

Lesson 1

EVOLUTION OF MASS MEDIA

- The oldest mass medium is print media. Human history gives us a clue that posters, banners and pictures were first used to convey the messages.
- In the 10th century handmade press was first established. Book printing was started in 15th & 16th century in Europe.
- Mass Media at first faced a lot of restrictions because when mass media emerged at that time imperialism was in rule. The rulers were using Church in Europe as an authority over people to convey any message. Because Church was the only platform that was influential and was in reach of people and government. So most of the times Church was considered the first platform of Mass Medium.
- The emergence of Print Media created doubts in the minds of the rulers and they took it as a threat against their rule. The rulers presumed that people would become aware of their rights and they will challenge the authority. So most of the rulers in Europe took it as a revolt and declared capital punishment for the persons involved in Mass Media. In 1663, the last capital punishment was given to a publisher because he published a book of an anonymous writer. This book contained the idea that rulers are accountable for their deeds and decisions to the masses and if any ruler does not feel himself accountable then masses have the right to overthrow his rule. This was the last capital punishment that was awarded in the history of England.
- Print media could not get its full growth till the 18th century as illiteracy was the major problem in all the societies and most of the newspapers were read by the elite class because state was not responsible for the education of the masses and elites had a privilege to get private education from the arranged tutors.
- In the sub-continent East India Company started some papers that were in English language and mostly read by the employees of the East-India company. In 1757 when East India Company conquered Bengal, there were one lakh informal institutions that were either run by Hindu Pandits or Muslim Ulamas. So publishing papers entirely in English language means that they ignored the factor of local educated people. Later on the English papers started to publish in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta because East India Company offices were in all these cities. So, it proved that publish of this paper was entirely for Company employees and not for the local Indians.

In 1822, first Urdu paper named Jam-e-Jahanuma emerged and English rulers took it as a threat against them and they started to think to impose press laws to outclass local papers. Therefore, in 1823 Press Act came to suppress Urdu press and it was made compulsory that the name of the Editor, Publisher and Owner along with the address should be on the first page of the newspaper. So that the government can recognize the authority of these papers. It was named as Press & Publication Ordinance (PPO). So, the era before the division of India was a tough one for the

mass communication as many press owners and editors faced punishments several times under this ordinance

Lesson 02

EMERGENCE & ROLE OF PRINT MEDIA IN THE SUB-CONTINENT

- The emergence of democratic societies asserted that knowledge is the right of everyone and no one can be denied from the basic rights. It also gave the idea of respect to everyone. The same idea came in the sub-continent when people became aware of their rights. So, this awareness led them to have their own press and their own papers.
- Print media in the sub-continent carried the same style as of English newspapers and it was very simple in its style. There was no concept of headlines, format settings and catch lines. The newspaper was just in a story form.
- The emergence of print media in the sub-continent was an ill omen for the East India Company because soon these newspapers started to condemn the brutalities of East India Company and people started to become aware of the callous attitude of the Englishmen. So this emergence of Print Media started a concept of unity. Because now a person of Bengal and Lahore can well assume the critical situation regarding the atrocities of the Englishmen.
- The Urdu papers of Lucknou and Delhi adopted a harsh stance and strong words were used against East India Company. **Till 1857, this practice continued. In Oct 1857 Delhi fall occurred and Englishmen took control of the entire India.** After one year a report for the causes of the revolt were sent to the Queen Victoria by the appointed commission. **This report also blamed some Indian papers and Molvi M, Baqar, who was printing Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, was given capital punishment.**
- **In 1858, Queen Victoria declared India as a colony and the Police Act of 1861 was introduced for the people of India as the slaves of the colony.** This created a sense of inferiority among the people and they got the idea that they are under a constant suppression. In the mean while Sir Syed Ahmed Khan started reformation and he assured the people that suppression could be ended by just getting modern education and Muslims were not in a position to afford any conflict with the rulers. On the other hand, he assured Englishmen that Muslims were not only responsible for revolt but it was done by all the natives collectively so to target Muslims was not the best idea. Sir Syed was not a professional journalist but he used print media to educate people.
- After the abrogation of Bengal Division Muslims became more aware of their rights and also some incidents like World War1 occurred on international arena in which Muslims of the Sub-continent were having sympathies with Turks because of the Caliph and Turks were fighting against England.
- Therefore, British Govt. kept a close eye on Indian press and never allowed to publish anything against the interest of the rulers.
- Despite, the punishments Muslims continued to work for presented and adopted a bold stance in print media. **Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and Maulana Hasrat Mohani were the famous names of that era.** These people never cared about the ferocious laws of British Government and they continued their work. **Zimindar that was published by Maulana Zafar Khan faced several time bans but it continued to**

print and gained much popularity among people. This brave stance of Journalism in the history of Print Media of Sub-continent is known as Militant Journalism.

- Quaid-e-Azam after Pakistan Resolution paid special attention to print media and he published
- Dawn from Delhi that was later shifted to Karachi after communal violence. Similarly the Urdu daily 'Manshoor' and weekly 'Aaj- Kal' were printed in the same age. In the same era Jang from Delhi started to publish and Nawa-i-Waqat from Lahore. 'Inqalab' was representing Unnest party in Lahore but after Pakistan Resolution it started to portray Muslim League stance. In 1937, Progressive Papers Ltd started Pakistan Times in Lahore by Mian Iftikhar.

All these above newspapers played a vital role in awakening people for the struggle of Pakistan as a homeland where Muslims can save themselves from cultural eclipse of the dominating Hindu majority.

Lesson 03

MASS MEDIA AFTER INDEPENDENCE & AYUB KHAN'S ERA

- After independence there was no organized structure for mass communication in Pakistan and there were few radio stations that were functional. The Radio station of Peshawar was built in 1927 and it was under agriculture department used to give instructions to the farmers.
- After the establishment of Pakistan it was expected that there would be a shift in the print media and it would be far better from the age of colonialism. But the problems at the time of independence were so grave like the problem of refugees, lack of infra structure, absence of official machinery and lack of administration that government remained disheveled and so as the print media. Therefore, it was very unfortunate for the mass media that it could not bear any change. Law and order situation of the country hindered the freedom of press.
- Most of the newspapers that were in Delhi prior to independence were shifted to Karachi while the papers of Lahore continued to work in their normal routine. However, some civil and military gazettes were printed in English.
- 'Imroz' started its publication and for the first time this paper collected a good team in Pakistan. Many prominent personalities like Abdullah Malik, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, and Chragh Hassan Hasrat came under one roof. So 'Imroz' very quickly attained a reputable place in the leading newspapers.
- In 1953 'Kohistan' was published by a famous novel writer Nasim Hijazi in Rawalpindi. This paper gave a new trend to publications by starting Offset printing method instead of Litho printing. There was a big problem in offset printing method that pictures could not be printed in this sort of typing. So till 1953, before the arrival of Litho printing there was no photo journalism.

- In 1953, communal riots between Muslims and Ahmedi started and a commission was appointed to investigate the causes. The members of the commission were Justice Munir Ahmed and justice Kiyani and after sometime the commission published its findings and it blamed newspapers for provoking the emotions of the people for communal riots.
- Till 1957 media was free in Pakistan and there were only 60 cases that were registered in the entire country in which actions were taken against newspapers.
- In 1960 Magazines were replaced by 'Digests' that were influenced by western style.
- Progressive Papers Ltd. Published Lail-O-Nehar, Imroze, Pakistan Times and the literary personalities attached with Progressive Papers Ltd. started Progressive movement in literature. During that time there was a shift in the government and Gen M. Ayub Khan took control of the country as President of Pakistan and imposed Martial Law. So the progressive movement was unacceptable for government. Therefore, government took over Progressive Papers Ltd.
- There were two independent news agencies APP (Associated Press of Pakistan) and PPI (Pakistan Press International) were working in the country. Martial Law government also took over those news agencies. Ayub government also bound international news agencies that they will not distribute news and reports directly to the radio and other newspapers. So government took a complete hold over all the news resources and the freedom of press was totally abolished.
- National Press Trust was established by the government and government took the stance that the trust will look after or take over those newspapers that are suffering from financial crisis. So gradually till 1960, it took over almost 60% renowned newspapers of the country.

Lesson 04

ROLE OF PAKISTANI MASS MEDIA IN AYUB KHAN'S ERA

- In 1961, Press laws were reformed and all the newspapers strongly condemned that move and demanded that Ayub government should revise it. So in 1963, government revised it but still it was without much flexibility.
- According to the Press Act of 1923, declaration was submitted to the government official (Deputy Commissioner) who was not supposed to decline it as it was not considered a license. Ayub government announced that Deputy Commissioner had the right to refuse the declaration so for the first time it was treated as a license. It was a strong check against anti-government newspapers.
- District Magistrates started a practice with the support of government to gather secret information regarding the person who filed the declaration. So it became a common

practice that the applicant was blamed in any charge by the Commissioner and he gave a verdict against him. This was against the ethics of law that Commissioner was given the right to blame and also to make a decision.

