

**EXTERNAL PUBLICITY  
AS AN INSTRUMENT OF INDIA'S DIPLOMACY**

EXTERNAL PUBLICITY  
AS AN INSTRUMENT OF INDIA'S DIPLOMACY.

CHANDA HANI AKHOURI

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF  
PHILOSOPHY, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL  
OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.

NEW DELHI

1976

## PREFACE

There is hardly any systematic study done on India's external publicity, whereas the volume of literature on the publicity efforts of other countries is remarkable. This is due to the fact that India appeared very late on the scene of external publicity. She had to learn quite a lot from the experiences of other countries and even her efforts in this field have to be studied in the light of the studies done on the advanced countries.

Paucity of material on the subject makes it very difficult to study India's external publicity efforts. An attempt, however, has been made to present the historical background in which India is conducting her external publicity.

The first chapter traces the history of the uses of external publicity and its acceptance as an instrument of diplomacy. It also gives a theoretical understanding of the problem in the light of which one can assess the role that such activities can play, and the extent to which their achievements are predictable. In other words, the approach taken in this chapter is a combination of historical and analytical approaches. Difficulties in studying it have also been outlined.

The second chapter deals specifically with the Indian publicity structure. The concern in this chapter is mainly organizational. The third chapter goes into the techniques adopted by this structure for publicity purposes. Some of the publicity material has also been examined to find out the general approach.

of the machinery dealing with external publicity. The fourth or the concluding chapter aims at assessing the performance of the external publicity structure. Only a few general observations have been given on its performance because there is no access to the audience-reactions to our efforts. ||

Had the library of the External Publicity Division been more organized, some systematic study could have been undertaken which was initially planned.

I express my gratitude towards my supervisor, Dr Satish Kumar, who helped me at every stage of the work and encouraged me to undertake the study. I wish to acknowledge my special indebtedness to Shri A. N. D. Haasar, who took the trouble of explaining to me the details of the external publicity structure and its working. The interviews I had with Shri A. N. Kaul, Additional Director, External Services Division of All India Radio, Shri S. N. Gupta, Chief Editor, Indian and Foreign Review, and Shri J. Bannerjee, Deputy Secretary, External Publicity Division were of great help in making the whole perspective clear. There are many others who would not like to be mentioned or quoted, nevertheless, their contribution to the study is noteworthy. I am also thankful to the staff of the External Publicity Division who helped me in getting the publicity material, and the staff of the Central Library of Jawaharlal Nehru University who were also of immense help to me.

12 May 1976

New Delhi 110057

*Chanda Rani Akhouri*  
Chanda Rani Akhouri

## CONTENTS

		Page
	Preface	1-11
Chapter I	External Publicity as an Instrument of Diplomacy	1-24
Chapter II	The External Publicity Structure	25-43
Chapter III	Techniques of External Publicity	44-79
Chapter IV	India's External Publicity: An Assessment	80-90
	Appendices	91-104
	Select Bibliography	105-108

**Chapter I**

**EXTERNAL PUBLICITY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF  
DIPLOMACY**

## Chapter I

### EXTERNAL PUBLICITY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DIPLOMACY

Various factors have contributed to the development of a situation where external publicity has come to be regarded as an instrument of diplomacy. The inter-war period witnessed the growing democratic control over diplomacy and technical development leading to communication explosion. These two developments had a vital impact on the conduct of diplomacy. It is from these two developments that external publicity measures gain the rationale for their employment as an instrument of diplomacy.

It would be worthwhile to clarify here what is meant by diplomacy. The hitherto most widely accepted definition of diplomacy, which now seems inadequate says: "Diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys, the business or art of the diplomatist."<sup>1</sup>

Now we know that diplomacy does not consist of negotiation only. There are many more things to it. A comprehensive list of instruments through which diplomacy is conducted could be quoted from the "Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel: Personnel for the New Diplomacy."<sup>2</sup> The Committee,

---

1 Harold Nicolson, Diplomacy (New York, 1969), pp. 4-5.

2 Christian A. Herter, Chairman of the U.S. Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel; Personnel for New Diplomacy, Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel (December 1962), pp. 5-6.

describing what it meant by New Diplomacy, said: "In pursuit of our goals we have developed an arsenal more developed than ever before. They include all the tools of traditional diplomacy; international law; intelligence; political action; technical assistance and various types of foreign economic aid, military aid programmes, information and psychological programmes; monetary policies, trade development programmes; educational exchange; cultural programmes; and more recently measures to counter insurgency movements." Most of these fall outside the older definition of diplomacy but together they constitute what is called the 'New Diplomacy'.

We are not concerned with all the tools corresponding to the different aspects of diplomacy in general. One thing, however, is clear that psychological and informational activities have come to acquire the same status as any other constituent of diplomacy. Since our concern is only with external publicity which deals with informational and psychological programmes it would be useful to take a historical approach to the subject in order to find out its uses by different political systems in the past and their considerations in undertaking such activities.

Though the inter-war period provides a landmark in the history of such activities, their presence in the pre-war period is by no means denied. External publicity, which is generally

---

3 Italics added.

4 Ibid.



known as international propaganda is not a new phenomenon and its history could be traced back to its earliest uses by the Greeks.<sup>5</sup>

Etymologists trace the term propaganda to Pope Gregory XV who had founded the "Sacra Congregatio De Propaganda Fide"<sup>6</sup> to do missionary work abroad.

The term 'propaganda' came to acquire the derogatory sense in which it is used today in the 19th century itself. W. T. Brande's 'Dictionary of Science, Literature and Art' published in 1842 says of propaganda: "Derived from this celebrated society the name propaganda is applied in political language as a term of reproach to secret associations for the spread of opinion and principles which are viewed by most governments with horror and aversion."<sup>7</sup> The pejorative sense in which it is used today is also the reason why we have preferred the term 'external publicity'. But, as we shall see in the course of this paper, 'external publicity' is only an euphemism for 'propaganda'. In the present discussion, we would be using the two terms interchangeably because the literature on it generally uses the term propaganda.

---

5 W. Phillips Davison, "Some Trends in International Propaganda", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia), 1973, p. 1.

6 L. John Martin, International Propaganda: Its Legal and Diplomatic Control (Minneapolis, 1958), p. 5.

7 Ibid., p. 3.

Going into the history of propaganda we find many examples of both successful and unsuccessful propaganda but it came to be recognized as a powerful force only about the time of French Revolution when the British had reacted to the war-time activities of the French soldiers.<sup>8</sup> This was also the beginning of the world consciousness of propaganda but it was not until the 1st World War that systematic propaganda was engaged in and the psychological principle was realized that total war would be fought only by attacking the minds as well as the bodies of men. This needed 'cross national interaction', which would not have been possible without technological advancement in the communication media.

For the ~~purpose~~ purposes of war various types of techniques had already been tested but the First World War saw the uses of of traditional as well as modern methods. Leaflets, pamphlets and posters were prepared in huge quantities - some of which were sent to friendly and neutral countries and some of them were smuggled into enemy countries.

Emergence of regularly published newspapers had provided new opportunities to the propagandists. Bribing of the press

---

8

Ibid., p. 6.

The French soldiers were sent into battle armed with slogans of "Guerre aux Châteaux, paix aux chaumières!" To assist the men in the field, the French National Assembly promised to help all nationals ready to fight for their liberty, and it charged the executive power to advise French Generals to assist "all citizens who have been or shall in the future be, persecuted in the cause of freedom". Britain's reaction to this unusual activity on the part of the French caused international incident.

continued to occur. Towards the end of the war Radio was brought into use. The Allies broadcast President Wilson's 14 points to many parts of the world and the Russians recognized Radio as a prime propaganda instrument as they broadcast the details of the 1918 Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations with Germany in order to expose German annexationist ambitions.

Throughout the history, communications from governments to citizens of other countries, have been rather limited, except in time of war and international crisis. Germany, France, England and the U.S.A. all built up large propaganda machineries during the First World War but at the end of the war they dismantled them.

Looking at the history of propaganda activities one finds that it is only a 20th century phenomenon that the states are engaged in peace-time propaganda also. The Bolsheviks recognized the importance of propaganda from the very beginning and as early as 1923 we find Lord Curzon,<sup>9</sup> the British Foreign Minister vigorously protesting to Moscow about Bolshevik propaganda in various parts of the British empire.<sup>10</sup>

Then came the World War II in which short-wave Radio became the dominant propaganda channel though other channels were not neglected. Propagandists in both world wars made use of films to promote their doctrines specially in allied and neutral count-

---

9 John B. Whilton and Arthur Larson, Propaganda: Towards Disarmament in the War of Words, pp. 25-8.

10 Ibid., p. 35.

ries. Television could become a major channel for international propaganda twenty years after the World War II, but the limited reach of direct television broadcasts has allowed short-wave Radio to retain its pre-eminence in the international arena. Now the students of international communication face the question, how the rapidly developing capability of broadcasting from orbiting satellite will be exploited. All channels as develop are soon passed into the service of international propaganda.

The situation after the World War II was very different from the post-World War I situation. When the World War II ended none of the victorious powers terminated their propaganda organizations although in some cases names were changed and budgets cut back. This also facilitated peace-time propaganda. Today there is hardly any nation that does not engage in at least some short-wave broadcasting.<sup>11</sup> Now propaganda or external publicity has not only become a standard arm of statecraft, it is frankly recognized as a regular branch of government alongside other departments.

For the purposes of this paper we can define external publicity or propaganda as Martin defined it.<sup>12</sup> According to him "Propaganda could be defined as a systematic attempt through mass communication to influence the thinking and behaviour of people<sup>13</sup>

---

11 John B. Whitton, "Propaganda in Cold Wars", Public Opinion Quarterly (Princeton), vol. 15, Spring 1951, p.142.

12 Martin's definition of propaganda is being used as the definition of external publicity also.

13 Italics added.

in the interest of some in-group." <sup>14</sup> He feels that propaganda should be defined as something deliberate and organized. The attitudes and behaviours are also influenced through threats of violence or by direct compulsion which can also be deliberate and organized, therefore, it is necessary to mention the means <sup>15</sup> through which propaganda is conducted.

So far as the means through which propaganda is concerned, is that mass communication seems to cover all the necessary human mental relationships. In other words they seem to be capable of influencing the attitudes and behaviours of the people. The reason why so much importance is attached to external publicity, or propaganda is that public opinion is given much more importance than it had received before. In the old days of diplomacy, it would have been regarded as an act of unthinkable vulgarity to appeal to the common people upon any issue of <sup>16</sup> international policy. But situation has changed over a period of time.

Even the recognition of public opinion as an instrument of policy is not a new phenomenon. Its efficacy was recognized as

---

14 Martin, n. 6, p. 12.

16 Harwood L. Childs, Public Opinion: Nature, Formation and Role (Princeton, 1965), p. 322.

16 Childs quotes Lasswell's definition of propaganda here, which says: "Most of which formerly, could be done by violence and intimidation must now be done by argument and persuasion. Democracy has proclaimed the dictatorship of palaver, and the technique of dictating to the dictator is named propaganda."

16 Nicolson, n. 1, p. 92.

17

long ago as 1826 by Canning. He, however, laid down that such opinion should be founded on truth and justice. This condition, however, was dispensed with later by the continental statesmen who adopted it in the later half of the 19th century. Such 'delicacies of conscience' as Nicolson puts it, were abolished by war. Invention of wireless gave a vast impetus to propaganda as a method of policy implementation. Hitler affirms in his 'Mein Kampf' that the masses are more easily stirred by human voice than by any other form of communication.

18

Now propaganda is considered a very effective weapon in the field of international negotiations. There is hardly any state that is not engaged in propaganda activities. Many studies have been done on such activities of the big powers, particularly the United States of America, Britain and Soviet Union. The history of their propaganda agencies show the initial dilemma of the government in having a permanent body for conducting such activities. One can get some insight into their changing policies towards propaganda by dealing briefly with their attitudes towards the latter.

In the U.S.A. Smith-Mundt Act, which revealed that anti-American propaganda activity was stronger in some countries than the propaganda put out by the U.S.A., was passed on 27 January 1948 after an examination of the effects of American propaganda

---

17        Ibid.

18        Ibid.

abroad. The official name of the Act was the "United States Information and Education Act of 1948 and its function was <sup>19</sup> to promote the better understanding of the United States among the peoples of the world and to strengthen cooperative international <sup>20</sup> relations."

In 1950 President Truman launched his 'campaign of Truth' with the words: "Everywhere that the propaganda of communist totalitarianism is spread, we must meet it and overcome <sup>21</sup> it with honest information about freedom and democracy." Following the outbreak of the Korean War, a classified executive order of the President ~~was~~ sent to American Missions all over the world changed the emphasis from "one of promoting mutual understanding and presenting the world with a full and fair picture of the US" to a "more dynamic psychological weapon to meet the <sup>22</sup> growing threat of communism". The information programme underwent quite a few changes in order to support the national objectives.

Today the US information agency conducts its activities through several media operation departments as well as through <sup>23</sup> its information programmes in the field.

- 
- 19        Italics added.  
 20        Martin, n. 6, p. 25.  
 21        Ibid., p. 26.  
 22        Ibid., p. 27.  
 23        Ibid., p. 28.

In the case of Britain, after the First World War, the departments established to deal with the wartime propaganda activities were abolished. The British do not seem to have realized the value of international propaganda in the conduct of peacetime foreign affairs until the late 1930s. The British attitude would be summed up in the words of late Ernest Bevin, then British Foreign Secretary who told the House of Commons as late as 1945<sup>24</sup> that "the right way to deal with things is to deal with them and not to carry out propaganda wars of nerves." But, in 1934, the House of Commons had passed a resolution which requested the government to "give the full weight of its moral and financial support to schemes to further the wider and the more effective presentation of British news, views and culture abroad."<sup>25</sup> Martin says that it was due to the realization of the fact that the evil effects of state propaganda of a misleading character could be countered not by retaliation but by the dissemination of straightforward information and news. "With the outbreak of another war", as Martin puts it, "propaganda lost any stigma it might have had, or at least, was accepted as a necessity."

The British Ministry of Information continued its activities throughout the World War II. Soon after the war on 31 March 1946 it was abolished and the British propaganda system was decentralized. Today British international propaganda is

---

24 Ibid., p. 34.

25 Ibid., p. 35.



the concern of a number of ministries, government departments<sup>26</sup> and two important public corporations.

After the abolition of the Ministry of Information, the British Information Services became the responsibility of the Foreign Office. The British Information Service has now become so thoroughly integrated with the foreign missions to which it is attached that many Foreign Service career officers are rotated among information, economic and diplomatic assignments and senior British Information Service (B.I.S.) officers are frequently given diplomatic ranks.<sup>27</sup> Through its four divisions the BIS serves the need of the British missions by advising it on matters relating to local public opinion. The British Broadcasting Corporation had started its English language programmes for its colonies and dominions all over the world in 1932. It later launched its foreign language programmes to "counteract the increasing activity of certain foreign governments in the field of propaganda."<sup>28</sup>

The activities of the British Council which is a semi-official, independent corporation, functioning under a royal charter (1940) are mainly on the lines of promoting a wider knowledge of Britain and developing closer relations with other countries for the purposes of benefiting the British Commonwealth

---

26 Martin gives a detailed description of the agency. Ibid., pp. 36-8.

27 Four divisions - (1) Reference, (2) Press, (3) Radio and (4) General.

28 Martin, n. 6, p. 35.

of nations and from the very beginning its activities were directed to those areas where "hostile propaganda was the strongest."<sup>29</sup> The British Council helps cultivate an appreciation for the British way of life through various measures. Because of its non-political and cultural activities, the British Council has acquired a reputation for being an independent and unofficial body.<sup>30</sup> The success of the British Council is often attributed to its non-propagandistic appearance in the minds of men because it seems to be divorced from the government, apparently.

