

Study of Editorializing Trends in Dawn Newspaper in respect to Baluchistan Region in the first year after independence August 1947- July 1948

Raana Afzal

ABSTRACT

Political communication process aims to produce informed citizen for development of the democratic process. This research has studied the practice of political communication in respect to the Baluchistan region in the first year (August 1947 – July 1948) of newly independent and democratic state of Pakistan. The study in the theoretical framework of agenda setting model has analyzed the editorializing trends in the Pakistan mainstream and national newspaper of Dawn, in respect to the Baluchistan issues. Baluchistan is a very important region of Pakistan, economically, socially and strategically. Its history is very eventful. After independence newly democratic state of Pakistan had faced challenges of princely states' accession and interventions of anti-state elements. In these circumstances of security challenges how one of the leading national newspapers practices political

communication is analyzed in this study. The study verifies the implications of agenda setting model in editorializing practice, on the basis of preference and selection. The study results areas significant for the researchers of political communication and Baluchistan region fields.

Keywords: Political Communication, Editorializing, Agenda Setting, Baluchistan

INTRODUCTION:

Media is supposed to produce informed citizenry for the development of democratic societies. In today's world due to lack of time people are more dependent on media for information, interpretation and discussion (McNair, 2003, p. 50-51). However, media in the name of neutrality and objectivity project its own agendas (Negrine, 1996, p.180). Many social scientists have talked about the agenda setting role of media. The information processing system is influenced by the owner of the press, the Government and other pressure groups like political parties, advertisers and even terrorist organizations in the contemporary world. (McNair, 2003, p. 71-72)

This study is an endeavor to analyze the political communication process in respect to Baluchistan region and for this purpose has studied the editorializing trends of Dawn National newspaper of Pakistan. Editorial is considered as the official opinion of the newspapers and tells about the policy of newspapers. However, the purpose of Editorial is to interpret the events and issues and they are also used for agenda-setting purposes by the political actors and media (McNair, 2003, p. 11-14). Reason to select Editorials as unit of analysis is to verify the implication of the model of agenda-

setting. Newspaper editorials are widely read by the policy makers of the country. It is considered to signify the important issues of the days – means setting agendas that what is important to think, talk and discuss about.

Political communication and editorializing trends in Dawn has been studied in respect to Baluchistan region of Pakistan. Baluchistan is the province that constitutes the highest area of Pakistan but comprised of its least population yet the geographical importance of Baluchistan is historical.

Baluchistan under British rule remains neglected for economic, political and social development. (Siddiqi, 1991, pg. 01). Under British rule the Baluchistan region was divided into British administered areas and independent states. At the time of August 1947 independence the issue of the accession of princely states of Baluchistan – Kalat, Kharan, Lasbela and Makran acquired grave political attention. The British administered areas of Baluchistan voted in favor of Pakistan. The States of Kharan, Makran and Lasbela decided to accede to Pakistan. However, it was only Kalat Princely State that took time for the accession announcement, which aroused doubts about the wishes of Baluch people (“Balochistan”, 2015). Baluchistan is geographically located at the choke point of Indian Ocean and the world. The land is rich in minerals. Despite massive political, economic, geographical and strategic importance, Baluchistan remains as ignorant piece of talk by the Pakistan national and mainstream media (Gichki, 2010, p. 6-7). This study is perusal of press behavior in context of the Baluchistan political sphere. It determines that how press work in the framework of agenda-setting.

The study is significant to understand the implication of agenda-setting model and for generalization of media trends in Pakistan.

METHOD:

The objective of this study is to explore the important political events in respect to Baluchistan during the first initial year after independence. Moreover, the study aims to research the trends of editorializing about Baluchistan issues in Dawn newspaper. The study has analyzed the process of communication in respect to Baluchistan through the content analysis methodology. It is a scientific pure and empirical study aims for critical examination of research questions. (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003, p. 129)

Qualitative methodology has been used to explore the important political events of Baluchistan during the first era after independence; however, content analysis is used for quantitative methodology. Through content analysis method has studied the treatment of Baluchistan issues by Dawn newspaper.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

This study provides the answers for the following research questions:

- What are the important political issues of Baluchistan during Aug 1947- July 1948?
- What remain the trends of editorializing in Dawn national newspaper in respect to Baluchistan issues?
- What remains ratio of editorials about Baluchistan in comparison to the total number of editorials in Dawn?

The content analysis has been done in following steps as are also described by the Wimmer & Dominick (2003, p. 145):

THE UNIVERSE:

This study considered the content analysis of editorials of Dawn for the period of August 1947- July 1948.

SAMPLE

For this study purposeful sampling has been used (‘‘Purposive sampling’’, 2015). Through the qualitative method important and significant events of Baluchistan political history August 1947- July 1948 were studied and enlisted.

UNIT OF ANALYSIS:

All the Editorials of each month (August 1947- July 1948) were studied as unit of analysis. Total twelve months were studied means editorials of three hundred and sixty days. However, the Dawn newspapers of August, September and December 1947 were not found available. Dawn newspaper library was also accessed for the purpose.

Usually two editorials got publish in Dawn during Aug 1947 – July 1948. Therefore, as average seven hundred twenty editorials were studied.

CATEGORIES AND CODING FOR ANALYSIS:

Each editorial of the selected time period about Baluchistan was studied completely. The Editorials are usually consists of Intro, discussion based on facts and a conclusion. (‘‘Writing an Editorial’’, 2015), the study of complete editorials is crucial for the comprehension of the topic and making an analysis for the research. The editorials were divided into following categories with operational definitions.

- **POLITICS**

Any information related to Government, political leaders, political parties, or any other body in context of Baluchistan political arena.

- **DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

Information or discussion in editorial related to any

educational, social, health, economic or other progress or development related to Baluchistan.

- **TERRORISM/VIOLENT ACTS/ CRIME**

Information or discussion in editorial related to any sort of violent activity in Baluchistan that include terrorism acts and crimes like; bomb blasts, murders, firing, robbery, honor killing or any other crime by law.

- **ACCIDENT/ CALAMITIES**

Any unexpected and unintentional incidents related to Baluchistan that cause injury or damage, like road accidents, fire, natural calamities etc.

The Direction (favorable, unfavorable and neutral) of each Editorial is analyzed in relation to the category of **GOVERNMENT**: The Ruling Government of the respective era.

- **FAVORABLE**

The direction of editorial was considered favorable if the discussion favors the policies or actions of respective category.

- **UNFAVORABLE**

The direction of editorial was considered unfavorable if the discussion opposes the policies or actions of respective category.

- **NEUTRAL**

The direction of editorial is considered neutral if the discussion neither favors nor opposes the actions or system of respective category but remains silent about it.

The direction of the editorials as positive, negative or neutral in relation to Government or other was coded by the researcher.

