

# GOVERNMENT PRESSURES ON THE PAKISTANI PRESS, 1958-1969

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## PREFACE

To study a press system, first, students need to understand the relationship between government and press. In a developing country, especially, there are many conflicts between government and press, since one has thought primarily of national freedom; but another has fought for his press freedom.

In a healthy democracy, these conflicts are not insuperable; yet to new nations—most having had colonial status, or lived under a dictatorship—after the rulers came to power, they reached the top and often abused their power. Freedom of the press has been an ideal, and national development, of course, was influenced badly.

The writer, in this paper, will examine the press in Pakistan, with special reference to government pressures, from 1958 to 1969.

There have been at least two books devoted to the subject. One of them is the IPI Survey, *Government Pres-*

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*suress on the Press* (1955); the period studied is from 1951 to 1955. It is probably the first systematic analysis in this field. Pakistan is one of the 44 countries and whole Middle East area. The second book is by the local author, Majid Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan* (1953), which has one chapter discussing freedom of the press from the colonial period to 1958.

This paper will consider materials from 1958 to 1969, and offer a descriptive analysis about government pressures on the press in Pakistan.

These eleven years constitute a crucial period for Pakistan since it became an independent nation in 1947. The socio-economic development brought many changes to the new country, particularly from the 1958 "peaceful revolution" to 1969, which saw the deterioration of the political situation which led general Ayub Khan to resign the presidency, one man had absolute power. This is, therefore, a report on the Pakistan press during Ayub's regime.

Most data and information are drawn from IPI's monthly *Report*, *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*, *Background Notes* of U.S. Department of State, and Government publications of Pakistan. However, the incompleteness and inconsistency often confused the writer. Although he has carefully checked the sources against each other it still is unsatisfactory, therefore, if there were different data, the writer will show where they come from in that particular information or in the footnotes.

## I. SOME FACTS ABOUT A NATION OF DUALITY

### *Land and People*

Pakistan is a geographically divided country with a total area of 365,529 square miles—roughly equivalent to the combined area of Texas and Colorado in the United States. The two sections of the country are divided by 1,000 air miles (about 3,000 miles by sea) on the shoulders of India and differ considerably in economy, terrain, climate, size and people. They have just one thing in common, most of the people are Muslim (about 88 per cent). The only minority group is Hindu (about 14 per cent of the population of East Pakistan).

West Pakistan is dry and hot near the coast but cool in the northeastern uplands. Average annual rainfall is less than 10 inches, and temperatures range from 30°F in winter to 120°F in summer.

East Pakistan receives one of the highest annual rainfalls in the world, averaging 85 inches throughout the province, and a maximum of about 250 inches in the northeast. Temperature averages 84°F year around.

West Pakistan's population is approximately 60 million,<sup>1</sup>

1. U.S. Department of State, "Islamic Republic of Pakistan," *Background Notes* (Washington D.C., July 1969), p. 1.

46 per cent of the national total. This gives it a population density of 196 per square mile. East Pakistan's population of 70 million, 54 percent of the national total is spread evenly throughout the province. Density is more than 1,269 persons per square mile, one of the highest in the world.

Urdu and Bengali are designated the official languages, but English is the principal medium of communication between the educated people of both sections and is an accepted language in commerce and government. Literacy in Pakistan is estimated at 16 percent.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Industry, Agriculture and Economic Development*

Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country. Rice, wheat, jute and cotton are the major crops, with jute and cotton serving as Pakistan's leading export crops. Although there is a real prospect of food grain self-sufficiency, the government estimates that there will be self-sufficiency by 1970,<sup>3</sup> seven years ago statistics showed that Pakistan's people were undernourished and very poor. Fifty percent of its people earn and live on eight cents a day. Seventy-five percent live on less than fourteen cents. This fourteen cents must provide two daily meals, clothing, shelter, and education.<sup>4</sup>

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

4. Abdus Salam, "Diseases of the Rich and Diseases of the Poor," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 515 (April 1963), p. 3.

Traditionally, Pakistan's most important natural resource is its land; agriculture accounts for almost 50 percent of its national income. The agricultural sector provides employment for three-quarters of the population and contributes more than two thirds of the country's exports.

During the 1940's, there was little organized industry in Pakistan, but a more rational approach to industrialization was adopted by the early 1960's; new plants based on available raw materials and others for which there was a ready market such as fertilizer were started.

Since 1955 Pakistan's economic development efforts have been formalized in a series of five-year plans. According to the U.S. Department of State's estimate, Pakistan's GNP at current prices jumped from \$8.5 billion in FY 1963 to \$ 10.1 billion in FY 1965. It also pointed out that "... there were a variety of reasons for the increases, but greater domestic political stability, the more pragmatic approach to development with greater emphasis on agriculture, and an effort to consolidate previous gains and to concentrate on the weak points in the economy were the most important. GNP in 1968 amounted to about \$12.5 billion."<sup>5</sup>

However, Pakistan has a long way to go to catch up with the economic level of the developed countries because it bears the usual burdens of a developing country—a large and

5. *Background Notes*, p. 5.

growing population, a rigid, highly stratified traditional society, a minimal level of literacy and other needed skills, an archaic educational system, a predominantly agricultural economy of primitively cultivated small farms; a yet inadequate infrastructure, and chronic balance-of-payments problems.

### *Political Development*

The idea of Pakistan as a separate Muslim nation to be created by a partition of India developed in the 1930's. In 1940, the Muslim League, led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, officially endorsed the goal of establishing Pakistan as a homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent.

At the end of World War II Great Britain took steps to grant India independence. The National Congress and the Muslim League were unable to agree, however, on the terms for drafting a constitution or on the method for establishing an interim government. The British Government declared in June 1947 that it would grant full dominion status to two successor states. Pakistan thus emerged on the map of the world on the 14th of August, 1947.