The propaganda activities of the USSR have been controlled by 'Agitprop' - the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Communist Party Central Committee. It is assisted by the All-Union Committee on Radio, Information and the Ministry of Cinematography. Policy, of course, is made by the Presidium of the Communist Party. Agitprop is divided into 15 sectors, each responsible for a different medium or type of propaganda activity with a special administration for international affairs.<sup>31</sup>

The Soviet Foreign Office in Moscow and the diplomatic corps abroad also engage in international propaganda. The Foreign Office is said to have a large staff in its psychological warfare department. In foreign countries the ambassador himself often directs the propaganda activities. Russia's international radio propaganda is carried out by the psychologi-

---

29 Ibid., p. 41.

30 Ibid., p. 44.

31 Ibid., p. 47.

cal warfare department of the Foreign Office known as the Administration of Central Broadcasting. The Moscow Foreign Language Publishing House was organized in 1948, whose function is to coordinate all foreign language translations of Russian works.<sup>32</sup>

Since the most of the studies in this field are done on the propaganda activities of these advanced countries, attempts at the evaluation of propaganda programmes are also done in the light of their performance. Any general proposition has not been established about the organization of propaganda programmes. Its effects, if any, vary not only from place to place and time to time but campaign to campaign.

All the countries do not have such elaborate machineries as these advanced countries have but propaganda activities do take a good part of their attention. Our concern here is to see what India is doing in this field. The foreign-propaganda which is called 'external publicity' had been given some attention before the independence. The External Affairs Department of the British Indian Government had an external publicity organization which performed a very limited function in the given historical and political context.<sup>33</sup> In 1943 it was taken over by the Department of Information and Broadcasting to serve wartime needs and after the independence the need was felt for transfer-

---

32 Ibid., p. 48.

33 J. Bandopadhyay, The Making of India's Foreign Policy (Calcutta, 1970), p. 192.

ring External Publicity back to the Ministry of External Affairs. It was realized that "external publicity is intimately aligned with external publicity" so it should be handled by the Foreign Office. <sup>34</sup> And accordingly it was brought under the control of the Ministry of External Affairs.

The function of the External Publicity Division is three-fold: "the briefing of the press and other media, representatives, Indian and Foreign operating in Delhi and the maintenance of continuous contact with them; policy formulation and guidance, including control and supervision of the publicity posts abroad, and the dissemination abroad of publicity and information material of various kinds in different media." <sup>35</sup>

Due to the limitation of resources all the Indian Missions abroad do not have publicity units. But, as a proportion of the total expenditure of the Ministry of External Affairs on headquarters and Missions/Posts abroad, it is quite high being 9.25% in the year 1974-75. <sup>36</sup>

The All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau and various wings of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting help the External Publicity Division in carrying out its functions. The details of their structure and functioning would be discussed

---

34 Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1971).

35 N. R. Pillai (Chairman of the Committee on Indian Foreign Service), Report of the Committee on the Indian Foreign Service, 1956, p. 58.

36 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1974-75 (New Delhi, 1975), p. 172.

in the following chapters.

Various committees have gone into the functioning of the External Publicity Division and according to their recommendations many changes have taken place. For example, one of the major recommendations of the Pillai Committee (1956) was regarding an increase in the volume of literature on External Publicity. Volume of literature has certainly been increased ever since but there is also the realization that the best publicity is what one does in one's country. <sup>37</sup> What is really done is a matter of details which would be taken up later. Here it is sufficient to point out that the whole effort is geared towards the projection of a correct and objective image of India abroad. The machinery dealing with external publicity also tries to publicise and explain India's foreign policy. <sup>38</sup>

This description of the propaganda agencies of these four countries is neither exhaustive nor analytical. It does not say much about the contemporary propaganda activities. It points out some of the considerations that the nations have in mind while indulging in such activities. Their priorities are determined not only by their economic resources and stakes in the world but also by their political and ideological considerations.

Since the field of international propaganda is a new dimension in international relations which had developed due to

---

37 Nehru, n. 34, p. 246.

38 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report 1972-73 (New Delhi, 1973), p. 88.

various needs of various countries and their reactions to various international events at various times one can only try to find out some of the considerations that have gone into it. It is worth reminding ourselves that the intellectual efforts on mass persuasion and international relations are not comparable to those done on other dimensions of international relations, for example, the changing role of force and economic bargaining, etc.

The study of international political communication is not easy either and there are many difficulties faced by the students in studying them. Some of these difficulties have been outlined by Davison and George.<sup>39</sup> They are as follows: (1) It cuts across the established boundaries of academic disciplines. (2) The communication process is quite complex. (3) The variables involved could be summarized in the following formula: "who says what to whom through what media for what purposes under what circumstances with what effects." In the international political communication all these aspects cannot be illuminated. (4) The evaluation of its effects is also difficult because of several reasons: a) the communicator has only a vague notion of exactly what it is he is trying to achieve. (b) Many goals are pursued with many audiences simultaneously. (c) The communication itself cannot be neatly structured in order to facilitate the researcher's job of evaluation. (d) The foreign audience is often inaccessible

for direct observation and measurement. (e) Want of clear-cut simple criteria of effectiveness. (5) Political communication is usually - although not always - an auxiliary instrument of policy which is used in conjunction with decisions or actions which may fall in the diplomatic, economic or military sphere.

(6) Because of the political and administrative conditions under which it is undertaken, a strictly scientific approach is difficult to be maintained.

Apart from these difficulties there are other factors which contribute to the complexity of the situation, making the study of international political communication all the more complex. A part of such complexity is related to the national policy.<sup>40</sup> The latter is related with communication. If the national policy is not clear and specific, communication cannot be done properly. Most of the countries try to assure specificity and realism in their policy planning by delegating a part of this function to their overseas missions. The recommendations of diplomatic, economic, information and other specialized personnel are harmonised with each other and are sent to the national capital and the resulting amalgam becomes national policy.

The national policy is derived from the international political situation and in part from domestic political and cultural factors. To this, one could add the economic factors also.

On the domestic scene one should note that certain traditional attitudes have influenced the development of foreign policy.

---

40 Ibid., pp. 506-8.

The communication policy, that is, the decisions as to what we want to achieve through the use of communications is derived from the other elements in the chain to which they refer as the audience characteristics, the conditions under which communication is made and the effects we want to achieve. Many of the effects that can be achieved by communication require months or years to come to fruition. Even the mass media depend for a large part of their effectiveness on the cumulative effect over a period of time. The desirability of extended perspective is still greater in the case of slow channels, e.g., books, exchange of persons, etc.

In this context, it would be useful to make a distinction between the two types of activities that go on under the name of propaganda. The analytical concepts are provided by Martin.<sup>41</sup> He is of the opinion that most of the propaganda is 'facilitative communication' and not 'persuasive communication'. By the former he means "the activity designed to keep lines open and maintain contacts against the day when they will be needed for propaganda purposes." Effectiveness of propaganda could very well be gauged through these conceptual tools.

Another difficulty faced by those who want to study international political communication is that they do not get required informations through official channels. Then, they have to rely on informal channels also.

---

41 L. John Martin, "Propaganda in International Affairs", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia, 1972), pp. 61-70.



For the purposes of propaganda national policy provides one coordinate for the formulation of information and cultural policies. The other coordinate is provided by the capabilities of the instruments at the disposal of the communicator. So, in formulating his plans he can take either of two approaches. He can consider each specific line of national policy and ask whether he can achieve it through the help of the instruments at his disposal. Or, he can first ask what politically significant effects are within his power to achieve and then inquire whether these would advance national policy. In practice, however, an approach is made from both ends.

In getting information about the audience one will have to face various difficulties but, i) one can look for the power and influence structure of the society in question; ii) one can also take into account the relevant political attitudes among those who are politically significant; and iii) the way in which political information is used by political audiences.

Though this outline is not sufficient, the area of enquiry is usually narrowed down when political objectives are specified.

Careful definitions of goals focus attention on certain group attitudes, actions and rules others out.

A tension frequently arises between those who are concerned with content of foreign policy and those concerned with communication. One reason why the latter feel that they have something important to contribute to policy planning discussions is that their work forces them to develop an awareness of the

effects that the policies and actions are likely to have on various audiences. This information is useful in planning, implementing and evaluating propaganda activities. To mention it once again, the communicator is aware of the fact that what his government does is more likely to influence attitudes and behaviour than even the most skilful propaganda. The communicators are often called upon to explain or justify a policy, specially when something goes wrong. They can do it better if they participate in the planning process. Moreover, the negative effects of some unpopular policy can be minimized with the advance care taken of it.

By and large, however, those who are concerned with foreign policy formulation today agree that the foreign reactions should be taken into account as one of the inputs that go into the policy decisions. But there are two more questions at issue. One is, how much weight should be given to these foreign reactions and the other is who should have the task of introducing them into policy.

Regarding this some diplomats feel that psychological reactions should be given consideration as the economic and military forces when foreign policy is being determined. From this, one should not get the impression that the policy should be made from a public relations viewpoint. But even where this view is accepted one is still to find out whose responsibility is it to gauge probable foreign reactions - to which answer has not been given till now.

In presenting the communication programmes various

difficulties are faced. In cultural differences, linguistic peculiarities and the varying reactions of audience lies a danger that occasionally limits its effectiveness.

An analysis of Goebbel's diary after World War II gave rise to a set of formulations. He had used the criterion of credibility alone to determine whether propaganda should consist of truth or falsehood.<sup>42</sup>

A senior official of USIA has derived a series of 'ten commandments' from American experiences - according to which good propaganda is purposeful, dignified, straight-forward, factual, credible, meaningful, locally oriented, tailored to a specific audience, positive and directive.<sup>43</sup> Constant evaluation of propaganda activities through research helps to make international information and cultural programmes into a two-way street. By studying foreign attitudes and reactions the researchers provide a mechanism through which foreign audience can talk back to those who are seeking to influence their behaviour.<sup>44</sup>

The question of the effectiveness of international propaganda is closely related to its aims. Since propaganda has been employed mainly in war-times or crisis its aims have been

- 
- 42 Leonard W. Doob, 'Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda', Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1950.
- 43 John W. Riley, Jr. & Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "Research for Psychological Warfare", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring 1957, pp. 153-5.
- 44 W. Phillips Davison, International Political Communication, p. 192.

largely the same. On the basis of the World War I propaganda, Harold D. Lasswell finds four principle strategic aims:

- 1) To mobilize hatred against enemy.
- 2) To preserve the friendship of allies.
- 3) To preserve the friendship and if possible, to procure the cooperation of neutrals.
- 4) To demoralise the enemy.

Yet, as we have already noted, some propaganda has always been conducted in peace time. Whether the aims are related to war or peace time, the fundamental concern remains the same, that is to say, promotion of national policies. This type of artificial dichotomy arises when we take war as something indicating the failure of foreign policy, which is not true.

There are people who feel that propaganda or mass persuasion should be given a 'coordinate status' with foreign policy. They also feel that psychological operations have failed or they have been limited because they are organized as ancillary to other instruments of foreign policy. In reviewing the book by Robert T. Holl and Robert W. Van de Velde (Strategic Psychological Operations and American Foreign Policy), Jamowitz suggests that the ability of the United States to improve its mass persuasion appeals depends mainly on substantive content

45 Harold D. Lasswell, Propaganda Technique in World War I, p. 195.

46 Robert T. Holl and Robert W. Van de Velde, Strategic Psychological Operations and American Foreign Policy, reviewed by Morris Janowitz, Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring 1951, vol. 25.

DISS  
327.20954  
Ak46 Ex  
G37700

G-37700



and on a realistic appraisal of the direction of social change throughout the world. This suggestion holds good for all the countries' propaganda efforts.

According to Martin, in both theory and practice, persuasive communication or propaganda have been shown to have an effect but this is a far cry from the evidence of effectiveness. He feels that if our persuasive communication, the real propaganda, ends with a net positive effect, we must attribute it to luck not science. The propagandist cannot control the direction or the intensity of impact of his message, if indeed, he reaches his target at all. The purpose of propaganda or external publicity may be to influence a government but it is quite conceivable that the most effective and efficient way to accomplish this is to persuade a particular segment of the population whose composition is totally different from the individuals who make up the government. The propagandist might be highly effective in his persuasive communication with this segment but that effectiveness might not carry over to the ultimate objective of his propaganda, that is, influencing the government.

Prediction and control are key elements of effectiveness. Another element is an articulate objective. Measurement of effectiveness is impossible if one does not have clearly defined objective. But, even when clearly defined objective is there, prediction and control are not easy. When one looks at this aspect and reconsiders its role as an instrument of foreign policy one feels that all the efforts that go into it are nothing but 'unavoidable waste'. The socio-political and

economic stability of a country puts a serious constraint over the performance of propaganda in the field of foreign policy. In order to succeed such efforts need to be backed by the social, political and ideological values of the political system which is undertaking them. The general impression about the government and the people also counts where credibility of a communication programme is at stake.

All the above-mentioned difficulties present a very gloomy picture of the situation. Neither the persuasion nor the study of propaganda activities seem to be promising. But the fact, however, remains that all these do not really prevent any country or agency from undertaking propaganda activities. It is resorted to in its different forms in order to achieve many national goals. Even diplomatic and other practices have developed certain protocols which are followed just for propaganda purposes. For example, protests in international meetings and conferences.

To conclude one can say that the whole discussion tries to give a general understanding of the considerations behind conducting external publicity. It also tries to set out expectations in the right perspective. What is expected of it is hardly realized still such activities are getting more and more attention everyday. It is against this background that an effort at studying India's external publicity would be made in the following chapters.

**Chapter II**

**THE EXTERNAL PUBLICITY STRUCTURE**

## Chapter II

### THE EXTERNAL PUBLICITY STRUCTURE

Having noted the assumptions behind undertaking External Publicity in the first chapter we now come to have a closer look at the machinery dealing with it in India. It has already been mentioned that the External Publicity Division of the Ministry of External Affairs is in charge of India's External Publicity. This chapter aims at giving a descriptive account of India's External Publicity structure.

At the headquarters the Ministry of External Affairs deals with the publicity problems through the External Publicity Division.<sup>1</sup> Since the material essentially has to be disseminated abroad India's Missions and Information Posts abroad have to be associated with such activities. There are Press Officers<sup>2</sup> in almost all the missions who deal with this work. They, however, are not held responsible for the publicity policy. In fact, it is the Head of the Mission who is regarded responsible for it, although he works under the overall direction of the Foreign Secretary.

Since the twin objectives of projection of the state of the country abroad and also of its international postures cannot be divorced from each other, the X.P. Division and the other

---

1 External Publicity Division will henceforth be referred to as X.P. Division, as it is usually called in common parlance.