BALUCHISTAN IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENTS DURING AUG 1947-JULY 1948

The qualitative study has been done to study the important political events of Baluchistan during the period of Aug 1947- July 1948. The historical data has been studied and compiled through the academic sources, and newspapers.

OCTOBER 1947 (14 August-Sept & Dec 1947 Newspapers not found available)

Khan of Kalat 'His Highness Mir Sir Ahmad Yar Khan' accompanied by Qazi Muhammad Isa Khan, President of Baluchistan Muslim League and personal staff visited Karachi as guest of Pakistan Governor General Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The visit was aim to discuss with Governor General the means to further strengthening relations between Kalat and Pakistan (1947, 12 Oct, Dawn, p. 5) .The talks between Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Khan of Kalat centered over the accession of Kalat to Pakistan (1947, 09 Oct, Dawn, p. 5).

Kalat was the third largest state in the sub-continent of India occupied a strategic position on the Indo-Iran border. Kalat area 73, 278 sq miles and population as mentioned in the Oct 1947 report is 342, 101. Kalat that borders with Arabian Sea in South, Sindh in East and Iran in the West (1947, 12 Oct, Dawn, p. 5).

NOVEMBER 1947

As per a report of Dawn and Jang newspaper published on 14th Nov 1947 3 million Baluchis of Kalat wished to accede to Pakistan (1947, 14 Nov, Dawn, p. 4).

Quetta municipality gave Rs. 50,000 in Quaid-e-Azam relief fund and people of Baluchistan not only donated commodities and medicines for refugees but also worked in refugee camps in Punjab

(1947, 14 Nov, Dawn, p. 1 & 1947, 16 Nov, Jang, p. 4).

Baluchistan states Lasbela and Kharan were agreed to accede directly with Pakistan. However, Kalat demanded that it would accede to Pakistan if was given the authority (iqtadar) of Lasbela and Kharan, but this proposal was rejected by the two states (1947, 08 Nov, Jang, p. 4).

DECEMBER 1947

Foreign Secretary (Wazir Kharja) of Kalat State Mr C.D Fill stated that negotiations were underway between Pakistan and State Kalat over accession but no decision had been made (1947, 24 Dec, Jang, p. 4). However, Ruler State of Kalat Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan told in an interview that it was a negative propaganda by the enemies of Pakistan and Kalat, who saying that Kalat would disconnect its relations with Pakistan (1947, 28 Dec, Jang, p. 2). All India Muslim League proposed to combine Baluchistan and Sindh (1947, 02 Dec, Jang, p. 4) . Baluchistan Political Leader Mr. Abdul Mulk proposed to give Baluchistan an individual province condition (1947, 18 Dec, Jang, p. 3). Political Leader Abus Samad Khan proposed to make two semi-authoritarian governments of Azad Pakhtonistan and Azad Baluchistan and join in under Pakistan Federation (1947, 15 Dec, Jang, p. 1)¹¹.

JANUARY 1948

Kharan Ruler Amir Habibullah stated on behalf of two states (Kharan and Lasbella) that they asked Kalat state to live and let them live. They were equal to Kalat state and were not subordinates. He said if Kalat go for Independent Baluch Confederacy that would be against Islamic teachings and promote racialism and provincial prejudice. And Non-Baluchis (Punjabi, Dindhi, Pathan) are also equal to Baluchis (1948, 29 Dec, Dawn, p. 09).

However, President Baluchistan Labor Federation Aga Mir Ahmed Shah, President Baluchistan Muslim Student Federation Mr Fazal Ahmed and President Hindu Bagh Muslim League Aga Ameer in a joint statement condemned the delay in making of Baluchistan an independent province Government of Pakistan and demanded for an immediate action (1948, 02 Jan, Jang, p. 1) .

FEBRUARY 1948

Baluchistan with an area nearly that of the United Punjab and a population less than that of the corporation of Lahore, was a strong-hold of feudalism. The 55 tribal chiefs, who constitute the Shahi Jirga, influence the destinies of over 800,000 nomadic (1948, 14 Feb, Dawn, p. 1).

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah meet Khan of Kalat at his winter residence in Dhadar, 16 miles away from Sibi. He received grand reception. He meet there principal Sardars of Kalat.

API analyzed the visit of Quaid-e-Azam an endeavor for reconciliation of conflicting matters between State of Pakistan and Kalat. Besides, the feudal chieftains were looking for measures that would strengthen their rights. Popular leaders were looking for constitutional reform for progress of Baluchistan. Quaid-e-Azam listened to all of them (1948, 14 Feb, Dawn, p. 1).

During the visit of Quaid-e-Azam to Baluchistan, in his meetings in Sibi the Shahi Jirga (a nominated assembly of tribal chieftains comprising 55 members and headed by Sardar Muhammad Khan Jogezi, who was a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly) asked for more powers as they were of view that Baluchistan yet not ready for constitutional reforms to the extent of autonomy therefore Chieftains were the actual representatives of Baluchistan. Executive Committee of Muslim League Baluchistan asked for

Baluchistan representation at the Centre, introduction of constitutional reforms in the province and restriction of the powers of the Jirga. Also, the Sardars of Kalat had been asking for the protection and guidance from Pakistan Government to ensure their rights and privileges (1948, 14 Feb, Dawn, p. 1).

Sardars of Kalat State submitted a memorandum to Quaid-e-Azam. These Sardars complaint that since partition there was no Political Agent in Kalat and they were afraid that Khan of Kalat might not invade on their rights and privileges as feudal chiefs. These Sardars were mainly from northern parts of Kalat State including Sarnan, Jhalwar and Kuchi. Lasbela and Kharan were Southern States and already applied for accession to Pakistan, though Khan of Kalat wanted to retain its dominion over these. They told that their forefathers obtained territories from former Kalat Rulers as Jagirs. They claimed that Khan of Kalat had no right to impose taxes on them nor have any authority over their areas (1948, 14 Feb, Dawn, p. 1).

Kalat Representative Legislative Assembly was set up after transferring of power on Aug 15, 1947. It constituted of Lower House – 55 members and Upper House – 35 members. Ruler of Kalat at the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly of the State expressed deep sentiments of friendship and respect for Pakistan which was also in interest of Kalat.

However, he proposed two condition for accession 1) To retain its dominion over the States of Las Bela and Kharan (after independence wanted direct accession to Pakistan) and 2) revision of the agreement 1879 agreement between British Paramountcy and Kalat State about perpetual lease of certain Kalat areas in lieu of which Kalat is drawing an annuity of over 35 lakhs of rupees (1948, 14 Feb, Dawn, p. 2).

British Baluchistan was divided into A Area and B Area. A Area was comprised of the Quetta Municipality and 5 district headquarters. B Area included rest of Baluchistan. In B Area there were District Jirgas and Shahi Jirga (Spreme Consultative Assembly for the Province). A Area cases went to Courts of Law and B Area to Jirgas. The members of Jirgas were not elected but appointed. District Jirga dealt with minor cases while all big cases went to Shahi Jirga. There was no appeal system, however could be sent to the Agent to the Governor-General for revision only. The Shahi Jirga met once or twice a year (1948, 14 Feb, Dawn, p. 1).

