

Media in the Times of Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan (1960-1966)

Abdul Basit Mujahid¹
Javid Raza Naseem²

Abstract

Ayub Era (1958-69) is a significant episode in political history of Pakistan. Able administrators like Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan (1910-67) and General Muhammad Azam Khan (1908-94) played a pivotal role to strengthen that regime. Nawab of Kalabagh possessed a unique political ideology. He was a well-educated but conservative feudal. Being a man of status quo, he did not favour revolutionary ideas in politics. He was well aware of the power of media so always wanted to see it responsible. To him, unbridled media might cause unrest and anarchy. He promulgated Press and Publication Ordinance which had curtailed the freedom of expression. During his gubernatorial period, state owned electronic media was used to strengthen Ayub government. Radio Pakistan served as mouthpiece of Ayub Khan (1907-74) in the Presidential election of 1965. Both print and electronic media played a pivotal role in keeping the public morale high during Indo-Pak War of 1965. Some men of letters and journalists were not in good books of Nawab. Many newspapers were banned for different reasons on different occasions. Progressive Papers Limited was usurped by Ayub government to hush up the dissenting voices. Print media represented the public sentiments on the issue of Tashkent Accord which had hastened the downfall of Ayub Khan.

Key Words: *autocracy, freedom of expression, Press and Publication Ordinance, Indo-Pak War of 1965, Progressive Papers Limited, National Press Trust.*

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of History, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad.

² Associated with Govt. Post Graduate College, Mianwali.

Introduction

Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was born on June 20, 1910 at Kalabagh, Mianwali. He acquired modern education in renowned institutions of British India (1858-1947) and England. His debut as a politician of Indian sub-continent level started in the historic session of Muslim League on March 23, of 1940 in Lahore (Jahan Dad, 1999). In decisive election of 1946, candidate of Muslim League, Mawlana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi (1915-2001), was earnestly supported by Malik Amir (Anjum, 1992). After the independence, he served as the member of legislative assembly and kept on working for his landlord community as well (Rokhri, 1994). His intimate friend Ayub Khan took over in 1958 which proved a turning point in the political career of Nawab of Kalabagh. In the new regime, he was assigned to run Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation and oversee Food and Agriculture Commission. His managerial capability and administrative talent impressed Ayub Khan to appoint him as Governor of West Pakistan. His gubernatorial duty started on 1st of June 1960 and lasted for more than 6 years. West Pakistan (Today's Islamic Republic of Pakistan) or One Unit was a vast territory comprised of different ethnic and cultural entities so its governorship was considered as 'the most important office next to that of President'.

As a feudal lord, in true sense, Malik Amir had both negative and positive traits of his community. He was a loyal friend, a sincere confidant and an able administrator renowned for his integrity and transparent financial record. At the same time, his unshakeable 'commitment to the maintenance of *status quo*' and an 'authoritarian outlook earned him notoriety (Jahan Dad, 1999). Ayub era is still remembered for its autocratic ways of administering things. Allegedly, muffling opposing voices and chaining press by different tactics were common those days. Nawab of Kalabagh played a major role to strengthen his rule. His harsh dealing with his rivals and critics gave birth to rumours. In this regard, one can find altogether different opinions made by some of his colleagues like Jahan Dad Khan (1929-2011), Altaf Gauhar (1923-2000), Qudratullah Shahab (1917-86) and many more.

Like all the other dictators, Ayub Khan wanted to control the public opinion via grip on media. For this, he planned to go ahead gradually. He, after seeking advices from his colleagues and confidants, took following steps;

- Some learned civil servants like Shahab aided the regime and started Writers' Guild under state patronage.
- Progressive Papers Limited, owned by communist leader Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din (1907-62), was usurped in April of 1959.
- In 1961, government took control of Associated Press of Pakistan.
- Press and Publication Ordinance was imposed in 1963 which played a major role in suffocation of vociferous media.
- Showbiz industry was forced to be in its limits by implementing new film censorship policy in 1963.
- In 1964, National Press Trust was established to run the affairs of *Pakistan Times*, *Imroze* and *Lail o Nihar*; the newspapers and journal snatched from Progressive Papers. (Niazi, 1986).

