CHAPTER II

STRUCTURE AND TECHNIQUES OF INDIA'S OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA

This chapter aims at describing the official Indian apparatus dealing with propaganda. The main organization responsible for it at the headquarters is the External Publicity Division (X.P. Division)\(^1\) of the Ministry of External Affairs. Since the propaganda material is essentially meant for targets abroad, Indian missions and posts abroad have to be associated with these activities. A brochure published by the Ministry of External Affairs entitled 'Activities of External Publicity Division', January 1980 to March 1981, says that "The External Publicity Division is responsible for the overall tasks of publicity affecting India's foreign relations."\(^2\)

The nature of the activities undertaken by the External Publicity Division comes out clearly in its subsequent sentences "It also coordinates and supervises the press and public relations, publicity and cultural work done by Indian missions abroad. The Division briefs and assists our missions to interpret all aspects of India's foreign policy to the public and the media in countries of their respective areas of accreditation. Our missions are also kept informed of the political,

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1 External Publicity Division would henceforth be referred to as X.P. Division, as it is commonly referred to.

economic, social and cultural developments in India in a manner as to make foreign countries and people interested in developing and expanding relations with India.  

Before going into the details of the tasks and functions assigned to it, it would be worth while to go into the history of this organization. It would provide us with an insight into the reasons and methods which have contributed to the growth of a situation where we can talk in terms of X.P. Division's overall responsibility for propaganda activities. Its organization has undergone considerable changes ever since its inception. The Government of India did inherit some external publicity structure from the British Indian Government which would perform only a limited function within the given historical and political context. In 1943 it was taken over by the Department of Information and Broadcasting to serve wartime needs. Soon after independence, in March 1948, India felt the need for transferring it back to the Ministry of External Affairs. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his speech to the Constituent Assembly talked about the need for reorganization of the X.P. machinery. According to him,

"... there must be the closest cooperation between internal publicity machine and external publicity. But it is far better, I think, that the external

3 ibid.
5 ibid.
Affairs Ministry should have a greater part in the organization of external publicity than it has had so far."6

Talking about our approach to different countries, he had added that

"we shall have to approach this question by the method of trial and error. There is no way of finding the perfect method of doing things, except by experience."7

In a way, this statement of Jawaharlal Nehru proved to be prophetic. Our propaganda efforts until now appear to be characterized by a trial and error approach. Experience has, no doubt, contributed to fresh thinking on this subject from time to time.

At the organizational level, this approach had manifested itself in transfer of External Publicity from one Ministry to another. For example in 1948, it was transferred to the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, "in order to secure more effective coordination of external publicity with foreign policy."8

Again, in 1951, this kind of a suggestion came up. The Economic Committee wanted to put External Publicity in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.9

6 Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy (Delhi: Publications Division, 1951), pp. 257-58.
7 ibid.
9 MEA, Descriptive Memoir of The Ministry of External Affairs, June 1951 (Simla, 1952), Appendix VI, pp. 39-40.
The Ministry of External Affairs, had not accepted this recommendation because it felt that "it was too soon to re-open the question". The Standing Advisory Committee had also supported this view. 10

Another step forward in setting up of a separate organization for External Publicity was taken only in 1958. 11 Some additional duties were also transferred to the X.P. Division which until then was performing only very meagre functions like giving news and background information for emphasizing Government of India's viewpoint. 12

It's newly added responsibilities were as follows:

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

Economic Committee's recommendation no. 8, dealing with External Publicity, reads as follows:

"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 person as may be considered necessary."

10 The Descriptive Memoir, of the Ministry of External Affairs does not mention as to who had appointed these committees.


12 ibid.
2. Looking after the Foreign Press correspondents in India and visiting Press delegations and Press personalities from abroad.