- Advertising plays a major role in profit taking of newspapers and government sector advertisements are very important for any newspaper. Governments usually use this policy to pressurize newspapers and governments do not give advertisements to anti-government newspapers. Ayub government also used this famous tool to manipulate newspapers.
- In Pakistan almost all the printing material is imported and import license is required to import these materials. Ayub government restricted the quantity of import material for anti-government newspapers to pressurize them and to stop their circulation on a large scale.
- During 1965 war, radio, television and newspapers supported government stance and the unrealistic and exaggerated stance regarding the victory in war was presented to the people. But when Tashqand agreement was signed in Jan 1966 and people protested against it because government was declaring it as victory and Tashqand was humiliation in the eyes of the people. So protests against government started and a student died. This helped to build a mass movement against the government and ultimately it ended on the resign of Gen Ayub Khan in March 1969. It was a direct result of a wrong media policy by hiding facts from the government.
- Government celebrated “A decade of development” in 1968 and radio television and newspapers were used as mouth piece of government.
- Mass media is a source by which rulers can well understand what people think and what they want and it plays a role of a regulator. They give direct response to government policies because they are directly affected by that policy. Ayub Khan closed that channel so government remained blind to public opinion and it resulted in severe hatred against government policies which ultimately lead to the fall of Ayub Khan

Lesson 05

CHANGES IN MASS MEDIA IN AYUB’S ERA AND ITS IMPACTS

- In Ayub’s era newspapers faced a big challenge because newspapers were habitual of keeping their focus on politics since 1857 in Indo-Pak. So to maintain the interest of the readers in the newspapers was a big challenge as martial law government put ban on all political news.
- This resulted in an effort on the behalf of newspapers to seek other topics and they started to publish different supplements like Sports Supplements, Women Supplement, and Youth Supplement etc. So the focus shifted to social life. In the mean while ‘Imroz’ hired a woman reporter and started to publish an article on the problems of women and its title

was “Khatoon ki Nazar Main”. Imroz was the first newspaper to introduce such trends in newspapers.

- After the efforts of ‘Imroz’, Mashriq and Kohistan from Lahore started to publish women Pages.
- Feature writing also got a new dimension. The features along with the pictures were printed.
- Some newspapers got the attention of the public by publishing film pages and film bulletins. It gave rise to glamorous journalism. It also created a bad impact on those magazines that were purely film magazines. So with the variety of film pages in daily newspapers, the purely film based magazines just disappeared gradually because they lost leadership.
- The trend also shifted to weekly and episodically features. These features covered the social and cultural aspects.
- The entry of television affected the readership of the newspapers. Because poets and writers were writing for the newspapers without any financial gain. Television ended this trend and they were paid for writing anything for the television. So they stopped writing for the newspapers and gradually the newspapers lost readership.
- Periodical journalism also went to decline because all the newspapers gradually started to publish in different supplements where all the material for different age group people was present in one single newspaper.
- Official statements of government ministers replaced the touch of political news not only it highlighted the policy of government but also papers felt themselves secure after portraying government point of view.
- Even today newspapers present government ministers statements but this is not a healthy trend in terms of journalism. Official statements are subjective while news should be objective. Also, a page to represent subjective opinion is present and it is called Editorial page. So the official statements should not cover the major portion of the newspapers.
- A newspaper is for public and it is a device to build public opinion. The term ‘Public’ does not mean every citizen but it also means a specific group of people. There are three different terms that are used frequently in the mass medium namely, Mob, Mass and Public. Mob is a result of an immediate problem. When the problem will not be there mob will also not be there. Secondly the people in a crowd or in a mob have no link with each other. They gathered quickly without any plan on a problem. Thirdly, they have no resemblance among each other of income, status and intelligence.
- Mass have the same reaction about like and dislike but it is not a deliberate effort. For example the reading of a famous daily by 1 million people is a similarity of liking but they did not start it deliberately. It is by chance that their liking matched among themselves.
- Public is a group of people that emerged after an effort. Paper builds opinion so its audience is called public. Public opinion is never unanimous. Sometimes even the opinion of minorities prevails as public opinion. Public opinion is the opinion of those people who assert their opinion by using different communication techniques. Any opinion to become public opinion must be apparent. So public opinion should be

expressive. So in a nut shell we can say that papers of Ayub's era were not to build a public opinion but they were for masses to assert the news of government policies.

LESSON 06

ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN GENERAL YAHYA'S ERA AND ITS RESULT

- General Yahya agreed to all those demands presented by different sections of the society. He revived parliamentary system, Direct elections, Revival of trade unions and Student unions. He also broke one unit and accepted the right of representation on the basis of population.
- The announcement of elections was made in May, 1969 that elections would be held in Dec 1970. So, the election campaign changed the environment and a political rivalry started and all the sixty-three parties launched their campaign immediately. In this situation, Mass media did not show sense of responsibility and most of the news that were reported by the papers were just those in which politicians blamed each other for being a traitor. The newspapers reported rumors, speculations and just predictions that were truly against the spirit of journalism. It was also against the universal code of conduct of journalism.
- Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO) were not used by the Yahya government. So, a mushroom growth of newspapers was seen. As a result, many ban newspapers started their publications again. So, they started to give the support to politicians without thinking whether it is a healthy move or not. It created a very partial and electrified situation came into being.
- National Press Trust owned by the government was favoring rightists and mass media was giving impression that they would easily win elections but elections showed different results. It proved that all the mass media did not perform the impartial role in the elections. Awami League in Eastern Pakistan and PPP in West Pakistan got victory while newspapers showed that these parties would face a defeat. So one sided stance was given to public and they were not mentally ready for that change. Keeping in view such an attitude in Aug 1969, Musawat started its publication to represent Pakistan Peoples Party because other newspapers were not giving proper coverage to this party. Similarly, Jamat-i- Islami started two newspapers one was 'Kohistan' and the second was 'Jasarat'. Kohistan due to some reasons stopped its publications while 'Jasarat' is still printing from Karachi.
- There was only one newspaper 'Azad' in West Pakistan that played a fair role in the elections. It showed that Awami League will win elections in East Pakistan and PPP in West Pakistan. So that was a realistic picture of that era.
- Mass media trains the people but unfortunately in 1970, Pakistani media failed to inform the people that what changes were coming in the minds of the people of East Pakistan, and what was the magnitude of the political anger. Therefore, people remained

uninformed so they could not pressurize the government to transfer power to 'Awami League' and ultimately government was unable to take the right decisions and the right time.

- General Yahya Khan announced that on 3rd March the introductory session of National Assembly would be held in Dhaka. Pakistan Peoples Party threatened to boycott the first session of the assembly unless their demands are entertained. Sixty other independent candidates of West Pakistan also boycotted the first session. So General Yahya postponed the session of National Assembly. Awami League strongly protested against that decision and on 7th March they declared non-cooperation movement. At that time, it was the duty of the newspapers to inform the people about the entire situation but they just portrayed the government stance saying, "Everything is fine". The military government decided army action rather than a dialogue process. Awami League was banned and leaders were arrested. The constant strike paralyzed government machinery in East Pakistan. An attempt was made to run the Eastern Part of the country by sending essential staff members of the state department. Papers remained silent and they neither persuaded people that a political move should be opted nor they pressurized government for dialogue. So ultimately all efforts of military action resulted in the separation of East Pakistan as an independent state of Bangladesh.
- Language barrier between East Pakistan and West Pakistan hindered communication between the two wings of the country. Only English was a source of communication while a lot of population was not able to understand English language. The readership of the English newspapers was very limited and Urdu newspapers were not performing their role so the tragedy of life time could not be stopped. If media was aware of their duties at that time it might never happen.

Lesson 07

EXPECTED ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN CRISIS OF 1971

- The geographical borders of East Pakistan and West Pakistan were never joined. More importantly the territory of a hostile country India was present between the two wings. It created a wider gap in the understanding of the people of the two wings and there was never an effort to develop a collective approach in between the two sections of the country. Even the newspapers remained fail to develop any consensus among the people.
- East Pakistanis had Bengali as their local language. Bengali had the Sanskrit script and was written from left to right. On the other hand Urdu was widely understood in the West Pakistan. Its script was derived from Arabic and Persian and it was written from right to left. So the only medium of communication between the two wings was English language and also this language was understood by a very small number of people. Similarly there were very few English newspapers that were published from both the wings as they had a very low percentage of readers. The famous newspapers were Pakistan Observer from

Dhaka, Morning News from Dhaka, Dawn and Pakistan Times from Karachi and Lahore respectively. The area of influence of these newspapers was very small so they can never communicate a true feeling among the people of both wings of Pakistan.