Nawab and Freedom of Press

Ayub Khan lifted Martial Law and imposed new constitution in 1962. Newspapers became bold and vociferous. Members of new, indirectly, elected legislative assemblies

started to show their oratory skills. Print media gave them ample coverage. According to Shahab, that freedom of expression made Nawab resentful. He expressed his displeasure, “Newspapers are pouring too much dirt upon us. That’s why I have stopped reading newspapers in the morning. It ruins my day and I find myself unable to work with peace of mind.” Shahab further tells about a cabinet meeting where different suggestions were made to tighten the grip on press. *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Dawn* were to be victimised especially. Finally, decision was made to purchase a huge lump of shares of those newspapers and get control of conflicting media (Shahab, 1994).

Press and Publication Ordinance

Press Commission brought forth many suggestions to bridle the media which assumed the shape of Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO) later. It was promulgated on April 26, 1960. It is said that Federal Information Secretary, Brig. F.R. Khan was its main architect. Later, with some amendments, Nawab of Kalabagh imposed it as West Pakistan Press and Publication Ordinance 1963 (XXX 1963) in August, 1963. New ordinance was termed as “Black Law” by journalist community (Shahab, 1994). Amended ordinance curtailed freedom of expression by different tactics.

- Executive was given the authority to confiscate the security. That power was vested in Judiciary before.
- No publisher, printer or editor was allowed to publish reports on proceedings of legislative assemblies and judiciary other than provided officially.
- The maximum limit of security was raised from ten thousands rupees to thirty thousand rupees.
- All press notes and handouts issued by government could be published literally only. If headline and content under it are not compatible, action might be taken against the publisher.
- Government has a right to set up a commission for an enquiry into the financial resources and employee-employer relations. Declaration of newspaper or journal might be withheld or cancelled if recommended by commission.
- Government can set up a special tribunal to hear appeal against government. This tribunal would be comprised of a retired judge of Supreme Court, a government officer and a government nominee journalist or editor. Previously, High Court was authorized to hear such appeals (Niazi, 1986).

A vehement protest was made by journalists and publishers against all the above-mentioned restrictions. President Ayub yielded to demands of media men. It is said that Malik Amir showed reluctance but had to nullify those amendments on November 29, 1964. Altaf Gauhar said that Nawab of Kalabagh was so scornful about newsmen that he used to use derogatory words about them, ‘whoever was a musician before has become a press reporter now’. Nawab’s actual words were, “*saday ilaqay wich jinay mirasi san o saray hun sahafī ban gae ne* (Gauhar, 2003).

Majid Nizami (1928-2014) said that Nawab of Kalabagh came to Temple Road for the condolence on the death of Hamid Nizami (1915-62) and threatened to ban *Nawa-i-Waqt* in these words, “God reigns in the heavens above us and, here under the sky, Ayub Khan is our ruler. If Ayub desires so I will ban the *Nawa-i-Waqt* without thinking for a moment” (Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Platinum Jubilee Special), March 23, 2015). General Secretary of Convention Muslim League, Abdul Wahid Khan witnessed something different in this regard,

Press Laws of 1963 were not created by Altaf Gauhar. This is something half true. Actually, it was the brainchild of Ayub Khan. Nawab did not favour this line of action so suggested him a lenient and pragmatic way to deal with press. To him, most of the newspapers were not opposed to Ayub Government and problematic *Nawa-i-Waqt* could not be subdued by press laws. So those restrictions would cause infamy only (Weekly *Zindagi*, October 6, 1969).

Allegedly, West Pakistan was far behind than East Pakistan in the matter of free media.

- Name of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din (1907-62) was put into 'exit control list' on January 15, 1962 (Razi & Shakir, 1997).
- When *Outlook*, Karachi and *Iqdam*, Lahore, were closed by provincial government, *New York Times* wrote on 13th of August, 1964, "This left West Pakistan without a single newspaper or magazine critical of government policy. In East Pakistan, four opposition newspapers continued to appear" (Niazi, 1986).
- Publication of daily *Kohistan*, from Lahore and Multan, was disallowed for three months on Nov 7, 1963. Editor, Nasim Hejazi (1914-96), was accused of publishing a fake and untrue report so was put behind the bars.
- Bitter criticism from Maulana Abul Ala Maududi (1903-79) had been a constant source of pinching for Ayub government. On January 3, 1964, six months ban was put on Monthly *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* under the Section 27 of PPO.
- Declaration of monthly *Afkar* was cancelled in June 1965 (Razi & shakir, 1997).