Quaid-e-Azam speech at Shahi Durbar – First Shahi Durbar after independence

- Announced the he decided to form Governor-Generals Advisory Council for Baluchistan
- This body would give chance to the Baluchistan people to play part in administration and Governance of the province.
- And he could personally and closely watch and solve the problems of the people.
- The advisory council would have elected members.
- It would have representatives from Administered Areas (British Baluchistan and Leased Areas), Tribal Areas, and opinion from the members of Shahi Jirga and Quetta Municipality.
- This would bring coherence in matter between Government and people of Baluchistan.
- The Governor-General stated his purpose of forming the council, as there was delay in formation of the constitution

of the state of Pakistan, therefore the Advisory Council meanwhile would fill the gap between Government and People of Baluchistan in administration of matters.

- Quaid-e-Azam concluded that the salvation of Pakistani people lie in Muslim Democracy based on the rules given by The Prophet of Islam (S.A.W)
- GG prayed for bright future of Baluchistan (1948, 15 Feb, Dawn, p. 1).
- The political, economic, social and educational development plans were supposed to be made through the Advisory Council to the GG (1948, 15 Feb, Dawn, p. 4).
- The Advisory Council will be able to advice GG on any matter for betterment of the Baluchistan Province. Moreover, Governor General would also take advice and suggestions of the advisory council on matter presented through Chief Commissioner (1948, 17 Feb, Jang, p. 3).
- Till the formation of full Constitutional Reforms, Baluchistan province would remain under Governor General and would appoint Chief Commissioner for the administrative affairs of the province (1948, 17 Feb, Jang, p. 3).
- Leaders of Baluchistan at many times asked constitutional reforms for Baluchistan (1948, 03 Feb, Jang, p. 2).

Prime Minister of Kalat State Nawabzada Muhammad Aslam Khan told to Pressmen in a Press Conference (1948, 17 Feb, Jang, p. 5) that after serious consideration and talk between Government of Pakistan and Kalat State, Kalat was agreed to accede to Pakistan

due to reasons of lack of money to develop its mineral resources. Pakistan was agreed to not interfere with the internal matters of Kalat State but wanted control over Defense, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Final decision was supposed to be made by Kalat Legislature meeting 20 Feb 1948 (1948, 15 Feb, Dawn, p. 1).

As per Indian Independence Act 1947 the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan was made part of Pakistani territories. This decision was accepted by Baluchistan province and its elected representative was sent to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The people of Tribal Areas of Baluchistan through the referendum declared their will of joining to Pakistan Constituent Assembly. GG said that all the laws, agreements and allowances under British Government would be continued until modified with the consultation of the Baluchistan people. Forming full State Constitution needed time therefore GG formed Governor General's Advisory Council (1948, 15 Feb, Dawn, p. 4).

According to the Indian Independent Act 1947 and adaptations of Government of India Act 1935 – the Chief Commissioner's Province (like Baluchistan Administered, Leased and Tribal areas) actually administered by Governor General through his appointed Chief Commissioner for the province (1948, 15 Feb, Dawn, p. 4).

Quaid-e-Azam held his first Press conference after Independence about Baluchistan on 15 Feb 1948 (1948, 16 Feb, Dawn, p. 1).

Amir Habibullah Khan, Ruler of Khara welcomed and praised the constitutional reforms announced by Quaid-e-Azam for Baluchistan at Sibi Shahi Durbar. He said that Baluchistan people were lucky that the person with whom attached the expectations of the whole Islamic world would take care of our matters (1948, 21 Feb, Jang, p. 6). Quaid-e-Azam address at Shahi Durbar was

praised by the common people of Baluchistan, Tribe people and minorities (1948, 19 Feb, Jang, p. 3). Qazi Isa, Leader Baluchistan Muslim League considered the reforms as humble and positive. However, he suggested appointing most members of Advisory Council from Muslim League as the only representative party of Baluchistan people (1948, 15 Feb, Dawn, p. 4).

A report mentioned that it was expected that Khan of Kalat got agree for accession to Pakistan and took back his demands of control of Quetta, Lasbela and Kharan (1948, 17 Feb, Jang, p. 3).

Diwan-e-Aam (House of Commons) of Kalat didn't approve accession to Pakistan and demanded to retain its independent status. For this one delegation would come to Karachi to talk to authorities (1948, 02 March, Jang, p. 1).

The decision of nawab of Kalat against accession to Pakistan on February 21 was seen with hatred by the political circles. As a result a tahreek of gadari was started by people of Baluchistan against the nawab (1948, 29 Feb, Jang, p. 1).

MARCH 1948

Kalat State started expansion and re-organization of the State Forces. Kalat Foreign Minister Y.D. Fell engaged different foreign military officers including Brig Perves who was appointed as Minister of Defense. He was Officer Commanding the Zhob Brigade in Baluchistan during World War II and an ex-officer of His Majesty's Forces. At that time the standing Army of Kalat consists of 500 soldiers equipped with modern 303 rifles machine guns. Levy Corps and the Military Police were comprised of another 500 members of the militia.

In response to the expansion of State Forces, Kalat Prime Minister Nawabzada Muhammad Aslam Khan declared it for internal security measure and nothing mysterious (1948, 02 March, Dawn, p. 8 & 1948, 05 March, Jang, p. 4) .

President Kalat State Muslim League Nawabzada Mir Abdul Qadir Khan along with President Kalat Muslim Students Federation and spokesmen of Kalat State sardars meet President All-India States Muslim League Mr Manzar-i-Alam and the situation in Kalat in reference to the matter of Kalat accession to Pakistan. Mr Manzar assured the deputation that early measures would be taken by the States League as per wishes of the people of Kalat regarding the accession (1948, 05 March, Jang, p. 6) .

President Kalat State Muslim League Nawabzada Mir Abdul Qadir Khan stated to Press that Khan of Kalat was a far-sighted statesman and would not take any decision against the wishes of his people. Some Mir Jaffers and Mir Sadiqs in the name of Diwan-e-Am are hindering the accession of Kalat to Pakistan. However the Sardars, State Muslim League and masses had realized that Kalat existence is assured through accession to Pakistan. He demanded Khan of Kalat to boldly announce the accession to Pakistan as per wishes of the masses and the Sadars of the state ignoring the so-called decision of the Diwan-i-Am. The State Muslim League was determined to remove evils of racial and geographical obstacles for the unity of Muslims.

