The present thesis entitled, "Propaganda and Diplomacy: Role of Official and Non-official Instruments in Projecting India's Kashmir Policy", begins with the assumption that diplomacy is management of international relations and propaganda has a role to play as one of the instruments of diplomacy. Diplomacy is an official endeavour and it involves formal organisations. At the same time, it is also true that some of the goals that diplomacy seeks to pursue through formal channels may also be pursued through such channels over which official machinery does not have any formal control. At the most they can be influenced to some extent. It is particularly true if diplomatic goals are related to public opinion in this age of open diplomacy. Because of the prevalence of democratic norms and conference diplomacy where very little remains in the realm of secrecy, international actors do need to take public opinion into account.

More specifically the assumptions made in this study are as follows:

1. Public opinion does have a role to play in foreign policy.
2. To influence public opinion official channels are used.
3. Apart from the official channels, there are ways of influencing and moulding public opinion.

5. Kashmir issue has been one of the very emotive issues and the degree of national concern can be gauged from the similarity between official and non-official coverage.

6. Beyond a point, relevance of propaganda or its efficacy is questionable.

7. As an instrument of diplomacy it can only provide an underpinning to diplomacy.

8. Effects or effectiveness of propaganda cannot be evaluated independently of the merits of the case and irrespective of the predetermined positions of the leading actors.

In the specific case of the Kashmir question efforts at external publicity had to contend with various harsh realities of international politics. Most important among them was cold war politics.

With the above-mentioned objectives an attempt has been made to study the relationship between propaganda and diplomacy both at the theoretical level and at the level of realpolitik where practical and political considerations influence decision-makers.

Approach and methodology adopted in this study are related to the hypothetical formulations spelt out above.
Approach adopted here is a combination of historical, descriptive and analytical. On the one hand, this study needs to go into the historical landmarks in the use of propaganda for diplomatic purposes and on the other, it involves a description of machinery and structures dealing with it, techniques applied by them and a detailed descriptive account of the issue under study, namely, the Kashmir question. Analytical approach has been adopted for looking into the content of publicity material. In other words, publicity material has been subjected to content analysis.

To test the above-mentioned hypotheses Kashmir question has been selected. The period chosen is from 1947 to the beginning of 1966, i.e., right from the beginning of this problem to the war of 1965 between India and Pakistan. Though any formal agreement or solution has not been arrived at by the contending parties, the fact remains that cease-fire line is more or less taken as the line of partition. Because of its protracted nature and the long period for which it remained on the agenda of the Security Council we find this issue quite suitable for our present purposes. Time and again it has been raised on world forums and it appears as though the contending parties were more keen on scoring debating points over each other than actually solving it. Though Kashmir question is taken up as one issue, and the basic question continues to be the same, a lot of
subset developments have changed some of its features. It can be said that the nature of this question in 1955 was not the same as in 1947. And, accordingly, the themes taken up in the initial period were substantially different from those taken up later. With this view, the nineteen year period under study has been divided into three parts. In all these periods of the issue, it was debated in the Security Council at least once. The immediate causes of referring it to the United Nations have been different but all the old and new issues have been taken up with different degrees of emphasis once it began to be debated. Corresponding to the nature of the issue in a particular period, thrusts of publicity and propaganda have varied.

To study the changes in the thrusts of Indian publicity and propaganda and to find out the propagandistic tilts by comparing it to non-official national coverage, the method of content analysis has been used. After going through the printed publicity material certain themes and subthemes were identified and an inventory of these themes and subthemes was prepared. Recording Units and Context Units were defined. In contrast to 'classical content analysis' where a sentence is the context unit, 'theoretically oriented content analysis' has been preferred. In the latter 'theme' is taken as the recording unit and the pamphlets are taken as 'context units'. Since they vary in sizes, the frequency of themes and subthemes is not noted. Instead, only the
presence or absence of a given theme is taken note of. To identify the themes, it was necessary to break them into their component elements, that is, their subthemes.

This kind of an exercise poses a difficult problem for an individual researcher. To ensure reliability and objectivity, that is, to rule out subjectivity there is no way of getting it verified through other researchers. The only attempt that could have been made and has been made in this study to verify the reliability of coding was to go through the context units repeatedly. After an elapse of almost one year once again they have been verified. Yet it cannot be taken as completely devoid of 'subjectivity'.