The death of Jinnah in 1948 and the assassination in 1951 of his political successor, Ali Khan, deprived Pakistan of its two most able leaders and dealt a serious blow to the nation's political development. The political instability which followed brought frequent partisan realignments and cabinet

changes in the central government and in the provinces. After 1954 the situation was aggravated by gradual economic deterioration.

For some years, Pakistan operated a parliamentary form of government through political parties, but this system ceased in 1958 after a group of senior military officers took control of the nation's affairs. On October 7, 1958, General Ayub Khan and other senior officers proclaimed a "peaceful revolution" embodying the imposition of martial law, abrogation of the constitution (which was adopted on March 23, 1956) dissolution of the central and provincial legislatures and abolition of all political parties.

Ayub was appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. He assumed the presidency with the resignation of Mirza on October 27, 1958.

Martial law was withdrawn on June 8, 1962, and the new National Assembly convened in accordance with a new Constitution promulgated by President Ayub on March 23, 1962.

The first presidential election under the new Constitution took place in January 1965, and Ayub was reelected for another 5-year term.

Because of four months of widespread disturbances in the nation,—opposing the constitution's indirect election pro-

cess, the executive-dominated federal system, and East Pakistan's belief that it had been under-represented in the central Government and denied its share of central Government resources—Ayub relinquished his office as President of Pakistan on March 25, 1969.

The Constitution of 1962 was suspended, and General A. M. Yahya Khan took over as Martial Law Administrator. And on April 1, 1969, he assumed office as President of Pakistan.

## II. THE PRESS IN PAKISTAN

### *Background*

The press of Pakistan is a direct descendant of the Muslim press of the pre-independence sub-continent. This goes back to 1823 when the first Urdu weekly was founded. Yet the first real Urdu "newspaper" was the *Urdu Akhbar* (Urdu Gazette) founded in 1836 by Muhammad Baqir. Other important Urdu newspapers making significant contributions to the development of the press were *Paisa Akhbar* (1887), and *Zamindar* (1903) which is still a prominent Pakistani newspaper.<sup>6</sup>

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6. Merrill, Bryan & Alisky, *The Foreign Press: A Survey of the World's Journalism*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1970), p. 267.

A few papers, like *Al-Hilal* (Calcutta), *Comrade* and *Al-Jamiat* (Delhi), and *Zamindar* (Lahore) enjoyed country-wide readership and influenced public opinion as far back as the mid-twenties. The Muslim press gained further importance in the thirties and forties when the Muslims organized themselves around a platform. The need for a strong press to advocate the Muslim cause led to the establishment of a number of papers such as *Azad*, *The Star*, *The Morning News* (all from Calcutta), *Dawn* (Delhi), *The Pakistan Times*, and *The Nawa-i-Waqt* (both from Lahore). These papers were all devoted to promoting the Muslim cause.<sup>7</sup>

### *Press Today*

Until roughly the 1950's the press development in Pakistan progressed in spite of many problems and setbacks it suffered in the new country. Newspapers now are far better produced and show greater professional competence.

Table 1 shows over one hundred dailies in publication during 1965. Most of them are in Urdu and Bengali followed by those in Sindhi, English, Gujrati and Pushto. A dozen of these may be called leading papers by virtue of the fact that they have large and stable readership, and therefore, a substantial following for their editorial policies. They are as follow:

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7. Government of Pakistan, *Twenty Years of Pakistan 1947-1967* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1967), p. 539.

Urdu: *Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt, Kohistan, Mashriq, and Imroze.*  
 Bengali: *Ittefaq, Azad, Dainik Pakistan, and Pasban.*  
 English: *Dawn, The Pakistan Times, The Morning News*  
*and The Pakistan Observer.*

Table 1  
 Numbers and Location of Pakistan Press

Press	Total	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Dailies	102	24	78
Biweeklies	17	6	11
Weeklies	335	78	257

Source: Press Information Department<sup>8</sup>

Among provincial or regional papers, the better known are *The Indus Times* (Hyderabad), *The Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), *Unity* (Chittagong), *Paigham* (Dacca). There are also three dailies with economic bias—*The Business Recorder* and *The Business Post*, both located in Karachi and *The Daily Business Report* (Urdu) from Lyallpur.

#### *Ownership and Working Conditions*

Theoretically, the Pakistani press is in private hands. However, there is a National Press Trust formed in 1964 with the participation of some individuals, for the purpose of raising the standards of journalism and editorial policy. The

8. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

Board of trustees contained a majority of members employed by government institutions. The chairman was appointed by the central government. And it has been favorable to the authorities and has been well supported by government advertising.<sup>9</sup> The Trust has a board of governors with a full-time chairman, and secretary. It now owns eleven publications, six of them published in English, Urdu and Bengali coming out of ten important cities in East and West Pakistan. These papers are: Dailies—*The Morning News*, *The Pakistan Times*, *Anjam*, *Inroze*, *Mashriq*, and *Dainik Pakistan*; periodicals—*Akhbar-e-Khawateen* and *Sporttimes*.

Other important groups owning more than one publication are: Pakistan Herald Publications Ltd, Nawa-i-Waqt Ltd, the Millat Group, the Jang Group, the Pakistan Observer Group, Unity Publication Ltd, and the Chronicle Group.