Men of letters continued their creative and literary activities in Ayub era. Many of them remained suspicious in the eyes of government. Writers' Guild, as a forum for such scholars, was formed in All Pakistan Writers Convention on 31st of January, 1959. Shahab, who was the main architect behind that organisation, recorded the reaction of Nawab. To him, Guild might be harmful for the integrity of Pakistan as loyalty of some writers of that forum could be called into question. Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-84), Ahmad Nadim Qasimi (1916-2006), Shahidullah Kaiser (1927-71), Shaukat Siddiqui (1923-2006) and Abdullah Hussain (1931-2015) were such people who were working with their unpatriotic plans (Shahab, 1994). Shahab further reveals when Abdullah Hussain was conferred on with Adam Jee Award for his novel, *Udas Naslain*, Nawab had become extremely angry. He argued that obscene language and four-letter were used in the novel. According to conservative Nawab, author created some vulgar and objectionable scenes in it so that master piece was mere '*wahiyat* and *kanjar khana*'. He was seriously thinking to go into court against the novelist but had to do away with the idea because Federal government had not been interested. He wrote a letter to President Ayub and complained about Shahab. To him, he was Shahab who had been encouraging all that obnoxious and nasty work in the name of literature (Shahab, 1994). It is said that Habib Jalib (1928-93) remained a permanent source of disturbance for Malik Amir. Once he remarked about Jalib, "No one could upset me except Habib Jalib during my tenure as governor. I could not teach him a lesson because he possessed no mundane things like assets, wealth, land etc. He was enriched with the gift of poetry only and which I was unable to snatch from him" (Shah, 2014). His government succeeded in putting him in jail on an erroneous charge of murder. Later, Altaf Gauhar convinced Nawab about the innocence of detainee and set him free (Gauhar, 1997).

There are some evidences which refute such harshness by Malik Amir. Abdul Wahid

Khan revealed in an interview, “Nawab sent a message to Ayub Khan via Ghulam Nabi Memon. That message persuaded him to keep from putting ban on *Nawa-i-Waqt*. Central government wanted Shorish Kashmiri (1917-75) arrested but Nawab bluntly refused to do so (*Zindagi*, October 6, 1969). But he was not so lenient and magnanimous about the freedom of speech in his native area, Kalabagh estate. He was too sensitive in this matter to allow any kind of rumours or defamation. Oppressed people of Kalabagh city and surrounding Pakhtun area were quite active to defame him. *Baghochi Mahaz* and *Ahrars* made efforts to find some exposure and made his atrocities public but with limited success. Actually, his rivals found no medium other than oral. So all the opposition to him was limited to rumours and gossips. If something got published in newspapers to defame him was barred to reach the public of Kalabagh News hawkers of his area were ordered to throw all such newspapers into river Indus and receive the bill from estate’s exchequer. He could not afford any kind of stir and uproar among his people (Shah, 2014).

Murder of Zamir Qureshi

Zamir Qureshi, a senior journalist, accompanied Mir Baqi Baloch to visit an opposition leader Malik Ghulam Jilani (d.1984) on January 29, 1965. Unlucky Qureshi was shot dead at the doorstep of his host. It is said that perhaps shooter did not aim to kill him. Jilani or Baqi Baloch might be the intended victims for their staunch opposition to regime. According to *British Papers*, Baqi Baloch as an angry young politician had become ‘a minor thorn in the flesh of provincial government’. He was threatened that something unpleasant might happen to him if he persisted with his activities as Awami Leaguer (Roedad, 2002). As alleged by Sherbaz Khan Mazari (1930-2020), that shooting was done on the behest of Malik Amir (Mazari, 2000). Two days later, complete strike was seen and no paper was published on that ‘day of protest’ (Feldman, 1972). On March 9, 1965, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan contributed Rs.5000/= and nine provincial ministers Rs.1000/= each in Zamir Qureshi Fund to help the grieved Qureshi family. Provincial government started an investigation but it could not continue to solve the mystery of murder (Razi & Shakir, 1997). Some member of West Pakistan assembly enquired about the investigation report at the end of that year. He was replied that it would be against ‘public interest’ to public the details of the investigation” (Feldman, 1972).

