



Analyzing the Opinions of the Indian National Newspapers' Editorials on Supreme Court's Verdict on the Decision of Abrogate Article 370

¹ *Pyar Singh*, ² *Prof. Dr. Ramesh Chauhan*

¹*Ph.D. Research Scholar at School of Media and Mass Communication, APG Shimla University, H.P.-13*

²*Ph.D. Supervisor at at School of Media and Mass Communication, APG Shimla University, H.P.-13*

¹*E-mail Id: thakurpyarsingh2@gmail.com*

¹*Author Id: <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-3473-6894>, Scopus Author ID: 6507594991*

ABSTRACT:

The study emanates from the general understanding that each newspaper is unique in its vision on a particular issue and intends to analyze the editorials of leading newspapers of India including two main local newspapers of Jammu & Kashmir region related to Supreme Court of India's verdict on the decision of Government of India to abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which used to impart special status to Jammu & Kashmir State but this Article was temporary provision but it was continue since long times due to political mileage of the previous governments of India. The maximum media of India and editorials of leading English, Hindi newspaper of India including local newspapers of Jammu & Kashmir supported Supreme Court of India's verdict on the decision of abrogate Article 370. Only The Hindu newspaper opined negatively over the abrogation of Article 370 as democratic process and constitutional way was not adopted to abrogate Article 370 but on the other side, other newspapers published their editorials in the support of abrogate Article 370 and verdict of Supreme Court of India on the decision of Government of India to abrogate Article 370 on the ground that Article 370 was not in the interests of the masses but it created terrorism, separatism, violence, unemployment, backwardness, unrest, corruption, violation of human rights and constitutional laws since long time in Jammu & Kashmir. However the editorials of these newspapers raised many questions on the future and challenges of the Jammu & Kashmir to take Jammu & Kashmir towards the right path. Most of the Indian newspapers covered Supreme Court of India's verdict on the decision of abrogate Article 370 and in this context, maximum newspapers gave place to the editorial article of the Prime Minister Modi in their Op-ed pages of the newspapers. The research paper critically analyses qualitative editorial content analysis of the editorials of the national newspapers including two local newspapers of Jammu & Kashmir and their opinions on Supreme Court of India's verdict held on 11th December, 2023 on the decision of BJP ruling Government of India to abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution on 5th August, 2019 in the context of special status of Jammu & Kashmir which was temporary Article and created problems for the peace, unity, national integration, constitutional integration, democracy, human rights and law in Jammu & Kashmir since long time.

Keywords: Newspapers, Editorials, Abrogation of Article, and Qualitative Content Analysis.

INTRODUCTION:

A newspaper is a periodical publication containing written information about current events and is often typed in black ink with a white or grey background. It covers the information and updates from North, East, West and South. Newspapers have traditionally been published in print (usually on cheap, low-grade paper called newsprint). In the world of print journalism, the two main formats for newspapers are broadsheet and tabloid. Strictly speaking, these terms refer to the page sizes of such papers, but the different formats have distinct histories and associations. News article describes quickly to the reader the essentials of a current event: who, what, when, where, how and why. Among these elements, the emphasis will be different depending on the story. The purpose of a new story is to inform. It should be noted, however, that the role of the straight news story. News features are longer, more analytic, and raise more complex issues than a simple news story can and should. Editorials are believed to be the heart and soul of the newspapers.

The credibility of newspapers still remains unchallenged despite the changing face of media. They are considered to be a poor man's university. The newspaper has still many aspects to be delved deeply to understand, how the one most credible media channel runs balancing between commerce, ideology and their vision. The underlying reason pursuing the research is that each newspaper is unique in its ideology, vision and approach towards any issue which makes news. It will be interesting study to uncover the angles and shades painted on the different newspaper canvas. There is a need of understanding the contribution of newspapers while reporting the issue of abrogation of Article 370 till the DDC elections in Kashmir to develop a better insight on how the two events have been framed. Also, whether the tone has changed post DDC elections or has remained the same. The finding of the study will facilitate in advancing the existing knowledge on political communication.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