Almost all the material mentioned that newspapers in Pakistan are facing acute financial troubles. Nizami thought that this was part of the Pakistani press "old tradition" which goes back to the time before partition. After the birth of Pakistan, Nizami cited three reasons responsible for making the Pakistani press poor: 1. the absence of a proper business outlook; 2. the unsympathetic attitude of moneyed classes toward the newspapers; and 3. the lack of national

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9. E. Lloyd Sommerlad, *The Press in Developing Countries* (Sydney : Sydney University Press, 1966), p. 20.

advertising.<sup>10</sup>

Of course a poor press would lead to bad working conditions for journalists. Nizami also pointed out that an average Pakistani journalist had to work in almost sub-human conditions which brought him pre-mature old age, and consequently, a high death rate. No serious attempt has yet been made to improve working conditions in Pakistani newspapers.<sup>11</sup> Although the Ayub government promulgated the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) Ordinance on April 27, 1960, the situation still remained unsatisfactory. Salaries were meager and other facilities negligible and there was no security of service.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Relationship Between Press and Economic Development*

As to the circulation of newspapers, according to the *United Nations Statistical Yearbook* (1970), there is a total of 1,839,000 copies of the 95 dailies. In other words, there are 18 copies per 1,000 people. But this is the record of 1965 and since that year no new material is available.

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10. Majid Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan* (Lahore: University of the Panjab, 1958), pp. 28-29.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

12. Government of Pakistan, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

Table 2  
Development of Pakistani Dailies

	1954	1955	1960	1962	1964	1965
Daily Paper Number	79	80	99	100	88	95
Circulation Total	716,000	725,000	606,000	511,000	×	1,839,000
Per 1,000 Population	9	9	7	5	×	18

Source: *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*  
(from 1957 to 1970)

Table 2 can show us some significant data regarding Pakistani dailies, and the rate of growth of the Pakistani press, which is approximately 150 percent from 1954 to 1965. But it is worthwhile to note that there was no development from 1955 to 1962, and even in the circulation of 1964 we find no new information at all. The writer will try to interpret this later.

Another datum which can be used to estimate the press development is the newsprint consumption. Table 3 can give us a complete view about newsprint consumption in Pakistan. It also shows us that the rate of consumption increased 200 percent from 1958 to 1968. But this number included all printing and writing paper.

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Table 3  
Newsprint Consumption in Pakistan

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total (1,000 metric tons)	8.8	14.4	×	11.7	19.2	19.5	25.0	28.0	24.4	34.0	34.0
Per Capita (Kilogrammes)	0.1	0.2	×	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3

Source: *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*  
(from 1959 to 1969)

Most students of international communication probably agree with the theory that mass media development depends upon economic development; and economic development is stimulated by the mass media development. As a Unesco publication puts it: "Experience has shown that the development of these media stands in reciprocal relationship to economic development."<sup>13</sup> Comparing the press development, and its economic development in Pakistan, the theory is true.

Table 4 shows that the per capita national income at factor cost was \$62 in 1958, but in 1968, it had increased to \$121. The same data also points out that Pakistan's average annual rate of growth of real gross domestic product at factor cost was 2.5 percent in 1950-1960, and 5.6 percent in 1960-1968.<sup>14</sup>

13. Unesco, *Mass Media in the Developing Countries* (Paris: Unesco, Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No.33, 1961), p. 16.

14. *United Nations Statistical Yearbook* (1969), p.554.

**TABLE 4**

Estimates of Total and Per Capita National Income  
and Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost

U.S. Dollar

		1958	1963	1968
Total	National Income	5482	8069	13241
(Millions)	Gross Domestic Product	5889	8964	14203
Per Capita	National Income	62	82	121
(Dollars)	Gross Domestic Product	66	88	130

Source: *United Nations Statistical Yearbook* (1969)

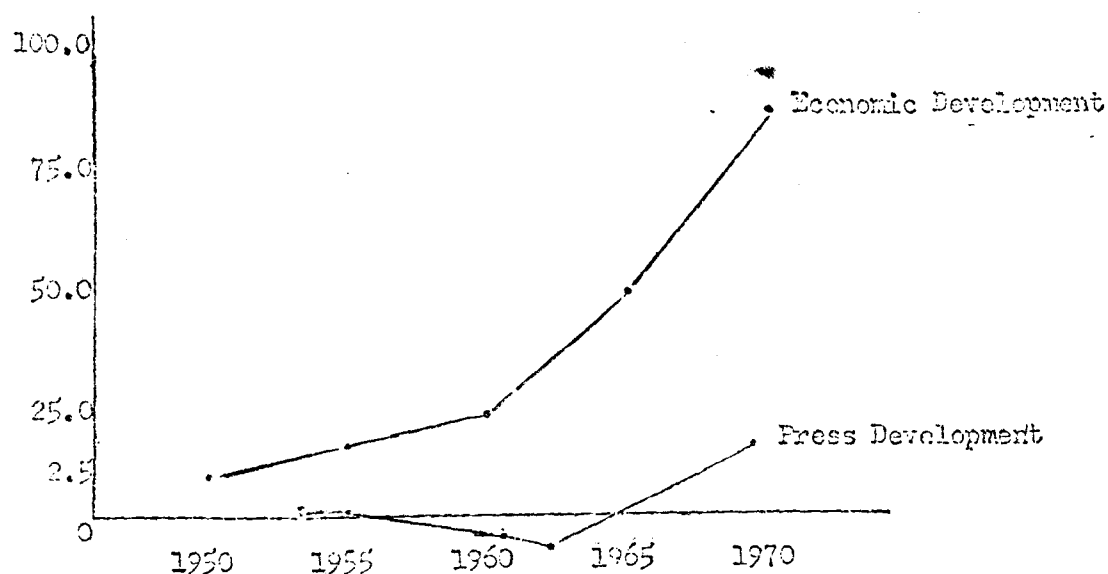
According to this data we can make a comparison between the press and economic development in Pakistan. Table 5 shows that generally there is a positive correlation between them, Yet the table indicates there is a negative correlation from 1955 to 1962; in other words, during that period the press development did not increase positively as the development of Pakistan's economy did. Therefore, there must have been several factors which prevented the progress of the press. The next chapter may give us the answer. The writer believes that Pakistan is not the only example; the same situation has appeared in many developing countries.