Rift between Altaf Hussain and Malik Amir

Altaf Hussain (1900-68) was a renowned Bengali journalist and editor of English daily *Dawn*. He served as Federal Minister of Industry in Ayub Cabinet from 1965 to 1968. It is said that he was too frightened of Nawab to face him. He apprehended that Nawab might beat him up physically. Facts reveal that enmity had nothing to do with his journalistic activities. Famous journalist Shorish Kashmiri said, in the presence of Khizar Hayat Tiwana (1900-75) that Altaf Hussain informed President Ayub of an intrigue between American ambassador and Malik Amir. According to that ‘conspiracy’ Nawab was plotting to oust Ayub and take over with the help of America. Nawab was offended on the blame. When Ayub asked him to meet Altaf and clarify the situation he denied to do so and said, “I don’t want to see his loathsome and heinous face.” Altaf became so terrified that he never visited Lahore in the lifetime of Nawab (Munir, 1985).

Nawab of Kalabagh’s sensitivity about Image Building

During his tenure as governor of West Pakistan, he used to broadcast his monthly speech on Radio Pakistan in mid of every month. This enabled him to keep him in touch with a layman of his province. He was too touchy about his image in the eyes of public. At the

same time, he was well aware of the power of media in portraying anybody's image. This can be judged by the following incidences;

- When provinces of west wing were amalgamated into One-Unit, Malik Amir supported it fervently. Later, he said in an address to Sibi Jirga that integration scheme was necessary to stop the ethnic prejudices and provincialism (*Daily Civil and Military Gazette*, March 6, 1963). As governor, he tried to curb all anti One-Unit activities. Abdul Wali Khan (1917-2006) of National Awami Party blamed Nawab of signing an anti-One-Unit document before the coup of Ayub; Nawab, at once, denied such signature of him. He retaliated while talking to journalists in Peshawar, "Same peoples are propagating against One-Unit as were against the creation of Pakistan." He raised the question about the authenticity of the said document and asked to bring it before public (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, June 14, 1963).
- Chaudhri Zahur Elahi (1921-81) started his career as foot constable in earlier period of life; before partition of India, later; he became a successful businessman in textile industry. He made his debut as politician in 1950s. He, gradually, raised himself to position of General Secretary of ruling Convention Muslim League. He got ownership of Progressive Papers Ltd. on September 16, 1962. Malik Amir disliked growing intimacy between Chaudhri and Ayub Khan. He had doubts about ambitious Chaudhri and became furious when minor news about his (Nawab's) failing health appeared in *The Pakistan Times*. Chaudhri was called on duty as head constable by provincial government. He was humiliated time and again by different tactics. An SP of special branch was given the task to tease him. He was entangled in different cases (Shahab, 1994).
- Governor Malik Amir got wounded during the hectic days of War of 1965 as his car was hit by a Pak Army Jeep. He refused to be cured in hospital because some Paparazzi might get info and publish in newspaper and that might demoralize his people (Shah, 2014).
- One of his letters to Commissioners was published in newspapers. Actually, it conveyed a message to public that Nawab had disliked pomp and show. That letter by his military secretary had following instructions.
 - No official or un-official invitations to meal or reception will be accepted by Governor.
 - There is no need to erect flags, buntings or gates to welcome him.
 - It will not be allowed to muster students for his welcome.
 - He will not be pleased to wear garlands. (According to a cutting of newspaper provided by Malik Ammad Khan, grandson of Nawab of Kalabagh)

Action on Media News

Media of his times kept him well aware of the peoples' problems. On many occasions, he redressed after knowing their grievances through newspapers.

- A passenger of train, Murid of Mari Indus, became a prey to pickpocket and lost Rs. 3800. Governor immediately phoned Inspector General of Railway Police to redress the complaint as news of unsafe journey by railway would deprive it of passengers and income. (Shah, 2014)

- News about the abduction of a lady teacher made him infuriated. Due to his strict orders, the kidnapped teacher was found and restored to her family. Criminal was sent to lock within 24 hours (Jahan Dad, 1999).
- When Malik Amir came to know through newspaper that burglars had broken into the Commissioner House of Qalat, he suspended him in no time and remarked, “A Divisional head unable to secure his own home should not be kept on his post.” (Shah, 2014).