Each and every newspaper is incomplete without the editorial section. Here the editor not only shares his or her view but also criticize and appreciate the ongoing topics. Editorial is light in nature they should be interesting, full of thought evoking and debatable at the same time. It is said to be the window or reflection of newspapers news policies meaning if an editor is writing an article or editorial, it is generally assumed that it is the view of the news publishing house. They are attractive in nature. They are thought-provoking and raise questions in mind of those who read it. It displays the values and policies of a newspaper. The abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution was a temporary Article in the context of special status to only Jammu & Kashmir State in India. Constitutionally, it was valid or not valid since a long time. This is a constitutional matter. The BJP ruling Central Government of India had removed Article 370 of the Indian Constitution on 5th August, 2019, which used to give special status to Jammu & Kashmir. For this, Home Minister Amit Shah presented a resolution to abrogate Article 370 in the Rajya Sabha. After some time, the notification with the President of India's approval was also issued. This cleared the way for implementation of the Constitution of India in Jammu & Kashmir also. In this context, many newspapers' editorials and articles published and debate conducted on TV channels. Under the Constitution of India, an amendment can only made by virtue of Article 370(1) it gives the power to the President of India that nullify the Article anytime but only could have done in concurrence with recommendation of State Governor of Jammu & Kashmir. The role of media to highlight information and priming of a topic and omission of others according to the needs of the newspaper, and the philosophy of the paper, relevance of the issue to the nation and issue which is of interest to masses.

Media has an impact on how masses perceive an issue is also testified by the newspaper and its editorial as editorial is also called 'Leader' of the newspaper which depicts the opinion of the newspaper on any social, political, economic or current issue or any event happening across the world. The opinions of the editorials of the newspapers are followed by the readers to shape the opinions, ideas and thoughts on any issue and readers also evaluate the opinions of the editorials written by the editors. So newspapers make issues more important by giving them space in their newspapers in the form of news, article and editorial but editorial is considered more crucial as it is the opinion of the editor and newspaper's ideology also.

The apex court of India unanimously upheld the abrogation of Article 370 by the BJP ruling Central Government of India. The newspapers such as The Hindu, The Times of India, The Tribune, The Indian Express, The New Indian Express, Hindustan Times and other local newspapers of Jammu & Kashmir published versions of the same opinion of the Prime Minister Narendra Modi while lauding the decision to abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution on 5th August, 2019 and Supreme Court of India upheld this decision of abrogate Article 370 on 11th December, 2019 for India's integration, and constitutional integration towards one India, best India, and future of the Jammu & Kashmir. The decision of BJP ruling Government of India to abrogate Article 370 was challenged by opposition political parties of India mostly Indian National Congress and some local political leaders of Jammu & Kashmir in Supreme Court of India. After long hearing of sixteen days in the five-judge- constitutional-bench headed by Chief Justice of India of Supreme Court of India, the verdict of apex court of India upheld BJP Government's decision to abrogate Article 370 which was took on 5th August, 2019. Modi wrote that the Supreme Court of India had reinforced this spirit of 'One India, Best India/ *Ek Bharat*, *Shrestha Bharat*' so that every child in Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh is born with a clean canvas. Of these mainstream English newspapers, many newspapers of India kept Prime Minister Narendra Modi's article on Op-ed page just one page or half page of the newspaper and compared and analyzed the meaning of Prime Minister Modi's article after the verdict of Supreme Court of India in favor of the Government of India's decision to abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

Balu G. Nair, (2019, December, 11) wrote his research article entitled 'Abrogation of Article 370: Can the President act without the recommendations of the constituent assembly' in Indian Law Review journal. But the researcher could not clarify the power of the Indian President regarding any State of India mostly Jammu & Kashmir and other laws.

