the common man. Most of the individual and the class of intellectuals that the scholar interacted with expressed dismay at what was being reported by the newspapers calling the information 'inadequate.' They claimed that during the days of terrorist violence in Punjab, their 'right to know' had been compromised.

The print media had failed to inform the readers about the happening that were taking place. Only day to day happenings were being reported. Dr Shivraj Singh, a government ayurvedic doctors, who remained posted at Abhor during the militancy days, in an interview on March 12, 2012 at Patiala said that the common man was unaware of 'why' the incidents were taking place. "We used to read about the killings and bomb blasts, but I never got an idea 'why' all this was taking place", he said.

It is a common believe that while objectivity and fairness are important tools to dig out the truth, but a reporter should not even let these get in the way of finding out the truth. However, this was also overlooked by the journalists during the days of terrorism.

In an interview at Chandigarh on February 2, 2015, Jaspal Sidhu, who retired from UNI news Agency from Delhi as Special Correspondent and had remained posted at Amritsar during the peak of militancy said, "The pressure was not only from the terrorist outfits, but also from the government security agencies. The

journalists were expected to report whatever was being fed to them by the agencies’, he said.

“The police briefings and press notes were always the same. The journalists just needed to change the names of the terrorists, who had had been shot dead and the rest of the story was always the same.” Sharing his experience Sidhu said “Once a journalist of a reputed English Daily reported about a fake encounter. The very next day, the then DGP K P S Gill came to Amritsar and held a press conference, during which he confronted the reporter as to ‘why’ he wrote about the fake encounter. As the reporter refused to succumb to the pressure tactics, Gill walked out of the press conference. Later, all flow of information to that reporter was curtailed by the Amritsar police,” Sidhu said adding that these were the tactics used by the government agencies to pressurize the journalists.

“The police officials were told not to share any information with the reporters, who tried to bring out the truth and even those manning the police control rooms would refuse information to the journalists,” he said adding that “investigative journalism had become a thing of past and government agencies used all sorts of tactics to thwart flow of information.”

In his interview at Chandigarh on March 5, 2015 at Chandigarh, Sidhu Damdami, the former editor of the Punjabi Tribune, who also worked in many news channels and also Prasar Bharti said, “the threat was not only for those working in the fields. The staff working at the newspaper desk would get frequent threat letters, which forced them to carry the statements of the terrorist organisations as ‘those were’. Then there were those on the desk of the various newspapers who would deliberately give prominent display to the statements of the terrorist organisations. This also saw suspensions of many by the managements of the publications. But the fact that ‘true journalism’ was a casualty in the process cannot be ruled out,” he said

Following the assassination of Ramesh Chander, Editor of Punjab Kesri and son of Lala Jagat Narain on May 12, 1984, The Tribune carried a report, which was a copy filed by news agency PTI. It was a warning by an extremist group that read ‘whoso ever dares to oppose the Panth would face the same fate.’ It appeared that the paper was also under the pressure of carrying out the statements being issued by the terrorist organisations and had not remained unaffected of the prevailing

circumstances.

Following the August 24, 1984 hijacking of Indian Airline plane that was taken to Lahore, The Tribune carried a report on page 14, which was titled 'Akalis Overjoyed.' It showed that the papers had to carry such reports in order to avoid the wrath of the terrorist outfits. There was also an agency copy filed by UNI, which carried a warning that read "Mr. Sandhu (General Secretary of National Council Khalistan) warned the government that more such incidents would take place if it did not release Sant (saint)." It also carried a congratulatory note from Mr. Sandhu which read "congratulation Gajinder".

The above contentions prove that the free press could not perform its duties during the days of terrorism in Punjab and the journalists had to adhere to the unwritten codes that had been forced upon the journalists and publication houses by the terrorist organisations and the security agencies.

It was also observed that the basic ethics of news reporting were ignored during the days of terrorism.

According to the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) ethical journalism strives to ensure the free exchange of information which is accurate, fair and thorough.

During the study it was found that instead of adhering to the basic ethics of news reporting, a section of the print media was working for vested interests. The media remained insensitive to the Punjab problem that had attained alarming proportions with ever escalating violence.

Instead of remaining neutral to ensure free and fair flow of information, the newspapers took sides either with the terrorist outfits or with the government agencies.

There were even instances when the newspapers adopted a moderate approach and adhered to the ethics of news reporting. However, in most of the cases, it was observed that attempts made by moderates (those who did not relate themselves with the idea of Khalistan) were not properly highlighted. These acts, which included condemnation of terrorist activities and spoke against the demand for a separate state called 'Khalistan' could have played a crucial role in curtailing the spread of terrorism. Thus, it can be concluded that newspapers to some extent

failed to portray the exact public sentiments and also failed to ensure free and fair flow of information.

It is a known fact that unlike the earlier terrorist movements during which the outfits had come out with their own publications to spread their ideologies, in case of terrorism in Punjab, which is also known as the 'Khalistan Movement', the terrorists choose not to bring out their own publications, but use the existing media to propagate their point of view.