Awareness through Media

Media, both print and electronic, were used to aware the common man about necessary things,

- Many projects were launched to control diseases and epidemics with the aid of different international agencies like World Health Organization and UNICEF. Radio Pakistan and newspapers played a vital role in making the public well aware of symptoms of and precautions for Malaria, trachoma, T.B, small pox and leprosy (Raza, 1997).
- His government ‘preferred progress in Agriculture after Defense so that country might become self-sufficient in food’. Farmers were addressed and encouraged via different programs of Radio. They relied on media for weather forecast and other sharing about latest agricultural knowledge. (*Nawa-i-Waqt* Dec. 22, 1965).
- Nawab belonged to rustic background and had special interest in rearing healthy animals. Throughout his period, Horse and cattle shows were conducted regularly. Horticulture shows and exhibitions were another attractive feature of his times. Newspapers used to cover all the events with interesting details. The purpose was to encourage a healthy competition among farmers.
- Water logging and salinity were alarming issues for the cultivators. Expert agriculturists guided them through broadcasting simple messages in local languages. Articles in special editions of papers and advertisement by agriculture department helped the farmers a lot. Scarp Tube well scheme with aid of Yugoslavia and America was advertised and introduced via media. It helped low income farmers to install tube well by paying easy installments. Farmers were encouraged to install tube wells by paying 25% of cost in advance and remaining 75% in twenty installments (*CMG*, March 3, 1963).
- In West Pakistan, ‘introduction of high yielding variety of seeds of wheat, rice and cotton and supplies of fertilizers and pesticides brought about the ‘green revolution’ which helped expansion in agro-based industries (Yusuf, 1998).
- Results and prize distributing ceremonies of government schools and colleges were given ample space and time in media. Institutes of government sector were overcrowded due to that publicity, high standard education and low tuition fees (*Dawn*, August 29, 1965).
- West Pakistan Railways started many swift trains. Passengers were kept updated with their time tables by all mediums of communication. Pakistan

International Airline was another success story of that era. Its luxurious hospitality was advertised for foreigners in English newspapers. Newspapers used to promote and publicize the attractive offers of dance clubs and hotels. Conservative Nawab remained unconcerned on pics of camber and ballet dancers.

- Film industry of Pakistan was at its peak in Ayub era. Weekly editions about showbiz activities were eagerly awaited by moviegoers. Films with the name and pics of cast, venues (cinemas' name) timings and categories and rates of tickets were published in more than one page in every newspaper.

Presidential Election of 1965

Allegedly, role of Malik Amir in Presidential election earned him unending notoriety. Allegedly, he kept his eyes closed on all the irregularities done in the election of Basic Democrats in November, 1964 (Afzal, 1987). Later, Combined Opposition Parties nominated Miss Fatima Jinnah as their unanimous contestant against Ayub Khan for President of Pakistan. Evidences show that Ayub Khan became victorious because Governor West Pakistan had ensured his victory by using all sorts of trick. He, as a chief executive of West Pakistan, was in a position to use official machinery and bring his 'friend and benefactor' a 'landslide victory' (Hamid, 2002). According of Miss Jinnah, "the most unfortunate aspect of the present condition is that administrative machinery of the country is identified with Mr. Ayub Khan's election campaign" (*The Pakistan Observer*, Dec. 7, 1964). Critics of Ayub Khan blamed that Radio Pakistan had served as the mouthpiece to king's party and blacked out the campaign of Miss Jinnah.

Media Trial of Miss Fatima Jinnah

At first, Ayub Khan and his team rejoiced at appearance of Fatima Jinnah as contestant as she had been too old and fragile to face the commander like Ayub Khan. That happiness changed into worry and later, in fear due to zealous public response to Miss Jinnah (Gauhar, 1997). Fatima Jinnah attacked the autocratic policies of Ayub especially his idea of controlled and guided democracy. She raised her voice for pure democracy through direct elections. Ayub boasted about progress and prosperity of his era. Apparently, he showed reverence and respect for sister of 'Father of Nation' but he also commented about her naivety about the problems of Pakistan. That difference of opinion converted into contempt and disrespect gradually. Unfortunately, President Ayub and his colleagues felt no hesitation in doing character assassination of Miss Jinnah.

- Letters from the 'public' to Fatima Jinnah were widely published. All these letters reminded her of his reverence as 'mother of nation, and 'exhorted' her to stay away from politics. One of the letters of October of 1964 read as, "...Making nearly half the nation her opponent, it lowered her position as a symbol of national reverence. If her presence in political life was important, Quaid himself would have appointed her in cabinet."
- Another letter of September, 1964 concludes, "... You are no longer socially worthy of preaching to a nation."
- Abdul Wahid Khan, General Secretary of Convention Muslim League, said, "Vote for Miss Jinnah suits India."
- In Dipalpur, on Oct. 19, 1964 Muhammad Yasin Wattoo, Education Minister in the cabinet of Nawab of Kalabagh, warned people against

emotionalism as politicians of COP had been hiding behind Miss Jinnah to grab power.