- PIA was the only air line to bridge up the gap of two wings but its fare was not in the reach of a common man. So a very few no of people ever got a chance to interact among themselves by visiting the areas.
- National identity is always on communication, Common literature, Common culture and daily aspects of life but these were the areas where East Pakistan and West Pakistan had no harmony.
- Bengalis had many complaints against the rulers since the independence. East Pakistan was the biggest province and it consisted of the 56% population of the entire country. So after independence immediately Urdu was declared as the national language Bengalis protested a lot against that decision and after 7 years of agitation Bengali was accepted as second official language of the country. Pakistani newspapers never talked about that demand of Eastern Pakistan. The newspapers never wrote even a single article that Bengali demand was justified. Even some of the newspapers of West Pakistan declared that the people who were against Urdu were disloyal. It was the negative attitude of the newspapers. Bengali was an old language and Urdu was a comparatively new language and it had nothing to do with the loyalty. So this stance of newspapers further segregated people of both the wings.
- Constitutional problem was also a very big problem because the first constitution was delayed and in 1956 new constitution was made and it proved workable for 2 years only. In 1962, there came a new constitution and in this constitution the West Pakistan was combined to one unit. Both wings were given equal representation. This was the exploitation of East Pakistan and it made them more annoyed. In a federation system it is never possible that all the federating units have the uniform population. So usually in such a situation Bicameral System. One platform for population representation and the other for equal representation. This policy was delayed in Pakistan and East Pakistan had to face the greater loss.
- Bengalis were getting the impression that all the wealth is spent in West Pakistan only. The construction of the new capital strengthens their perception.
- The most popular political party of Awami League was banned in 1970. It further infuriated East Pakistanis. The decision of military operation 1000 miles away without any land contact was also not feasible. Gradually Bengalis started Mukti Bahni (Liberation Front) and it was supported by the India which made it very difficult for an isolated army to win the war of 1971 as army was fighting on two fronts. On inner front it was facing Liberation Front and outside India started war to make things more complicated and ultimately Pak Army lost the battle ground.
- In all these miserable circumstances the newspapers never gave a true picture to the people of Pakistan. Pakistanis were deprived of from their right to know and ultimately they cannot use the right to express. By knowing correct information people can opt right stand but unfortunately that was denied on Pakistanis and common man remained

unaware till the last moment of the tragedy of East Pakistan and the silence of press made misery the destiny of people.

Lesson 08

ROLE OF MASS MEDIA AFTER THE CRISIS OF 1971

- There were many problems Pakistan faced after the separation of East Pakistan like the Doubtful approach of the people, economic crisis and stained reputation of Pakistan in the community of nations.
- There was a dead silence on the political arena as no political leader has the heart to come out and face the public after the crisis of East Pakistan. Therefore, General Yahya decided to handover government to Pakistan People's Party because it was the largest political party in the West Pakistan in 1970. So, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took the oath as president and the martial law administrator. The role of newspapers was very critical in this age because they encouraged the people and gave them the self-belief.
- In this critical era, Indian mass media started to propagate that Two Nation theory had no grounds and it had failed badly. Even the Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi said, "Two Nation theory is buried now in the gulf of Bengal". In this scenario people started to think that probably it was the decline of Pakistan Ideology after the fall of Dhaka. However, all the newspapers splendidly defended the stance of the Pakistan and assured people that separation of Pakistan was a political failure it never meant that ideology or philosophy of Pakistan was no more.
- The economic problem was solved by the aid of Libya and Saudi Arabia. Also the policy of nationalization of the major industries helped in boosting the confidence of the laborers and land reforms boosted the confidence of the farmers.
- Second Islamic Conference was held in 1974 in Lahore and it helped to revive the image of Pakistan among the Muslim Countries. All the 40 members of Islamic countries participated in that and some important decisions were taken in that conference. This conference was also held at a very crucial time because in 1973, Egypt defeated Israel in war and Arab countries got the confidence for the first time that they were in a position to defeat Israel. So all the Muslim countries who were the members of the OPEC decided that they would not sell oil to friendly countries of Israel. This decision shook the entire West and oil was the major source of energy for them.
- Pakistani mass media during the OIC session portrayed the feelings of Muslim Ummah in a very positive and appreciable way. This was the positive role of the Pakistani mass medium that helped Pakistan to regain its prominent position in the Islamic World. The live telecast of OIC was made and in many languages the special programs were telecasted.

- Muslim countries in the session of OIC in 1974, also decided to establish a news agency named **Islamic International News Agency (IINA)**. The wealthy Muslim countries like Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libya promised to provide the major share of funds for that.
- **In 1974, India also tested nuclear devices.** Z. A. Bhutto declared that Pakistan would also acquire nuclear technology. The bitter history of relations between Pakistan and India compelled Pakistan to take that decision. Western world did not like that decision because session of success and the unity of Islamic countries made Western countries doubtful about the role of Pakistan and they started to criticize the decision. However, Pakistani newspapers published so many articles in which they justified the need of Nuclear weapons. In their publications they addressed the West and masses of Pakistan that nuclear armaments are the need of Pakistan. It is an essential for the security of Pakistan because Pakistan cannot face threats like the separation of East Pakistan everyday.

LESSON 09

ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE ERA OF 1977 TO 1988

- The major contribution of PPP rule of 1972 was to develop a unified constitution that was accepted by all the political parties present in the National Assembly. Pakistan is a federation and federation always faces a problem of representation. In Pakistan this problem was solved by **introducing bicameral political system and Parliament was divided in National Assembly (representation on the basis of population) and Parliament (Equal representation)**. This move gave confidence to the smaller federating units that they would not be exploited by the influence of larger population units.
- In this era Mass media created awareness about the approved constitution and gave them a realization that the new constitution is the best one considering the circumstances of Pakistan. It was a positive contribution on the behalf of the newspapers.
- **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also signed Shimla agreement with the Indian Government** and 93000 Pakistani army prisoners were released and Indian media started propaganda and they started to give the impression that Shimla agreement recognized Kashmir Issue as a bilateral issue between Pakistan and India and it cannot be raised on any international forum. Pakistani media clarified the vision of the people that there is no such clause included in the Shimla accord. It was the best possible agreement that was signed.
- Elections were held in 1977 and Opposition parties made a union PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) in which 8 Pakistani political parties and 1 was from Azad Jammu Kashmir. This alliance blamed government for rigging in elections and soon this movement became a very violent movement.
- Mass media in this movement very clearly presented the stance of opposition parties that was never seen in the history of Pakistan. Only the radio, Television and NPT

newspapers presented government point of view but rest of the papers felt their role and presented a real picture of the political arena.

- On 5th July, Gen Zia ul Haq enforced 3rd martial law of the history of Pakistan and promised to play a role of an umpire and holding free and fair elections and transferring of power to the winning party. But he postponed elections not only after 90 days but several times till 1985 when the elections were held on the non-party basis.
- During martial law era declaration of many newspapers were cancelled and Musawat was the first newspaper to be the target of Gen Zia's aggression as it was the party newspaper of PPP.
- In the meanwhile, PFUJ (Pakistan federal union of Journalists) started a movement against the censorship policies of Gen Zia and against the cancellation of the declaration of the newspapers.
- On 14th March 1983, MRD (Movement for the restoration of democracy) was launched. 59 signatories signed a memorandum for the restoration of democracy. In these signatories 9 were NPT employees and 1 was a Punjab university professor. All these 9 members were terminated from their services by martial government and were restored in 1985 in the civil government of Muhammad Khan Junicho.
- Local Bodies elections were held in 1985 by the Gen Zia government and newspapers projected the importance of these elections in a very forceful way.
- In 1978 the communist fraction in Afghan government over threw the government that was backed by USSR. The very next year Iranian revolution took place and religious fraction came into power that was led by Ayotullah Khomeni and Raza Shah Pehlvi was forced to flee from the country. The new Iranian government openly declared USA the open enemy of Iran. This was the threat for USA because US feared that through the influence of Afghanistan and Anti-American government Communism could reach to the Gulf States and could capture the oil resources of Gulf States.
- Communist philosophy negates God and provokes godless society. So Americans declared Muslims as their natural friend and Americans planned to support the Jihadis for a holy war against communism. Pakistan had an important geographical position as its boundaries were joined with the Iran and Afghanistan so Pakistan was given a leading role to stop the communist influence.
- Pakistani media favored this holy war against communism. Pakistan was used as a base and America launched a militant movement in collaboration of Gen Zia ul Haq that ended in 1989.