General Secretary Mir Ghaus Bakhsh told that the difference of opinion between Kalat State and Pakistan is just over Accession and Agreement. However, the decision of lower House had created the situation of honor for Kalat State as well as they did not wish to go against the will of their people. However, Kalat state was already agreed to handover Defense, Foreign Affairs and

communications to Pakistan. They hoped that Pakistan would understand the democratic needs (1948, 04 March, Dawn, p. 1 & 1948, 06 March, Jang, p. 6).

President Baluchistan Provincial League, Qazi Muhammad Isa told that Aiwan-i-Am (Lower House) of Kalat State was based on fraudulent methods of election. Muslim League Party had boycotted the last Kalat elections and the Kalat National Party that occupied the Aiwan-i-Am didn't represent even a fraction of the masses and still loyal to Indian Union. Moreover, he said that since independence Muslim League had left matter on the Government of Pakistan otherwise the League was strong enough in the Kalat State to deal with such situations (1948, 07 March Feb, Dawn, p. 6 & 1948, 09 March, Jang, p. 1) .

Government Kalat Act 1947 was talked and its section 37 was mentioned as right of Kalat Ruler to solve matters like accession to Pakistan as per own will and the Legislature Houses had no right to for discussions, and disapproval on such issues (1948, 10 March, Jang, p. 3):

Kalat Foreign Minister Mr. Y. D. Fell in cable to Pakistan Foreign Minister Sir Muhammad Zafrullah stated that as Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had communicated to the His Highness Khan of Kalat that he would not do any further personal talks with the Kalat State rather will be done with the Government of Pakistan. He wanted to assure no hostile behavior from the Government of Pakistan. He also affirmed that Kharan and Las Bela are feudatory of Kalat and Makran is its part. He told no decision in favor or against has yet been made until talks with you by the Kalat's representatives (1948, 21 March, Dawn, p. 1).

Since Partition the Rulers of Kharan and Las Bela announced and

requested for accession to Pakistan, however Pakistan did not accept this request till March 1948. Though Political circles were suggesting in favor of accession of these states after the Kalat State Lower House decision against its accession to Pakistan (1948, 02 March, Dawn, p. 3)

Khan of Makran didn't accept Khan of Kalat invitation to attend the Upper House session of Kalat Legislature to decide accession to Pakistan (1948, 26 March, Jang, p. 1).

Member of Las Bela State National Party Muhammad Hassan Omer Khan demanded Pakistan Government to accept the Las Bela State request of accession to Pakistan. The accession was in delay even after six months of independence despite the own wishes of people of Las Bela. Muhammad Hassan Omer affirmed the Las Bela accession demand as per the right given to states at time of the accession (1948, 21 March, Dawn, p. 1).

Khan Sahab Mirza Ahmed Ali, Minister of Las Bela stated that States of Las Bela, Kharan and Makran were under Agent of Governor General before partition 1947 and not under Kalat (1948, 26 March, Jang, p. 1).

The Kalat Government protested the accession of Kharan, Las Bela and Makran to Pakistan and asked for denial of this report. This telegram was sent to Pakistan Foreign office and United Kingdom High Commissioner in Pakistan. It considered this decision against Standstill Agreement negotiated by then Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten between Pakistan and Kalat. It was also said that Pakistan State being Muslim State would not take any unjust action against Muslim neighbor. In a Press Communique issued from Kalat House Khan of Kalat demanded the same (1948, 21 March, Dawn, p. 1).

Official Pakistan Government Sources in response to the allegations by the Kalat Ruler about Kharan, Las Bela and Makran claimed that the step taken was in complete consonance with the letter, agreement and status of the three dominion (1948, 23 March, Dawn, p. 1).

President States Muslim League Mr. Manza-i-Alam appealed Khan of Kalat to accede to Pakistan like Kharan, Makran and Lasbela and as per wishes of the people and Sardars of Baluchistan (1948, 21 March, Dawn, p. 4).

Pakistan Government decision of accepting accession request by the Rulers of Kharan, Las Bela and Makran was considered as a timely decision to stop the dispute among the states and would be beneficial for them (1948, 21 March, Dawn, p. 4).

Kalat Prime Minister Nawanzada Muhammad Aslam Khan, who talked and was considered in favor of accession to Pakistan resigned. Kalat National Party raised slogans of Azad Baluchistan and Baluch Itahad which was considered by Muslim League as propaganda against Pakistan by its enemies who were funding anti slogans of corrupt Pakistan State (1948, 29 March, Jang, p. 1). President All India State Muslim League Manzar Alam informed in statement to Khan of Kalat that if decision would not be made in favor of accession to Pakistan then All India Muslim League would destroy the affairs of Kalat. It demanded to understand the realities and rather believing the propaganda by Kalat National Party (1948, 29 March, Jang, p. 1).

Kalat State announced accession to Pakistan State on 29th March 1948, widely appreciated in political circles of Pakistan (1948, 30 March, Dawn, p. 1). Khan of Kalat mentioned that he felt that now announcement should be made to counter wrong propaganda by

the India Radio (1948, 01 April, Jang, p. 6).

President States Muslim League Mr. Manza-i-Alam gave credit to the Sardars, Upper House of the Kalat Legislature and workers of Kalat State Muslim League through whose efforts and support the accession was made possible (1948, 30 March, Dawn, p. 4).

APRIL 1948

India Radio announced after accession of Kalat to Pakistan that two months back Kalat approached Indian Government to offer accession to Indian Dominion which was taken as surprise and irresponsible statement by the people of Pakistan (1948, 01 April, Dawn, p. 7) and even Khan of Kalat (1948, 01 April, Jang, p. 6) .

Indian Prime Minister Jawahar lal Nehru showed regret over the wrong announcement of the India Radio and confirmed its inaccuracy (1948, 01 April, Dawn, p. 1). Kalat State Vice Prime Minister Y. D. Fell handed over Mir Ahmed Yar Khan's signed Accession to Pakistan Treaty to Pakistan Foreign Office Joint Secretary Col K S Shah (1948, 02 April, Jang, p. 3) .

MAY 1948

Governor of Makran Rawat Behram Khan was removed by the Baluchistan Government on the orders of Mr. Devi, Assistant Political Agent Sibi. The removal of Governor ended 250 years supremacy of Kalat over Makran that was run by the Khan of Kalat (1948, 15 May, Dawn, p. 6).

President Anjuman-i-Watan Baluchistan Khan Abdus Samad Khan was arrested for three months within a five-mile radius of his native town, Gulistan, 50 miles from Quetta as per the notice of District Magistrate of Quetta. The notice also called upon him to abstain from taking part in anti-Pakistan activities (1948, 15 May, Dawn, p. 6).

The younger brother of Khan of Kalat Shehzada Abdul Karim Khan went missing and thought to cross borders to Shorawak Afghanistan. He was believed to be against the accession of Kalat to Pakistan (1948, 24 May, Dawn, p. 1). Abdul Karim was accompanied by Muhammad Hassan, editor of Bolan, a semi-official paper of Kalat and some other friends. Kalat's front-rank leader and a former Revenue Secretary, Mir Gul Khan Zagarmangal, feared this move of Shahzada to create misconceptions about the people and Government of Kalat. Kalat officials and National party circles saw this move with resentment (1948, 29 May, Dawn, p. 6). Abdul Karim carried with him a truck load of ammunition, fire-arms and rations (1948, 29 May, Dawn, p. 6).