Virag Gupta (2019) a constitutional affairs expert and Supreme Court lawyer says that the decision of Government of India to abrogate Article 370 is not considered unconstitutionally because under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, the President of India has the power to take decisions and Issue Orders for Jammu & Kashmir. Except the provision which gives this power to the President of India, the rest of the clauses have been made ineffective. He mentioned more that after the merger of Jammu & Kashmir region with India, Article 370 was added to the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Under this, Jammu & Kashmir got the status of a special State and some privileges. That is the Central Government could interfere in the State of Jammu & Kashmir only in matters related to defense, foreign affairs and communications. Many laws passed by the Indian Parliament were not applicable in Jammu & Kashmir State. Article 35 A was added under this Article 370 itself due to which the people of Jammu & Kashmir State were given some privileges. The Jammu & Kashmir State could not be reorganized while Article 370 was in force. The law expert Virag Gupta interpreted in detail that Article 370 was implemented only through legal process and it was abrogated in this legal process. However, Article 370 has not been completely abolished, rather using the powers given to the President of India under Clause 3 of this Article 370, the Central Government of India has issued a notification through President of India. According to this notification, now the Constitution of India will be applicable in Jammu & Kashmir also and all the special status and privileges given to Jammu & Kashmir under Article 370 will end. Virag Gupta explains that whenever any policy decision is taken and if the Parliament Session is going on then it is necessary to inform it to the Parliament. Since the President of India has issued the Order there will be no voting on it. It has come into force with the signature of the President of India. Clause 3 of Article 370 says that the President of India can issue a notification regarding Jammu & Kashmir. The recommendation of the State Assembly is necessary for this notification. Since President's rule was in force in the State Jammu & Kashmir, the President of India had signed the Order on the recommendation of the Central Government of India.

Rajendra P. Misra (2022, December, 23) also published his research article entitled '**Discursive Construction of Indian Nation: Examining Indian Newspapers Editorials on Abrogation of Article 370**' in Journalism Practice journal of Taylor & Francis that Indian major newspapers of India's editorial opinion was same to Central Government of India's decision of abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution for constitutional

integration, passion of nationalism, one nation and one law & order, equal human rights for democratic set up, betterment of Jammu & Kashmir, peace, unity, terrorism free Jammu & Kashmir, development and one constitution-one flag.

The Hindu newspaper (2023, December, 12) was spicy in one editorial. The title of this newspaper was “**Ominously anti-Federalist**”. This newspaper wrote that Supreme Court’s decision “not only represents judicial deference, but also a departure from the Court’s known stance on federalism, democratic norms and the sanctity of legal processes.” “The failure of the Court to adjudicate on whether the Constitution of India allows Jammu & Kashmir to be reorganizing into two Union Territories is a stunning example of judicial evasion. It is shocking that the Court chose not to adjudicate on a question that arose for the first time from the direct use of Article 3 of the Indian Constitution to decriminalize a State.” The Hindu newspaper also wrote that the Court’s upholding of separation of Ladakh is “an invitation to the Union of India to consider the creation of new Union Territories from parts of any State.” As a result, future governments at the Center can impose President’s rule to “do extraordinary things through its own parliamentary in a State can never do.”

The Tribune 2023, December, 12 published its editorial entitled ‘**SC Verdict on Article 370, Stage set for J&K polls, restoration of Statehood.**’ The Tribune newspaper wrote that Supreme Court of India has upheld the Centre’s 2019 decision to abrogate Article 370, which had bestowed special status on Jammu & Kashmir. The Supreme Court of India has also validated the government’s step to bifurcate the State into the Union Territories of Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh. The Tribune added more on behalf of the Supreme Court after verdict on the decision of abrogate Article 370 that the Central Government of India must not wait till 30 September, 2024 to hold the Assembly polls in Jammu & Kashmir and directed to restore Statehood of Jammu & Kashmir. This leading newspaper wrote “If the restoration of Statehood is done before the commencement of the electoral exercise, it will send out a positive message to various political parties and the voters. In recent years, the Central Government of India has been largely successful in bringing down the number of terror incidents in Jammu & Kashmir. Now, the fillip provided by Supreme Court of India verdict should spur the government to take more confidence-building measures to ensure long term peace and development in the State turned Union Territories.

The Telegraph in Kolkata (2023, December, 12) which did not publish Modi’s Op-ed, had an editorial that “hoped” the verdict “is not cited as a precedent by governments with brute electoral majorities to infringe upon India’s federal edifice that is under strain.” The editorial of this newspaper focused on challenges ahead for the BJP, writing its performance in polls in Jammu & Kashmir “could be a bellwether to gauge the people’s verdict on the matter.” Other challenges include “militancy is yet to be rooted out”, “even the Pandit community is said to be unhappy with the BJP’s failure to rehabilitate it”, and the delimitation exercise.