LESSON 10

ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE ERA OF 1977 TO 1988

- The changes in international political arena directly effected Pakistan in the era of 1979. The Afghan Crisis and Iranian revolution were the two major events of that era and the geographical location of Pakistan made it center of attention for super powers.
- In the inner political scenario General Zia ul Haq was trying to islamicize the country. In this phase of history mass media working in Pakistan was not easy because the ideal working for mass media is possible in democracy where everyone enjoys the freedom of expression.
- The religious based political parties got a major role in the country politics because on the Afghan issue the slogans of Jihad or Holy war were providing a suitable environment to such parties and internally Gen Zia ul Haq was also in favor of that.
- All the newspapers of that time covered Afghan stories and fully supported Mujahidin and Jihadi groups.
- General Zia ul Haq presented three demands to perform a basic role in Afghan crisis and these demands were:
 - a) Arms supply given to Mujahideen should be of Russian origin and no American ammunition would be used.
 - b) No other country including USA would be allowed to contact Mujahideen directly and aid for the Afghan refugees would be dealt through Pakistan. So Pakistan can avoid any chaotic condition.
 - c) At a given time two aero planes loaded with bullets will land in Pakistan. Further arms supply to be made after confirmation by this country.
 - Americans agreed to all those three demands of General Zia ul Haq and Pakistan started to play a significant role in Afghan Jihad fully supported by mass media.
 - Mass media in that era did not mention the negative aspects of Afghan Policy but it left many areas of concern for Pakistan.
 - During Afghan war Pakistani militant groups got expertise in ammunition and sectarian groups armed themselves with modern weapons and ammunition.
 - Religious groups also got encouragement that they were fighting a bigger enemy on the name of Jihad. This aspect encouraged religious extremism and sectarian violence in the country.
 - In the meanwhile, there was no tolerance preached by the newspapers to acknowledge the creed and sects of others. They published the news of sectarian violence quite regularly but there was no planned effort on the behalf of the newspapers to discourage sectarian violence.
 - Pakistani papers started to think that religion is a sensitive issue so they do not to touch such issued in the editorial and articles. They used simplified terms to name and blame the culprits.
 - Newspapers never developed a social pressure on the extremist groups by educating people and papers never tried to organize that problem. In fact we can say that in terms of Social Responsibility Theory people ignored their role of social responsibility. The newspapers were never representative of the following

definition of democracy in the country, “When we agree to disagree with each other, it is democracy.”

LESSON 11

ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE ERA OF 1988 TO 1999

In 1985, non party elections were held to lift martial law and M. Khan Junicho was appointed the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

- On the international scenario Michael Gorbachauf came into power and he thought communism was not powerful enough so he amended the system completely. He declared communism is no more a national movement. Because of international character of communism, it was obligatory for USSR to support smaller communist countries and it was a burden on USSR. So he decided to withdraw that. According to Geneva agreement he decided to withdraw Russian forces from Afghanistan. So in 1989 all the Russian forces were withdrawn from Afghanistan.
- In the mean while M. Khan Junicho was dismissed by General Zia ul Haq saying that party system is not fruitful for Pakistan as there is no party system in Islam.
- In 1988, General M. Zia ul Haq's Plane C130 crashed in Bhawalpur and a caretaker government was formed. This caretaker government replaced PPO (Press Publication Ordinance) with RPPO (Registration of Press & Publication Ordinance). However when new assemblies were formed this ordinance was not presented for approval and it ultimately quashed. But during the caretaker government, with the decline of PPO a lot of newspapers started to publish and it suddenly gave boost to journalism in Pakistan.
- Gradually, a new trend of evening newspapers was introduced. Evening newspapers were quite common in Karachi but now they started to print from Lahore and Islamabad. It was a positive start. However, many critics said that they started a fiction trend and yellow journalism was started to practice. However, newspapers refuted this blame.
- From 1988 to 1996 different governments were formed but all the time president dissolved assemblies in different times. In 1996 election Pakistan Muslim League got a landslide victory and its governments were formed in all the provinces and also in National Assembly.
- In 1998, a conflict was established between Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Jang group. Nawaz Sharif demanded that 23 journalists should be dismissed from Jang group who were opposing Mian Nawaz Sharif's policy but Jang group denied to do so.
- Against this step journalists launched a movement and called it an attack on freedom of Press.
- After this step, a group of Journalists started to say that journalists should stop to take privileges from the government because it affects neutrality of journalists and the objective writing of journalists become subjective.

- In 1998 India tested its nuclear devices and adopted very aggressive policy against Pakistan. Pakistan replied that aggressive policy by testing nuclear devices on 28th May, 1998.
- On this event all the newspapers started to favor government stance and told the people that Pakistan is now in the race of super powers and there will be a new opening for Pakistan after that.

LESSON 12

PAKISTAN TOWARDS PRESS FREEDOM

Freedom of expression in Pakistan started with the arrival of care taking government after the tragedy of Bhawalpur in 1988. On the other hand, the world was moving towards global village. So

the satellite communication made it impossible for the governments to hide facts from the public. Pakistan was also affected by the new satellite technology and Dish antennas became quite common. Government also felt the change and started to think about the freedom of press gradually.

- In Pakistan there was never a favorable time regarding the freedom of press. The facts were always kept hidden from the public. Ayub Khan was the first ruler who curtailed not only the political growth but also the growth of the freedom of press. This trend prevailed in Pakistan for a very long time and no government tried to break the chains of communication till 1988.
- The inquiry report of Dhaka fall named as Hamood Ur Rehman Commission Report was published after 34 years in 2005. The reason for publish of this report was that an Indian Web site revealed and published it on internet. When it became an open secret then government of Pakistan also decided to publicize the report. It is the best examples how international scenario affects national policies.
- The frame work of international politics also changed drastically after 9/11 tragedy in the US. The strain in relation was seen on the international horizon. Western Europe and American relations became strained. Similarly, Middle East and American relations also went under great strain.
- The blame of 9/11 was put on Osama bin Laden and Taliban's in Afghanistan. So the military option was decided. To complete the military operation on Afghanistan either Iran could be helpful or Pakistan. Iran has no bilateral relations with US SO Pakistan was the last suitable option for USA to complete military operation. President Musharaf was contacted and his answer was in affirmation regarding the help of US forces to carry out military operation. Pakistani newspapers clearly wrote that people of Pakistan did not like President Musharaf's stand on the Afghan Issue. Some newspapers even wrote that US is not the reliable friend of Pakistan.
- Despite all these things the statements of President Musharaf that Terrorism cannot be eradicated from this world unless the root causes of terrorism are removed. So, we can say that a balance sort of view was seen in the newspapers. The papers not only given the feelings of the government but also given some antigovernment feelings.

- Generally, for all the information we rely on Western media that provides their point of view. During Iraq war for the first-time private TV channels and newspapers sent their representatives to Jordan and Syria near Iraq border to get the real picture. This was the first attempt of Pakistani mass media to present their point of view.

LESSON 13 ROLE OF PRINT MEDIA AFTER 2000

- Mass media and governments are mostly opposite to each other because every government wants to just highlight the achievements while mass media is also interested in the flaws and mistakes committed by a government as the role of mass media is just like a watch dog. The mistakes of the government become a hot issue when they get printed in the newspapers. Therefore, the interest of the reader remains intact and every newspaper seeks such stories that portray some thing excited for the people.
- The decision of Musharaf Government to support US after 9/11 cost a lot for Pakistan because a fresh wave of terrorism was seen across the country.
- Every newspaper tries to keep itself in the main stream. However, some dummy newspapers also remain in the main line because they keep submitting the copies of the newspapers to press branch. The declaration of the newspapers is bound to their circulation. So many dummy newspapers just to keep their declaration intact give this impression that the newspaper is printing as a result they keep submitting a few copies to press branch.
- In Pakistan many newspapers staff is untrained. The emergence of RPPO started a mushroom growth of newspapers and immediately the emerged newspapers could not find technically competent staff. Therefore, many journalists are unaware of the working condition and ethics of journalism.
- In Pakistan the main stream newspapers are either English or Urdu newspapers. The local languages newspapers have not much area of influence. It is very unfortunate that even these two newspapers have a major difference in their policies. The readership of English newspapers is very much different in culture, values, status, Economic interest and political understanding. Therefore, in many cases we see a widening horizon between these two papers.
- The best example of the difference of opinion between English and Urdu newspapers can be seen in 1998. When India tested nuclear devices and for the 3 weeks Pakistani government was thinking to take a step in response to Indian aggression at that time Urdu newspapers were clearly supporting the stance that Pakistan should also have nuclear weapons. Urdu newspapers not for a single time talked about the harmful impacts of nuclear weapons. On the other hand English newspapers opted a very moderate stance and they clearly informed the public about the negative impacts of the nuclear weapons.
- **Child Labour** is another issue that is dealt very seriously by the English newspapers and they clearly condemn the issue while there is a very rare chance of any such news or article in the Urdu newspapers.