2 The author's interview with Shri A. N. D. Haksar, Joint Secretary, External Publicity Division in New Delhi on 4 September 1975.



departments work in close co-ordination with each other.<sup>3</sup>

The details of the relationship that is established among the different Departments of various Ministries concerned with this task will be discussed in the following pages. However, one can begin with a description of the historical genesis of the X. P. Division. The origins and evolution of the X. P. Division are related to the inheritance of some of the Departments by the Government of India from the colonial Government after the independence.

Before the independence of India the External Affairs Department of the British Indian Government had an external publicity organization which performed certain limited functions in the given historical and political context. In 1943 the X. P. Division was taken over by the Department of Information and Broadcasting to serve the wartime needs.<sup>4</sup> In June 1948, it was transferred to the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations<sup>5</sup> "in order to secure more effective co-ordination of external publicity with foreign policy."<sup>6</sup> Behind this was also the mind of Jawaharlal Nehru who had explained to the Con-

---

3 Ibid.

4 J. Bandopadhyay, The Making of India's Foreign Policy (Calcutta, 1970).

5 Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Annual Report: 1948-49 (New Delhi, n.d.), p. 19.

6 Ibid., p. 19.

stituent Assembly in March 1948: "External Publicity is so intimately aligned with external policy that normally every country has its external publicity organized by its Foreign Office and not by its internal publicity machine. In our country, owing to various developments - because it was only thought of in war time - external publicity became a part of our Information Department. The more I have given thought to it, the more I have realized that this is not a very satisfactory arrangement. Obviously there must be the closest co-operation between the internal publicity and external publicity. But it is far better I think that the External Affairs Ministry should have a greater part than it has had so far." <sup>7</sup> The decision to bring the external publicity structure under the control of the Ministry of External Affairs was taken accordingly.

In 1951, the Economic Committee wanted to put External Publicity in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting but Ministry of External Affairs did not accept the recommendation. The Ministry was also of the view that it was too soon to reopen the question. The views of the Standing Advisory Committee also <sup>8</sup> supported the views of the Ministry.

---

7 Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy (Delhi, 1961), pp. 237-8.

8 Ministry of External Affairs, Descriptive Memoir of Ministry of External Affairs, June 1951 (Simla, 1952), Appendix VI, pp. 39-40.

The Economic Committee's recommendation, no. 8 dealt with External Publicity. The text of its recommendation is as follows:

(footnote contd.)

It was not until 1958 that another step forward was taken in the process of setting up of a separate organization for External Publicity.<sup>9</sup> To make it more effective, the Division which was performing very meagre functions like giving news and background information as a corrective and emphasizing the Government of India's viewpoint,<sup>10</sup> was given additional functions. The Government decided to transfer<sup>to</sup> the X. P. Division the following additional duties:<sup>11</sup>

(previous footnote contd.)

"External Publicity should be located in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

"In order to frame policy there should be a Board composed of representatives of the Ministries of External Affairs and Information and Broadcasting and of such persons as may be considered as necessary."

The Ministry of External Affairs, however, had not accepted the recommendation.

The "Descriptive Memoir" of the Ministry does not state who had appointed these committees. It is likely, however, that they were Parliamentary Committees.

- 9 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report: 1958-59 (New Delhi, 1959), p. 41.
- 10 Ministry of External Affairs, Descriptive Memoir of the Ministry of External Affairs, June 1951 (Simla, 1952), p. 8.
- 11 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report: 1958-59 (New Delhi, 1959), p. 41.

(1) Establishment of closer liaison and coordination with the Films Division for the production of films and with All India Radio for adopting the News and Feature Services of External Broadcasts to the requirements of External Publicity.

(2) Looking after the Foreign Press Correspondents in India and visiting press delegations and press personalities from abroad.

(3) Publicising the activities of the Ministry of External Affairs in the Indian and Foreign Press.

In order to meet the demands of these added responsibilities a Press Relations Section was set up in the Division on 15 July 1958.<sup>12</sup> Until then, the Press Information Bureau of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting handled all publicity in Delhi on behalf of the Ministry of External Affairs.<sup>13</sup>

Various other types of modifications of the organization of the machinery dealing with external publicity had been undertaken after independence, when the requirements of external publicity became clearer. For example, in 1947, a cadre called Information Services of India was constituted. At the time of the constitution of the Indian Foreign Service the prevailing view was that Information work was 'technical' and 'distinguishable as such from political and other works. So people with professional experience in journalism and public relations were

---

12 Ibid., p. 41.

13 J. Bandopadhyay, n. 4, p. 192.

recruited on contract and on terms other than those of the Indian Foreign Service, and a separate cadre of ISI (Information Services of India) was constituted.<sup>14</sup>

Later it was realized that the separateness was affecting the effectiveness of our publicity abroad because the Information Officers tended to regard themselves as 'outside the fold' and dealt with External Publicity on their own,<sup>15</sup> and often independently of the Head of the Mission. So the scheme for the reorganization of the cadre of the Information Services of India and its gradual integration was announced during the year 1959-60.<sup>16</sup> The scheme provided for the grant of long-term contracts (up to the age of superannuation) to some of the existing personnel of ISI cadre and in other cases the grant of five years contracts. Provision was also made for the absorption into the Indian Foreign Service of members of the cadre considered suitable for such promotion. No further recruitment was to be made to the Information Service cadre from the open market at any level. As and when vacancies arose in the senior grade, they were to be filled to the extent of fifty per cent, by promotion from the Junior Grade. The remaining fifty per cent of the vacancies were to be carried over to the senior scale of IFS (A) in which fresh posts were to be created. Regular IFS officers were also to be appointed to

---

14 Pillai Committee, Report of the Committee on the Indian Foreign Service, para 137, p. 45.

15 Ibid., p. 45.

16 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1959-60 (New Delhi, 1959), p. 54.

these posts. For example, at the initial stage 3 posts in IIS (A) were filled from amongst Public Relations Officers. This process of absorption and promotion of ISI officers was taken up in the following years in all the three ways mentioned above.

The Head of the Division at the headquarters is the Joint Secretary. The Report of the Ministry of External Affairs 1963-64 says "the Division is being placed under the overall charge of the rank of Joint Secretary."<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, the Joint Secretary incharge of the Division is in a position to act as a high powered spokesman of the Ministry, thus providing more authentic news and information relating to the conduct of the country's External Affairs.<sup>18</sup> The Head of the Division, the Joint Secretary, works under the guidance of the Foreign Secretary. Working under Joint Secretary as a deputy is a Deputy Secretary or a Director (according to the needs of the time).<sup>19</sup>

It is pertinent to point out the main ranks and posts in the Division in order to bring out the priorities and the types of functions performed by the Division.

There are two Public Relation Officers out of which one is in charge of manning the ISI transmissions and the other is

---

17 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1963-64 (New Delhi, 1964), p. 66.

18 The author's interview with Shri A. N. D. Haksar, Joint Secretary, External Publicity Division in New Delhi on 4 September 1975.

19 Ibid.

in charge of co-ordination.

There are four Under Secretaries of which one deals with cultural publicity, the second in charge of Administration, the third in charge of the production of printed material, and the fourth one in charge of publicity in the neighbouring countries. This is the situation prevailing towards the end of 1975.

There are six Information Officers. One of them is in charge of Press Relations and works in liaison with the Foreign Correspondents. The second Information Officer works in liaison with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The third one is in charge of Film Publicity. The other three are in charge of monitoring and analysis of the reports appearing in the international media. Among themselves they have geographical distribution of areas.

All the Indian Missions abroad do not have publicity posts. According to the load and challenge of work involved and the competence required in a particular area posts of the three categories of Information Officers are created. These three categories of Information Officers are:

---

20 Ibid.

21 The above mentioned description of the organizational set-up of the X. P. Division is not intended to represent the hierarchical structure or the chain of command in the Division.

22 A list showing the number of Missions with and without Information Posts is given in Appendix I.

- 1) Public Relation Officers (P.R.O.);
- 2) Information Officers; and
- 3) Assistant Information Officers.<sup>23</sup>

The arrangement for assigning a P.R.O. or an Information Officer with a particular post is quite flexible. In other words, assignments are made according to the availability of officers and the competence required for a particular area. For example, sometimes one might find a P.R.O. in an area which is not all that vital from the point of view of Information, whereas a very important assignment might be found to have been given to an Information Officer.

Even at the time of its constitution separate cadre of Information Officers comprised of people from various fields. After the Pillai Committee submitted its report, there have not been fresh inductions to the ISI cadre. There is an attempt to make the Foreign Service a versatile service. It is understood that by 1982 or so there would not be any ISI left.<sup>24</sup>

In the Missions abroad Councillors are generally the highest rank of officials dealing with publicity. There are of course the First Secretaries, Second Secretaries and Third Secretaries in the Missions who also deal with publicity work. A single Mission may be having more than one Secretary.<sup>25</sup> A large

23 The author's interview with an Under Secretary, External Publicity Division, New Delhi, 16 December 1975.

24 Ibid.

25 Information Service of India, List of Officers at Headquarters (X.P. Division) and in Missions and Posts Abroad as on 1.2.1975.



number of missions do not have separate officials dealing  
 with publicity work only.<sup>26</sup>

The functions of the External Publicity Division may broadly be divided into three categories:

(1) The Receiving-end: The Divisions work at the receiving-end consists of monitoring and analysing what the different information media are reporting about India and its policies. In other words, the work comprises keeping track of the global media.

(2) The Producing-end: The tasks of the Division at this end consist of production and dissemination of such material that can be used for projection of the Government of India's viewpoint on matters of foreign policy.

(3) Public Relations and Briefing: The work consists of dealing with individuals as well as with the Press. The Indian and Foreign Press correspondents interested in foreign affairs have to be supplied with factual information, and subjects of their interest have to be explained to them.

So far as the dissemination abroad of publicity and information material of various kinds and in different media is concerned, the Division has to depend largely on the agencies and institutions under the control of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting,<sup>28</sup> like, the External Services of All India

---

26 The author's interview, n. 23.

27 The author's interview with A. N. T. Haksar, n. 18.

28 Pillai Committee, n. 14, para 182, p. 58.

Radio, the Press Information Bureau, the Films Division, the Publications Division, the Directorate of Advertisement and Visual Publicity and the Commercial Publicity wing of Foreign Trade.<sup>29</sup> However, the Production Unit set up in 1963 within the External Publicity Division is now itself planning and executing a fair amount of the current production of printed literature.<sup>30</sup> It is important to note how the agencies mentioned above help the K.P. Division in carrying out its functions. Details of their individual functioning and organizations are not relevant for our present purposes. Still a brief description is called for in order to have a clear picture of the whole K.P. structure.

In this structure the place of Radio hardly needs any emphasis. The All India Radio, which was established in 1936 started its overseas broadcasts after three years of its establishment.<sup>31</sup> According to a brochure published by the External Services Division of the All India Radio the main objective of the A.I.R.'s External Broadcasts is "to project the Indian point of view on world affairs and acquaint overseas listeners with developments in India, along with information on various facets

29 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1972-73 (New Delhi, 1973), p. 88.

30 Pillai Committee, n. 14, para 18E, p. 58.

31 Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity, for All India Radio, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, All India Radio: External Services (New Delhi, 1974), p. 1.

of Indian life, thought and culture."<sup>32</sup> It is the only body through which India can try and reach the minds of the foreign audience within a short time. The X.P. Division does not have a separate unit for short wave transmissions and even the External Services Division is not a subordinate body to the X.P. Division. Its programmes for listeners abroad consist of<sup>33</sup> "news, daily commentary and press review, talks, discussions and music...." These are broadcast in two major services: General Overseas Service and the Urdu Service. The former is beamed for 9 hours and 45 minutes daily to East, North East and South East Asia, Australia, Newzealand, East, West and North Africa, while the latter is presented for 9 hours and 30 minutes daily to Urdu loving listeners of Indian subcontinent.

The West Asian Service broadcasts programmes in Arabic, Dari, Persian and Pushtu. East Asian countries are served by the Swahili service while the French service is directed to North and West Africa. Other area oriented services are in Burmese, Chinese, Indonesian, Nepali, Russian, Singhala, Thai and Tibetan language.<sup>34</sup>

It also supplies recordings of music and spoken word programmes free to about a hundred foreign broadcasting organi-<sup>35</sup> zations on request or as part of programme exchange arrangements.

---

32 Ibid., p. 3.

33 Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Annual, India: 1975 (New Delhi, 1975), p. 108.

34 Ibid., p. 108.

35 Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity, All India Radio: External Services, n. 31, p. 4.

'India Calling', a monthly programme journal in English for overseas listeners provides a service of advance programme information supplemented by some of the best broadcast talks. Some of the copies of 'India Calling' are sent to the Indian Missions abroad and some to the listeners directly. The figures for the month of November 1975 were as follows:

Total number of copies	-	6,800	
To the Missions		580	)
To the Listeners		5,095	)
			)5,675

The rest were kept for internal use. The Indian missions also supply these copies to the listeners. Overseas editions of Indian newspapers, newsletters and news bulletins of Indian Missions abroad also give advance information of the programmes broadcast in the different languages. Similarly, quarterly programme folders in Arabic, Burmese, Chinese, French, Indonesian, Nepali, Russian, Pushtu, Swahili and Tibetan languages are also supplied.

The missions send reports to the Ministry of External Affairs every 3 months. In their quarterly reports they have a section dealing with the radio which gives the technical reception reports and also the comments of the listeners.

Programmes are supplied to the countries with which India has cultural agreements. There are only 18 countries with which India has such agreements but the material is sent to 80 countries and almost 150 Broadcasting organizations. The Indian missions abroad maintain liaison with the local broadcasting companies and Programme Exchange Unit of the A.I. deals

with such exchanges.

In the political matters there is close co-ordination between the Ministry of External Affairs and the External Services Division of the AIR. For political commentary, sometimes background material is taken from the Press Information Bureau. The general approach to the largest areas is that of presenting a positive picture of India's developments and projects. The External Services Transmissions of news are in the charge of the News Services Division. Translations into the languages of the target areas are done by the language services. Generally political commentary is used to counter other countries' attempts to misrepresent India's stand on certain issues.

The Press Information Bureau of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is another body which is not under the X. P. Division of the Ministry of External Affairs but its functions affect the working of the X. P. Division. If one takes a glance at its functioning one finds that the only way in which its functions can be related to External Publicity or Foreign Policy matters is its role in giving publicity to Foreign Policy matters in the country itself. But if one looks at the scope of its functioning in greater detail it is revealed that the "PIB" disseminates information about the policies and Programmes of the Government of India through the media of the press and coordinates publicity with other media like the Radio,

---

36 Press Information Bureau, henceforth referred to as PIB.

37  
 film and exhibition." The items appearing in the internal press have an aspect of external publicity because the international media follow that. Apart from this indirect role played by the PIB in external publicity, the Press Information Bureau takes part in the External Publicity efforts. It maintains liaison with the Ministry of External Affairs and supplies 38  
 publicity material to Indian Diplomatic missions abroad. The PIB which assumed its present name in 1946 was placed under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in 1941 with the view that it will maintain constant liaison with the Press at different levels in order to disseminate information and thus creating a better understanding of the policies, programmes and 39  
 activities of Government.