JUNE 1948

Pakistan Government demanded Kalat administration to take radical action against the anti-Pakistan movements but nothing immediate happened. Besides, the people involved in anti-Pakistani activities and supporting Abdul Karim were set at liberty. The need was felt for Kalat administrative changes and ban on National Party was demanded. Kalat official along with other local people were found involved in supporting and supplying food rations and ammunition to Abdul Karim across borders from Kalat. Abdul Karim original party people were previously part of Kalat administration and they played part as aiders, abettors, and sympathizers for the Abdul Karim and in traitorous activities (1948, 10 June May, Dawn, p. 1).

Minister for Food, Agriculture and Health Pirzada Abdus Sattar did extensive tour of Baluchistan to study development schemes for irrigation, fruits, agriculture, forests, poultry, sheep breeding and animal husbandry (1948, 27 June May, Dawn, p. 6).

The minister assured the people of Baluchistan for all possible help

to Baluchistan by the Government of Pakistan. He told that he had visited Baluchistan agriculture centers and had discussion with the concerned officers and was sure for great future of Baluchistan (1948, 09 June, Dawn, p. 6).

July 1948

Shahzada Abdul Karim Khan, ex-Governor of Mekran and younger brother of Khan of Kalat, along with his 126 colleagues arrested (1948, 16 July, Dawn, p. 1 & 1948, 17 July, Jang, p. 1) another report surrendered (1948, 16 July, Dawn, p. 1) at Harbol 16 miles from Kalat city, the summer city of Khan of Kalat after an armed conflict (2 killed few injured). He along with 500 armed troops entered Kalat city, was chased by the Pakistan troops. A portion of armed men and prominent leaders along with prince were sent to Quetta jail. In April Abdul Karim was relieved of his office as Governor Mekran after Mekran accession to Pakistan. Later he disappeared to Afghanistan district Sariath and was reported to be organizing an army with aims of creating trouble in Baluchistan States (1948, 16 July, Dawn, p. 1 & 1948, 17 July, Jang, p. 1).

Provincial and State Government declared the Kalat State National Party as unlawful (1948, 18 July, Dawn, p. 1). The party was established in 1930 and later it was merged with the state department of Indian Congress .Kalat cabinet was dismissed (1948, 19 July, Jang, p. 1) . Khan Bahadur Muhammad Zareef Khan was appointed as the Prime Minister of Kalat. Previously, he served at Sarhad and Punjab joint Public Service Commission (1948, 30 July, Jang, p. 1).

ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION PRACTICES IN PAKISTAN DURING AUG 1947- JULY 1948

Agenda setting theory, propose by the Bernard Cohen and later verified by the Maxwell E McCombs and Donald Shaw (“Agenda

Setting Theory'' (2015), postulates that media besides performing the function of surveillance and interpretation also set preferred agendas of information for the people. (Davis & Baran, 1995, p.232-233) media tell people what to think, what to think about and how to think about. (Dominick, 2002, p. 493) this function of agenda setting and framing is being played by media through the selection of some topics over other. (Davis & Baran, 1995, p. 233-236) Through angling, editing and placement of the journalistic content as well. (Davis & Baran, 1995, p.232-233) Highlighting and giving importance to certain issues over others at national and societal level is considered as the agenda-building by media. (Davis & Baran, 1995, p. 233-236) This is done through journalists, editors, publishers (Davis & Baran, 1995, p.232-233), governments, officials or other agencies (Negrine, 1996, p. 51), political parties, governments and even corporations (Negrine, 1996, p. 103-104).The agenda that is set by the media institutions are considered as the institutional agenda. (Kraus, 1990, p. 110)

Editorials are considered as the official opinion of the newspapers and tell about the policy of newspapers. The purpose of Editorials is to interpret the events and issues for the awareness of the citizens and society. It has been studied that the editorials play a significant part in the agenda-setting purposes (Farishullah, 1997, 55). The agenda setting goals can be of the newspaper institutions, governments, political actors, proprietors, corporations etc.

This study in the light of agenda-setting theoretical model has analyzed the editorializing trends in Dawn newspaper in respect to Baluchistan issues during the period of Aug 1947 – July 1948.

As per the study in post-independence era of Pakistan public or its opinion is the sleeping partner. In pre-partition era when journalists were played the role of revolutionaries, if a newspaper or

journalists were attacked or punished the public came to rescue them. Examples are of the files of Al-Hilal, The Comrade and Zamindar. As a result of any suppression of newspaper, not only press but public also would make protest through meetings and demonstration. (Niazi, p. 70-71)

The areas that became part of Pakistan did not have strong press set up. Baluchistan and East Pakistan had no single daily at the time of independence. N.W.F.P had two, financially unstable, dailies. Karachi was the second strong center of press after Lahore. However, in Lahore and Karachi most of the publishers and journalists were Non-Muslims who migrated to India.

The newspapers that shifted from India to Pakistan could not fill the gap completely. Jang and Anjam shifted, leading Urdu newspapers of Dehli, shifted from to Karachi. Dawn newspaper shifted to Karachi after its office was burt in Dehli. English Morning News and Bengali Daily Azad transferred from Calcutta to Dhaka. However, most of the newspapers could not survive in the new political and economic environment excluding Dawn, Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt that developed into major news groups in Pakistan. (Gunaratne 2002. P. 159)

In the history of journalism in the sub-continent, there also remain other invisible pressures like proprietor editors, advertisers, political parties and social, communal, student and trade union groups, newspaper hawkers. (Niazi, p. 42-43)

The intolerant behavior of the Governments in Pakistan has traces of genesis in the British Colonial period of Sub-Continent. (Gunaratne 2002. P. 157)

After independence of Pakistan in 1947 a number of pre-

independence laws for controlling the press were inherited by the newly independent state of Pakistan. These included:

- The Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867
- The Sea Customs Act, 1885
- The Telegraph Act, 1885
- The States (Protection Against Disaffection) Act, 1922
- The Official Secrets Act, 1923
- The Foreign Relations Act, 1932
- The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1932
- The Official Secrets Act, 1923
- The Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931
- The Post Office Act, 1898

Pakistan faced hostility by India after independence and the occupation of Kashmir by India resulted in 1949 war between two new born States. As per studies and research, the early democratic Governments continued the colonial press laws due to fear and doubts that the free press might could harm the security of the country. (Gunaratne, 2002. P. 159-160)

Before partition politician-editor had played revolutionary role. But after partition they have been bribed by the political powers for their support and the proprietor-editors who were also looking their share in the new state played in the hands of power bodies. The national press followed the official line. Every new ruler was favored and the old one was declared as evil.