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**TABLE 5**

**Comparison Between the Press and  
Economic Development in Pakistan**

Rates of Growth (%)



Source: *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*  
(from 1959 to 1970) (see Table 2 & 4)

**III. PRESS AND GOVERNMENT**

*History of Press Law*

Theoretically, most countries in the world have accepted "Freedom of the Press" as an undisputed right of the press, but the provision of certain press laws has also been considered essential to regulating the publication of newspapers. In some colonial and developing countries, the press laws have been especially oriented toward perpetuating the power of the

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rulers and maintaining their regimes. In Pakistan, Great Britain left behind the tradition which its own people rejected and was abolished in the eighteenth century.

The first press law of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was the Press and Registration of Book Act, 1867, which laid down the procedure for taking out newspapers and provided various penalties if these rules were contravened. The second important regulation was contained in the Indian Press Act of 1910. This act was intended to "provide for the better control of the press." This Act introduced the system of the demand for securities in case of violations of the press law, and for new declarations. The Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931, further supplemented the provisions relating to the forfeiture of securities and of press and copies of newspapers, but simultaneously empowered the High Courts to set aside, after the hearing of the application by a special bench, the orders of forfeiture passed under the Act.

The Defense of India Act, passed in 1940 during the course of World War II, proved the beginning of the so-called "Black Law."<sup>15</sup> Persons detained without trial under the above act, up to 1943, sought relief under the Habeas Corpus Act, but an ordinance promulgated by the Viceroy placed the hearing of such petitions outside the jurisdiction of the High Courts. Thus, while the act transferred a most vital privilege of Parliament to the Executive, this ordinance transferred to the

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15 Nizami, *op. cit.*, p.52.

latter an equally vital privilege of the judiciary.

Before the partition, the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance was promulgated in 1946, in spite of strong opposition from the Muslim League. The first victim of the Act was the daily *Zamindar* of Lahore, which was asked to deposit a security of Rs. 10,000.

### *Public Safety Act*

After partition the Pakistan Public Safety Act was brought into being, and in 1949 the West Punjab Safety Act came into being.

According to Section 6 of the Punjab Public Safety Act, the government can prohibit the printing or publication in any document relating to a particular subject; require that any matter be published in any particular issue or issues of a newspaper or periodical; require that any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects shall, before publication, be submitted for scrutiny; and prohibit, for a specified period, the publication of any newspaper..... There are similar provisions in the Pakistan Public Safety Act.<sup>16</sup>

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In 1952 the Security of Pakistan Act was put into action. This was followed in 1955 by the extension to the press of

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16 *Ibid.*, p.54.

the Official Services Secrets Act 1923. The former Act empowered the government to require and also force the newspaper, if necessary, to disclose the source of its news.

Before the 1958 revolution these laws were regarded by the IPI Survey of 1955 as being very dangerous to the press, because:<sup>17</sup>

1. The government is the sole judge of what is prejudicial to the defense and security of Pakistan, and to its relations with foreign states.

2. It may order the seizure of an issue of a paper infringing the law and search its offices; it may also temporarily suspend publication of a paper or submit it to censorship.

3. It may require the editor of a paper to disclose his sources.

4. The accused has no right of appeal and cannot be released on bail except at one stage of the hearing.

#### *Press & Publications Ordinance*

When General Ayub came to power in 1958, the Martial

17 IPI, *Government Pressures of the Press* (Zurich: IPI Survey No. IV, 1955), p.15.

Law and many ordinances of central and local government were added and applied to the press.

On September 28, 1958, the government appointed a five-men Press Commission, led by H. B. Tyabji, ex-Chief Judge, Chief Court of Sind, to enquire into the "present" state of the press in Pakistan and its future lines of development including: "to examine and report on the laws regulating the Press in Pakistan, and in the light of similar laws and administrative practices prevailing in other democratic countries and bearing in mind the special conditions of Pakistan, to make such recommendations as may be necessary for the amendment, revision or consolidation of these laws. . . ."18

The report of the Commission was submitted on April 4, 1959. In accordance with the Commission's recommendation, the new consolidated Press and Publications Ordinance was promulgated on April 26, 1960. The Ordinance prohibited the executive authority from demanding a security deposit from a newspaper, or a printing press, or confiscation of a deposit previously made, without the express sanctions of the judiciary. The ordinance was later amended in 1963 and subsequently replaced by a new one. This Ordinance was further amended on November 29, 1964, and brought more into line with the commission's recommendations. Nevertheless, the new Ordinance resulted in further restrictions.

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18 Government of Pakistan, *op. cit.*, pp.715-16.

Of course, the press in Pakistan stoutly resisted this ordinance, which also forbade foreign ownership of papers, and provided power of closure for a variety of contraventions.<sup>19</sup>

### *Government Pressures and Actions*

In the 1955 IPI Survey government pressures were divided in two categories. The first analyzed pressures based on the law, the second those of an economic, administrative or purely political nature. It found, most measures adopted by other countries were also adopted by the Pakistani Government. These include security laws, penal codes, criminal procedures, discriminatory security deposits, discrimination affecting news-print, distribution of government advertising, restriction of the right to publish, access to official sources, discriminatory practices, semi-official censorship, and pressures due to the political climate.

The writer will now undertake to connect the government pressures with their actions, such as censorship, restriction on the right to report, discriminatory security deposits, arrest and detention, ban of publication or removal of owner, withdrawal of government advertisement, ban of journalists' travel, pressures on the flow of news... etc. to interpret the relation between the press and the Government of Pakistan.