According to an Information Officer of the PIB the PIB has an information adviser who gives briefings to the foreign correspondents and also arranges for the press conferences for the VIPs who come to India.

The PIB has wide responsibilities so far as the journalists are concerned. Some of the Government to Government Exchange Programmes under which journalists come to India are handled by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the rest by the

---

37 Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Annual, India: 1975 (New Delhi, 1975), p. 117.

38 Ibid., p. 118.

39 Press Information Bureau, Central Press Information Bureau (New Delhi, n.d.), p. 1.

Ministry of External Affairs. In the latter case the PIB does not have much responsibilities regarding them but in the former case it has the whole responsibility of dealing with them.

The PIB gives permanent and temporary accreditation facilities to the visiting journalists. In this the PIB seeks the opinion of the Ministry of External Affairs and only after getting the approval of the latter the former gives accreditation cards to the foreign journalists.<sup>40</sup> It also arranges their interviews with senior officers of the Government of India and gives them requisite facilities to attend the Press Conferences held by the Government of India. "The Accredited pressmen are also provided with in depth briefings."<sup>41</sup> Press tours are also arranged for them.

Through these measures the PIB helps to create a realistic and positive picture of India. Since the journalists of other countries write articles and other things which appear in their newspapers and journals they also appear to be opinion leaders in their respective countries. In view of this fact the scope for the PIB in creating a sympathetic attitude among the foreign countries is much wider than what it appears to be.

Unlike the External Services Division of the AIR and the Press Information Bureau the rest of the bodies more or less, do not take individual initiative in such informational func-

---

40 Ibid., p. 4.

41 Ibid., p. 2.

tions. Their work is more of the nature of assistance to the X. P. Division. Their efficiency and capability certainly increase the quality of material disseminated abroad on which depends much of its credibility in the highly competitive field of external publicity.

Here it also seems pertinent to discuss the role of Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR). Since the objective of external publicity is to create a sympathetic attitude towards India the role of cultural diplomacy hardly needs any emphasis in this context. In India, Ministry of External Affairs "has no special unit for initiating or developing proposals for cultural diplomacy or for its administration."<sup>42</sup>

J. Bandopadhyay also feels that external cultural relations ought to be inseparably linked with the planning and implementation of foreign policy.<sup>43</sup> To him the present situation seems very unsatisfactory because organization of cultural programmes abroad is mainly the function of the Education Ministry which has very little expert knowledge of the problems of foreign policy in general and cultural diplomacy in particular. This gives a very gloomy picture of the present arrangements. There are, however, some institutional arrangements worth mentioning.

In practical terms, the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is in charge of functions such as sending of troupes (of journalists, dances, etc.),

---

42 Bandopadhyay, n. 13, p. 188.

43 Ibid., p. 188.



reception of such troupes from abroad, organisation of exhibitions, seminars, etc. and also the overall administration of the Cultural Exchange Programmes.<sup>44</sup> The decision to transfer the control of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of External Affairs is a recent one.<sup>45</sup> The ICCR was established in 1950 and was brought under the Ministry of Education in 1960 with a view to promoting external cultural relations on a semi-official basis like the British Council.<sup>46</sup> Now the ICCR is an autonomous body and the Ministry of External Affairs is on its chair and it works in close co-ordination with the Ministry of External Affairs. The X. P. Division takes part in their coordinated effort as an organ of the Ministry of External Affairs, dealing with informational tasks. For example, in the Cultural Exchange Programmes, the exchange of journalists is arranged and administered by the X. P. Division.<sup>47</sup>

In association with the Department of Culture of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the ICCR engages in

- 
- 44 The author's interview with A. N. D. Haksar, Joint Secretary, External Publicity Division in New Delhi on 19 September 1976.
- 45 Bandopadhyay, n. 13, pp. 188-9.
- 46 Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, India: A Reference Annual (New Delhi, 1976), p. 64.
- 47 Bandopadhyay, n. 13, p. 189.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 The author's interview with A. N. D. Haksar, n. 44,

the organization and presentation of exhibitions and performing art groups from abroad.<sup>50</sup>

"The ICCK has an important role to play in the implementation of the various decisions taken by the Central Committee of the ICCR regarding cultural activities of foreign missions/organizations."

"Under the framework instituted by the Government of India, the ICCR is associated with the running of cultural centres of foreign Diplomatic Consular presence, and those of autonomous cultural organizations depending on foreign governments for financial assistance and support.<sup>51</sup>

In many other ways the Council tries to promote cultural relations with foreign countries which is an important aspect of India's foreign policy.

In nutshell, what we have discussed in this chapter is only a brief and descriptive account of the machinery dealing with External Publicity. We have not gone into the adequacy and efficiency of the machinery as it is impossible to do until and unless we get an idea of the technique used by the machinery for such purposes. The nature of their work and the concrete problems faced by them in the field can only be revealed after a critical appreciation of the ways and means employed by them for such tasks.

---

50 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1973-74 (New Delhi, 1974), p. 115.

51 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1972-73 (New Delhi, 1973), p. 85.

Chapter III

TECHNIQUES OF EXTERNAL PUBLICITY

## Chapter III

### TECHNIQUES OF EXTERNAL PUBLICITY

Any discussion of the techniques adopted by the machinery dealing with External Publicity is closely related with the latter. As noted in the previous chapter the External Publicity Division (X.P. Division) of the Ministry of External Affairs works in close coordination with the External Services Division of the All India Radio and the Press Information Bureau of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. There are some other wings of different ministries which assist the X. P. Division in the discharge of its functions. Without going into the nature of the functions performed by the various bodies associated with external publicity one can very fruitfully discuss the general techniques adopted by them for these purposes in discussing which one has to refer to the functions performed by the individual components of the External Publicity machinery any way.

For the purposes of dealing with the material on this theme systematically the chapter has been divided into two parts. Though both of them are related and deal with the techniques of external publicity, the need for doing so has arisen from the fact that only a theoretical discussion of the techniques by which India is projected abroad would not be sufficient and it would be worthwhile to look into some of the publicity material which has been put out for such purposes. Out of the publicity material only the printed material is available for such review. The selection of some pamphlets and a case study

of one of the journals published by the X. P. Division is attempted here purely on the basis of their availability for such purposes. The review of the printed material would be attempted in the second part. The first part is devoted to a general discussion of the publicity techniques.

## I

Going through the Annual Reports of the Ministry of External Affairs, one gets a fair idea of the method by which the external publicity machinery tries "to publicise and explain India's foreign policy and to project a correct and objective image of India abroad." In the last thirty years of its existence the budget and the personnel have increased and even the initial impediments have been overcome.

Initially, as the various Annual Reports of the Ministry of External Affairs reveal, the concern was mainly organizational. In order to have bases in other countries from which the dissemination of material would be possible, the X. P. Division was concerned with increasing the number of Information Posts abroad.<sup>1</sup> In 1949, the number of such posts was increased from 13 to 24. However, the process was not one of increasing them every year. Due to economic considerations and changing policies towards a particular region some of the Posts were closed down. For example, right in

---

1 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Reports, 1948-49 (New Delhi, 1949), p. 19.

the beginning, in 1949-50 to be precise, 8 posts were abolished<sup>2</sup> as a measure of economy. Nevertheless there were a few<sup>3</sup> additions to the number of publicity posts on a regular basis. Now there are 49 information posts abroad out of which only 38<sup>4</sup> have full-time Information Officers with varied ranks. Simply raising the number of information posts would have been of no use unless they were made full-fledged Information Units. So, they had to be supplied with various types of materials. In their day to day work they have to work in close coordination with the headquarters and the latter has to supply the material required by them.

The External Publicity Division's regular publicity work<sup>5</sup> comes under the following heads:

- (1) Press Work;
- (2) Audio Visual Publicity;
- (3) Exhibitions and Cultural Work;
- (4) Print Publicity; and
- (5) Reference Work

(1) Press Work

The Press Relations Section of the X. P. Division caters

- 
- 2 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1949-50 (New Delhi, 1950), p.18.
  - 3 See Appendix II.
  - 4 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1967-68 (New Delhi, 1968), p. 71.  
The later reports do not mention the number of Information posts. So one has to take the figures quoted for 1967-68 as the latest figures available.
  - 5 For the year 1974-75 the numbers of foreign journalists and TV teams visiting India were 55 and 57 respectively. The number of Indian journalists going abroad was 91 for the same year.

to the needs of the visiting foreign journalists and T.V. teams. We had noted in the previous chapter that the Press Information Bureau also comes into the picture. The section also provides assistance to the Indian journalists going overseas on professional visits and also under cultural exchange programmes. The number of visiting journalists goes up when there are any special celebrations and occasions. For example, in 1973-74, 53 foreign pressmen were invited in connection with the 25th Independence Anniversary Celebrations. Some 82 journalists were invited to cover India's development efforts and 128 visiting members of Radio and T.V. teams from abroad were provided logistic facilities.<sup>6</sup>

In a crisis situation these figures tend to go up. Though separate figures for the journalists and Radio and TV men coming to cover the situation at the border is not available, the overall figures for the year 1971-72 speak for themselves. According to the Annual Report of the Ministry of External Affairs 426 foreign journalists, and Radio and TV teams from countries abroad were provided with logistic facilities.<sup>7</sup>

Quite a lot of emphasis is given to regular and brisk public relations through proper briefing and clarification of the Government policies to the Press. Briefing of the Press is done daily when the Parliament is not in session. But even when the Parliament is in session, the spokesman has to be available

---

6 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1973-74 (New Delhi, 1974), p. 108.

7 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1971-72 (New Delhi, 1972), pp. 111-12.

for consultation/clarification/verification, etc. of the news about events in India and the world. Besides regular day to day briefings, special briefings in depth are arranged for specialists and commentators whose interest transcends day to day news.<sup>8</sup>

The X. P. Division also issues Press Releases which are used by representatives of mass media, both Indian and Foreign, as well as the transmission unit of the Division and the All India Radio. Material for these Press Releases on various subjects are generally supplied by Indian Missions abroad and the Territorial Division of the Ministry of External Affairs.<sup>9</sup>

Since upto date information on political and economic developments in India is supposed to be essential for the Indian Missions abroad to project a proper image of India, the transmission unit of the X. P. Division regularly send out two news casts per day to the Indian Missions abroad.<sup>10</sup> For these purposes the Ministry maintains a network of teleprinter link with 66 missions, and 35 of the 'major missions' are on two-way telex link with the Ministry.<sup>11</sup> Other missions receive important news items by Press cables or by Diplomatic

---

8 Ibid., p. 111.

9 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1974-75, p.107. Number of Press Releases for the year 1974-75 was 366 which can be compared with those for the last three years. In 1972-73 it was 375, in 1973-74 it was 374 and in 1971-72 it was 428.

10 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1974-75 (New Delhi, 1975)

11 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1972-73 (New Delhi, 1973), p. 89. The figures for the years 1973-74 and 1974-75 not available.



<sup>12</sup>  
 bag. On the basis of the material contained in these news-  
 casts the publicity posts are able to issue daily, weekly or  
 fortnightly bulletins and news digests in English, French,  
 Russian, Spanish, Arabic and other languages.<sup>13</sup>

The World Press Review bulletin issued as a daily  
 service by the X. P. Division, is based on telex messages, cables,  
 press clippings received from the missions abroad. It contains  
 news comments and editorial articles in the foreign press of  
 interest to India.<sup>14</sup> These items have great value from the  
 publicity point of view because depending on these comments the  
 activities in a particular country or region can be reoriented  
 and the work already done in those countries and areas can be  
 evaluated. Important policy decisions for the purposes of  
 publicity, can be taken. If favourable, things can be arranged  
 in such a manner as to maintain that mood of the press; and if  
 hostile, efforts can be undertaken to change the temper of the  
 Press.

(2) Audio Visual Publicity:

For this kind of publicity every year documentary films  
 are sent to the Missions abroad. The available figures for the  
 prints of films sent to the Missions are given in Appendix III.  
 Special compilation films on state visits of various heads of

---

12 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1973-74  
 (New Delhi, 1973), p. 89.

13 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1972-73  
 (New Delhi, 1973), p. 89.

14 Ibid.

15

states are also produced. Prints of these films are supplied for presentation to the respective governments and also to the Missions concerned, for local publicity. Special films are produced on special occasions. For example, in the year 1974-75, a special film was produced on the passing out parade at the Indian Military Academy on the occasion of the visit of H. R. H. Prince John Uluvalu Taku 'ako of Tonga at the request of Indian

16

Mission in Suva.

Equipments are supplied to the Indian Missions abroad for the purposes of audio-visual publicity. These items include 16 m.m. and 35 m.m. projectors, cinema vans, Radio-receiving sets, gramophone records of Indian classical and popular music, art calendars and photographs.

17

---

15 During the year 1974-75 special compilation films were produced on the state visits of H. E. Mr L. I. Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; H. E. Dr Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Their imperial Majesties of Shahanshah and Shahbano of Iran; H. E. Mr Josip Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, H. E. Mr Stanko Todorov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and H. E. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1974-75 (New Delhi, 1975), p. 108.

16 Ibid., p. 108.

17 Figures for some of these can be seen in the Appendix III.

Scope of this type of publicity is quite large. Foreign TV and radio could be used for the broadcast of these programmes. The coverage of audio-visual publicity could be enlarged multi-fold.

### (3) Exhibition and Cultural Works

The X. P. Division gives assistance to missions in putting up exhibitions some of which are of general nature and highlight developmental work in the country. Exhibitions on specialized themes cover themes such as agriculture, children's paintings, books, etc. The X. P. Division supplies books, photographs, dolls, paintings, postage stamps, posters, reproductions of Indian art, picture postcards and other relevant publicity material. The missions are also assisted in organizing Children's Day Painting Competitions on November 14. In addition, the Division also meets the ad hoc requests for material on Indian life and culture and sends relevant material to the missions concerned. The X. P. Division keeps liaison with the Department of Culture and the Indian Council of Cultural Relations in connection with the trips of Indian artistes and cultural troupes abroad. The Indian Missions are asked to cooperate with these delegations to ensure that their exhibitions/performances abroad are a success. All the Indian Missions abroad are equipped with libraries having latest books on Indian culture, heritage and developments in India. These libraries are also supplied with important Indian magazines, journals, and Indian

18

newspapers and audio-visual equipments.

(4) Print Publicity

The Production Unit of the XP Division supplies publicity material to missions regularly. In the beginning, 3 magazines were published for external publicity by this unit. These were:

- (1) New India - in English;
- (2) March of India - in English; and
- (3) Al Nafir - in Arabic <sup>19</sup>

During 1963-64 the monthly "March of India" was converted into a 'political fortnightly' under the name of "Indian and Foreign Review". <sup>20</sup> As the report of the Ministry of External Affairs mentions the journal "is a fair pointer to India's thinking on international affairs, though it does not necessarily reflect the views of the government as such. <sup>21</sup> An abbreviated French version of the journal is brought out from Pondicherry <sup>22</sup> for distribution in French speaking countries.