Journalists in return of their loyalty were rewarded in terms of advertisements, newsprint quotas, paper, licenses, machinery and plots (free or throwaway prices) (Niazi, p. 65-67). After independence in the early days of Pakistan that was the democratic era led by civilian media faced pressures in coverage of news and

doing its and analysis. Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah believed in supremacy of law and constitutionalism. (Abbas) However, the bureaucracy even tried to censor the 11 August 1947 speech of Quaid e Azam speech. (Niazi, p. 77)

Under the researched circumstances and implemented media laws in the initial year after independence, this study had analyzed the trends of editorializing in Dawn newspaper in respect to important Baluchistan issues. The examination is done through the quantitative method of content analysis. The content analysis method is discussed in the methodology.

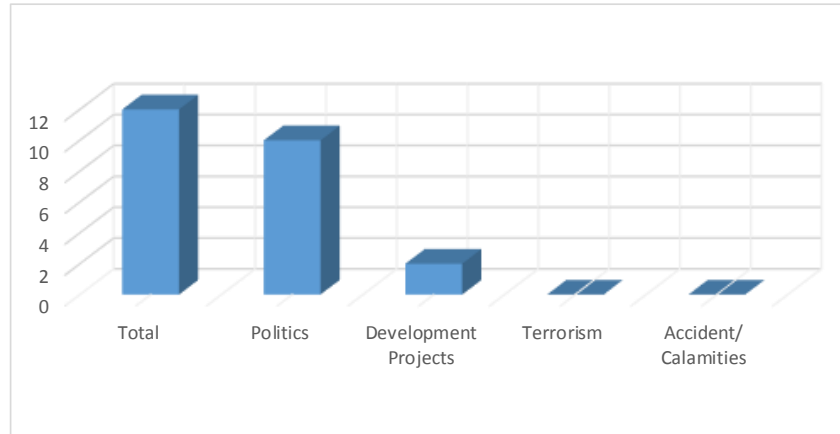
CONTENT ANALYSIS DATA TABULAR REPRESENTATION

Aug 1947- July 1948 - Dawn Newspaper

Total No. of Editorials on Baluchistan	12
Politics	10
Development Projects	02
Terrorism/ Violent Acts/ Crime	00
Accident/ Calamity	00

Government	
Favorable	11
Unfavorable	01
Neutral	00

Graphical Representation



S.No.	Date	Editorial	Pg. No.	Summary	Government	Category
	1947					
	Aug-47	Not Available, except 13 Aug but no news/editorial				
	Sep-47	Not Available				
	Oct-47	No Relevant Editorial				
	Nov-47	No Relevant Editorial				
	Dec-47	Not Available - Except 8 Dec, But No Relevant Editorial				
	Jan-48	No Relevant Editorial				
	Feb-48	No Relevant Editorial				
1	16.02.48	Baluchistan	3	It discussed Quaid-e-Azam address to Shahi Durbar at Sibi and announcement of formation of Constitutional Advisory Council on Democratic terms. It applauded this annulment and considered it the beginning of new era of freedom and welfare for the citizen of Baluchistan	Favorable	Politics
	Mar-48					
2	22.03.48	Baluchistan	5	It discussed the matter of Baluchistan States to Pakistan. It condemned the uncertain and damaging attitude of Khan of Kalat in this regard. As he informed Quaid e-e-Azam for agreement of accession of Kalat to Pakistan but later delayed the process. Meanwhile Pakistan accepted the long-awaited demand of Kharan, Lasbela and Makran to Pakistan. It suggested Khan of Kalat that despite condemning the constitutional accession of other three states, to also follow same path Pakistan.	Favorable	Politics

3	30.03.48	Kalat's accession		Discussed the Khan of Kalat accession to Pakistan after inclusion of Kharan, Lasbela and Mekran in Pakistan. His decision was welcomed and considered right in response to negative statements from India over Kalat accession issue.	Favorable	Politics
Apr-48						
4	11.04.48	Refugee artisans	5	Discussed about Quaid-e-Azam's Relief Fund for Refugees. It discussed the problems being faced by the refugees and appreciated the funds contributed by even the common people of Punjab, Bengal, N.W.F.P and Baluchistan. It considered this a gesture of solidarity with the refugees.	Favorable	Politics
May-48						
5	13.05.48	Words to disruptionists	5	It discussed the formation of 'People Party' by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr. G M Syed. It discussed the role of one of the main leaders in anti-Pakistan activities and for creating troubles for Pakistan in matters of Baluchistan and Kalat. It discussed the chances of continuation of similar role in the cover of this newly formed Organization.	Favorable	Politics
Jun-48						

6	14.06.48	Vanishing trick	5	It discussed the mysterious disappearance of Abdul Karim, the brother of Khan of Kalat. It considered the disappearance as systemic attempt and vanishing tricks by the anti -state elements who escaped in Kalat after independence and who were involved to provoke the Khan of Kalat to refuse accession to Pakistan. It demanded a wise look and management of matter by the Government of Pakistan.	Favorable	Politics
7	16.06.48	Quaid-e-Azam's Advice	5	It discussed Quaid-e-Azam address in Quetta in which in reply Quaid-e-Azam talked about the announced Advisory council for Baluchistan. The advisory council would work on democratic and parliamentary system. This system though new for the people of Baluchistan but would lead to a bright future. He also appreciated and asked Baluchistan Parsee minority to contribute in development of the country action.	Favorable	Politics
8	18.06.48	Short Notes	5	It discussed the allocation of 17 lakhs rupees for the education in Baluchistan by the government. This included formation of degree college in Quetta, beginning of new schools and developing the existing ones. Besides the opening vocational training centers that would enhance local opportunities for business.	Favorable	Politics

9	02.06.48	Kalat Affairs	5	It discussed the situation in Kalat after accession to Pakistan. It demanded immediate action by Government of Pakistan to observe the anti-Pakistan activities by forces like National Party (comprised of Indian Congress loyal people) and also disloyal people in Kalat administration like Mr. D.Y. Fell. it also talked about their activities against Pathans and Makranis. It asked involvement of local loyal people in administration.	Favorable	Politics
10	30.06.48	Baluchistan's Development	5	It discussed developments in Baluchistan, which remained ignored province in British era. It demanded emphasized on irrigation, fruit growing industry, poultry and sheep breeding industry in the province.	Favorable	Development Projects
Jul-48						
11	18.07.48	Matter geological	5	It discussed the importance and problems of geological department of the newly born state of Pakistan. It discussed the need of exploitation of valuable and precious minerals present in Baluchistan and N.W.F.P, provinces of Pakistan.	Unfavorable	Development Projects