Similar exercise has been done with regard to non-official channels. For this the editorials of one of the prominent national dailies have been selected. They have also been divided in three parts corresponding to the three periods of Kashmir question. Findings have been presented in a tabular form and a comparison is made between the two types of material.

The whole thesis is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter I on Propaganda and Diplomacy goes into the extent to which diplomacy can make fruitful uses of propaganda. Both its positive contributions and limitations have been taken into account. One of the important points that emerges from this historical account is that all the leading nations of the world who have been using propaganda have had their initial reservations regarding its use. Coming to
India, we find that Indian awareness regarding its uses almost coincides with world awareness of propaganda. So this myth is also exploded that due to lack of experience or awareness or due to moralistic considerations independent India was hesitant in using propaganda.

Chapter II deals with a descriptive account of Structure and Techniques of Indian Official Propaganda. Apart from the External Publicity Division of the Ministry of External Affairs, there are various other organisations whose tasks have a bearing on the preoccupations of the External Publicity Division. Description of the present day structure reveals two important points. First, that a lot of thinking and rethinking has gone into it and the value of more coordination and effective handling is realised. Secondly, in the initial period, that is, at the time of handling of Kashmir question this structure suffered from organisational and conceptual handicaps.

Chapter III deals with the 'Kashmir Question' itself and takes into account all the issues that were raised in the Security Council ever since the issue had been referred to it in January 1948. Events following the aggression in Kashmir which were raised in the Security Council, and the attempts at solving various issues, the limitations of the suggested solutions etc. are pointed out. Indian policy and its reservations regarding these suggestions by the United Nations amounted to their rejection. As a result, Indian
policy continued to be criticised and misunderstood. Therefore, in the face of a barrage of criticisms from different quarters, India had to face the challenge of bridging the gap between mis-perception of its positions and the reality. This gave rise to the need for resorting to persuasive communication and propaganda. Dissatisfaction with Indian performance in this field was voiced both in the Parliament and the Press. What was actually done to correct these wrong images and to answer the criticisms, needs to be looked into. India's propaganda goals and objectives should have been formulated in consonance with requirements of the given situation.

Chapter IV is on 'Print Publicity' conducted by the official apparatus. To find out the thrusts of this type of publicity, content analysis of the printed material is undertaken. Dividing the material into three parts corresponding to the three different periods, their respective thrusts have been pointed out. There are two types of pamphlets used: (1) Those put out by governmental agencies like the Information Service of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Ministry of External Affairs, External Publicity Division, Kashmir Bureau of Information etc. (2) Those pamphlets which were brought out by private individuals. The content of these pamphlets in the second category bore a striking similarity to that in the first category. As a result the second category of printed material is referred to as "Officially-Inspired" material. After finding out the
similarity between their respective thrusts, they have been treated as part of the official printed material. At the end, general conclusions are arrived at for the whole of printed material consulted. Though the effort has been to analyse as many pamphlets as possible, their availability for repeated consultation has been the sole criterion for inclusion or exclusion of any material.

Chapter V undertakes an analysis of the editorials of a national daily, namely, the *Times of India* under the heading "Non-official channels of Indian Propaganda". The exercise here has been very similar to that in Chapter IV. Conclusions are drawn with regard to their coverage and thrusts during the three periods respectively. Though the attempt has been to analyse all the editorials, some of the volumes of this newspaper were not available for such purposes. Going through the available material, it was realised that the missing numbers would only confirm the conclusions.

Chapter VI is a comparative study of the conclusions emerging from Chapter IV and V. In terms of priority given by the two types of material to different themes in this chapter gives very valuable insights into the relative strengths, values and limitations of propaganda campaigns as well as the official and non-official channels.

Chapter VII contains Conclusions. There are various levels at which conclusions are drawn. A big handicap in evaluation of effectiveness of propaganda campaigns is pau-
city of feedback material. Though World Press Reviews are available, they are selective excerpts from the world press. A detailed analysis of the world press coverage or a representative section of the world press from different blocs and political systems would have thrown much more realistic light. Still, with whatever is available we get enough indication of the latent or manifest preoccupations and interests of different international actors. The voting pattern in the Security Council and the debates confirm that concepts of 'right', 'wrong', 'just' etc. are used within the framework of national policy objectives and not in a vacuum. Positions taken by different international actors in world forums are motivated by their own national concerns and objectives. This is one of the two main constraints on the effectiveness of propaganda. The other source of the inherent limitation for propaganda comes from diplomacy itself. It goes without saying that successes and failures of diplomacy are bound to affect its instruments also.

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