- Government widely spread the fatwa by Chief of Jamiat Ulema, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni who declared, “Nomination of Miss Jinnah is Un-Islamic.” (Daily *Pakistan Times*, Sep. 27, 1964)
- “Woman cannot be a head of State.” Islamic Law Research Society seconded the fatwa.
- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-79) alluded towards her peevish nature. Some politicians of ruling party stooped to low to ridicule her personal life (Feldman, 1972).
- According to famous American magazine *Time* of 25th December, 1964, in the heat of election campaign, Ayub Khan did not hesitate to declare Fatima Jinnah an American and Indian agent.
- Advertisements in all leading Urdu and English newspapers were published to portray Fatima Jinnah as a person whose loyalty with Pakistan was suspicious. That poster cum ad with a pic of Ayub Khan in shawl and Jinnah Cap and his symbol ‘Rose’ said in majuscules, “BEAWARE; WHY IS GHAFAR KHAN IN KABUL?” Advertisement further ‘warns’ people of the conspiracy of Pakhtunistan by Fatima Jinnah and Bacha Khan.

Nawab of Kalabagh avoided to be indulged in that calumny. He strictly opposed sending a letter to Fatima Jinnah because its content was derogatory and it had a sense of contempt. He rather suggested Ayub to develop a working relationship on the basis of mutual respect. He asked railway authorities to park saloon of Miss Jinnah in Governor’s yard if she wished so. She was offered by governor to stay in any government rest house during her campaign (Weekly *Zindagi* June, 1970). Pir Ali Muhammad Rashedi (1905-87) remarked that he arranged victory for Ayub in presidential election but he had done it ‘unhappily and with a heavy heart.’ (Rashedi, 2002).

Role of Media during Indo-Pak War of 1965

Golam Wahed Choudhury (1926-98) opined that the Indo-Pak War of 1965 was ‘the biggest mistake of Ayub Khan’s rule’ (Yusuf, 1980). Allegedly, he was tempted with a plan of some bureaucrats and politicians of hawkish nature. Nawab disclosed before Shahab, “Dear Shahab! General Akhtar Hussain Malik, Mirza Muzaffar Ahmad, Bhutto, Aziz Ahmad and Nazir Ahmad planned the war and pushed Ayub Khan into quandary. They were not hesitant to risk the integrity of Pakistan for their ulterior motives.” (Shahab, 1994). As alleged by S.M.Zafar (b. 1930), Z.A. Bhutto wanted to dethrone Ayub and ‘reach the pinnacle of power himself.’ (Jahandad, 1999) According to the plan, occupied Kashmir had to be liberated by invasion and helping Kashmiri freedom fighters. Pakistan Army launched Operation Gibraltar and Operation Grand Slam in July-August of 1965 respectively. That infiltration to provoke insurgency ended in fiasco due to poor coordination. In retaliation, West Pakistan was attacked by furious Indian Army on September 6, 1965 to teach Pakistan a lesson for her ‘malicious’ interference in Indian Occupied Kashmir. Muhammad Musa Khan (1908-91), the then Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army remarked, “In West Pakistan, under the dominating personality of Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan, the then governor, the civil administration played an impressive part in the war” (Musa, 1983).

Provincial government of Nawab of Kalabagh made an effective use of print and electronic media during 17 days of war.

- On very next day of the attack, a broadcast message by Governor West Pakistan went on air, “Victory will be ours”. He appreciated the valour of his public especially of Lahorites. He was determined to maintain “the supply line, in the fields, in the factories, in the offices, in the trade and in the day to day administration” (*Dawn*, September 8, 1965).
- Civil defense department started training sessions and exercises for its staff to ensure public safety. PTV, Radio Pakistan and newspapers repeatedly explained different terms of civil defense.
- Radio Pakistan guided about the first Aid centers. Thirty Casualty Centers were serving in Karachi alone.
- Appeals were broadcasted to volunteer paramedics to assist civil hospitals.
- Same requests were made to fire fighters, social workers and technical experts of different fields. (*Dawn*, September 9, 1965).