- English newspapers very frequently talks about **Woman rights** and show the clear picture of their exploitation in the society as a suppressed class while Urdu newspapers are silent on this issue for quite a long time.
- **Religious extremism is condemned by English newspapers** while Urdu newspapers have no such policy. In fact many times in Urdu newspapers such articles were written or news was molded in this way that people developed sympathy with religious extremists all around the world. Our politicians also did not condemn religious extremism and as our Urdu newspapers give 70% of their news in the form of political Statements so a common man had nothing to read in Urdu newspapers and politicians were silent on it.
- The President Musharaf's policy to uproot extremism could not be successful because Urdu newspapers never supported the policy and common man got very little to read about the negative impacts of it. **It is a fact that only those movements got success that was supported by mass media as happened in 1977 and during Afghan Jihad.** English newspapers played their part but majority Urdu newspapers did not do that.
- There are some groups in Pakistan that are not only printing Urdu newspapers but also English newspapers. However, their policy was found different for Urdu newspapers and different for English newspapers.
- In a nut shell the basic reason for government failure in catering religious extremism was the role of Urdu newspapers as the Urdu papers never supported government on this issue.

LESSON 14

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF PRINT MEDIA IN PAKISTAN

- In Pakistan Urdu and English newspapers are different in content regarding religious extremism.
- Pakistani mass media on International Islamic Character is very sensitive and it has been very sensitive even before the establishment of Pakistan and example can be quoted of Khilafat Movement.
- Most of the Muslim countries never paid attention to the identity of not only their country but also of the other Islamic countries. To them the concept of Ummah negates nationalism. By thinking so Muslim countries are in fact ignoring the present age of nation states.
- In Muslim countries Mass Media is not as free as it is seen in Pakistan and Turkey. Therefore, to a great extent media is free to criticize government.
- Mass media presents an analysis of a nation that what are the drawbacks in it. If media would be under constant observation and would not be free it would be impossible to analyze a nation.
- Unfortunately, Muslim world have no platform for self-analysis as press is not free in most of the Muslim countries. This gap is filled by the mass media of West. People usually are bound to see the Western media to satisfy their curiosity to see the drawbacks of their governments.
- Mass media of the Western countries create a monopoly and they try to manipulate the ideas of other nations. They have done it so successfully that today if Economist, Time Magazine and New York Times write something that will be considered true.

- Western media has mastered in psychology of warfare. If we keenly observe the role of Western Media we will come to know that Psychological warfare is a part of mass media. In this regard Muslim world is far too behind to safeguard the interest of the world.
- It is true that radio, TV and newspapers should not be a tool for Propaganda.
- In any state there can be four influential groups namely Policy Makers, Military Elites, Politicians and Civilians. To influence the policy makers it is important to influence common man because statesmen take decision in favor of the people.
- The direct communication also has an important part to play. Television, radio and papers play an important part in it.
- Democratic societies do not use superficial sort of words in mass media. One word “unanimous opinion” is most commonly used in our media. While there is no unanimity in democracy as democracy means to acknowledge the different thoughts. Another word that was exploited by our mass media is “dynamic leadership”. All these words tell the story how much our mass media is biased and how bad outlook it gives in comparison to the other mass media of the world.
- Pakistani mass media is still working on the same footing as it did in the past in the time of Pakistan movement. We are still using obsolete and outdated terms. Mass media should realize that time has changed now we are no more in conflict to someone. Such words should be avoided that were used for the leaders of Pakistan movement. Present age media should look like a true established democratic media and neutrality should be its chief characteristic.

LESSON 15

NEWSPAPER CONTENTS AND CHANGES IN IT OVER THE PERIOD OF TIME

- In the beginning all newspapers were not in this form as they are seen today. In earlier phase, newspapers were just in a story form and there was no concept of formatting of news. In the subcontinent Paisa newspaper was very popular. The layout of the newspaper was just like a Magazine. There was no concept of heading.
- There are three basic segments in a newspaper nowadays.
 - (a) Advertising
 - (b) Editorial
 - (c) News.

Advertising is a very important feature of a newspaper. The most persuasive advertising leaves a lasting impact and has great appeal for the newspaper readers. There is a general concept that news sources are directly under control of Jews. This is a misconception. News sources are not in the control of Jews. Jews in fact own Multinational companies and they are the biggest advertisers. So advertising is the life blood of a newspaper that is why newspapers subdue to the policy of these multinationals.
- A newspaper has a circulation department and good newspapers do a lot of research to find out the interest of the readers. In fact this marketing is a device to address the interest of the readers so that the circulation of the newspapers can be enhanced.
- Editorials are another important segment in a newspaper. The subjective opinion of every kind is given on this page. The ethics of journalism say that news should be objective.

Therefore, a separate page is associated for that and it is called editorial page. Usually, editorial page reflects the policy of the newspaper. Columns are printed on editorial page and in the beginning, columns were just humorous. In the sub-continent, Abdul Majeed Salik, Chragh Hassan Hasrat and Atta-ul-Haq Qasmi are the prominent names on this horizon. Usually columns are called the interpretation of the news. Walter Lipan, who is a famous journalist, says that events are not important unless they are reported. Letters to the editor also carry a personal opinion so they are also printed on the Editorial Page.

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LESSON 16

NEW TRENDS OF JOURNALISM IN PAKISTAN

- There are some important things that are very important in the formation of a newspaper. Make up, Designing and Printing and Stall value.

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- In Pakistan after independence till 1953, Litho printing was used. There was no clarity in Litho Printing and its impression on paper was very ordinary. In 1953, Kohistan started Offset printing that made photo journalism possible. In offset printing photographic plates are used and then it is converted on Aluminum plate.

- In newspapers a good picture should supplement the news. There is a Chinese saying that a good picture is better than one thousand words.

- In Vietnam war 58000 American soldiers lost their lives. People saw the ugly face of death on television and it created a very different impact and Americans started to criticize the policy of government.

- The other important aspect of pictorial journalism is show biz. Fashion photography has become the part of the newspapers.

- Similarly, advertising is also the essential part of pictorial journalism. Many advertisements are in Multi-colour which was absent 10 years ago.

- A new trend that is emerged in our newspapers is forum discussion. Papers invite different experts. It gives the advantage of having different opinions at one plat form and then these are published in newspapers.

- Some newspapers organize Musical activities and get marketing and publicity.

- Many seminars on serious issues are also organized by different newspapers. It enhances freedom, of expression. The recent example is Hudood Ordinance. Many newspapers organized discussion panels for that.

- In Pakistani newspapers there is no investigative reporting. In many countries like USA investigative reporting is very common.

- President Nixon had to leave his office after the investigation reporting of Washington Post that Water Gates building is bugged. President Nixon ordered that all the speeches and sessions of Democrats would be recorded. When Washington Post published this news. President had to resign.

- In Pakistan freedom of press is not encouraging. But an ordinance of 2005 was implemented. It made things very easy but still it is not the ideal one.
- Features have covered the gap of investigating reporting.
- There is a wide difference in news and a feature. Features are not time bound while news are time bounds. Features can be objective and subjective while news is always objective.
- Features writer take their material from the happenings around

LESSON 17 MAGAZINE JOURNALISM

Magazine

A magazine is a periodical publication containing a wide variety of articles on various subjects.

Periodical

A periodical is a regular issue from a press; it could be a magazine or a review.

Journal

A journal is a professional periodical.

Historical perspective

The term Magazine was first used in 1731 in the title of “Gentleman’s Magazine” which was founded in London, however, magazine in its very early form was available to general public since 1646. In 1691 The Compleat Library appeared on the scene which is taken as the first magazine that broke away from book information. The first essay-type periodical was Tattler and the first magazine published from USA was Andrew Branford’s American Magazine.

Magazine Journalism after Independence

Major contribution of periodicals in the history of Pakistan had been in the area of literature. Quite a huge number of literary journals and magazines of high quality were published in the early years of our independence which resulted into this mindset of the readers that a periodical is a *literary journal*, which is altogether wrong.

Since independence different magazines and periodicals have been published and are still being published. These magazines and periodicals can be classified into different categories:

Literary Magazine

A literary magazine is a periodical devoted to literature. It usually covers poetry, short stories, essays on different topics, critical reviews of different books, interviews of different poets and authors, letters and a lot of other related stuff.

Some famous literary magazines that were published but have now vanished from the scene are: Sawera, Naqsh, Naya Daur, Naya adab, Urdu adab, etc. After 60s one by one they vanished and digest magazines took their place. Most of the critics blame radio, tv and newspapers for this. Television and radio are providing entertainment and information in the form of dramas, songs (poetry), discussions etc. and therefore people don’t bother to buy and read these magazines. Another reason is the lack of availability of good piece of writings and the cheap entertainment available in the form of digests.

Religious Magazine

Religious magazine is a magazine devoted to some specific religion. It is usually aimed at preaching some particular religion through religious poetry, religious scholars' articles and interviews, answering people's different questions and queries regarding that religion, historical incidents, comparative analysis with other religions etc.

In 19th century when journalism was taking its shape in sub-continent the most popular periodicals were religious magazines. Hindus, Muslims and Christian missionaries were publishing their magazines and propagating their religions.