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----Censorship

19 Sommerlad, *op. cit.*, p.19.

After Ayub gained control of the country, following the abrogation of the Constitution and the imposition of martial law throughout the country on October 7, 1958, all foreign news reports and local news copy were subjected to censorship. Before the ban was lifted, on October 15th, all comment or reports on the measures taken to control the country were subjected to censorship under penalty of heavy fine and/ or imprisonment.<sup>20</sup>

Then, in the later part of 1958, an ordinance “to ensure public safety and order”, proclaimed in Dacca, enabled the East Pakistani Government to censor newspapers and ban their publication.<sup>21</sup>

On April 7, 1961, the Karachi Authorities clamped pre-censorship on the publication of news reports, comments, cartoons and photos relating to the strike of students of Karachi University and Colleges in the city. It is said, the action was taken under the Security of Pakistan Act.<sup>22</sup>

In April, 1964, the East Pakistani Government imposed a 30-day press censorship throughout the province during a period of student demonstrations.<sup>23</sup>

20 *IPI Report*, 7:7 (November 1958), 11.

21 *IPI Report*, 7:9 (January 1959), 10.

22 *IPI Report*, 10:1 (May 1961), 13.

23 *IPI Report*, 13:1 (May 1964), 9.

## —Restriction on the Right to Report

The purpose of censorship is to restrict the right of reporting and the right to be informed. As in many countries Pakistan added certain new offenses to the existing press acts for the reason of order and moral. Some of them were obscene and scurrilous writings, attacks on heads of foreign states, and receipt of subsidies from abroad;<sup>24</sup> this action strengthened the control of political affairs in August, 1959.

Editors in Pakistan were working under a double gag which prevented them from reporting either political debates or accidents involving the armed forces. This is the result of two orders issued by the Martial Law Regime in August, 1959.<sup>25</sup> One order issued by the Ministry of the Interior at Rawalpindi banned the publication of views on the future constitution of the country by any organization. Such publication was said to constitute "violation of laws of in force at present in Pakistan." The second order was issued from the office of the Chief Martial Law Administrator, G.H.Q. Rawalpindi, warning all newspapers and news agencies of Pakistan not to publish any news pertaining to the armed forces and its personnel. The press note said, "some news items appearing in the press lately about the armed forces of the country were based on false information."

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24 *IPI Report*, 8:5 (September 1959), 13,

25 *IPI Report*, 9:6 (October 1960), 11.

On September 2, 1962, an ordinance promulgated by the Government of West Pakistan put serious restrictions on the handling of court, parliamentary and government information by the Press. According to the Lahore correspondent of UPI, newspapers were ordered to publish only "officially authorized proceedings" of the courts and of national and provincial assemblies. These "certifying authorities" may order "any printer or editor to print or publish the entire authorized version" of such proceedings or of "all Press notes and handouts" issued by central or provincial governments. And the certifying authorities also may order a newspaper to "print or publish certain names or not to print or publish any such names."

As *The Guardian* put it, "sounds like *Izvestia*," and it also commented: "Pakistan's new rules for the press are a bureaucrat's dream . . . ." Fortunately, Ayub Khan, after meeting with newspaper editors on September 10, suspended the press curb ordinance.<sup>26</sup>

Yet, according to the Karachi correspondent of the London *Times*, the original provisions on the compulsory publication of official press notices had not been modified enough. Moreover, a sword of Damocles was still kept hanging over the heads of the press. The punitive provision on parliamentary and court reporting, and on the publication of official press notices, had been retained.<sup>27</sup>

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26 *IPI Report*, 12:5 (September 1963), 1-2,

27. *IPI Report*, 12:7 (November 1963), 8.

However, the central and local government of Pakistan still held the power to restrict the press's do's and don't's. During the period of student demonstrations in 1964, three newspapers were ordered not to publish reports of the events.<sup>28</sup> And by early 1966, the West Pakistan Government banned publication of the proceedings of the conference of opposition parties, which denounced the Tashkent Agreement.<sup>29</sup>

One year later, following the arrest of five religious leaders alleged to have violated government orders, the Governor of West Pakistan, for the purpose of ensuring public safety and the maintenance of public order, prohibited the press from making or publishing for a period of eight weeks from the date of this Order, any news, views, comments, statements, reports or photos other than any matter communicated by either Government in Pakistan.<sup>30</sup>

#### ----Discriminatory Security Deposits

In spite of the new 1960 Ordinance prohibiting executive authority from demanding a security deposit... without the express sanction of the judiciary, as the writer mentioned above, the following cases will illustrate what actually took place.

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28. *IPI Report*, 12:7 (November 1963), 8.

29. *IPI Report*, 14:11 (March 1966), 11.

30. *IPI Report* 15:11 (March 1967), 3

At almost the same time that the 1960 Ordinance came into force, the President of Pakistan issued another ordinance providing powers for the government to demand, from printing offices which publish books or newspapers, deposits ranging from 500 to 10,000 Rupees as security against their issuing "objectionable material."<sup>31</sup>

In the last days of 1962, East Pakistan ordered the daily *Ittefaq* to furnish a security deposit of Rs.10,000 (\$2,100) for publishing a report which allegedly infringed upon the East Pakistani Public Safety Ordinance.<sup>32</sup> Another newspaper—*Dacca Times* was also called upon by the East Pakistan Government to provide a security deposit of \$500 for publishing an allegedly prejudicial report on January 18, 1963.<sup>33</sup> Then, the weekly *Outlook*, was asked for \$2,100 security deposit on January, 1964, for publishing "objectionable matter" regarding government policy toward foreign journalists.<sup>34</sup>

#### —Arrest and Imprisonment

The most ominous element of Pakistani Government control of the press is the arbitrary power of arrest and imprisonment of newsmen. While Ayub's regime was establishing. "a number of journalists were placed under 'preventive' arrest and some were threatened with prison sentences of up

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31. *IPI Report*, 9:1 (May 1960), 9.

32. *IPI Report*, 11:9 (January 1963), 10.

33. *IPI Report*, 11:12 (April 1963), 16.