From time to time, there are efforts to publish foreign language material by the Indian missions abroad. For example,

- 
- 18 One can get some idea of the books and material for exhibitions supplied to the Missions from Appendix III.
- 19 Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Annual Report, 1948-49 (New Delhi, 1949), p. 20.
- 20 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1963-64 (New Delhi, 1964), p. 66.
- 21 Ibid., p. 66. In the later part of this chapter the validity of the statement will also be examined.
- 22 Ibid., p. 66.

during the year 1964-65 there was a special effort to publish a quarterly in Russian language by the Mission in Russia for distribution both in the Soviet Union and in East European countries. <sup>23</sup> The Annual Report of the Ministry of External Affairs of 1956-57 mentions about a quarterly cultural review published by the Government of India's Information Post in Rome in five European languages - namely, in English, French, Italian, Russian and Serbo-Croat. <sup>24</sup> The Division continues to publish 'Foreign Affairs Record' (Monthly), 'Indian and Foreign Review' (Fortnightly) and 'Courrier de l'Inde' (French fortnightly). <sup>25</sup>

Apart from these regular publications, pamphlets on the topics of current interest are brought out by the Division. These cover a wide range of topics. Some of them are of general nature bringing out the recent developments in India whereas some others are devoted to clarifying India's foreign policy objectives, her international postures and India's involvement in the issues of world relevance. Publication of pamphlets largely depends on the economic resources of the Division but according to demands of situation exceptions are made to this. During the 1971 war, for example, apart from the pamphlets issued by the XP Division, 2 volumes of Bangladesh Documents putting together all

- 
- 23 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1964-65 (New Delhi, 1965), p. 80.
- 24 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1956-57, p. 37.
- 25 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1973-74 (New Delhi, 1974), p. 109.

the documentation on Bangladesh crisis from the beginning were published. It provides the principal source of primary information on the subject. <sup>26</sup> As many as 10,000 copies of this book were produced and distributed as well as put on sale in the open market. As the Annual Reports of the Ministry of External Affairs say, the production unit is responsible for arranging procurement, production and distribution of feature articles, photo features and printed literature on various aspects of current problems and maintains a continuous flow of material to the Missions abroad. <sup>27</sup>

(Details of the material produced and sent abroad would be undertaken in the second part of this chapter).

#### (5) Reference Work

Indian Missions send a large number of Press Clippings for screening, analysis and future reference. In addition World Press Review based on telexes, cables and despatches from Missions on the coverage of interest to India, appears regularly.

In order to function effectively the Division works in close coordination with several ministries, Government Departments and other agencies particularly the Ministry of Commerce, the Department of Culture, ICCR and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and all its media units. <sup>28</sup>

Apart from these five types of activity undertaken directly

---

26 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1971-72 (New Delhi, 1972), p. 113.

27 Ibid., p. 113.

28 Based on the Annual Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, 1974-75, p. 109.

by the X. P. Division there is an important organisation which has perhaps the most important role to play in the whole publicity structure. Since the Ministry of External Affairs does not have any separate wing for reaching the world audience on short wave transmissions, the External Services Division of the All India Radio is the sole agency handling this valuable mode of reaching the people of the world.

Through its broadcasts in 15 foreign languages and a General Overseas Service in English the External Services Division of the All India Radio seeks to strengthen ties of friendship and forge cultural links with the peoples of the countries whom these broadcasts are directed to. The Foreign language broadcasts comprise over 20 transmissions for about 27 hours a day. The details of these programmes as in 1975 are as follows:

Language	Time
1. Arabic	2½ hrs.
2. Chinese (Kyoyu & Cantonese)	2 hrs.
3. Pushtu	2 hrs.
4. Nepali	2 hrs.
5. Burmese	1½ hrs.
6. Persian	1 hr. and 45 mts.
7. Dari	1 hr. and 15 mts.
8. Swahili	1 hr.
9. Indonesian	1 hr.
10. Russian	1 hr.
11. Tibetan	1 hr.
12. French	1 hr.
13. Sinhalese	30 mts.
14. Thai	20 mts.
15. The General Overseas Service in English	9 hrs. and 45 mts.

Overseas broadcasts in 8 Indian languages are transmitted in 16 transmissions a day for a total duration of over 24 hours. Time distribution is as follows:

Language	Time
1. Hindi	1 hr. 30 mts.
2. Tamil	1 hr. 45 mts.
3. Gujarati	1 hr.
4. Konkani	15 mts.
5. Urdu	9 hrs. 30 mts.
6. Punjabi	1 hr.
7. Sindhi	1 hr.
8. Bengali	30 mts.

Of these services in Indian languages, Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati and Konkani services are directed to Indians overseas while those in Urdu, Bengali, Punjabi and Sindhi are meant for <sup>29</sup> listeners in the Indian subcontinent.

Each language service is in the form of a composite programme consisting of news bulletins, a commentary, review of the Indian press, magazine programmes and newsreels, talks and discussions on matters of general and cultural interest, feature programmes and documentaries, programmes on Indian literature and films, Indian classical and light music, film and folk songs. <sup>30</sup> A news bulletin and a commentary form part of every service.

Though there is always an effort to maintain an acceptable balance between spoken word and music items, music remains <sup>31</sup> the most prominent item taking 48% of the broadcast time. To the extent that the AIR aims at explaining to the vast majority of the listeners abroad policies of the Government, the External <sup>32</sup> Services Division covers them in its Daily Commentary. In order to counter the baseless and malicious criticisms and hostile

---

29 Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, All India Radio: External Services Division (Calcutta, 1974), p.109.

30 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

31 Source is not to be quoted.

32 Ibid.



propaganda of other countries the External Services Division generally works under the guidelines provided by the Government with regard to the political matters. The autonomy in dealing with the details of the particulars, however, remains with the External Services Division. General approach to such tasks is to maintain a dignified and graceful posture.<sup>33</sup>

Daily Press Review gives editorial opinions, that is, a resume of opinions of the newspapers whereas the 'Political commentary' more or less gives the Indian standpoint on political and economic matters. In regard to commentary on political matters close liaison is maintained with the Ministry of External Affairs.

The AIR tries not to notice the internal developments of other countries because its main concern is to project a positive image of India specially its economic progress.<sup>34</sup> Behind this policy there is perhaps the understanding that noticing other countries' internal developments might subject it to the charge of interfering in other countries' internal affairs, and ultimately prove counter-productive effects.

In order to project a real life image of India there is an emphasis on actuality programmes which mostly consist of Radio reports on the things taking place in India.

'India Calling' the monthly programme journal of the External Services Division has a circulation of 5800 copies per

---

33 Ibid.

34 The author's interview with A. N. Kaul, Additional Director, External Services Division, All India Radio in New Delhi on 26 November 1975.

month. It does not contain informations regarding topical programmes. Apart from this 10 quarterly programme folders in foreign languages are issued. In actual performance 85 to 90%<sup>35</sup> of these programme journals and folders are followed.

In the absence of the response of the audience for the present purposes it is very difficult to evaluate the performance of the External Service Division. On the basis of the number of letters received by the Division one can say that it has a good audience. The number of letters received per month is somewhere around 30,000. They include comments on the programmes and request for Indian music and the music of the target area. All the programme journals and folders request the listeners to send reception reports and comments on the programmes to the Director External Services Division because it is the only way through which the programme could be made popular. It is also a method through which one can find out how much of the actual performance is really going in. Apart from these letters, technical reception reports, suggestions and comments also come from the Indian missions abroad in their quarterly Reports to the Ministry of External Affairs.

## II

This section deals with some of the printed material put out for the purposes of publicity. As mentioned earlier in the beginning of this chapter, the selection of material is

---

35 The author's interview with M. S. Batra, Deputy Director, External Services Division, All India Radio, in New Delhi on 20 November 1975.

purely on the basis of their availability for the present study. The scope of any analysis of such material becomes very limited because the response of the audience to these materials is impossible to get. So the literature can be studied but only in itself, that is, in terms of the arguments put forward, or how far the approach adopted in a particular pamphlet or article is conducive to India's stand on various issues, or in terms of likely impressions created by it, etc.

Within the constraints inherent in taking up such a task one can only do a random study of some of the booklets and pamphlets issued for such purposes. Out of the journals produced by the Government, the Indian and Foreign Review has been selected due to the fact that it is the only journal which claims to be a 'fair pointer to India's thinking on international affairs'.<sup>36</sup> The World Press Review gives the attitude of the foreign countries as reflected in their media and therefore, they might be useful for the people dealing with External Publicity but they cannot be examined as material on Indian External Publicity, giving Indian point of view on the issues of world relevance.

To start with the pamphlets put out by the External Publicity Division, one can try to find out their quantity on matters of vital interest to India. Pamphlets on Sino-Indian relations, Indo-Pak relations, Kashmir, Non-alignment, Bangladesh, etc. are quite voluminous. This category of material also includes the statements made by the Prime Minister, Defence Minister, and the Minister of External Affairs in the Parliament, in reply to

the debates on the budget in the General Assembly of the U.N. etc. One can conclude from this that the concern is with the dissemination of authentic material on various issues in order to gain reliability for India's publicity measures.<sup>37</sup> However, reproduction of the detailed texts has its own disadvantages because not many people are interested in them. But their value cannot be ignored totally because a responsible section of the public does take them into account and for the purposes of research and reference their significance hardly needs any emphasis. The best thing to do would be to supplement them with brief and summarized pieces with preferably some background to the issue involved.

Going through the pamphlets on the basis of the issues they are dealing with one can see what has been the endeavour to explain to the world.

On the question of Sino-Indian border dispute the pamphlets and booklets tried to give positive side of the Indian stand. On the Kashmir question there is an attempt to create an impression that "Pakistan is an aggressor" and "accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India is complete, perfect, final and irrevocable, according to Indian and Pakistani constitutional law as well as international law."<sup>38</sup>

Some of them have a definite aim to achieve, that is, creating a particular image of China or Pakistan. They do not

---

37 The bibliography contains a list of such pamphlets.

38 B. R. Chauhan, Kashmir: Its Place in the Indian Union, p. 26.

refer to the points over which India has dispute with them but try to project a miserable picture inside those countries in such a manner as to bring out India in a far superior position. Mostly these pamphlets are signed, so that the responsibility for the views expressed is deemed to be with the author and not with the Ministry of External Affairs. But it should not be ignored that they are distributed through the X. P. Division.

'China's Attack on Islam',<sup>39</sup> is one of such pamphlets which is devoted to highlighting the miserable plight of the Muslims and Islam in China. It also refers to the concern of Indian Muslims at the Chinese campaign to eliminate their co-religionists in a neighbouring country. In order to show the indignation of the Muslim Press it quotes heavily from the Indian Urdu dailies.<sup>40</sup>

Another booklet entitled "Five Years in Mao's China: An Inside View" by Om Prakash Mantri tries to show that in spite of the differences of the people with the Government policies they

---

39 Ayub Sayed, China's Attack on Islam (External Publicity Press, 1968).

40 Ibid., p. 6.

Quotations from Urdu Press consist of those from 'Andhra Panch', 'Mulk-o-Millat' and 'Karwan-e-Watan'. For instance, the one from 'Karwan-e-Watan' reads as follows: "It needs no proof to believe that Islam and Muslims in China are passing through very critical times and that an organized attempt is being made to destroy Islam in China. To pull a curtain over this ignominious act, the Chinese Government has collected a few Muslim stooges and is sending them to various Muslim countries to distort facts. But Muslims all over the world are aware of the reality and can no more be deceived. They know that the Chinese profession of solidarity with certain Muslim countries is a big hoax."

were carried on in China. In 1960 he had noticed "a peculiar attitude of suspicion towards foreigners, intermixed with un-<sup>42</sup>doubted air of Chinese arrogance." They were making efforts to produce in Hindi all their anti-Soviet propaganda literature without caring for the fact that "they would not be received without misunderstanding in India" and asserted that they must make their position clear about the wrong stand of the Soviet<sup>43</sup> leaders.

In the last chapter he mentions what he saw in the countryside before coming back. He notes the half-finished construction of factories, setbacks to industrial production and short supply of food as 'scars of the Big Leap Movement'.<sup>44</sup> The situation was in contrast with those five years earlier when the consumer goods were available in fairly large quantities and their

---

41 Om Prakash Mantri, Five Years in Mao's China: An Indian View (New Delhi, 1964), p. 6.

As an Hindi expert in the Foreign Language Press he had stayed in China for five years. In the Introduction to the book he says that it is his aim in this book "to give a frank picture of China" on the basis of his experience (p. 6) and "not to malign and condemn China and her people" (p. 6). He also says that he had the opportunity to see two opposite phases of China - one when the Chinese leaders maintained an attitude of friendship towards India, the other when they became arrogant and behaved like bosses with everybody whether Indians, Indonesians and Russians.

42 Ibid., p. 92.

43 Ibid., p. 92.

44 Ibid., p. 96.

prices were everywhere fixed, specially food was cheaper and not scarce at all.<sup>45</sup>

The root cause of all these are said to be the 'arrogant impatience' of the Chinese leadership.

A fact which can be contrasted with the present Chinese position on Kashmir is that though "the Chinese never proclaimed that Kashmir had become an integral part of India they used to say that the interests of the people of Kashmir would be safe with India."<sup>46</sup> However, the double-faced policy of the Chinese leaders was coming to the surface even in those days. In spite of these open stands of the responsible officials on Kashmir, after the secret talks between Suhrawardy and Chinese leaders in 1956 in Peking, gossips in the Chinese capital said that Suhrawardy had been offered generous terms if he would come nearer to China.<sup>47</sup>

---

45 Ibid., p. 14.

46 Ibid., p. 96. The Chinese leaders and officials used to adduce good arguments from their own national angle. It used to be something on the following lines: "Pakistan is part of the US military blocs, CENTO and SEATO, and these blocs are aimed at fighting communism and are directed against us and the Soviet Union. So if Kashmir goes to Pakistan naturally it will be turned into a U.S. military base against the Soviet Union and our country, apart from the menace it will pose for your country (India)."

47 Ibid., pp. 96-7.

Another pamphlet which can be kept in the same category is 'Tibet Today'.<sup>48</sup> It is a statement made by a monk named Reverend Ngawang Thubtob who came to India in 1964. In this statement he points out the exploitation of Tibet at the hands of the Chinese and the various subsections in this piece deal with various types of exploitation. These range from destruction of monasteries to economic exploitation of the Tibetans by keeping them on starvation diet and exporting the food produced in Tibet to China. Description of other miseries like keeping the monks in concentration camps and banning the religious services are also given. He ends up his statement by giving some account of the war preparation of Chinese army in Tibet with the 'ultimate aim of conquering India'.

Some other pamphlets directly related to the theme of Sino-Indian border dispute tackle the issue from different angles<sup>49</sup> "The Chinese Aggression" for instance, tries to counter the Chinese claim that the border dispute is a "long standing one" and briefly gives the facts in historical perspective and also the Colombo proposals'. It highlights the uncompromising position of the Chinese Government with regard to Colombo proposals generally and the withdrawal of posts in particular, on the basis of these it proves that China's 'territorial appetite' is not satisfied. Her behaviour certainly does not seem to be conducive to

---

48 'Tibet Today' - Apparently acquired by the Production Unit of the X. P. Division.

49 Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity, The Chinese Aggression (New Delhi, n.d.).



peaceful settlement of border dispute.