12	17.07.48	Kalat Affairs	5	It discussed the planned escape of Prince Abdul Karim, brother of Khan of Kalat to the Afghanistan along with arms, ammunition and food grains. It said that the escape and anti -Pakistan activities in Kalat involved high rank official of Kalat State that is headed by Mr.D.Y. Fell (a Briton) the Wazir-e-Azam. It demanded his urgent dismissal.	Favorable	Politics
----	----------	---------------	---	---	-----------	----------

DISCUSSIONS:

The study shows the implication of the agenda-setting theory and agenda-building by media institutions. This study through qualitative method has researched different important political events during the era Aug 1947-July 1947, however, the issues that are addressed in the editorials of Dawn are as follows:

The study shows that very important events occurred in the first year after independence of Pakistan related to Baluchistan region but some are addressed in the editorials of Dawn newspaper. For example in the month of October 1947 the meeting of Khan of Kalat ‘His Highness Mir Sir Ahmad Yar Khan’ accompanied by Qazi Muhammad Isa Khan, President of Baluchistan Muslim League with Pakistan Governor General Muhammad Ali Jinnah over the talks related to the accession of the Kalat to Pakistan (Dawn, 1947). Baluch people expression of wishes for accession to Pakistan, formation of Baluch refugee camps, Lasbela and Kharan states consent for accession to Pakistan and rejection of Kalat demands occurred in November 1947. The first year after independence of Pakistan is very eventful in respect to the accession of Baluchistan princely states to Pakistan. However, limited political communication in form of editorials is observed. Moreover, the editorials that when talk about the respective topic,

remain favorable towards government. Total twelve editorials in twelve months are found related to Baluchistan (Aug, Sept, Dec 47 newspapers were not available).

India radio propaganda about Kalat accession in April 1948 is not editorialized. Political turmoil in Kalat State after accession to Pakistan after March 1948 and action and ban on anti-state elements in Baluchistan are the topics discussed in two editorials of Dawn in four months.

The study of Baluchistan political events during August 1947-July 1948 and content analysis of the editorializing trends in the Dawn newspaper does verify the practice of selection of some topics over the others in journalism practice. This also verifies the role of media in agenda-setting where the media tells not only what to think but also what to think about. The editorials favorable trends towards Government actions can be taken as the influence and control of the Government over the political communication process in the country. As the media analysis of the first year after independence researched that due to the hospitality of India, its occupation of Kashmir the Government continued the colonial press laws due to fear and doubts that the free press might could harm the security of the country.

Excluding August, September & December 1947 due to unavailability of newspapers, in eight months there are approximately two hundred and seventy days. On average of two editorials per day, the total number of editorials in eight months is five hundred and forty. Twelve editorials related to Baluchistan in eight months. Means the percentage of editorials on Baluchistan remains 2.2%.

The Dawn newspaper talked more on political events of Baluchistan than next of Baluchistan development projects. There is no editorial about any accident or calamity in Baluchistan. In the treatment of editorials towards Government over Baluchistan events and issues, the editorials favored Government policies and actions.

CONCLUSION

In this study the qualitative and quantitative analysis highlights the important political events during first year after independence of Pakistan in respect to Baluchistan region. Moreover, the quantitative analysis verifies the selection of some issues over. Hence proved the agenda setting and framing role of press in Pakistan.

References

Abbas, Zafar. "The missing pages of history: 70 years of Pakistan and Dawn."'

Abdul Karim crosses into Afghan territory. (1948, May 29). Dawn, p. 06

Abdul Karim surrenders. (1948, July 16). Dawn, p. 01

Abdul Karim surrenders. (1948, July 18). Dawn, p. 01

Accession of Baluchistan States to Pakistan will stop inter-state wrangling Dominion. (1948, March 21). Dawn, p. 04

Advisory Council to be set up in Baluchistan - Quaid-i-Azam's Speech at Shahi Darbar. (1948, February 15). Dawn, p. 01

Agenda Setting Theory. 2015. Retrieved from https://www.utwente.nl/en/bms/communication-theories/sorted-by-cluster/Mass%20Media/Agenda-Setting_Theory/

Aiwan e Aam (Kalat) ka baishar arakeen Indian Union ka ala kar hain. (1948, March 09). Jang, p. 06

Appeal to Kalat ruler to accede to Pakistan Dominion. (1948, March 21). Dawn, p. 04

Assembly to decide question of accession. (1948, February 14). Dawn, p. 02

Baluchistan ki Riyasaton ma tanaziah - Pakistan ma shamoliat ka shakhsana. (1947, November 08). Jang, p. 04

Baluchistan ko Sobah Sind ka sath shamil karna monasib nahi. (1947, December 18). Jang, p. 03

Baluchistan ko sobai darja do: Baluchistani Leadron ka mutalba. (1948, January 02). Jang, p. 01

Baluchistan ka mutalba. (1948, February 03). Jang, p. 2

Baluchistan ko baraha rast Governor General ka ma tahat Chief Commissioner ka soba bana dia gia. (1948, February 17). Jang, p. 3

Baluchistan ka nazm o nasq baraha rast Governor General ka ma tahat hoga. (1948, February 17). Jang, p. 01

Baluchistan has acquired an enviable status. (1948, February 18). Dawn, p. 2

Baluchistan ki aini islahat par Wali a Kharan ka Tashakur amaiz bayan. (1948, February 21). Jang, p. 6

Baluchistan Newsletter - Kalat National Party's hopes shattered: little work for civil courts. (1948, April 01). Dawn, p. 07

Big Possibility of Kalat acceding to Pakistan. (1948, February 15). Dawn, p. 01

Davis K. Dennis & Baran J. Stanley. 1995. Mass Communication Theory

Delegation of Kalat Muslims meets AISML President. (1948, March 03). Dawn, p. 05

Development schemes for Baluchistan under active consideration of Centre. (1948, June 27). Dawn, p. 06

Dominick, R. Joseph. 2002. The Dynamics of Mass Communication. New York: McGraw Hill.

Explore Balochistan. (2015). Retrieved from http://www.balochistan.gov.pk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=38&Itemid=784

Farishullah. Print Media. Asad Mahmood Printing Press. 1997

Farma rawai Kalat na Pakistani numainda ko iqrar a shamoliat da dia. (1948, April 02). Jang, p. 03

Gichki, Meeran. Baluchistan: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict in Pakistan. University of Arkansas. Master's Thesis. 2010

Grand Reception to Quaid-e Azam by the Khan of Kalat. (1948, February 14). Jang, p. 01

Grand Reception to Quaid-e Azam by the Khan of Kalat. (1948, February 14). Dawn, p. 1

Gunaratne, A. Shelton. 2002. Handbook of the Media in Asia. Sage Publications Inc

Hum pur amn hal chahta hain warna bad amni par qadir hain. (1948, March 29). Jang, p. 01

Kalat to join Pakistan. (1947, October 09). Dawn, p. 5

Kalat Pakistan sa qata tauluq nahi kara ga. (1947, December 28). Jang, p. 02

Kalat ka Pakistan ma shamil honaki ka imkanat bohat qawi hain. (1948, February 17). Dawn, p. 05