The communal inclination of the Jagbani Newspapers came to fore repeatedly during the study of news reports of the 64 events that were selected. When on February 14, 1984, the Hindu Suraksha Samiti gave a call for Punjab bandh and subsequent Hindu, Sikh riots broke out in Punjab and Haryana, Jagbani carried a report that read 'Punjab di kise siaasi party ne Pawan Kumar Sharma di girftari di mang nahi kiti (no political party has demanded the arrest of Pawan Kumar Sharma, who was a known Hindu leader). The paper in one of the editorials wrote 'Hindu Sikhian vich pard nu chora karan te tulye hoye ne' (attempts are being made to widen gap between the Sikhs and the Hindus). Use of such words only added to the rising feelings of communal divide, which was being projected upon the people of the Punjab.

In one of the editorials that was published in Jagbani, the newspaper observed 'kade kuch Akali netawan nu riha kar ke uhna da pratikaran dekiya janda hai, te kade kuch horan akali netawan ate workran nu riha karan da elan kita janda hai.....'. ... 'assi sapasth sabdan vich sarkaar nu warning dena chande hain ke punjab vich kale dina di wapsi badi teji naal shuru ho gai hai'. (There are times when some Akali leaders are set free to know the reactions and at times announcements to release other Akali leaders and workers are made... we would like to use clear words to warn the government that black days are returning to Punjab). The editorial clearly highlights the anti-Akali stance of the newspaper.

Use of words like 'Shaheed' for those directly involved in acts of terrorism was quite common in the Ajit.

As already explained gathering correct information, was generally given a go by the media persons during the days of terrorism as press note journalism prevailed. The prevailing circumstances also curtailed the flow of free information.

In many cases efforts to identify the sources of the news were not made, which made it difficult for the readers to judge the reliability and motivations of sources of the information.

While, the methods of gathering information remained limited for the journalists, due to the threat to life which was very real, the journalists did not consider sources' motives before passing on the information to the readers. While, it is the duty of the journalists to be vigilant and courageous when holding the power that be accountable for the happenings that were taking place in Punjab and give voice to the voiceless, but this principle of media reporting was also bypassed by journalists during the days of terrorism.

Another media principle, which the journalists who were reporting acts of terrorism could not adhere to, was supporting an open and civil exchange of views. Only the views of the terrorist outfits or of the government agencies were being carried in the newspapers.

During the days of terrorism a certain section of the print media failed in one of basic ethics that of being a watchdog over public affairs and government working and to seek and ensure that flow of information is not obstructed.

The media persons in those days could hardly tell the story of the diversity and magnitude of the human suffering, which has already been discussed comprehensively in this study.

Most of the stories that were being reported had become stereotyped. The publishing houses failed to consider that the news reports were shaping the future of Punjab. The situation went from bad to worst over the years while, the print media remained busy with sensationalism for vested interests.

While, ethical journalism treats sources, subjects, colleagues and members of the public as human beings deserving respect, the reports that were carried and were incorporated in this study clearly stated that by use of words like 'gaddi chadaye' (put on the train) 'halak' (killed), 'Chhangge Gaye' (axed to death) defied this principle of media reporting.

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60. States have full ownership and exclusive legislative and executive powers to their river waters under Articles 246(3) and 162 of the Indian Constitution.

THESIS ABSTRACT

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6. Title: Print Media and Terrorism in Punjab: A critical Analysis .

Abstract:

Punjab was pushed into the 'dark days' by many different forces. The role of the Press assumed significance during those days as the terrorist organisations used the existing media to propagate their ideologies.

The main objectives of the study were to

1. Examine the objectivity of the news reports regarding important events between 1973-1995.
2. To critically scrutinize the news reports on the basis of language used in the reports, whether it was provocative and used to sensationalise the news items.
3. To examine whether due importance was given to news stories of eminence by the newspapers
4. To study if the journalists during those days got sandwiched between the government agencies and the terrorist organisations or were they able to perform their journalistic duties in fair and free manner.
5. To study whether the ethics of news reporting were ignored in the days of terrorism.

For the study, a list of 64 important events that took place between 1973 till 1995 were selected based on the criteria that had been set at the beginning of the study. Five important newspaper including The Tribune, The Indian Express, Punjabi Tribune, Ajit and Jagbani were selected for the study, which were studied for two days after the events.

The facts brought to light have helped in fulfilling all the objectives. From the numerical data that was collected, it has come to light that Punjabi Tribune gave the maximum coverage the 64 events as it carried 270 reports related to the selected happenings followed by Jagbani which carried 259 reports related to the events

On scrutinising the language used in the reports it came to light that newspaper indulged in sensationalism to increasing their circulations. The terrorist organisations used the media, and vice versa. Media failed to carry out reports objectively. Communal words were used freely by a section of the media, there was a one sided flow of information journalists could not perform their duties well. Ethics of journalism were also given a go by.

Ends

DECLARATION

It is hereby declare that the dissertation entitled 'PRINT MEDIA AND TERRORISM IN PUNJAB: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS' submitted for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Mass Communication and Journalism is my original work and that the thesis has not previously formed the basis of the award of any degree, diploma, associate-ship, fellowship or other similar titles.

Place: Patiala

Date: May 18, 2016

Manish Sirhindi
Manish Sirhindi

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Manish Sirhindi
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