Another such pamphlet called "The India-China Border dispute: An Indian Perspective" provides a detailed discussion of claims and counter-claims of the parties in the existing India-China border dispute and concludes with the utterance that "the boundary in dispute has been established and identified for centuries in conformity with the established criteria of international law and practice. The assessment of historic practices in regard to the long term exercise of jurisdiction and effective control supports the Indian claim to sovereignty of the disputed area...." "In sum all the relevant principles of contemporary international law whether taken severally or in aggregate would appear to establish the continuing sovereignty of India in the areas now demanded by the Chinese."<sup>60</sup>

On the question of Indo-Pak relationship and Kashmir the effort has been to show Pakistan's behaviour as inhuman in attacking the civilian population and her design to annex the state of Jammu and Kashmir during the 1965 war. "Pakistan's Inhuman Air Attacks"<sup>51</sup> was a pictorial coverage of Pakistan's attack on the civilians and the following devastation. India's action in this war is said to have a limited aim - that is, to paralyse Pakistan's armour and aggressive potential. Consisting of nine written pages and supported with pictorial evidences it sounds convincing, though the appearance is propagandistic. Another pamphlet:

---

60 Surya P. Sharma, India China Border Dispute (New Delhi, 1967), p. 36.

51 Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Pakistan's Inhuman Attacks (New Delhi, 1965).

"Occupied Kashmir: A Pakistan Colony", quotes from various newspapers to show the miserable condition of Kashmiris in 'Azad Kashmir'. Demands for democratic rights and civil liberties have been denied to the Kashmiris and apparently, the people of the Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir do not have sympathy or support for the Government.

On the issue of Bangladesh apart from the pictorial coverage the pamphlets and booklets are mostly in the form of compiled editions of official documents. Two volumes of Bangladesh documents have already been mentioned. Another collection of the speeches by India's External Affairs Minister and India's Permanent representative at the United Nations, is itself a good piece of publicity material. Quite detailed in their description they provide interesting reading also.

53

The concern with projecting positive side of the developments in India and her foreign policies can be seen in "India: An Introduction", "Developing India: Some Highlights; Aspects of Our Foreign Policy", "Perspectives for Non-Alignment", etc.

54

After having a glance at the pamphlets dealing with varied subjects one can now switch over to see the last five volumes of the "Indian and Foreign Review". A comparative study of the journals of last five years reveal quite a few things

---

52 External Publicity Press, Occupied Kashmir: A Pakistan Colony (New Delhi, 1965).

53 Publications Division, Bangla Desh and Indo-Pak War: India Speaks at the U.N. (Delhi, 1972).

54 Except for the 'Aspects of our Foreign Policy' which is an AICC publication, rest of these pamphlets are issued by the Ministry of External Affairs.

about Indian External Publicity. The varied themes covered by the journal reveal that it does try to project India's image as far as possible in the major sectors of developments taking place in India. From a study of the index itself it can be found that the number of themes covered by it and the total number of write-ups are quite impressive:

Volume	Year	No. of writings	No. of themes
VIII	1970-71	923	269
IX	1971-72	986	342
X	1972-73	911	238
XI	1973-74	941	220
XII	1974-75	905	220

From this table it can also be generalised that the concern is to meet the varied tastes of the readers since the themes are varied. Their coverage includes political, economic, social, cultural, religious, literary, scientific and other materials. The importance, however, is given to political material since it is basically a political fortnightly. Difficulties in indulging in a content analysis of all these volumes are numerous because it is impossible to examine the write-ups on all the themes. The nature of these write-ups is also quite varied. Some of them are signed pieces written from scholarly point of view for the purposes of catering to the needs of a searching and inquisitive reader, others are bare statements of facts. Some of them have specific aim to highlight Indian stand on some issue or to deal with the developments of world importance in general.

Very broadly one can only try and see the different sections and what do they aim to point out. A major section of the journal is covered by the statements made by the Prime Minister or the other ministers in the country or at the conferences elsewhere, the reproduction of these policy statements is meant to give the official stand on the questions they deal with. The aim is to give those statements which have a permanent value in terms of historical analysis of contemporary India. In other words, it covers the policies of a long-term nature which have a literary value, i.e., transcending its temporary characteristics. The other type of policy statements covers the dynamics of a policy. These policy statements are reproduced without giving any qualifications and modifications to them.

Other articles and signed pieces express the view of the authors writing them. In this there is a greater flexibility and the view expressed might not necessarily be in consonance with that of the Government. However, it will be ridiculous to expect that they would be against the official stand because it would become self-defeating in that case. The general trend is to have articles written by Indian authors writing on India and international affairs and foreign writers writing on India. For instance volume XII includes articles by Alfred J. Edwin (Research for Better Coarse Grain Crops),<sup>55</sup> Diby Powell (on Indian Cinema),<sup>56</sup>

---

55 Alfred J. Edwin, "Research for Better Coarse Grain", IJR, vol. 12, no. 20, p. 13.

56 Diby Powell, "New Cinema and Beyond", IJR, vol. 12, no. 19, pp. 17-19.



As a case study of the articles appearing in the journal one can take up the write-ups on 'Non-Alignment', because it has been one of India's main preoccupation since Independence to explain her commitment to the policy of nonalignment in the face of challenges from various quarters against this policy.

In the five volumes taken up for the study there are almost 32 write-ups on Nonalignment. The number would go up if one adds to it the number of those appearing under the rubrics 'Notes and Comments' and 'Press Opinion'. The nature, objectives and concern of these write-ups are quite varied. However, most of them are just the reproductions of the texts of the statements made by the Prime Minister, other ministers, in the Parliament or in Non-Aligned Conferences held from time to time.

The issue of 1 March 1972 quotes the Prime Minister as saying: "India always had the greatest admiration for the USA. But India's policy remained firmly based on the principles of Non-Alignment." Articles by M. S. Rajan,<sup>60</sup> M. Chalapati Rau,<sup>61</sup> and J. Bandopadhyay<sup>62</sup> try to clarify the meaning of the term Nonalignment and also to solve the confusion about the historical genesis of the term, Nehru's personal contribution to it and its basic inherent dynamism.

Some other articles attempt to examine the dynamism in particular contexts. For instance, M. S. Rajan's article on 'Indo-Soviet Treaty and Nonalignment'<sup>63</sup> tries to see the criticisms

---

60 M. S. Rajan, IIR, vol. 8, no. 3, p. 9.

61 M. Chalapati Rau, IIR, vol. 9, pp. 11-12.

62 J. Bandopadhyay, IIR, vol. 10, no. 8, pp. 17-19.

63 M. S. Rajan, IIR, vol. 9, no. 9, pp. 11-13.

levelled against India on the basis of the Indo-Soviet Treaty which was signed in August 1971. The effort in this piece is to counter those criticisms which see in this treaty a compromise of nonalignment and also to bring out those provisions of the Treaty which faced the worst criticisms. After providing with an in-depth analysis of the whole thing the author concludes by saying that India's policy of nonalignment still retains its basic characteristics. Warning the critics in both the blocs he goes on to say: "The persistent attitude of these critics in both the blocs had paradoxical effect that these critics appear to be pushing India into the Soviet bloc so that their old prophecies about India's alignment with the Soviet bloc might some day at least come true."<sup>64</sup> The author goes on to say, "India is determined not to oblige these critics" and finally concludes that this (the Indo-Soviet Treaty) is certainly a new and sophisticated stage in the development of nonalignment."

Articles appearing before the Algiers Summit talk of the dynamism of the concept in order to show the broader perspective in which the Algiers Summit could be made more useful for the nonaligned countries. For example, J. D. Sethi, in his article,<sup>65</sup> "Dynamics of Nonalignment" talks of the need for reactivation of Nonalignment in order to protect the needs of the weak against the strong. In the same number K. Rangaswamy points out the difficulties in achieving cooperation among the nonaligned and

---

64 Ibid., p. 12.

65 J. D. Sethi, "Dynamics of Nonalignment", IER, vol. 10, no. 22, pp. 17-18.

the developing countries. 'Indian Technical and Economic Programme' set up in 1963, apparently a measure to overcome these difficulties has been mentioned by him. The optimistic undertone can easily be noted when he says that the ITEC programme has already covered 17 countries whereas some other African countries are also benefiting from it.<sup>66</sup>

The next issue gives a text of Mrs Gandhi's speech at the Nonaligned Conference at Algiers,<sup>67</sup> and the 'Press Opinion' section<sup>68</sup> contains three editorials. One of them, from the "Indian Express", points out "the more or less similar economic status of the countries attending the conference in relation to the developed world" as the "only unbroken thread of commonality among these nations. "The change in the world power equation" according to it, "rendered out of date the original function of nonalignment..."

"This problem now appears to be to save the developing world from eclipse and exploitation at the hands of a single bloc of developed nations."

"....this explains the shift in emphasis from purely political to mainly economic matters, a reorientation derived from the realistic realization that while political barriers between ideological adversaries are not as impregnable as they used to be, the economic barriers between the developed and the de-

---

66 K. Rangaswamy, "The Algiers Summit", IER, vol. 10, no. 22, pp. 18-20.

67 Indira Gandhi, "Algiers Message: Peace Prosperity of the World", (Mrs Gandhi's speech at Non-Aligned Summit), IER, vol. 10, no. 23, pp. 5-6.

68 Press Opinion, *ibid.*, p. 24.



veloping world are stronger than they were". "Cooperation among themselves and united actions on matters of common interest" is mentioned as the message of Algiers.

69

The second editorial quoted in the issue mentions that it had two important items on the agenda: economic collaboration and political unity. On the first item the editorial finds that "the Algiers Economic Charter contains nothing" except "affirming their support to those developing nations which find themselves victimised". "It is on the second item of political unity that the differences have been far more open and may prove therefore, more damaging to the future of nonalignment. The clash between Col. Gaddafi and Dr Castro was a clash of two views, the former advocating a rigid institutionalisation of the nonaligned structure with a permanent secretariat and an enforcing authority and the latter demanding the continuation of the flexible formless system now existing." The various proposals and declarations made at Algiers are to be coordinated by the next conference at Colombo. One can easily understand the sense of dissatisfaction with the preference.

70

The third editorial finds that the conference has failed to redefine nonalignment to serve a more meaningful purpose under the changed conditions. It finds 'the promise to pressurize' industrial nations impractical and expresses the fear that it might even be counter-productive. It is of the opinion that the

---

69 The editorial of Hindustan Times, 11 September 1973, ibid., p. 24.

70 Editorial from the Statesman, 11 September 1973, ibid., p. 24.

conference's economic objectives specially stabilizing exchange rates and linking drawing rights with development finance - can only be achieved through consultation with donor powers.

These three editorials express three different expectations from the conference because their reactions have to be related to the expectations and they also suggest what could have been done. Behind giving these three editorials in the journal the effort seems to be to present a composite picture of the whole thing: the expectations, the official stand in the conference and the reactions to its outcome. Since all the newspapers' editorials cannot be incorporated in the journal, the question of selectivity comes in, that is, the question: "why these are quoted and not the others?" This has serious implications for the approach of the journal as such and also for understanding the techniques of external publicity. 'What' is being incorporated has to conform to the criterion according to which it is included and in this sense, reflection and representation of varied opinions are used in a limited context. The approach of the journal seems to be one of taking a line not hard or rigid but flexible within a given format.

Going purely through the index one can also find out the regions which are given more importance than the others. The comparative study shows that out of the 87 countries dealt with by the five volumes of IFR, 59 belong to Asia, Africa and Latin America. This does not mean that the countries of America, Australia and Europe have been ignored. This is indicated by the number of write-ups on the individual countries of these

71

continents, and it does reveal that these countries, by virtue of the fact that they are advanced and are also in a position to help others, cannot be ignored. The numbers of articles on USA and USSR are 51 and 55 respectively. Neighbouring countries, like Bangladesh and Pakistan naturally take more attention than the others. The number of write-ups on Bangladesh during the past five years was 107 and the figures for Pakistan amount to 96. China did not get much attention because the number of articles on Sino-Indian relations are as less as 8 and mostly they are in the form of brief news items in the 'Newsgram' column. Other neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Ceylon, Afghanistan get regular attention.

The journal also tries to explain the situations where specific foreign policy postures appear to be contradictory to her basic and overall policies. Among others, one such prominent case is that of Cambodia where a proclamation of Republic had taken place in October 1970. India had stayed away from the ceremonies concerning the Proclamation in Pnom Penh. Now this raised a confusion because, "normally speaking, advent of a republic is a step further towards democratization of the country. As such it is generally welcomed in the world community." India's stand needed an explanation and the journal explains it in the following words: "...in Cambodia the situation is not all that simple. Impartial observers have pointed out that while in the cities, particularly in Pnom Penh the Lon Nol regime enjoys con-

---

71 Appendix IV contains a list of total number of write-ups on all the countries.

siderable support, in the countryside and among the peasantry, the Prince is very popular. The proclamation of the republic has, therefore, come without a referendum and without ascertaining the wishes of the people. In the circumstances of Cambodia with a war and a civil war raging all over the country, there is no means by which a popular verdict on this fundamental change can be had."<sup>72</sup> Hence, India's decision to 'boycott any function as such' is said to be 'in line with India's decision that first a shift must take place from the battlefield to the conference table and that, after a peace settlement had been reached, the people of Cambodia as of Laos and Vietnam, must be allowed to shape their own system of social and political organisation through their own free choice."<sup>73</sup> Generalizing from this, one can say that the explanations are mostly in the nature of clarification.

From this haphazard examination of the journal, one can attempt a characterization of the journal as such. It appears to be a political fortnightly primarily addressed to the foreign readers. Here, it is important to have an idea of the distribution-pattern specially, if one takes into account the limited resources and the limited personnel available to the journal. Since, the number of copies produced is limited, it is necessary to see to it that it reaches most of the audience relevant for such purposes. 95% of the copies are sent through the Indian

---

72 "The Proclamation in Cambodia", IER, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 7.

73 Ibid., p. 7.

Missions. The mailing lists of the missions consist of two types of readers: (1) The people interested in India, e.g., the President, the Prime Minister, the main party functionaries, journalists, editors, writers, etc. (2) India watchers or those interested in India as a part of their general interest in the International Affairs. So, it is sent to the libraries, learned societies, centres of studies on India and Asia, etc.<sup>74</sup>

Out of a total of 25,000 copies of the journal, 2000 are sent on the basis of subscription out of which 12 to 1500 goes abroad and 500 is distributed within the country.

Apart from the learned articles on the themes covered by it on the bases of which it can address itself to the learned audience, the pictorial coverage and the matter of fact-statements reproduced in it give it a popular appeal. It is certainly not a mass oriented journal meant for crude publicity but it is neither a journal exclusively meant for a sophisticated readership. Hence, one can say that a midway has been chosen for the journal between the two general approaches to the literature meant for publicity, that is, either the publications are meant for mass consumption with glossy looks or they are meant for sophisticated reading only.