Khan Kalat na mutalbat wapis la lia. (1948, February 17). Jang, p. 3

Kalat Pakistan main shamil na hoga. (1948, February 28). Jang, p. 01

Kalat expanding State Forces. (1948, March 02). Dawn, p. 08

Kalat ka Mir Jafar o Mir Sadiq khadari kar ka Pakistan ma shirkat ki mukhalfat kar raha hain. (1948, March 06). Jang, p. 01

Kalat ki sorat e hal ki wazahat. (1948, March 01). Dawn, p.05

Kalat people demand State's accession to Pakistan, says Isa. (1948, March 07). Dawn, p. 06

Kalat Foreign Minister's cable to Zafrullah. (1948, March 21). Dawn, p. 01

Kalat ko chor kar Kharan aur Las Bela ko baraha rast Pakistan ma shamil kar lia jai. (1948, March 02). Jang, p. 03

Kalat aur Las Bela – Kharan o Makran ka taluqat par mazed roshni. (1948, March 26). Jang, p. 01

Kalat State demands denial of "Feudatories" accession report. (1948, March 21). Dawn, p. 01

Kalat may press its claim on Makran. (1948, March 30). Dawn, p. 04

Kalat supremacy over Makran ends: Devi supersedes Governor. (1948, May 15). Dawn, p. 06

Kalat prince who led a rebel "army" arrested. (1948, July 16). Dawn, p. 01

Kalat Prince's disappearance. (1948, May 29). Dawn, p. 06

Kalat State National Party ko khilaf qanoon jamat karar da dia gia. (1948, July 19). Jang, p. 01

Kalat ki kabina ko bartaraf kar dia gia. (1948, July 27). Jang, p. 01

Kalat ka nai Wazir-e- Azam ka taqarur. (1948, July 30). Jang, p. 01

Khan of Kalat in Karachi as Quaid-i-Azam's guest. (1947, October 12). Dawn, p. 5

Khan of Kalat in Karachi as Quaid-i-Azam's guest. (1947, October 12). Dawn, p. 5

Khan Kalat ka mazalim ka khilaf riyasati awam huma gheer pamana par tahreek shoro kar rahi ha. (1948, February 29). Dawn, p. 01

Kharan deplores Kalat's attitude towards Pakistan. (1948, January 29). Jang, p. 09

Khan Makran na Khan Kalat ka dawat nama namanzor kardia/
Jang /26 March/Pg.01/1948

Kraus. Sidney .1990. Article – News for the Other Person: Editors' Processing of Readers' Interest by Tsan-Kuo Chang & Sidney Kraus (Cleveland State University). Mass Communication and Political Information Processing. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Publishers. Pg. 110

Khan Kalat ka bhai Abdul Karim Khan ko Pakistani Fauj na larai ka bad giraftar karlia. (1948, July 17). Jang, p. 01

Khan of Kalat's brother missing. (1948, May 24). Dawn, p. 01

McNair. Brian. (2003). Routledge Taylor & Francis Group

More supporters of Abdul Karim cross into Afghanistan. (1948, June 10). Dawn, p. 01

Negrine. Ralph. (1996). The communication of Politics. Sage Publications

Nehru denies report about Kalat. (1948, April 01). Dawn, p. 01

Niazi, Zamir. Fettered Freedom. Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi

Pakistan has no intimation about Kalat decision. (1948, February 15). Dawn, p. 01

Pakistan ka khilaf Khan ki ishtal angazian intaha ko pohanch gain. (1948, March 29). Jang, p. 01

Pirzada assures Baluchistan of all help for development. (1948, June 09). Dawn, p. 06

Problems of Baluchistan to be Governor-Generals 'own special care' in future. (1948, February 15). Dawn, p. 4

Problems of Baluchistan to be Governor-Generals 'own special care' in future. (1948, February 15). Dawn, p. 04

Problems of Baluchistan to be Governor-Generals 'own special care' in future. (1948, February 15). Dawn, p. 04

Purposive sampling. Laerd Dissertation. (2015). Retrieved from <http://dissertation.laerd.com/purposive-sampling.php#typical>

Qazi Isa describes Baluchistan reforms as 'humble'. (1948, February 15). Dawn, p. 04

Quaid-i-Azam not in favor of Dictatorship: explains scope of Baluchistan reform. (1948, February 16). Dawn, p. 1

Quaid - e Azam ka dora Baluchistan par aik nazar. (1948, February 19). Jang, p. 03

Quetta relief efforts. (1947, November 08). Dawn, p. 05

Quetta talks expected to bring Kalat accession issue to end. (1948, March 23). Dawn, p. 01

Quetta jubilant over Kalat's accession. (1948, March 30). Dawn, p. 01

Riyasat Kalat aur Pakistan ki gufto shaneed. (1947, December 24). Jang, p. 02

Riyasat Kalat na pur Israr fauji tayarian shoron kardin. (1948, March 05). Jang, p. 04

Riyasat Kalat ka wafd ki Sadar Kul Hind Riyasti Muslim League sa Molaqat. (1948, March 03). Jang, p. 06

Riyasat Lasbela ko baraha rast Pakistan main shamil kar lia jai. (1948, March 03). Jang, p. 04

Riyasat Kalat Pakistan main shamil hogai. (1948, April 01). Jang, p. 06

Riyasat Kalat Pakistan main shamil hogai. (1948, April 01). Jang, p. 06

Samad Khan confined within 5-mile radius of his hometown. (1948, May 15). Dawn, p. 06

Shahi Jirga's memorandum to Quaid-i-Azam. (1948, February 14). Jang, p. 01

Siddiqi, A. H. (1991). Baluchistan (Pakistan): Its society, resources, and development. Lanham: University Press of America

Sind aur Baluchistan ko mila kar aik soba kar dia jai. (1947, December 02). Jang, p. 04

Sind bhi hadood Iran bhi - Azad Baluchistan ka Khudai faujdar ka bayan. (1947, December 15). Jang, p. 01

State League Leader urges Kalat to accede to Pakistan. (1948, March 04). Dawn, p. 01

Three Million Baluchis wish Kalat to accede to Pakistan. (1947, November 14). Dawn, P. 01

Three Million Baluchis wish Kalat to Accede to Pakistan. (1947, November 16) Jang, p. 4

Three deputations meet Quaid-i-Azam: busy round of discussions at Sibi. (1948, February 14). Dawn, p. 1

Three deputations meet Quad-i-Azam: busy round of discussions at Sibi. (1948, February 14). Dawn, p. 01

Weintraut. Alan. Writing an Editorial. (2015). Retrieved from <https://www.geneseo.edu/~bennett/EdWrite.htm>

Wimmer, D. Roger and Joseph R. Dominick. (2003). THOMSON WADSWORTH