The Times of India’s (2023, December, 12) headlined its editorial ‘**Kashmir in Poll Position.**’ Editorial was almost a lattice: what the Supreme Court said where it found fault, and its recommendations. Security in Jammu & Kashmir has improved since 2019. But terrorists have changed tactics. The Times of India wrote that the number of civilians killed through targeted terror attacks has increased substantially since 2016. The only durable solution is restoration of the political process via early elections. India’s successful counterinsurgencies have always been capped by a political process that brought about integration.

Hindustan Times’ (2023, December, 12) editorial headlined “**For Kashmir, life after Article 370**”, wrote the verdict “should, hopefully, ensure closure in the challenge to the status of Jammu & Kashmir within the Indian Union.” “The Supreme Court’s endorsement of the Centre’s repeal of Article 370 removes a cloud over Jammu & Kashmir’s relations with the Union of India and holds out the message to various stakeholders to accept the new paradigm and move on.” The challenge now is to restore the democratic process, statehood, and hand over the administration to an elected government in Jammu & Kashmir. The political mainstream in Jammu & Kashmir and New Delhi should not ignore this opportunity, Hindustan Times’ editorial added.

Deccan Herald (2023, December, 12) wrote ‘**The SC verdict will give a major political boost to the government**’, which sees removing the special status of Jammu & Kashmir as one of its prime ideological planks.” The challenge for the opposition will be “framing a united and coherent response.”

The Indian Express (2023, December, 12) wrote in its editorial page under title ‘**Supreme Court’s Article 370 Verdict: The Seal of Approval**’. It described the decision on abrogate Article 370 as an affirmation of the place of “Jammu & Kashmir” in the federal politics of the country. The Indian Express wrote that the Supreme Court’s “insistence on resuming democratic processes in Jammu & Kashmir should not go in vain for the government.” For the same reason, the major political parties of the erstwhile State, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), National Conference and Indian National Congress, should abandon their defeatist approach regarding abrogation of Article 370. “They should recognize that the clock cannot be turned back.” It only criticized the Supreme Court of India’s interpretation of Article 356 as going against the spirit of the SR Bommai verdict: It hurts the checks and balances in Center-State relations and, but, the Supreme Court of India clarified or fine-tuned this on 11th December, 2023 after hearing the decision to abrogate Article 370 by Central Government of India. The Indian Express headlined its editorial ‘**PM: Historic Verdict, Resounding Declaration of Hope, and Progress for J&K.**’ Newspaper Indian Express made its editorial on behalf of the Prime Minister Modi on the verdict of Supreme Court of India on abrogate Article 370 that “Profound wisdom has fortified the very essence of unity that we, as Indians, hold dear and cherish above all else.” The newspaper added more that Supreme Court of India’s verdict on abrogate Article 370 has proved the decision to abrogate this Article was completely constitutionally. The newspaper quoted one more comment of Prime Minister Modi, “After the scrapping of Article 370, the rights of the poor and deprived section of the society has been restored, and separatism and stone pelting are now things of the past. The whole region of Jammu & Kashmir now echoes with melodious music and cultural tourism. The bonds of unity have strengthened, and integrity with India stand reinforced.”

The Supreme Court of India gave its imprimatur to Jammu & Kashmir’s changed position in the Indian Republic, a result of the abrogation of Article 370 on August 5, 2019. It upheld the decision to repeal J&K’s special status. In doing so, the five judge- constitutional-bench headed by Chief Justice D.Y. Chandrachud clarified that Article 370 was intended as a ‘transitional’ arrangement – the bench referred ‘to the placement of the Article in Part XXI of the Constitution which deals with temporary provisions.’

'Integration', in fact, is a running theme in the verdict. The next steps, it has underlined- the directive to the BJP leading Central Government of India to give urgency to restoring Statehood and to the Election Commission to conduct polls in Jammu & Kashmir by September 30, 2024.

Dainik Jagaran (2023, December, 12) Hindi newspaper's editorial headlined "**Another Historical Day**" (*Ek Aur Aitihāsik Din*). This Hindi newspaper added that after the Supreme Court's verdict on Article 370, the path to its restoration is closed. The exodus of millions of Kashmiri Hindus due to atrocities and repression in Kashmir in the last four decades and the way they were forced to become refugees in their own nation is a tragedy that should not be forgotten. It is good that the Supreme Court of India directed to set up a truth and Reconciliation Commission on the lines of South Africa to heal the wounds of the people.