The overall objective of the journal seems to be a projection of India's image in varied fields. The concern of the journal is same as that of the pamphlets put out for distribution abroad, that is, the presentation of objective, authentic, and

acceptable picture of India. The same is also true of the publicity works done by the X. P. structure discussed in part I of this chapter. Behind all of them seems to be the understanding that the techniques of external publicity should concern themselves with the dissemination of authentic material. Seen objectively, from the point of view of the audience, the material might seem to be distorted and coloured because selectivity is inevitable in any such effort. "It is out of question to expect that advocates of causes, special pleaders and propagandist will be able to present all the facts relating to a special situation, problem, or issue."<sup>75</sup> Discussing 'Reprehensible Public Relations Techniques', H. L. Childs goes on to say that, "Errors are unavoidable, but if propagandists would simply refrain from deliberate manipulation of information these would be a remarkable progress."<sup>76</sup> Another thing that he mentions in this context is that the "greatest evil in public relations practice was the failure to disclose the true identity of the propagandist. ...Identifying the sponsors of the campaign and a clear and frank statement of the purposes was an aid to public understanding and in no way injured but aided the cause."<sup>77</sup>

Approach of Indian external publicity in the light of these researches seems to be one of forming an enlightened

---

75 Harwood L. Childs, Public Opinion: Nature, Formation and Role (New York, 1965), p. 283.

76 Ibid., p. 283.

77 Ibid., p. 284.

public opinion. Emphasis on informational activities is also a part of this approach. What has been the relative advantage of this approach? It is a question which has to be answered. The assessment of the techniques employed has to be taken up in various contexts because the ultimate publicity functions are to be carried on in different societies with different political, economic and social systems and from any point of view, they are not equally developed. We will discuss some of the hazards in giving coloured informations in the next chapter while assessing the overall performance of the publicity machinery.

**Chapter IV**

**INDIA'S EXTERNAL PUBLICITY: AN ASSESSMENT**



## Chapter IV

### INDIA'S EXTERNAL PUBLICITY: AN ASSESSMENT

Assessment of a country's performance in the field of external publicity and the latter's direct bearing on the diplomatic gains and achievements is a very difficult task. One might go on emphasizing the role of external publicity but when it comes to the assessment of its gains it becomes extremely difficult to isolate and measure the effects of such activities. Theoretically speaking, it may be said that it can be measured in many different ways: by the rise and fall of general public popularity, prestige and esteem in foreign countries, by the extent to which international tensions are mitigated etc. Each nation has a variety of diplomatic goals: security, peace, profitable trade with other countries, equal treatment by other nations, access to natural resources, etc. "Very often the attainment of these and other objectives, even some of them, may seem far more important than world-wide popularity or even the removal of tensions."<sup>1</sup> In any case, many factors other than external publicity, are usually involved in trying to reach them - economic, political, diplomatic, even military.

This is true of external publicity of all the countries in general and India in particular. Could external publicity alone solve the Bangla Desh crisis? India's publicity during this

---

1 Harwood L. Childs, Public Opinion: Nature, Formation and Role (Princeton, 1965), p. 337.

crisis was at its best in the history of India's publicity efforts. "The real limits of such activities", as Childs puts it, "are frequently set by the military and economic position of the country as well as its aims, alliances and international involvement."<sup>2</sup>

India's external publicity consists of the short-term programme of presenting the country's immediate policies on various issues of current interests and the long-term programme of projecting the total image of the country in various aspects like art, culture, science, philosophy, etc.<sup>3</sup> These goals are pursued by the external publicity machinery at two levels. The short-term goals, since they are related to current policies and problems, get more attention than the long-term ones. If we bring in the two analytical concepts discussed in the Chapter I, namely, the facilitative and persuasive communication, it can be said that the short-term goals are related to persuasive communication whereas, the long-term goals come under the category of facilitative communication. One of the important tasks of the machinery is to relate the two goals. The former should be explained in the light of the latter. We do have examples where this task has been performed quite successfully.

---

2 Ibid.

3 N. Parameswaran Nair, *The Administration of Foreign Affairs in India; With Comparative Reference to Britain 1947-1962* (Thesis, Ph.D., Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi, 1963), p. 264.

One such case is regarding the various challenges to the policy of non-alignment. We have already noted in the previous chapter, how various challenges to the policy of non-alignment had to be explained. For example, Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation signed in 1971. Without going into the details of the particular points on which India's stand had to be explained, one can say that it was done in an efficient manner.

After the detente, the role of non-alignment had to be explained against the background of a changing context. The way it was explained, seems to have been quite effective. This is an example which is related to a development in the field of foreign policy which seemed to contradict a fundamental principle of foreign policy, namely, non-alignment.

As we have mentioned earlier, there are other long-term goals like projection of the total image of the country in various aspects like art, culture, science, philosophy, etc. Any advance in these fields would not be having any apparent clash with the principles on which India's foreign policy is based. Exceptions, however, are always there. The nuclear explosion by India in 1974 was the result of an advancement achieved in the field of technology. Though India proclaimed that nuclear device would be used for peaceful purposes, the world community refused to believe that it would be used only for peaceful purposes. The general opinion was that India has diverted from the peaceful path she claims to follow. Our external publicity had a difficult time in explaining India's stand. Such situations, however, arise only once in a while.

On examining the details of India's external publicity structure one feels that there is something missing. The mechanism or the measures through which the efforts of different wings are co-ordinated are still not clear. Apart from the periodic meetings of the heads of the various wings, there has to be some agency which should evaluate the coordinated efforts of the X. P. Division, External Services Division of the All India Radio and the Press Information Bureau.

The question of efficiency of the entire publicity set-up is related to the techniques adopted by them. The previous chapter, more or less, covers the whole range of techniques that are employed by the entire publicity set-up. It is the same as those employed by any advanced country. Comparing the methods and organization for international propaganda of the U.S.A. with those of the Communist bloc, Childs says that "when it comes to methods of, and organization for international propaganda, the difference between countries are mainly of degree rather than kind to the extent that their budgets permit; all use radio, television, motion pictures, press and publications of all kinds, cultural exchanges and exchange of persons, exhibitions and various other kinds of communication. They all use the strategies of organization, persuasion and publicity."<sup>4</sup> This applies to India as well. There is no need to elaborate on this aspect of India's external publicity structure. Mention should, however, be made of the

---

4 Childs, n. 1, p. 335.

fact that budgetary provisions are very significant constraints on the publicity efforts. Projecting image, influencing people and winning friends is by itself an immense task. In this highly competitive field of external publicity one can hardly think of judging the achievements of India's external publicity in terms of costs and benefits. One can only base oneself on the performance of the machinery and the costs involved in it. Even when the cost side of it is compared with the budgets of the advanced countries, one finds that India's budget is quite meagre. To have a general idea of the situation, it would suffice to mention that the United States spends something like Rs.150 crores on its information services globally. British Information Service spends something like Rs.18 crores.<sup>5</sup> Compared to these impressive figures what India spends on her external publicity is certainly meagre. The budgetary provision for these activities during the year 1974-75 was a little more than 1.74 crores.<sup>6</sup> This comparison gives a gloomy picture of the situation but it is also a fact that the global involvements of these advanced countries are much more than those of India. They are much more ambitious than India, perhaps also due to the abundance of resources that they have.

The other side of the story is that the total share of

---

5 R. K. Tandon, "Plea for a Professional Cadre", Weekly Round Table (Bombay), 14 January 1973, p. 20.

6 Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report 1974-75 (New Delhi, 1975), p. 172.

the budget of X. P. Division amounts to 9.28% of the total budget of the Ministry of External Affairs. Out of a total of Rs.174.72 lakhs during the year 1974-75, 46.55 lakhs account for establishment charges, travelling expenses and office expense.<sup>7</sup> What is left for actual publicity is a very small amount. This does not include the budget of other wings associated with publicity.

During the budget sessions of the Parliament external publicity comes in very handy for attacks. It is generally said that it is a drain on our scarce resources. Instead of spending money on activities which do not seem to be having any apparent gains, it would be better to spend them in promoting Indian goods and services abroad. To the people who suggest this, such a measure appears to be more effective in projecting India's image abroad. Since the main field of external publicity is outside the country, quite a lot of foreign exchange has to be spent on it. If the proposed step is taken not only the foreign exchange, which would have been spent otherwise, would be saved, there would also accrue monetary benefit. In this sense, such step would be more profitable. Deepak Lal, who subscribes to this view, goes on to say in his article that external publicity is wasteful or irrelevant.<sup>8</sup> He says that there is no point in getting concerned

---

7 Ibid.

8 Deepak Lal, "Is External Publicity All That Important?", Economic and Political Weekly (Bombay), 17 September 1966, p. 195.

over a bad press in a foreign country because it would hardly have any impact on its decisions vis-a-vis India. If the press is reflecting the Government's opinion then it would be better to try and influence the politicians who have asked the editors to put anti-Indian line.

"Even in democratic countries where a minority establishment influences decision-making and has its attitudes and opinions formed by minority quality press, there may be some gains to be had in influencing this section of the mass media. But the means of doing this would seem to be at home rather than abroad -<sup>9</sup> in influencing the reporters who send back reports on India."

It is true that the reporters who are reporting on India should be influenced and they should be provided with material on India. As we have already noted in the last two chapters, the external publicity structure has quite a few channels of communication with the Indian and foreign journalists. Links with foreign journalists are important because they are reporting on India. And so far as the world media follow the Indian media, contacts with the Indian journalists become important.

Related to the above-mentioned point is another factor. In democratic countries where the information media are not fully controlled by the Government, there arises the problem of guarding against deliberate distortions and suppression of facts. If there is any deliberate distortion or suppression of facts, it can be found out very easily. So, it is not that only by maintaining

contact with journalists the whole work is accomplished. This does not suggest that no discretion could be used in selection of material. In fact, this type of discretion is always there and it is desirable also.

Role of internal press could be assessed from an anecdote that Aqil Ahmad, India's former Press Attache in Washington relates in his article in John Lee, ed., "Diplomatic Persuaders: New Role of Mass Media in International Relations". He says that "a foreign correspondent in Delhi filed some of his most devastating critical stories, from our point of view, for two weeks while he was confined to bed by illness. The six national dailies of India provided the ammunition."<sup>11</sup> This again goes on to suggest that it is not possible for Indian Information Office to say things that cannot be substantiated.

Though contacts with the journalists at the headquarters and the missions abroad are important, it would be wrong to say that external publicity should consist of contacts with journalists only. Similarly, it is also incorrect to say that external publicity as a whole does not serve any purpose. Taken to its logical extremity, this suggestion would amount to saying that communications do not have any purpose. It is a conclusion with which no one would agree.

Other criticisms of our external publicity are of a general nature. Some of them criticize that it lacks continuity. During the time of crisis the external publicity structure wakes

---

11 Ibid., p. 75.



up and then the material sent abroad for the presentation of our case in foreign countries is found in abundance. In public relations or publicity continuity is very important. But, it would be asking for too much if we suggest that there should be a continuous flow of such material at all times.

During the visits of our dignitaries, Indian missions arrange for supplements in newspapers, they buy time on television and suddenly wake up to the fact that local publicity media are important in projecting a good image of India. Basing his comments on this fact, R. K. Tandon suggests that "our President and the Prime Minister must travel oftener if only to put a new stimulus into our external publicity." <sup>12</sup> The sarcasm can easily be noted in this statement. Nevertheless, it does make the point that the various measures that are taken at the time of the visit of a dignitary to project India's image could be taken otherwise also at periodic intervals, and depending on the financial resources.

Handouts and pamphlets that are sent for distribution abroad through the missions are often very poor in quality. Sometimes, lots of material is found lying in the missions. This would be explained, to a certain extent, through the fact that sometimes the enthusiasm of the headquarters is disproportionate to the absorption capacity of the audience. Quite often material is sent without giving particular attention to the particular audience, its likings and dislikings.

---

12 Tandon, n. 5, p. 23.

Hand-outs are sent to various sections of people. It would again be too much to expect that all of them would be used or that every newspaper would find room for it. But, it is also necessary that, at least on important occasions, when the international developments need to be adequately projected, the Indian embassies should have sufficient leverage with the local press for getting that point of view published. More often than not, it is precisely this leverage that is absent and the Indian angle goes by default.

One important aspect of India's print publicity is its emphasis on sending abroad the speeches of various ministers in the United Nations or in the Indian Parliament. To a certain extent it is a good thing but it should be kept in mind that not everybody is interested in public statements. They like brief summary of the whole thing.

The more the media emphasize the government's stand on various questions the greater is the danger that they face of losing their credibility. All the governmental agencies suffer from this disadvantage. So, one also has to see to it that there is no frantic emphasis on government's point of view. It is not being suggested that the position of the government should be ignored or contradicted. Instead, the suggestion is only for maintaining a balanced approach to publicity.

The successes of India's publicity efforts could be gauged by the reporting on India in the world press. The 'World Press

Review' brought out by the X. P. Division deals with it. From its compilation one can study the significant changes in the reporting on India in foreign press. "The 'World Press Review' is based on telexes, cables and despatches from missions on coverage of interest to India."<sup>14</sup>

To conclude, one can say that there is no fault with the publicity structure. The means through which it has to pursue its objectives are the same as those of the advanced countries. No serious criticism can be made against the organization of the publicity structure as such. Whatever structural inadequacies there are, they can be attributed to financial constraints. One cannot deny, however, that there are shortcomings in the implementation of its programmes. To a certain extent one can overlook them on the ground that the machinery is quite young compared to those of the other countries. It also lacks necessary skill and expertise. Quite a lot depends on individual capabilities at given places, which may not be uniformly of the requisite standards. Over a period of time, what can discern efforts to bring about a general improvement in the performance of the publicity machine. Nevertheless, greater efficiency in the total performance of the publicity machine can be brought about by improving coordination at the headquarters, and infusing greater technical skill and sense of purpose in the work of the publicity personnel.