34. *IPI Report*, 13:13 (February 1965), 4.

to 14 years for making adverse comments regarding the regime.”<sup>35</sup>

In mid-December of 1958 the Chief Editor of the Lahore daily *Pakistan Times*, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, was arrested under the Public Security Act. No reason was given. He had just returned from a tour of Russia and a private visit to London.<sup>36</sup>

In January of 1960, Mohammad Salim, editor and publisher of a Lahore Urdu daily newspaper, was sentenced to six months imprisonment for infringement of martial law regulations.<sup>37</sup> A military court at Bahawalpur, West Pakistan sentenced two newsmen to imprisonment. One, the editor of *Kainat*, was sentenced to nine months imprisonment and given a fine for publishing an article likely to spread hatred and contempt against the government. Another, the local correspondent of the Urdu daily *Improze*, published from Lahore and Karachi, was sentenced to six months imprisonment for “supplying wrongful information” to his newspapers.<sup>38</sup> On August 7, 1960, Salamat Ali, staff reporter of the *Pakistan Times*, an English language daily of Lahore, was arrested in Rawalpindi and detained without trial under the Pakistan Security Act.<sup>39</sup>

35. *IPI Report*, 7:7 (November 1958), 11.

36. *IPI Report*, 7:9 (January 1959), 10.

37. *IPI Report*, 8:8 (February 1960), 8.

38. *IPI Report*, 9:3 (July 1960), 9.

39. *IPI Report*, 9:5 (September 1960), 14.

Another editor, Hamid Hason of the West Pakistani weekly *Durrah*, was arrested in February, 1961, on a charge of having published material "...calculated to cause alarm, hatred and discontent among the public against the police."<sup>40</sup> In the same year, K.G. Mustafa, Anwar Zahid, and Allauddim Al-Azad, who all were staff members of the Bengali daily *Sangbad*, were arrested in April under the Pakistan Security Act.<sup>41</sup>

Tafazzul Husain, editor of the Bengali daily *Ittefaq*, was one of 21 persons arrested in February, 1962, following demonstrations in Dacca. According to information reaching IPI headquarters, besides Husain, there were six other journalists from Dacca who had been detained under the Security of Pakistan Act since the first half of February, 1962. They are Moidual Hasan, assistant editor of *Ittefaq*; Abdul Wadood, general manger of *Ittefaq*; Kamal Lohan, sub-editor of *Azad*, Altaf Husain, sub-editor of *Morning News*; R. Dass Gupta, assistant editor of *Sangbad*; and Abdur Rashid, advertising manager of *Sangbad*.<sup>42</sup>

In November, 1963, the managing editor, the editor-in-chief and the editor of the Urdu daily, *Kohistan*, were arrested for publishing "mischievous and baseless" reports.<sup>43</sup>

40. *IPI Report*, 9:11 (March 1961), 11.

41. *IPI Report*, 10:7 (November 1961), 2.

42. *IPI Report*, 10:11 (March 1962), 12.

43. *IPI Report*, 12:8 (December 1963), 9.

In February, 1964, *Tarjamanul Quran's* (a Urdu monthly ) editor, Maulana Mandoodi, was detained initially for a period of two months, under a Preventive Detention Law, without having been offered an opportunity to defend his case in a court of Law.<sup>44</sup>

Shorish Kashmiri, editor of the weekly *Chatan* in Lahor, was arrested on September 6, 1966. No reason was given for his arrest by the government.<sup>45</sup> On May 8, 1968, he was arrested again under the Defense of Pakistan Rule.<sup>46</sup> And in November, 1968, the East Pakistani Government arrested the editor and assistant editor of a Bengali weekly, *Amar Desh*, following publication of an article about the condition of Muslims in Communist China.<sup>47</sup>

—Ban of Publication or Removal of Owner

Arresting journalists still could not eliminate the “troubles” which the press brought to the rulers. So they resorted to another tactic—ban of publication and removal of the owner.

On April 18, 1959, an ordinance was issued amending the Security Act of 1952 to permit management of a newspaper

44. *IPI Report*, 12:11 (March 1964), 10.

45. *IPI Report*, 15:6-7 (Oct.-Nov. 1966), 11.

46. *IPI Report*, 17:3-4 (July-Aug. 1968), 2.

47. *IPI Report*, 17:8 (December 1968), 12.

containing offensive material to be changed. Previously the government could close newspapers, but not take them over. The new move empowers the government to remove a newspaper owner, or any other person, from the control of any undertaking in which information contravening the Security Act is published "with the aid of funds from foreign sources."<sup>48</sup>

Immediately following this announcement the government served notice on Progressive Papers Ltd., of Lahore, dissolving the Board of Directors of the undertaking, which owns the left-wing English daily *Pakistan Times* and two Urdu dailies, *Imroze* of Karachi and *Imroze* of Lahore, and an Urdu weekly in Lahore. Appointed as new "Director of Management" of the group was Mahomed Sarfraz, deputy Secretary-General of the Baghdad Pact. The Editor of the *Pakistan Times*, Mazhar Ali Khan, had resigned. Progressive Papers Ltd. employs some 1,000 people. Chairman of the group holding the majority shareholding is Mian Iftikharuddin, a land owner who has always denied allegations that he had Communist sympathies.

As mentioned above, there were many severe restrictions on the press of West Pakistan in September of 1963. That ordinance also provides for the establishment of a commission inquiring into the financial resources of newspaper management. It was also empowered to take over newspapers, or their presses in certain instances, and to establish tribunals

48. *IPI Report*, 8:1 (May 1959), 11.

for hearing appeals against the commissions' rulings.<sup>49</sup>

In November of 1963, the West Pakistan government banned the Urdu daily *Kohistan* for two months for allegedly publishing "mischievous and baseless" reports.<sup>50</sup> In February, 1964, it banned a monthly Urdu magazine, *Tarjamanul Quran*, for publishing an article about the presecution of religious workers and scholars of Iran. It was alleged that the article intended to harm friendly relations between Iran and Pakistan.<sup>51</sup>

The fact that the weekly *Outlook* could not find a printer to publish its outspoken opinions, although it was neither officially banned nor was there any legal hitch in the strict sense of the law, shows the kind of methods used by the government to strangle liberty of the press.<sup>52</sup>

#### —Withdrawal of Government Advertising

Economic pressure is another effective method in stifling criticism by the press. In Pakistan the government uses the withdrawal of government publicity to try and bring to heel newspapers whose political line it dislikes. The *IPI Report* said in January, 1964, that newspaper were informed Pakistani

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49. *IPI Report*, 12:5 (September 1963), 2.