National Defense Fund

Governor motivated the people of West Pakistan on 13th of September via Radio Pakistan. He appealed for monetary help in National Defence Fund,

Quaid-i-Azam, by grace of Allah, gave us Pakistan and it has fallen on our lot to defend and protect it. This is the time for making sacrifices-big sacrifices. Let us demonstrate to our valiant brothers at the front that we will do everything humanly possible to back up their heroic actions (*Dawn*, September 14, 1965).

Governor donated his full salary to National Defense Fund, all members of his cabinet Rs. 1000/= each; government servants receiving Rs.2000/= or more 10% of their pay; those drawing less than Rs.2000/=, 5% of it; and Class IV government servants contributed their pay of one day. These deductions were made every month till the end of emergency (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, Feb. 14, 1966). The appeal made by Nawab proved effective. His province contributed the lion-share of Defense Fund. Federal government told on December 7, 1965 that out of total 350 million rupees 270 million was donated by West Pakistan (*Daily Imroze* (Lahore), Dec. 8, 1965).

Maintenance of Supply Line

Governor pressed hard to maintain supply lines to soldiers in bunkers and public at homes. Malik Amir said in his mid of the month broadcast from Lahore Radio Station,

Present day war is not fought only on the battle ground but at every level and on all fronts. It is duty of every citizen irrespective of his position and nature of his work to discharge his duty and maintain supply line (*Dawn*, September 17, 1965).

Appeal was responded with zeal and zest. Private trucks and their civil drivers played a major role in un-broken supply and they did it with both enthusiasm and discipline (Musa, 1983).

High Morale and Situation of Law and Order

Media continuously conveyed messages to public to follow the rules strictly and avoid panic and anarchy. According to Musa Khan, crime rate remained almost negligible in those 17 days of war (Musa, 1983). Governor led from the front to win the trust of both soldiers and public. He got injuries when an Army jeep hit his car near Ravi Bridge. His Military Secretary Colonel Sharif rebuked soldiers in the jeep but he said mildly, “Let them go as they are on more important duty than ours.” He refused the treatment in hospital because news of his injuries in media might put bad effect on the morale of his public. General Sher

Ali saw him distributing biscuits among the soldiers on Wahga border. (Shah, 2014). Media played a major role in keeping public in high spirit. Enthusiasm and high morale was expressed in different forms,

- Shopkeepers resolved to keep from profiteering and charging high prices. (*Dawn*, September 19, 1965).
- When appeals for blood donations were published and broadcasted, large queues of blood donors were witnessed. Twenty-eight *munds* of blood was given in a single day by the people of Lahore alone. (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, November 12, 1965).
- Artists like poets, writers, composers and painters contributed a lot to charge both civil population and army men up. National songs sung by Madam Noor Jahan, Mehdi Hassan, Amanat Ali Khan and many more went on air and filled the atmosphere with the sentiments of patriotism, loyalty and resolution. Playwrights, lyricists, actors and singers created master pieces of all times during those seventeen days of the war.
- Different mediums of information shaped the public opinion in such a way that people had been thinking only about country in that time of peril. Prices remained almost stable and least anti-social activities were seen during the war. (Musa, 1983).

When international community forced Ayub Khan to accept ceasefire he had sought the advice of his confidants and counselors. It is said that ‘hawkish’ element of Ayub government, especially Bhutto, wanted to continue the war till victory (Jahan Dad, 1999). While ‘doves’ like Nawab and Muhammad Shoaib (1907-97) advised immediate ceasefire as soldiers dying on front belonged to his (Nawab’s) area (Gauhar, 1994). Moreover, he viewed that prolonged war might collapse the social structure (Asghar Khan, 1979).

Tashkent Accord, Public Reaction and Media

Nawab of Kalabagh was not optimist about the success of negotiations being held in Tashkent. According to him, some Indian politicians who were talking about the peaceful solution to dispute of Kashmir did not represent the jingoist Indian public (Gauhar, 1994). A common Pakistani was not realized the ground reality and rather was assured by demagogues that negotiation in Tashkent would bring a peaceful solution to Kashmir or, at least, Pakistan Army would not withdraw from the occupied areas. But joint statement released on 11th of January, 1966 revealed that Kashmir was mentioned in preamble only and that too ‘obliquely’ (Zafar, 1970) Public became first stunned and then furious on Tashkent Accord. When Ayub Khan tried to justify and declared this pact similar to *Sulha Hudaibia*, Maulana Maududi bitterly criticized as it had been like rubbing salt into the wound (*Nawa-i- Waqt*, Feb. 7, 1966). The resentment spread all over West Pakistan in the form of strikes and protest. Provincial government imposed section 144 and decided to deal the situation with iron hand. Leading politicians of opposition like Sardar Shaukat Hayat (1915-98), Muhammad Hussain Chathha (1914-2001) and Khwaja Muhammad Rafique (d.1972) with many political workers were put behind bar. Students were arrested on large scale. It is alleged that students were dealt brutally. Two students were shot dead by police in Lahore on January 13, 1966. Governor ordered to close the educational institutions for undetermined time (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, Jan. 14, 1966).