---

14 Ministry of External Affairs, n. 6, p. 109.

**APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX I

List of Indian Missions and Posts abroad. Countries with asterisk (\*) marks have separate Information Posts

<u>Embassies</u>	<u>Places where Information Posts are located</u>
1. Afghanistan*	Kabul
2. Algeria	
3. Argentina*	Buenos Aires
4. Austria	
5. Bahrain	
6. Belgium*	Brussels
7. Bolivia	
8. Brazil*	Brasilia
9. Bulgaria	
10. Burma	
11. Burundi	
12. Cameroun	
13. Chile	
14. China	
15. Colombia	
16. Congo	
17. Costa Rica	
18. Cuba	
19. Czechoslovakia*	Prague
20. Dahomy	
21. Denmark	
22. Ecuador	
23. Egypt*	Cairo

24.	Ethiopia*	Addis Ababa
25.	Finland	
26.	France*	Paris
27.	Gabon	
28.	German Democratic Republic	
29.	Germany (Federal Republic of Germany)*	Bonn
30.	Greece	
31.	Guatemala	
32.	Guinea	
33.	Guinea Bissau	
34.	Hungary	
35.	Iceland	
36.	Indonesia*	Djakarta
37.	Iran*	Teheran
38.	Iraq*	Baghdad
39.	Ireland	
40.	Italy	
41.	Ivory Coast	
42.	Japan*	Tokyo
43.	Jordan	
44.	Khmer Republic	
45.	Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea)	
46.	Korea (Republic of Korea)	
47.	Kuwait*	Kuwait
48.	Laos	
49.	Lebanon*	Beirut

50. Liberia
51. Libya
52. Luxembourg
53. Malagasy
54. Maldives
55. Mali
56. Mauritania
57. Mexico
58. Mongolian People's Republic
59. Morocco\* Rabat
60. Mozambique
61. Nepal\* Kathmandu
62. Netherlands\* The Hague
63. Nicaragua
64. Norway
65. Oman (Sultanate of)
66. Panama
67. Paraguay
68. Peru
69. Philippines
70. Poland
71. Portugal
72. Qatar
73. Rumania
74. Rwanda (Republic of)
75. Saudi Arabia\* Jedda

76. Senegal
77. Somalia
78. Spain
79. Sudan\* Khartoum
80. Sweden
81. Switzerland\* Bern
82. Syrian Arab Republic\* Damascus
83. Thailand\* Bangkok
84. Togo
85. Tunisia\* Tunis
86. Turkey\* Ankara
87. United Arab Emirates
88. United States of America\*  
1) New York  
2) Washington
89. Upper Volta
90. Uruguay
91. U.S.S.R.
92. Vatican
93. Venezuela
94. Vietnam (Democratic Republic of  
North Vietnam)
95. Vietnam (Republic of South Vietnam)
96. Yemen Arab Republic
97. Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of)
98. Yugoslavia
99. Zaire Republic\* Kinshasa



High Commissions

100.	Australia*	Canberra
101.	Bangladesh*	Dacca
102.	Barbados	
103.	Botswana	
104.	Canada*	Ottawa
105.	Cyprus	
106.	Fiji	
107.	Gambia	
108.	Ghana	
109.	Guyana	
110.	Jamaica	
111.	Kenya*	Nairobi
112.	Lesotho	
113.	Malaysia*	Kuala Lumpur
114.	Malta	
115.	Mauritius	
116.	New Zealand	
117.	Nigeria*	Lagos
118.	Sierra Leone	
119.	Singapore	
120.	Sri Lanka	
121.	Swaziland	
122.	Tanzania*	Dar-es-Salaam
123.	Tonga	
124.	Trinidad and Tobago	

- |      |                 |         |
|------|-----------------|---------|
| 125. | Uganda*         | Kampala |
| 126. | United Kingdom* | London  |
| 127. | Western Samoa   |         |
| 128. | Zambia*         | Lusaka  |

Source: The Times of India Directory and Year Book including Who's Who 1976, pp. 697-700.

List of Information Posts is taken from the list of officers in the Information Posts in the X. P. Division of the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.

APPENDIX II

Number of Information Posts with Facilities for  
Morsecast Transmission and the Annual Budget  
X. P. Division

S.No.	Year	No. of Information posts	Posts with Morsecast facilities	Budget for the Headquarters (Rs.)	Total Budget (Rs.)
1.	1948-49	24	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2.	1949-50	20	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
3.	1951-52	20	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
4.	1952-53	26	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
5.	1953-54	30	26	n.a.	n.a.
6.	1954-55	35	27	n.a.	n.a.
7.	1955-56	38	27	22,86,700	77,26,000
8.	1956-57	40	36	21,31,700	96,69,000
9.	1957-58	49	34	20,00,000	85,00,000
10.	1958-59	49	n.a.	21,00,000	93,00,000
11.	1959-60	49	n.a.	22,50,000	93,50,000
12.	1960-61	42	n.a.	24,99,000	107,15,000
13.	1961-62	50	n.a.	24,99,000	106,37,800
14.	1962-63*	-	-	-	-
15.	1963-64	53	n.a.	28,15,900	105,06,500
16.	1964-65	56	n.a.	38,91,600	121,49,800
17.	1965-66*	-	-	-	-
18.	1966-67†	-	-	-	-
19.	1967-68	49	n.a.	40,00,000	160,58,200

(contd....)

---

20.	1968-69	n.a.	58	42,38,000	168,54,400
21.	1969-70	n.a.	n.a.	44,80,000	184,71,000
22.	1970-71*	-	-	-	-
23.	1971-72	n.a.	63	52,62,000	183,73,000
24.	1972-73	n.a.	66	49,64,000	169,83,000
25.	1973-74	n.a.	n.a.	47,74,000	179,34,000
26.	1974-75	n.a.	n.a.	46,56,000	174,72,000

\* Annual Reports of the Ministry of External Affairs for these years were not available to the author.

n.a. The reports of the Ministry of External Affairs do not give the figures for the respective columns.

APPENDIX III

Available figures for Films, Records, Pamphlets, Books, Photographs and Art Calendars sent to the Indian Missions and Posts Abroad

S.No.	Year	Films	Records	Pamphlets	Books	Photographs	Art Calendars
1.	1952-53	25	1,700	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	15,000
2.	1953-54	1,273 prints	n.a.	34,000	8,592	50,000	n.a.
3.	1954-55	n.a.	1,800	n.a.	14,958	61,600	10,000
4.	1955-56	2,000 prints	34 sets of new records	135 feature articles	14,000	70,000	n.a.
5.	1956-57	1,300 prints	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	80,400	n.a.
6.	1957-58	1,700 prints	n.a.	50 feature articles	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
7.	1958-59	30 Documentaries	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
8.	1959-60	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	50,000	n.a.
9.	1960-61	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
10.	1961-62	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
11.	1962-63	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
12.	1963-64	n.a.	n.a.	40 on different topics	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
13.	1964-65	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	15,000	n.a.	n.a.
14.	1965-66	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
15.	1966-67	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
16.	1967-68	n.a.	n.a.	19	n.a.	39,186	n.a.

Contd....

---

17.	1968-69	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
18.	1969-70	n.a.	n.a.	1,400	n.a.	119	n.a.
19.	1970-71	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
20.	1971-72	1,600	76	35	4,562	45,000	n.a.
21.	1972-73	2,192	113	26	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
22.	1973-74	450	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
23.	1974-75	1,050 prints	75	9	2,700	n.a.	n.a.

---

n.a. not available

APPENDIX IV

Number of Articles on Foreign Relations appearing  
in the five volumes of Indian and Foreign  
Review

Year Volume	1970-71 VIII	1971-72 IX	1972-73 X	1973-74 XI	1974-75 XII
1. Total no. of write- ups	970	1057	575	1044	805
2. Non- alignment	7	5	7	4	9
3. Foreign Relations General	3	5	4	14	9
4. Afghanistan	1	1	3	7	3
5. Africa	18	7	1	2	9
6. Algeria	-	-	4	1	-
7. Australia	-	1	-	5	4
8. Austria	-	-	-	2	-
9. Bahrain	-	-	-	-	2
10. Bangladesh	33	13	11	26	13
11. Belgium	-	1	-	4	1
12. Bhutan	3	2	1	6	6
13. Britain	-	5	-	4	5
14. Bulgaria	1	1	1	5	4
15. Burma	-	-	1	3	-
16. Brussels	-	1	-	-	-
17. Cambodia	1	-	-	-	3

Contd....

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
18. Chile	-	1	-	1	-
19. China	1	4	-	2	1
20. Cuba	-	-	-	-	1
21. Czechoslovakia	-	1	4	8	3
22. Cyprus	-	-	-	2	-
23. Denmark	-	-	-	3	-
24. Dubai	-	-	-	-	1
25. Egypt	-	1	2	6	4
26. Emirate of United Arab	-	-	-	3	4
27. Fiji	2	-	-	2	1
28. Finland	-	-	-	1	-
29. France	-	3	-	6	2
30. German Democratic Republic	-	-	1	5	3
31. Germany, Federal Republic of	-	1	3	6	6
32. Gabon	-	-	-	-	2
33. Ghana	-	1	-	-	-
34. Guyana	-	-	-	-	6
35. Guinea	1	-	-	-	-
36. Guinea Bissau	-	-	-	2	-
37. Hungary	1	4	2	5	6
38. Indonesia	-	-	-	3	6
39. Iran	2	-	1	8	7
40. Iraq	-	-	-	3	5
41. Italy	-	-	1	-	1

contd.....



	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
42. Ireland	-	-	-	1	-
43. Japan	2	1	-	5	1
44. Kenya	-	-	-	1	-
45. Korea (T.P.R.)	-	-	-	4	1
46. Korea (Republic of)	-	-	-	3	-
47. Laos	-	-	-	-	1
48. Lebanon	-	-	-	1	-
49. Libya	-	-	-	1	1
50. Malaysia	-	2	-	2	2
51. Maldives	-	-	-	2	3
52. Mauritius	-	2	-	2	2
53. Mexico	-	-	-	-	2
54. Mozambique	-	-	-	-	3
55. Namibia	2	-	-	-	2
56. Nepal	5	1	2	7	4
57. Newzealand	-	-	-	5	1
58. Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-
59. Norway	-	-	1	1	1
60. Pakistan	35	31	8	19	11
61. Palestine	-	-	-	-	1
62. Peru	-	3	-	-	1
63. Poland	-	2	5	6	2
64. Portugal	1	-	1	1	7
65. Romania	-	1	2	5	2

contd....

	VIII	IX	V	XI	XII
66. Saudi Arabia	-	-	-	1	2
67. Senegal	-	-	-	2	-
68. Singapore	-	-	-	1	-
69. South Africa	2	1	1	-	1
70. South Vietnam	-	-	-	-	2
71. South Korea	-	1	-	-	-
72. Soviet Union	9	7	1	28	10
73. Spain	-	-	-	2	-
74. Sri Lanka	1	1	2	13	3
75. Sudan	-	-	-	-	3
76. Sweden	-	1	1	4	1
77. Switzerland	-	-	-	4	-
78. Syria	-	-	-	2	3
79. Tanzania	2	1	2	5	5
80. Thailand	-	2	-	1	-
81. Turkey	-	-	2	1	-
82. Uganda	-	1	2	1	-
83. U.S.A.	11	10	5	6	11
84. Vietnam	-	1	-	-	1
85. West Asia	-	1	1	7	-
86. Yugoslavia	1	4	3	7	9
87. Yemen	-	1	-	1	-
88. Zambia	1	1	-	2	4
89. Zimbabwe	-	-	-	-	1

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

#### Government Documents

Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Reports, 1951-1975  
(New Delhi)

Ministry of External Affairs, Descriptive Memoir of  
Ministry of External Affairs, June 1951  
(Simla, 1952).

\_\_\_\_\_ and Commonwealth Relations, Annual Report,  
1948-49 (New Delhi, 1949).

\_\_\_\_\_, Report of the Committee on the Indian  
Foreign Service (1956), N. R. Pillai was the  
Chairman of the Committee on Indian Foreign  
Service.

\_\_\_\_\_, External Publicity Division, Prime Minister  
on Sino-Indian Relations (New Delhi, 1962),  
vol. I.

External Publicity Division, Ministry of External Affairs,  
Kashmir and the United Nations (New Delhi, 1964).

Ministry of External Affairs, Bangladesh Documents, vols. I & II  
(New Delhi, 1972).

\_\_\_\_\_, Perspectives for Non-Alignment (New Delhi, 1970).

Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity, Ministry  
of Information and Broadcasting, All India  
Radio: External Services (Calcutta, 1974).

\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, Bangla Desh and Indo-Pak  
War: India Speaks at the U.N. (Delhi, 1965).

\_\_\_\_\_, The Chinese Aggression: Some Facts About  
India China Border (Delhi, 1965).

External Publicity Division, Ministry of External Affairs,  
Occupied Kashmir: A Pakistan Colony (K. P. Press,  
1965).

#### Public Documents

Hertter, Christian A., Chairman of the U.S. Committee on  
Foreign Affairs Personnel: Personnel for New  
Diplomacy, report of the Committee on Foreign  
Affairs Personnel (Washington, F.C., December  
1962).

Other Documents

- Bureau of His Holiness Dalai Lama, Tibet Today (New Delhi, n.d.)
- Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting,  
Pakistan's Inhuman Air Attacks (Delhi, 1936).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Muslims in India (Delhi, 1952).

Secondary SourcesBooks

- Acharya, B. K., India and China: A Brief Survey (New Delhi, 1965)
- Ayub Sayed, China's Attack on Islam (New Delhi, 1968).
- Bailey, Thomas Andrew, The Man in the Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy (New York, 1948).
- Bandopadhyay, J., The Making of India's Foreign Policy (Calcutta, 1970).
- Bareison, Bernard, ed., Reader in Public Opinion and Communication.
- Barghoorn, Frederick C., Soviet Cultural Offensive: The Role of Cultural Diplomacy (Princeton, New Jersey, 1960).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Soviet Foreign Propaganda (Princeton, N.J., n.d.).
- Brown, J. A. C., Techniques of Persuasion: From Propaganda to Brainwashing (London, 1963).
- Cohen, Bernard C., Press and Foreign Policy (Princeton, 1963).
- Chauhan, B.R., Kashmir: Its Place in the Indian Union (New Delhi, n.d.)
- Childs, Harwood L., Public Opinion: Nature, Formation and Role (Princeton, N.J., 1965).
- H. Davidson, Walter Phillips, International Political Communication (New York, 1965).
- Doob, Leonard William, Public Opinion and Propaganda.

- Jain, Cirilal, Pakistan Military Elite: Nazi Style Genocide in East Bengal (New Delhi, n.d.)
- Krishnamurthy, G. V. G., Dynamics of Diplomacy (Delhi, 1968).
- Lasswell, Harold D., Language of Politics (New York, 1949).
- Leo, John, ed., The Diplomatic Persuaders: New Role of Mass Media in International Relations (New York, 1968).
- Lerner, Daniel, ed., Propaganda in War and Crisis: Materials for American Foreign Policy (New York, n.d.)
- Mantri, Om Prakash, Five Years in Mao's China: An Inside View (Delhi, 1964).
- Martin, L. John, International Propaganda: Its Legal and Diplomatic Control (Minneapolis, 1958).
- Martin, L. John (special editor), Propaganda in International Affairs (Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science) (Philadelphia).
- Mockerjee, Girija K., Diplomacy: Theory and History (New Delhi, 1973).
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, India's Foreign Policy (Delhi, 1962).
- Nicolson, Harold, Diplomacy (London, 1939).
- Rao, H. Bhaskara, Indo-Pak Conflict, Controlled Mass Communication in Inter-State Relations (New Delhi, 1971).
- Rosenau, James N., Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: An Operational Formulation (New York, 1961).
- Sharma, Surya P., The India-China Border Dispute: An India Perspective (New Delhi, 1967).
- Zeman, Z. A. B., Nazi Propaganda (New York, 1964).

#### Periodicals

- Indian and Foreign Review (New Delhi), 1970-1975.
- Public Opinion Quarterly (Princeton), 1951, 1952 and 1961.
- World Press Review (New Delhi), 1971, 1972.

Articles in Periodicals

- Davison, W. P., and George Alexander L., "An Outline for the Study of International Political Communication", Public Opinion Quarterly (Princeton) Winter 1952-53.
- Gandhi, Indira, "India and the World", Foreign Affairs: An American Quarterly Review (New York), October 1972.
- Phadnis, Urmila, "The 1964 Indo-Ceylonese Pact and the Stateless Persons in Ceylon", India Quarterly (New Delhi), Oct-Dec. 1967.
- Whitton, John B., "Propaganda in Cold War", Public Opinion Quarterly (Princeton), Spring 1951).