Different organizations, sects and people belonging to different religions are publishing their magazines in Pakistan but they are not so popular anymore because electronic media particularly private Islamic and other channels are also doing the job in a bit different and to an extent popular way which has ultimately reduced the demand for religious magazines.

Film Magazine

Film magazines provide both information as well as entertainment to the readers. They are considered as the most popular periodicals worldwide. They provide an update to public on the upcoming new local and international movies, interviews and pictures of their favourite stars, some spicy news about the actors and actresses, and a lot of other stuff of public interest.

In Pakistan, film magazines have become less popular over the time which is considered as the outcome of overall downfall of Pakistan Film Industry. Till 1970, approx. 110 films were released per year and now it is 20-25. Similarly, number of cinema houses in the country till 1970 was 850 and now it is about 350. This gradual decline of film industry has disturbed the circulation of film magazine in the country resulting into the lesser number of publications available. Another reason is the coverage of film and entertainment media by newspapers. Newspapers are now providing such an extensive coverage to entertainment industry particularly films that people don't really feel like buying film magazines any more.

Sports Magazine

As the name indicates, sports magazine cover sports and sports persons. They provide information to sports fans about the international and national sports events and sports persons and also give pictorial coverage to mega sports events to meet the public demands.

Political Magazine

Magazines providing an insight and update on different political events nationally and internationally, political updates, news, interviews of famous politicians, political parties' activities and their affairs, political scandals, public opinion regarding the popularity of different parties and politicians are called Political magazines. In 7th and 8th

decade of 20th century we had some really popular political magazines but now they are not that popular anymore and their circulation has also decreased to a great extent. The major reason of their decline is newspapers; newspapers are now so deeply and thoroughly covering political news and other related things in the form of editorials, features and columns that people are no more interested in spending extra money on reading political magazines because they can read and get all the required information from newspapers. Some of the very famous political magazines that once we had were: Lail-o-nahar, Al-fateh etc.

Women's Magazine

Before partition, sub-continent had some very popular women's magazines like Ismat, which was published from Delhi. After independence, in 1960s other than independent women magazine, all national dailies also started publishing women's periodicals.

A women's magazine has everything of women's interest which could be beauty tips, articles on women issues, their poetry and other writings, interviews of successful women, etc.

Children's Magazine

Phool was one of the most popular children's magazine of sub-continent before independence.

Khilona from Delhi was another one that continued publishing even after partition. In Pakistan, daily newspapers are also publishing children's special periodicals in which they mostly cover children's drawings, pictures, poems, short stories, cartoons and other stuff of their interest.

Fashion Magazine

They are also called society magazines as they inform people about the new trends of the society in different ways. A special feature of these fashion magz is their quality of Photo Journalism, which is very high. They are usually liked by people but their circulation is not that high in the country which is due to their expensive nature.

Digest Magazine

Reader's Digest is the first digest in the history of digest magazines. Digest magazine is a magazine that provides a digestible material to its readers.

In Pakistan 80-85 digest magazines are available for light reading. They usually cover translations of short stories and novels from other languages mostly English, mythological stories, local stories, fiction etc. Digest magazines have now become the most popular and affordable type of magazine in Pakistan.

In-house Journal

The journals published by different organizations to provide information to their client and employees regarding their services, policies and other related information. In Pakistan, different government, semi-government and private organizations are publishing in-house journals. They can be divided into different sub-categories; newsletter is one of the most popular of its types.

Research Journal

Research journals are usually published on quarterly basis. They cover and publish latest research usually in the form of research papers, sometimes on different topics and sometime in a specific area. Almost all universities and higher education institutions publish these research journals on regular basis because they are now considered as a symbol of progress and knowledge. Students also give them more importance over their academic books.

Some other professional journals like medical journals, architectural journals and magazines, IT journals etc. are also being published in Pakistan.

Necessities/ requirements/qualities of Magazine Journalism

The editor of a periodical or a magazine should be a reputable person in his field in terms of his contacts e.g. an editor of a literary journal must be aware of all the important persons of the field and should have a friendly relation with them because they are the biggest source of information to his magazine.

Photo Journalism:

Another important thing is high quality photo journalism. Whatever category a magazine falls in its pictorial coverage of events, incidents and personalities has always been a major reason of popularity among its readers. A magazine with a low quality photo journalism cannot establish its identity and position, neither in the market nor in the eyes of its readers. *Life Magazine*, a magazine of international repute, was purely based on Photo Journalism and is considered as a fine example for others. It not only established its own identity through its pictures but also helped in establishing a standard guideline for other magazines.

LESSON 18

NEWS AGENCY

A news agency is an organization that acts as a source of news for different newspapers, radio, television and other organizations and individuals who are interested in getting them. News agencies do not publish these news themselves; they collect the news and provide them after subscription to their clients. They are also called as wire services or news services or press agencies.

Historical perspective

World's first news agency was formed around 1820s in New York City under the name of Association of Morning Newspapers. It was formed to gather upcoming reports from Europe. The first international news agencies formed in Europe were: Agence Havas of Paris (1835); the Reuter Telegram Company of London (1851), known simply as Reuters; and the Continental Telegraphen Compagnie of Berlin (1849), known as the Wolff Agency. They started their work as a financial data service to bankers and businessmen but then extended their service to world news. Reuters is also considered as the oldest news agency of the world. Initially news agencies used to send news through telegraphy services now it has been replaced by internet.

International News Agency

Four major international news agencies are:

- Reuters
- Associated Press (AP)
- United Press International (UPI)
- Agence France-Presse (AFP)

They are providing extensive service to their subscribers all over the world. They provide 3.5 crore words per day to their subscribers in more than 150 countries. These international news agencies work 24 hours and now also provide trade related hot news, international market trends and rates, currency rates and other commerce related information to their clients.

News Agencies in Pakistan

United India's first news agencies were Press Trust of India and Associated Press of India. Later before independence when two nation-theory got a recognition and acceptance, another news agency called Orient was formed in Lahore by Muslim journalists and newspapers of sub-continent. After independence, Orient survived for a very short time however the part of Associated Press of India that remained in Pakistan was declared as the first news agency of Pakistan with a name called **Associated Press of Pakistan (APP)**. Now APP is considered among the world's major International news agencies. APP was formed and initially controlled and run by the journalists and newspapers' editors of Pakistan. In 1956 some journalists parted from it and formed a private news agency called Pakistan Press Association. After sometime when it broaden its canvas and started working internationally, it changed its name to **Pakistan Press International (PPI)**.

In 1960 General Ayub Khan's government took APP under government's control and made it a state owned news agency under the Federal Information Department, from that day till date APP is working as a state owned news agency.

Another news agency **United Press of Pakistan** came into existence in December 1949. Mr. Qutubuddin Aziz, as a private limited company founded it. However for a long time, the agency has merely existed on paper and just about manages to get the small subsidies marked for it by the central and provisional governments.

In general Zia's regime some smaller news agencies also appeared but they could not establish their identity and name as APP and PPI did.

Difference between the working of a newspaper and news agency:

Newspaper	News Agencies
A newspaper has its own policy under its own specific management	. A news agency has its clients and subscribers in different parts of the world with their own specific policies and stance on different issues therefore, a news agency is bound to adopt an unbiased, objective and indifferent approach in its reporting and services to keep its subscribers satisfied.
They publish the news	They do not

LESSON 19 PRESS AND GOVERNMENT

1780-1822

All newspapers were published in English language which was not a matter of concern for East India Company as major population of sub-continent was unable to read and understand English. So, they were at ease that these newspapers cannot raise the people against them in anyway. And therefore, they did not regulate them and other publications in the form of any law. However, they showed a little concern when initially William Bolt in 1776 showed his interest in publishing first newspaper in subcontinent and was therefore ultimately deported back to England by East India Company. Jame Jahan Numa first Urdu newspaper appeared on the scene from Calcutta in 1822 but as Urdu was not a popular language at that time therefore Munshi Sada Sukh later converted it into Persian and then made it a bilingual newspaper. An important press act was introduced by the foreign rulers in 1823 immediately after native people's idea of publishing newspapers in their own languages (Persian, Urdu, Bengali). According to this act

taking a prior permission (license) for publishing a newspaper or any other publication was made compulsory. The government also had the authority to cancel the license whenever it desires so.

Pre and post 1857 period

When the war of independence began British government wanted to curtail the freedom of press completely so therefore they victimized different local papers claiming that this war is the result of that freedom which was given by them to local media.

As British came out victorious and it was a Muslim ruler whose throne was toppled by them therefore Muslims had to face more bitter consequences than Hindus. Newspapers published and edited by them particularly the newspapers and journalists of Delhi were blamed to be responsible for the so-called mutiny and rebellion against British and East India Company.