Business Standard (2023, December, 12) newspaper's editorial wrote from the desk of the verdict of Supreme Court of India on the decision of abrogate Article 370 and headlined '**After Removal of Article 370 from Jammu & Kashmir**' that the judges said that first of all, the separate Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir has no contribution in the State getting special status within India. Four years after the Central Government of India abolished the special constitutional status of the erstwhile Jammu & Kashmir province, the Supreme Court of India has also confirmed the constitutionality of this step. "Article 370 was always a temporary provision, even though it is mentioned in the Indian Constitution. The ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) at the Center has achieved a symbolic victory in the implementation of one of its historic agendas. But the questions raised on its methodology will remain. If those questions are to be resolved, more inclusive and cautious politics will be required from the Central Government."

Navbharat Times (2023, December, 12) the Hindi newspaper headlined its editorial such as '**Leave the Things of Yesterday**'/ '**Chodo Kal Ki baaten**'. In the editorial, the Navbharat Times interpreted that the Supreme Court of India gave its verdict on the decision of abrogate Article 370, with this decision, the special status of Jammu & Kashmir has been abolished. The verdict of Supreme Court of India proved that Article 370 was a temporary provision in the Indian Constitution and Jammu & Kashmir had no right to internal sovereignty and there is no malice behind abolishing this special provision. "The entire process is legal and constitutional. After this decision of the Supreme Court of India, there is neither scope nor need to take this dispute further."

Jansata (2023, December, 12) the Hindi newspaper headlined its editorial, '**The Opposition Parties of Jammu & Kashmir did not like the Decision of the Supreme Court, Know why Karan Singh appreciated it.**' The Jansata newspapers added two sub-editorials in its editorial such as 'Those political parties which are not accepting, sooner or later they will also have to accept. Making it a political issue created many hurdles in abrogating Article 370.' Karan Singh is the son of the Raja Hari Singh, under whose rule Jammu & Kashmir merged with Republic of India was given special status under Article 370. Karan Singh also appreciated the decision of abrogate Article 370. "The Supreme Court of India has justified the decision of the Central Government of India to end the special status of Jammu & Kashmir." The editorial of this newspaper added more "Democracy has been disrupted in Jammu & Kashmir for a long time, with elections taking place there and it getting Statehood, the situation will be achieved in increasing the confidence of the people there towards democratic values. Naturally, in this way extremist activities can also be curbed."

Punjab Kesari (2023, December, 12) wrote from its national news desk cum editorial, '**Supreme' decision on Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir, removing Article 370 is right: SC.**' A major decision of the Supreme Court of India came on the petitions seeking removal of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir. In fact, the five-judge Constitution Bench of Supreme Court of India has given its 'Supreme' verdict on the petitions challenging the removal of Article 370. The newspaper wrote on behalf of the Chief Justice of India that Jammu & Kashmir is an integral part of India. In such a situation, it is not appropriate to question the Centre's decision. The Chief Justice Chandrachud has declared this decision taken by the President of India as valid and every decision taken by the Central Government of India on behalf of the State is not subject to challenge. This will create anarchy and uncertainty and the administration of the State will come to a standstill. "The decision to abrogate Article 370 was for constitutional integration with the Union of India so removing Article 370 is constitutionally correct and this decision will remain intact. The President of India has the authority to take decisions."

Rising Kashmir (2023, December, 12) the local newspaper of Kashmir published headlined '**Locals Hail Supreme Court's Verdict on Article 370.**' This newspaper wrote as the Supreme Court of India affirmed the constitutionality of the scrapping of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution in Jammu & Kashmir, the verdict of Supreme Court elicited widespread support from the locals of Jammu & Kashmir. Added more, the Rising Kashmir wrote, "Residents of Jammu & Kashmir stated that the Supreme Court of India's verdict aligns with the will of the masses and reflects their aspirations. Next, beyond the legal intricacies, locals of Jammu & Kashmir asserted that the Supreme Court of India has not only ratified the government of India's move but, more fundamentally, has recognized and validated the collective will of the masses."