50. *IPI Report*, 12:8 (December 1963), 9.

51. *IPI Report*, 12:11 (March 1964), 10.

52. *IPI Report*, 13:13 (February 1965), 4.

Government advertising would in the future go to newspapers which gave "due coverage" to official activities and policies.<sup>53</sup>

"Unfortunately, Government advertisement provides the major part of the revenue for newspapers in Pakistan." As a Pakistani journalist said in the *IPI Report*, "a government-created Advertisement Board ensures that the full weight of this money is felt as government pressure. It is a give-and-take business: if a paper wants government advertisements it does what the government desires and refrains from taking any attitudes which might not be to the government's liking. The withdrawal of all government advertising from the Lahore daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* clearly shows how the pressure is brought to bear."

The Pakistani journalist (whose name is withheld at his own request) also pointed out, "most favored with advertisements are papers belonging to the press Trust sponsored by industrialists supporting the government. This advertisement policy both in the government and private sectors has an adverse effect on Pakistan's journalism. Papers which have the patronage of the government, and those industrialists supporting the government, can afford to come out with good presentation, although their circulations are low, as they carry columns full of government propaganda. Independent papers with large circulations are technically poor."<sup>54</sup>

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53. *IPI Report*, 12:9 (January 1964), 8.

54. *IPI Report*, 13:13 (February 1965), 5.

## —Ban of Journalists' Travel

A striking protest was made by a pro-government Karachi English daily *Dawn* in a leading article in December of 1961, which complained that "... most Pakistani journalists seem to be under perpetual suspicion by the police." The paper pointed out that several instances had occurred where journalists had been refused permission to go abroad at the invitation of airlines, foreign governments, or some professional organization of their own.

*Dawn* said that even if a journalist had a passport he often could not depart from any home port. He would need a clearance certificate from the Ministry of Home Affairs for going abroad. It gave a number of specific instances where journalists had been prevented by the police from going abroad. For example, East Pakistani journalists were not allowed to go to India; some others were not allowed to accept a government invitation to visit a European country, even though the newsmen had been selected by the Press Information Department of the Government of Pakistan itself. An editor who had been chosen as the Pakistani delegate to tour India with the Commonwealth Press Union was not allowed to go to India, and the Rawalpindi correspondent of *Dawn* was prevented from going to Iran. In some cases, added the paper, facilities for foreign travel were granted only after the intervention of some high official.<sup>55</sup>

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55. *IPI Report*, 10:9 (January 1962), 10.

In 1966, when the IPI General Assembly was held in New Delhi, India, the Pakistani Government refused to grant foreign exchange allowances to journalists for travel to the meeting.<sup>56</sup>

The most despicable part of the situation is the ban was used as a kind of reprisal against one who sympathized with the journalists' stand on freedom of the press. The case of Z.H. Lari is a good example. Lari, a former judge of the West Pakistan High Court, pointed to the "untold nervousness" of his country to the press. He called on the government to amend the law so as to enable people "to express themselves freely without involving themselves in risk." He also pointed out that there is no legislation recognition in Pakistan of the right to free expression and editors have been deprived of the right of reference to the courts. On July 4, 1960, when Lari went to the Karachi airport to board a plane for Salzburg to attend a meeting of the International Bar Association, police impounded his passport and he was unable to depart.<sup>57</sup>

#### —Pressures on Flow of News

As to foreign news agencies and correspondents, there are some cases which can give us an impression of the attitude of the Pakistani Government.

Early in 1962, the Dacca correspondent of the *Stateman*

56. *IPI Report*, 15:6-7 (Oct.-Nov. 1966), 8.

57. *IPI Report*, 9:3 (July 1960), 10.

(Calcutta & New Delhi), T. Nauney was expelled from Pakistan for having allegedly filed exaggerated reports about the student riots.<sup>58</sup> Another Indian journalist, F.R. Roy, staff correspondent of the Press Trust of India in East Pakistan, was detained 52 days before being released.<sup>59</sup>

From the beginning of November, 1963, all foreign news agencies in Pakistan have been forbidden continue supplying news directly to the Pakistan Press. International news may be received by newspapers only through the Pakistani news agency. This move followed a warning given to foreign news agencies in the country in March 1962, that they would have to shut down within a period of 20 months.<sup>60</sup>

In March, 1966, Pakistan refused to grant visas to an Indian journalist to visit Rawalpindi to cover the ministerial level talks between the two countries.<sup>61</sup>

### *The Struggle for Freedom of the Press*

Facing these pressures Pakistani newsmen have been courageously fighting for their deserved right by various means. For instance, they tried to meet with Ayub and ask for the removal of restrictions on the press; they went on

58. *IPI Report*, 10:11 (March 1962), 9.

59. *IPI Report*, 14:9 (January 1966), 11.

60. *IPI Report*, 12:7 (November 1963), 9.

61. *IPI Report*, 14:12 (April 1966), 11.

strike to protest the unfair arrest; they boycotted the East Pakistan Assembly for its decision limiting the right of reporting; they also held a number of meetings of the professional organization demanding the government relax its controls on the press. Sometimes they received answers, but usually received only token improvements. Actually, the government did not want to want to remove these restrictions.