Sadaq-al-akhbar edited by Syed Jamiluddin and Delhi *Urdu Akhbar* edited by Maulvi Muhammad Baqir were closed down by the Raj as a punishment to stand against them.

At this bleak and difficult time Sir Syed Ahmed Khan realized his responsibility as a learned and educated man and played a major role in reducing distances between British government and Muslims of sub-continent. His *Tehzib-ul Ikhlāq*, Urdu Journal, published in 1870 propagated his reformatory doctrines regarding society and religion. He is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the transitional period of sub-continent's history.

Khilafat Movement 1914-1924

The Khilafat movement was a religio-political movement launched by the Muslims of British India for the retention of the Ottoman Khilafat and for not handing over the control of Muslim holy places to non-Muslims. When Khilafat movement started in 1914 Muslim journalists played a vital role to steer the direction of the struggle. *Zamindar* of Molana Zafar Ali Khan, *Comrade* and *Hamdard* of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, and *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh* of Molana Abul Kalam Azad, *Urdu e Mualla* of Molana Hasrat Mohani were the prominent newspapers and magazines which performed their duties to express their resentment. These Muslim journalists and their papers were sentenced and sanctioned several times. In 1910 another press act was enforced by the Raj, under this press act only *Zamindar* had to give security 11 times.

Newspapers and journalists of Bombay, Delhi, UP, Madras were particularly under strict observation in this period.

Rowlett Act, 1919

Rowlett Act was a black law introduced in India. To the law, the government got authority to persecute any Indian and the arrested had no facility of legal assistance and right to appeal just as the 'Lettres de Cachet' in France before the French Revolution. Quaid e Azam resigned from the central legislature as protest. In 1929, after the failure of All Parties Conference in which Hindus rejected demands presented by Muslim leaders and refused to adjust them in anyway, Indian politics divided into muslim politics and hindu politics and similarly muslim journalism and hindu journalism. In 1942, Congress started Quit India Movement which became quite violent, press laws were amended again by the government to control them, strict actions were taken against newspapers that supported this movement which were mostly Hindu newspapers.

After independence

The establishment and Bureaucracy of the new born state was mostly comprised of British trained officials. So, in a way the same approach regarding the freedom given to press traveled down to Pakistan from Raj. Quaid-e-Azam addressed the opening session of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly on 11th Sep. 1947 which was presided by Jugindhar Nath Mandal. In this session Quaid-e-Azam took an oath of the president of the Assembly and after that delivered a speech in which he announced his policy and the shape of the constitution that this assembly will

form, and along with this he also defined the to be structure and form of the political scene of Pakistan. A part of the speech was:

“....you are free to go to your mosques, you are free to go to your temples or to any other place of worship. It has nothing to do with the business of state and politics. By pursuing this policy you will realize after sometime that Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims not in religious sense because religion is a matter of personal faith for everyone. But as citizens of Pakistan for political purposes, all citizens will have equal rights in Pakistan...”

A press advice was issued to radio and newspapers in which they were asked not to publish the complete text of Quaid’s speech. Dawn’s editor Altaf Hussain did not like the idea as he was very close to Quaid, he called PID to find out who is behind it and what part of the speech they don’t want to be published but the true source could not be located. This is how the press-govt relationship began in Pakistan.

LESSON 20 PRESS AND GOVERNMENT II

1947-1958

When Pakistan appeared on the map of world, cold war or ideological war was going on between Soviet Union and America and the channel being used was media; whole world was divided in two blocks i.e. Communist block and American block. When Pakistan came into being it also has to choose between the two, so leaders of the nation decided to be a part of American block and after those numerous actions were taken against those newspapers, magazines and journalists who were more bent towards communist school of thought.

Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) was an important organization that was formed by Mian Iftikhar uddin, a former member of a communist party of India, when Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah asked Muslim journalists of sub-continent to publish newspapers from different places to spread the message of Muslim League and to support the Pakistan Movement. The intellectuals in PPL were mostly those that took part in Progressive Writers Movement (1936) and it is the only organization in the history of Pakistan that gathered such a huge number of laureates and intellectuals under its roof.

After joining American Block the first newspapers and publications that were targeted by the government were PPL’s publications. In 1953 Communist Party was banned; from 1947-53 almost 58 magazines and books were banned by the establishment and removed from the market.

1958-1969

On October 7, 1958, President Sikander Mirza abrogated the Constitution and declared Martial Law in the country. This was the first of many military regimes to mar Pakistan's history. With this step, the Constitution of 1956 was abrogated, ministers were dismissed, Central and Provincial Assemblies were dissolved and all political activities were banned. General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, became the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The parliamentary system in Pakistan came to end. Within three weeks of assuming charge on October 27, 1958, Sikander Mirza was ousted by General Ayub Khan, who then declared himself President. Ayub Khan within the first week of his coup

detained Syed Sibte Hassan, editor of weekly Lail o Nihar, Ahmed Nadim Qasmi, editor of Imrooz and Faiz Ahmed Faiz, editor of Pakistan Times who worked for Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) and went a step further and took over the PPL's papers on April 18, 1959, this move was aimed at ruling the PPL (publishing Pakistan Times, Imrooz, Lail-o Nihar, Sports Times) from wandering in the "*DISTANT ORBITS AND ALIEN HORIZONS*" as the PPL sponsored Progressive Ideology. Board of directors of PPL was dissolved and an administrator was appointed.

Press and Publications Ordinance (PPO)

In 1961 Press and Publications Ordinance was formed and enforced to keep the newspapers under government's control. It was a black law completely boycotted by media organizations and journalists. According to one clause stated in this ordinance all newspapers were ordered to publish DPR's or PID's published handouts as it is which is simply against freedom of press. In 1963, West Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance and East Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance were introduced by the provincial governments, the pressure built by these provincial laws resulted into an amendment in PPO but even after that its harshness remained same. In 1964, National Press Trust was established and all the PPL papers were given to this monster. NPT had right to take over any such newspaper, magazine which is apparently financially not able to run the newspaper or is dangerous to country's security. Apparently it was an independent body but actually it was state-controlled. After PPL's publications Daily Mashriq was also handed over to NPT, Sindhi paper Hilal-e-Pakistan was also taken over, Morning News which was being published since 1936 first from Calcutta and after partition from Karachi and Dhaka was also taken over. Some Bengali newspapers were also taken over by NPT. Dawn, Jung, Nawa-e-waqt were the only papers that were not taken in government's custody but they still had a tough time in Ayub's time as they were not liked by government.

Another harsh action taken against press by Ayub's government was the condition imposed on international news agencies that they cannot directly send news to their subscribers in Pakistan. They were asked to send their news via APP or PPI. This action was taken to control and restrict the news and information coming from international media from reaching to Pakistani people.

1969-1971

In March 1969 second Marshal Law was enforced in Pakistan by General Yahya Khan. After taking over he accepted all the political demands that were being asked by the political parties for quite a time now. Press was also given complete freedom and on PPO a moratorium was put that it cannot be used against press any further.

Although freedom of press was enjoyed by the media and newspapers but still General Yahya's period is not considered as a flourishing period of journalism as in this period no ethics were observed by the newspapers, with an exception to few reputable papers. Many dummy papers were revived; free insulting and even abusive language was being used. Other than state owned papers and some private newspapers journalistic scenario was quite dark, this time, out of freedom given to the press.

In this period some actions were taken against journalists. First target was again PPL, 24 journalists were fired from Imrooz, Pakistan Times & Lail-o-Nihar. These fired journalists formed Journalist United and revived a dummy paper Azad. A rebellion case was filed against the editorial board of Azad in the Marshal Law court as they were favoring the Majority Party that won the election. This action made it clear that even in General Yahya's government freedom was restricted to immorality, not to the truth.

LESSON 21

PRESS AND GOVERNMENT III

In all societies of the world, democratic or un-democratic, rulers always resent any attempt to provide new philosophies, new opinions and new ideas to the people.

Press history of Pakistan shows that most actions taken against the press and journalists by the government were taken in first 5-7 years of its independence. Immediately after independence a Security Act was brought in front of Quaid-e-Azam which was a black law to restrict the freedom of people and press. Under this act, law enforcing agencies had the authority to arrest any person for three to six months without giving any reason in the name of keeping peace, law and order or to avoid any law and order situation. Quaid-e Azam being a man of law very rigorously rejected this act. After Quaid's death the same Act was first enforced as an ordinance and later on passed by the parliament and enforced as a law. This Security Act was brutally used against politicians and the journalists by the later governments.

1971-1977

In 1971 crisis, journalists and newspapers were under strict observation and no journalist or newspaper was permitted to write about situation or incidents happening in East Pakistan, to keep the people blind of the situation. Freedom of press which was bestowed on newspapers and journalists was for obscene and immoral things, not for objective or unbiased reporting. People's right to know was an unacceptable thing to the government.