Greater Kashmir (2023, December, 12) another newspaper of Jammu & Kashmir published its headline '**SC Declares Article 370 Abrogation Constitutionally Valid.**' This newspaper wrote that Supreme Court of India upheld the Union Government's decision to scrap Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which used to give special status to Jammu & Kashmir and added that every decision taken by the Central Government of India on behalf of a State cannot be subject to a legal challenge. Next, this newspaper wrote on behalf of the Supreme Court of India that "It has held that Article 370 was a temporary provision."

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

The objectives are guidelines of the research work. The following objectives will be defining the paper's attempt to unfold the vision of The Times of India, The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers in respect to the Abrogation of Article 370 and DDC elections.

(1) To analyse the content of the thirteen newspapers' editorial opinions on Supreme Court's verdict on the decision of BJP ruling Government of India to abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution regarding the special status of Jammu & Kashmir.

(2) To compare the tone of editorials of the newspapers published on Supreme Court of India's verdict on the decision of abrogation of Article 370, positive & negative reactions of editorials and future challenges of Jammu & Kashmir of abrogate Article 370.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY:

(1) The editorial opinions of mainstream or national newspapers of India including Jammu & Kashmir will be in support of Supreme Court of India's verdict on the decision of BJP ruling Government of India to abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution for the peace, unity, constitutional integration, nationalism, development and better future of Jammu & Kashmir.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

Qualitative content analysis is a research methodology widely used in mass communication and social studies. A research technique of objective, systematic and uncovers codes, patterns, themes and bring out latent and manifest meaning. It helps in better understanding of underlying messages an amalgam of inductive and deductive process can be applied to do a qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is of two types – conceptual content analysis and relational content analysis. The conceptual concept analysis is also known as thematic analysis. A concept is chosen for examination and analysis involves quantifying and tallying its presence. Relational content analysis begins with act of identifying concept present in a given text or set of texts of the editorials of the newspapers. Relational content analysis is termed as semantic analysis.

Research Design:

The sample of 14 Indian leading English & Hindi newspapers' published editorials of 12 December, 2023 has been taken for qualitative content analysis. 15 editorials of these leading newspapers of India and two main local English newspapers of Jammu & Kashmir have also been subsumed. These newspapers are leading newspapers of India and large population of India read these newspapers. The newspapers' editorial detail is prescribed in the following table. The research method employed is qualitative content analysis.

Table-1. Editorials for Analysis

S.NO	Name of the News paper	Period of the publication	Number of Editorials
1.	The Hindu	12 December, 2023	01
2.	The Telegraph	12 December, 2023	01
3.	The Times of India	12 December, 2023	01
4.	Hindustan Times	12 December, 2023	01
5.	Deccan Herald	12 December, 2023	01
6.	The Indian Express	12 December, 2023	02
7	Dainik Jagaran	12 December, 2023	01
8	Business Standard	12 December, 2023	01
9	Navbharat Times	12 December, 2023	01
10.	Jansata	12 December, 2023	01
11.	Punjab Kesari	12 December, 2023	01
12.	Rising Kashmir	12 December, 2023	01
13.	Greater Kashmir	12 December, 2023	01
14	The Tribune	12 December, 2023	01

Content analysis is distinguished from other kinds of social science research in that it does not require collection of data from people like documentary, content analysis is the study of recorded information which has been recorded in text, media or physical items. It is a research technique for objective, systematic and qualitative description of the manifest content of communication. The use of qualitative data editorials is made in the research paper.

Data and Measures:

The parameters of judging a qualitative data set are all the editorials published in the newspapers on Supreme Court of India's verdict, which was held on 11th December, 2023 as it was challenged in Supreme Court of India by opposition political parties and some local leaders of Jammu & Kashmir, on the decision of Government of India on the abrogation of Article 370 as secondary data for research study. The contents of the national leading newspapers' editorials and editorials of two main newspapers of Jammu & Kashmir published on 12 December, 2023 comparatively analyzed their views and thoughts on Supreme Court of India's verdict on the decision of Central Government of India to abrogate Article 370 on 5th August, 2019.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS:

Table 2. Tone of Editorials on Supreme Court's verdict on the decision of Govt. of India to Abrogation of Article 370