The most significant thing to note here is the Press Code of Ethics adopted by the Council of Pakistan News Editors on July 4, 1965. The Code is implemented through a Court of Honor set up by the journalists.<sup>62</sup> The Government's answer was to announce a twelve-month moratorium on press law, leaving the press free to regulate its conduct on the Code of Press Ethics.<sup>63</sup>

According to this code, it was agreed that the press would not publish anything which was likely to create ill will between different segments of the people. But it was made clear that this restraint would not preclude "legitimate airing of grievances and views in matters of disparity between regions and groups." Similarly, the press would restrict itself to factual reporting of events without trying thereby to encourage or provoke labor strikes or student agitation. Besides these items such portions of the National and Provincial Assemblies' proceedings

62. Government of Pakistan, *op. cit.*, p. 716.

63. Khalid B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 124.

as the Speaker may have ordered to be expunged from the records would not be published, and fair coverage would be given to all sections of the House.

Evidently, the code is a result of a compromise between the press and government because the spirit of freedom of the press is not respected completely, though a new level of tolerance is generally noticeable. However, despite the so-called "Moratorium", this tolerance was not fully sustained. Exercising powers under the Defense of Pakistan Rules, the government arrested the editor of *Ittefaq* in June 1966, closed the paper and sealed its press.<sup>64</sup>

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Describing freedom of thought as "an inalienable right of man", like many rulers, Ayub has stressed, "in order to protect the freedom of thought of all it became imperative to insist by legal provision on the requirement of certain standards to ensure responsibility among those who have the mighty instrument of a printing press under their control."<sup>65</sup>

Ayub even that thought, within limits, the press in Pakistan has enjoyed a fairly wide degree of freedom under martial law. He pointed out the qualifications of press freedom would be

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64. Sommerlad, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

65. Government of Pakistan, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

"subject to law and morality and the interests of the security of the nation."<sup>66</sup>

As a matter of fact, under the official standard of the so-called "Law", "Morality" and "Security", the 10-year rule of Ayub accounted for the closure of 21 dailies, according to a survey by the new Government's Bureau of Statistics.<sup>67</sup> Among the casualties was the 93-year-old English language *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore. In addition, eleven leading daily newspapers were taken over by the government in the name of the National Press Trust. The national news agency of the country, the Associated Press of Pakistan, was also taken over by the government and put under direct control of the Press Information Ministry. Weeklies and Biweeklies likewise showed a sharp decrease during the Ayub regime. Their number dropped from 379 in 1958 to 260 in March, 1969.

After testing the case of the *Outlook* weekly, the Pakistan newsman wrote in the *IPI Report* of February 1965:<sup>68</sup>

As a result, people have lost faith in their newspapers. They seek home news elsewhere. Rumors have taken the place of confirmed news.

The condition of journalists too is deplorable. They

66. *IPI Report*, 10:8 (December 1961), 16.

67. *IPI Report*, 18:6 (October 1969), 7.

68. *IPI Report*, 13:13 (February 1965), 4.

are often man-handled and disgracefully treated by the administration. They have lost the respect of the people for the contradictory news that the papers carry.

It appears, from the happenings of the last six years on journalism in the country, that Field Marshall Ayub Khan has taken to heart the words of Napoleon: "I fear three newspapers more than a hundred thousand bayonets." He has crushed the papers and the fear too.

This is no doubt a true to life portrait of, not only the situation in Pakistan, but of many other developing countries.

In Pakistan, the statistical material ( see Table 2, 4, & 5 ) indicates that there was a negative correlation between its press and economic development from 1955 to 1962. To review the tough policy on press control of the last decade in Pakistan it is not difficult to get the "why". As Dr. Nixon said in his article when he discussed factors related to freedom in national press systems, "in the world of today, wherever per capita income is high, press freedom is likely to be found— along with its necessary concomitant, political democracy..."<sup>69</sup>

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69. Raymond B. Nixon, "Factors Related to Freedom in National Press Systems," *Journalism Quarterly*, 37 (Winter 1960), 22.

The same article gives examples of the five communist countries in Europe that are highest in per capita income and literacy, but they "stand out as the most conspicuous deviations from the general rule of a close relationship between these two variables and the existence of press freedom as defined in the Western World."<sup>70</sup>

"Press freedom is an excellent political indicator." Dr. Lowenstein argued that PICA survey's indication is worth looking at more closely in respect to political occurrences. He also said, "if one agrees that press freedom is closely bound up with democracy, in the western sense, then one must pay special attention to the predictive capacity of a system for measuring press freedom."<sup>71</sup>

In Nixon's second analysis of freedom in the world's press in 1965, he used Banks and Textor's (authors of *A Cross-Polity Survey*, 1963) "raw characteristic" cards in correlating their social, economic and political variables with the freedom ratings for 93 countries. Using the same type of statements, Nixon's research finds a definite pattern of characteristics for the free press countries. Of its 25 most important characteristics, such as non-communism, constitutionality, legislature,

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70. *Ibid.*, p.24.

71. Ralph L. Lowenstein, "Press Freedom as a Political Indicator," *International Communication* (N.Y.: Hastings House, 1970), p.139.

party system, electoral system, pressure groups, leadership, executive, military, police and bureaucracy, all are related to the political system. Furthermore, his findings tell us that "the correlation between *legislative effectiveness* and press freedom is much stronger with the classifications used in this article. This emphasizes anew the close relation between press freedom and truly representative government.<sup>72</sup>

Generally, the hypothesis of a press system relating to socio-economic and political factors was tested as true. But which one is the strongest in relating to the press development, in other words, which correlation coefficient is greater than the others needs more empirical research in non-democratic or developing countries. Pakistan serves as an example.

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72. Raymond B. Nixon, "Freedom in the World's Press: A Fresh Appraisal with New Data," *Journalism Quarterly*, 42 (Winter 1965), 14.

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