Print media gave full coverage to all that unrest and agitation. Ayub, annoyed with the situation, decided to clip the wings of media. Immediately, new Press ordinance was put into act in February 1966. It further tightened the grip over media industry. New ordinance empowered District Magistrates to take action against newspapers. They could refuse to renew

the declaration of any paper, journal or periodicals. This could be done on the pretext of any anticipation of the malicious intention against the defence, law and order, and foreign policy of Pakistan (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 5, 1966). Ayub Khan assigned the job to Nawab of Kalabagh and said, “Nawab Sahib will strangle the newspapers to such an extent that those would come to their senses” (Shahab, 1994). Provincial government was accused of using CID and police to terrify media men covering agitation against Tashkent. A camera of a press reported was smashed into pieces because a police officer, Sipra, ordered a truck driver to run over it (*Dawn*, April 23, 1966). Journalist community complained to governor about that wicked act of police who promised to enquire into the matter. But no such enquiry was conducted ever (*Dawn*, May 1, 1966). Oppressive measures by government compelled them to boycott the coverage of official programs and ceremonial occasions. Later, Governor persuaded them, successfully, to call off their boycott. He constituted a tribunal on August 16, 1966, to look into the matters and grievances of newspapers (*Dawn*, August 17, 1966).

According to Gauhar Ayub, Nawab of Kalabagh was kept unaware of the plan of war from Operation Gibraltar to ceasefire in Tashkent. This created a sense of mistrust and led to the parting of ways with Ayub Khan (Gauhar, 1997). *British Papers* reveal that “President did not consult him until the ceasefire was in the wind” (Roedad, 2002). He tendered his resignation from the governorship of West Pakistan for ‘private reasons’ on Sep 18, 1966 which was accepted ‘very reluctantly and his personal regard was in no way diminished’ (*Dawn*, Sep. 19, 1966).

Conclusion

Nawab of Kalabagh remained the executive head of West Pakistan for more than six years. He helped Ayub Khan to face enormous challenges like Presidential elections and Indo-Pak War, both in 1965. He is blamed for using unscrupulous means to strengthen Ayub’s regime. Autocrat Ayub wanted to muffle the dissenting voices of his opposition. Actually, no dictator can afford the unbridled media. Allegedly, provincial government of West Pakistan allowed lesser freedom of expression than East Pakistan. Meticulous study of the issue reveals that it was Central government that imposed restrictions on media in the form of press laws. Progressive Papers limited was seized before Nawab took charge of his gubernatorial post. PPO was drafted by some loyal civil servants though was implemented by Nawab on the behalf of the President. Murder of Zamir Qureshi was a sad incident of ill-fate as he had not been deliberate target. Apologists of Malik Amir like Jahan Dad Khan say that he was not involved in the physical elimination of his opponents whether journalists or politicians. No doubt, he never allowed sensational journalism in his native area. He always tried to hush up his rivals in Kalabagh. He cannot be blamed for blacking out the view point of Miss Fatima Jinnah in presidential election as PTV and Radio Pakistan were state owned media controlled by the Centre. He was not pleased to see the vilification of Miss Jinnah during campaign of presidential election of 1965. Print and electronic media of his times contributed a lot to keep the spirits of civil population high during War of 1965. He was a highly educated person but traditions were cherished to him that’s why he objected to some pieces of literature. To him, nudity could not be allowed in the guise of subtle and refined prose. His political outlook must be judged by keeping his social background and grooming in the view. He was a man of *status quo* and conservative nature. One can see that newspapers, of both right and left wings, flourished during his tenure despite some hurdles and control. Mazari has analysed and justified the position of Nawab in this regard,

He was known to crush anyone who opposed or have offended him. However, it must be remembered that whatever was done in West Pakistan during Kalabagh times, was often done at behest of and with the blessings of Ayub Khan (Mazari, 2000).

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