Name of the paper (total number of Editorials on SC's verdict on the decision of Abrogation of Article 370)	Negative (The editorials against the abrogation of Article 370)	Positive (The editorials in favor of abrogation of Article 370)	Neutral (The editorials which have a balanced viewpoint)
The Hindu	01	00	00
The Telegraph	00	01	01
The Times of India	00	01	01
Hindustan Times	00	01	01
Deccan Herald	00	01	01
The Indian Express	00	01	01
Dainik Jagaran	00	01	01
Business Standard	00	01	01
Navbharat Times	00	01	01
Jansata	00	01	01
Punjab Kesari	00	01	01
Rising Kashmir	00	01	01
Greater Kashmir	00	01	01
The Tribune	00	01	01
Total=14	14	13	01

Analysis of Findings:

The only Hindu newspaper of India interpreted negative opinion in its editorial on Supreme Court's verdict on the decision of Government of India to abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution in the context of special status to Jammu & Kashmir state. The Hindu raised many spicy questions on the constitutional process; federalism, democratic norms, two Union Territories of Jammu & Kashmir State and wrong process of abrogate Article 370. The Hindu newspaper also interpreted that abrogation of Article 370 will uproot terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir. Out of thirteen editorials of different leading newspapers English, Hindi and local main newspapers of Jammu & Kashmir are positive towards the Government of India's stand on abrogation of Article 370 and Supreme Court of India's verdict on abrogate Article 370 as a right decision of the Government of India. However these newspapers' editorials remained neutral, balanced and positive on the decision of abrogate Article 370 and gave place to the verdict of Supreme Court of India on the decision of abrogate Article for the integration, unity, peace, progress and human rights of the deprived masses, but the editorials of these newspapers raised many questions on the future and challenges of the Jammu & Kashmir to take Jammu & Kashmir towards the right path. Most of the Indian newspapers covered Supreme Court of India's verdict on the decision of abrogate Article 370 and in this context, maximum newspapers gave place to the editorial article of the Prime Minister Modi in their Op-ed pages of the newspapers.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION:

The comprehensive study of the major Indian newspapers' editorials and for balancing justify the two newspapers of Jammu & Kashmir bring out that maximum coverage on Supreme Court of India's verdict on the decision of Government of India to the abrogation of Article 370 has been done by The Hindu, The Tribune, The Telegraph, The Times of India, Hindustan Times, Deccan Herald, The Indian Express, Dainik Jagaran, Business Standard, Navbharat Times, Jansata, Punjab Kesari and two main local newspapers- Rising Kashmir and Greater Kashmir of Jammu & Kashmir. The Hindu newspaper despite its leftist inclination has highest number editorials which are in disfavor of the abrogation of Article 370 and it is not happy with the verdict of the Supreme Court of India on the decision of Government of India to abrogate Article 370. The other newspapers are moreover balanced by publishing editorials in favor of abrogate Article 370 and Supreme Court's verdict on the decision of abrogate Article 370. In the detailed study these newspapers' editorials seemed to be most objective and neutral in their framing of editorials as compared to The Hindu newspaper. The analysis of these fourteen newspapers reveals that maximum editorials have been published in these newspapers on the verdict of the Supreme Court of India on

Government of India's decision to abrogate Article 370 of the Indian Constitution regarding special status of Jammu & Kashmir. The study revealed that constitutional decisions are taken through constitutional process and on the basis of facts for justify the truth and for the interests of the masses but not for the political interests or support any anti-ideology against the integration of democratic nation. These editorials also followed the verdict of the Supreme Court of India in favor of the Government of India to abrogate Article 370.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY:

The impact of newspapers' editorials on any policy, issue formulation is one which needs to constantly analyzed where the mass media has the power to influence the opinion of the masses and policy makers in a democratic set up towards the values of real democracy for the service of the masses but on the issues of nationalism, national integration and constitutional integration, unity, peace, human rights and equal human rights, media should serve the interests of nationalism and respect the law of their nation for the welfare of the masses and on such issues media should not work on political interests or support anti-nation ideology. If there is wrong with the interests of the masses by policy makers, media should criticize the policy neutrally.