Later, nation's anger over country's humiliating defeat by India boiled into street demonstrations throughout country. To forestall further unrest, General Yahya hastily surrendered his powers to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan People's Party.

After Dhaka fall media played a great role in re-boasting nation's morale that were very disappointed over country's division into two parts and brought them back to the real life. Even then Draconian law, PPO was revived again and used against the press by the new government. Weekly Outlook and Punjab Punch were closed down using this ordinance despite the fact that Punjab punch and outlook were among those papers that supported PPP in election.

Different governments used different actions against newspapers and journalists in different times.

However most actions usually taken by the governments against newspapers to show their anger and to punish them are:

- Quota of Official ads is reduced or abandoned.
- Newsprint quota is reduced.
- Ending up subscription of newspapers in public institutions.
- Not inviting journalists to official functions and not to let them cover official meetings, seminars or functions.

Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists

Adopted by the Second World Congress of the International Federation of Journalists at Bordeaux on 25-28 April 1954 and amended by the 18th IFJ World Congress in Helsingör on 2-6 June 1986. This international Declaration is proclaimed as a standard of professional conduct for

journalists engaged in gathering, transmitting, disseminating and commenting on news and information and in describing events.

1. Respect for truth and for the right of the public to truth is the first duty of the journalist.
2. In pursuance of this duty, the journalist shall at all times defend the principles of freedom in the honest collection and publication of news, and of the right of fair comment and criticism.
3. The journalist shall report only in accordance with facts of which he/ she knows the origin. The journalist shall not suppress essential information or falsify documents.
4. The journalist shall use only fair methods to obtain news, photographs and documents.
5. The journalist shall do the utmost to rectify any published information which is found to be harmfully inaccurate.
6. The journalist shall observe professional secrecy regarding the source of information obtained in confidence.
7. The journalist shall be aware of the danger of discrimination being furthered by the media, and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins.
8. The journalist shall regard as grave professional offences the following:
 - Plagiarism.
 - Malicious misrepresentation.
 - Defamation, insult, libel, baseless accusations.
 - Acceptance of a bribe in any form in consideration of either publication or suppression.

Journalist's worthy of that name shall deem it their duty to observe faithfully the principles stated above. Within the general law of each country the journalist shall recognize in professional matters the jurisdiction of colleagues only, to the exclusion of every kind of interference by governments or others.

In Pakistan three major organizations have been formed to secure the journalists', newspapers' and editors' rights. They are discussed below:

APNS

All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS) is the organization of the Pakistani newspapers' owners. Its election is held every year; three major groups of newspapers are the major players of APNS that are:

Jang Group, Dawn Group and Nawa-i-Waqt Group. These groups are accused for bribing the smaller newspapers and getting benefit at large from the successive governments. This is the major body which refuses to give the Wage Board Award to the working journalists. According to the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists, the labor laws are violated in the Pakistani newspaper industry but no government dares to take action against these powerful elite of the country.

It was founded in 1953 by the major, pioneering editors and publishers of their day to facilitate the exchange of views between the editors of the major publications of Pakistan and to protect the rights of newspapers by giving them a voice to appeal unfair decisions against them.

Today, the APNS is a clearing house of sorts for its member publications, safeguarding the commercial interests of newspapers under its membership (including tax payment). For example, if a company advertises in a publication but refuses to pay, the publication complains to the APNS. The APNS gives the agency an ultimatum: pay or get blacklisted.

Its founders were: Hamid Nizami, Altaf Hussain – all the important, pioneering editors of the day.

Before APNS in 1950, the Pakistan Newspapers Society (PNS) was founded (to emerge the existing publishers), when the editors of the time realized that the print media needed organization and needed a clearing house. However, the PNS didn't last for very long as it didn't receive much support from publishers, advertisers or authorities.

Three years later in 1953 the All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS) came into being. It was badly needed to 'facilitate the exchange of views amongst newspaper owners on matters of common interest. APNS successfully gave newspaper owners the means to watch over, protect, preserve and promote the rights and interest of the newspaper industry on matters directly or indirectly affecting its rights and interests.' The Daily DAWN was the founding member.

CPNE

A couple of years later after APNS came into existence, in 1955, the Council of Pakistan Newspaper's Editors (CPNE) was established as a representative body of the editors of the publications of Pakistan. Both the CPNE and the APNS struggled against black press laws that trampled over the freedom of the press.

PFUJ

Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) is located in Islamabad, Pakistan. PFUJ is arguably South Asia's first association representing the journalists of an entire country. To its credit, in the 50-odd years since its inception it has always stood out as a symbol of freedom of speech. The battles it waged for press freedom and for a democratic dispensation in the country will always remain etched in the collective memory of Pakistanis.

To this day, PFUJ remains committed to the ideals for which it was established in 1950. Set up primarily to work towards a better working environment for Pakistani journalists, it didn't remain isolated from the struggles and campaigns launched by the civil society. In fact, it was in the vanguard whenever sacrifices needed to be made and freedoms were to be won.

Pakistani journalists are although following some code of ethics on their own as different media organizations and newspapers have their own code of ethics but there is no unanimous written code of ethics for the country's press which is mainly because PFUJ has always stood on the demand that the government should first abolish the black laws against press and after that talk about the code of ethics.

In established democracies, press and media have their own independent bodies, court of honours and code of ethics to keep the media, press and journalists accountable.

Among the laws that are used against press, newspapers and journalists, other than press/ media laws, are laws of defamation and liable. Another law of contempt of court is also used against press and journalists particularly in case of court reporting.

LESSON 22

PRESS AND GOVERNMENT IV

1977- till date

General Zia-ul-Haq came to power by overthrowing Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, after widespread civil disorder, in a military coup on July 5, 1977 and imposed Martial Law. He assumed the post of President of Pakistan in 1978 which he held till his death. He was assassinated in a planned aircraft crash on August 17, 1988 under mysterious circumstances. 18 magazines and newspapers were closed down and almost 150 journalists were arrested and given different punishments by the Marshal Law courts in this period. For a long time pre-censorship was also imposed on the newspapers, no newspaper could publish anything without prior approval from the Information department. In protest for quite a time newspapers kept publishing leaving an empty space for censored news but then they were ordered by the Information Department to publish or give some other news in place of censored news. Till 1988 these restrictions continued. In 1988, General Zia-ul- Haq died in a planned aircraft crash. After that the new caretaker government repealed PPO and introduced a new and a better ordinance Registration of Printing Press and Publications Ordinance (RPPPO). RPPPO was a sigh of relief for the journalists and newspapers since then press is comparatively enjoying and working in a better environment and did not have a major clash with the government. It was just in 1997-99 Nawaz Sharif's government had some problems with the Jang Group of Newspapers. On 12th October, 1999 General Musharraf took over but no new law or additional restrictions were imposed on the press rather Musharraf's government appreciated the private sector and gave them a chance to invest more in electronic media which resulted into many new radio and TV channels.

People's right to know

Freedom of press is something that is linked with the people's right to know or free excess to information that ensures accountability and a true democratic society. In all democratic societies, government accepts people's right to know and therefore cannot stop anyone from getting any information. It is an accepted basic human right in democratic societies to keep the governments accountable to public.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

Article 19

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)

Article 19

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.
2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.
3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

- For respect of the rights or reputations of others.
- For the protection of national security or of public order (order public), or of public health or morals.

Till 2002 this basic right was not approved or accepted in Pakistan. Freedom of expression and freedom of press is mentioned in Constitution of Pakistan 1973 but with conditions that are very vague and can be used by the government to exploit any journalist, newspaper or media organization.

Constitution of Pakistan 1973

Article 19

“Every citizen shall have the right of **freedom of speech and expression**, and there shall be **freedom of the press**, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security, or defense of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or morality or in relation to the contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an office.”

During the caretaker government of Malik Mairaj Khalid (Nov. 1996 – Feb. 1997), Information Minister Javed Jabbar introduced an ordinance “Right to know”. But the government that came later did not forward it in the assembly and therefore the ordinance died its own death.

In October 2002, when international donors insisted on legislation on the people's right to know, an ordinance called the Freedom of Information Ordinance was hurriedly promulgated by General Musharaf's government. The fact that the parliament that had come into being at that time was deliberately bypassed in making the law throws some light on the negative attitude of the government of the day on the issue.

Some of the serious flaws in the Freedom of Information Law stand out. First, the ordinance is in addition to, and not in derogation of, anything contained in any other law for the time being in force. It means that if there is any law that militates against the right to know, that will take precedence over the ordinance and nullify its effect.

Secondly, the ordinance prohibits making public several important documents which throw light on the decision-making process in government departments. These include noting on files, minutes of meetings, any interim orders, records of banking companies relating to the accounts of their customers and the record of private documents furnished to public offices among others. Denying access to these important documents means shielding the government against charges of mis-governance and corruption in hatching schemes and making purchases that might be utterly useless or downright harmful.