References:

1. Editorial, Punjab Kesari (2023, December, 12). *Supreme' decision on Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir, removing Article 370 is right: SC*. Retrieved from <https://www.punjabkesari.com>.
2. Editorial, Rising Kashmir (2023, December, 12). *Locals Hail Supreme Court's Verdict on Article 370*. Retrieved from <https://www.risingkashmir.com>.
3. Editorial, Greater Kashmir (2023, December, 12). *SC Declares Article 370 Abrogation Constitutionally Valid*. Retrieved from <https://www.greaterkashmir.com>.
4. Editorial, The Tribune (2023, December, 12). *SC Verdict on Article 370, Stage set for J&K polls, restoration of Statehood*. Retrieved from <https://www.tribune.com>.
5. Editorial, The Times of India (2023, December, 12). *Kashmir in Poll Position*. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimesofindia.com>.
6. Editorial, Deccan Herald (2023, December, 12). *The SC verdict will give a major political boost to the government*. Retrieved from <https://www.deccanherald.com>.
7. Editorial, The Indian Express (2023, December, 12). *Supreme Court's Article 370 Verdict: The Seal of Approval*. Retrieved from <https://www.theindianexpress.com>.
8. Editorial, Hindustan Times' (2023, December, 12). *For Kashmir, life after Article 370*. <https://www.hindustantimes.com>.
9. Editorial, The Indian Express (2023, December, 12). *PM: Historic Verdict, Resounding Declaration of Hope, and Progress for J&K*. Retrieved from <https://www.theindianexpress.com>.
10. Editorial, Business Standard (2023, December, 12). *After Removal of Article 370 from Jammu & Kashmir*. Retrieved from <https://www.businessstandard.com>.
11. Editorial, Navbharat Times (2023, December, 12). *Leave the Things of Yesterday/ Chodo Kal Ki baaten*. Retrieved from <https://www.navbharattimes.com>.
12. Editorial, Jansata (2023, December, 12). *The Opposition Parties of Jammu & Kashmir did not like the Decision of the Supreme Court, Know why Karan Singh appreciated it*. Retrieved from <https://www.jansata.com>.
13. Editorial, The Hindu (2023, December, 12). *Ominous, anti-federal*. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com>.
14. Editorial, The Hindu (2023, December, 12). *The Supreme Court's JK verdict has imperiled the rights of states*. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com>.
15. Editorial, Dainik Jagaran, (2023, December, 12). *Another More Historical Day/Ek Aur Aitihisik Din*. Retrieved from <https://www.dainikjagran.com>.
16. Gupta, Virag (2019). *The President has the power to give Orders regarding Article 370, hence the approval of the Parliament is not necessary./Rashtrpati ko Anuched 370 ke sanbandh mein aadesh dene ki shkti, isliye sansad ki manjuri jaruri nahin*. Retrieved from <https://www.dainikbhaskar.com>.
17. Kranti, Vijay (2023, December, 12). *Future Challenges in JK*. Retrieved from <https://www.amarujala.com>.
18. Misra, Rajendra P. (2022, December, 23). *Discursive Construction of Indian Nation: Examining Indian Newspapers Editorials on Abrogation of Article 370*. Journalism Practice. <https://doi.org/10.1080/7512786.2022.2155686>. Publisher: Taylor & Francis.
19. Mustafa, Faizan (2020, August,5), *Article 370 and territorial pluralism*. Retrieved from <https://www.theindianexpress.com>.

-
20. Nair, Balu G, (2019, December, 11). *Abrogation of Article 370: Can the president act without the recommendations of the constituent assembly?* Indian Law Review. Volume 3, 2019-Issue 3. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24730580.2019.1700592>. Publisher: Taylor & Francis.
21. Prakash, A Surya (2020, August,7). *Explained Ideas: Has abrogation of Article 370 & 35 (A) helped the people in J&K.* Retrieved from <https://www.theindianexpress.com>.
22. Rajagopal, Krishnadas (2019, August,5). *President's order scraps its predecessor and amends Article 370.* Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com>.
23. Shah, Sarjan (2019, August,12). *Consider the larger picture- Abrogation of Article 370, 35 A will help integrate the valley.* Retrieved from <https://www.theindianexpress.com>.
24. Singh, Shesh Narayan (2020, August,6), *Abrogation of Article 370 setting of Ram Mandir dispute signals new beginning.* Retrieved from <https://www.theindianexpress.com>.