3. Publicising the activities of MEA in the Indian and Foreign Press.13

In order to meet the demands of these added responsibilities, a Press Relations Sections was set up in the Division on 15 July 1958.14 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.15

Reorganization of X.P. Structure had taken place at yet another level. In 1947, a cadre called the Information Service of India was constituted. It was in conformity with the prevailing view that information work was technical and distinguishable as such from political and other works.16 As a result, people with professional experience in journalism and public relations were recruited on contract and on terms other than those of the Indian Foreign Service. Commenting upon this separateness, the Pillai Committee said that,

13 ibid.
14 ibid.
15 J. Bandyopadhyay, n. 4, p. 233.
"Information Officers tended to regard themselves as 'outside the fold' and dealt with external publicity on their own and often independently of the Head of the mission. A realisation that this function is an indivisible part of the work of the Foreign Service was slow in growing."\(^\text{17}\)

A scheme for reorganization of ISI cadre was announced and finalised during 1959-60. Accordingly, ISI cadre was to be gradually integrated with the IFS. The scheme provided for grant of long-term contracts (upto age of superanuation) to some of the existing personnel of ISI cadre and in other cases the grant of five years contracts.\(^\text{18}\) 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 ISI 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. 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 these posts. This process was carried out gradually, and by the year 1979, the dichotomy between the IFS and the ISI had ended completely. There is no ISI now.\(^\text{19}\)

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17 ibid.
19 Indian Institute of Mass Communication and Press Institute of India, Telling India's Story: External Publicity.
The X.P. Division is an important Functional Division of the Ministry of External Affairs, because it is the chief organ through which the latter projects its work and policies to the outside world. Keeping this in mind, its status had to be raised within the structure of the Indian Foreign Office. According to the Annual Report of the Ministry, 1963-64, "Division is being placed under the overall charge of the rank of Joint Secretary." He is also the official spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs. Joint Secretary is assisted in discharging his duties by Director (XP), Deputy Secretary (XP), seven Under Secretaries, eleven officers of Section Officers level - of which nine are designated as Publicity Officers, one Section Officer and an Editor (XP). There are ten sections in the Division looking after various aspects of its work. The total strength of the Division is 115, including officers and members of the staff. Besides the Division is equipped with its own reference library under a trained librarian and with a printing press.

To project India's views abroad, safeguard its national

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22 MEA, n. 2, p. 3.
interests and implement national policies, there are 136 resident Missions and posts abroad. There are also Honorary consulate Generals/Consulates at 22 places.\textsuperscript{23}

From time to time initiatives have been taken to improve India's external publicity operation in qualitative terms. In response to criticisms against Indian external publicity in the Parliament and the national Press, various committees have been appointed to look into its functioning and organization. In 1963, a one-man committee had made departmental enquiry. K.S. Shelvankar had said in his Report that

"If there is a single reason or cause to which we can attribute the defects and short comings of our publicity organization, I would say it was the persistent undervaluation of the role of publicity and those engaged in it. Publicity has suffered more through neglect and indifference rather than through any overt acts of omission or commission. It has been 'no body's baby'; at best it has been a step child or poor relation receiving the intermittent attention of officers whose main concern was with other matters."\textsuperscript{24}

He had recommended upgrading of X.P. Division and assignment of higher priority to its work. His report said:

"the essential thing is that the ministry should recognize that publicity or public relations, the conduct of the 'public affairs' side of its activities is a matter of primary importance and should be provided for accordingly."\textsuperscript{25}


\textsuperscript{24} K.S. Shelvankar Committee Report, para 9, as quoted by J. Bandopadhyay, n. 4, p. 237.

\textsuperscript{25} ibid.
Committee on the Indian Foreign Service, under the Chairmanship of N.R. Pillai was yet another effort at a comprehensive review of the Indian Foreign Service. Along with many other recommendations, its report emphasized that

"publicity and public relations play an important role in the modern world and the increasing reliance the Government has to place on these techniques for explaining its policies and activities to the people, has naturally led to much public interest in this branch of the Government's activity."\(^{26}\)

Talking about the Indian conditions it said that

"the functioning of our democratic society, allowing freedom of expression and movement and a free press, which is a main source of our national strength, does also sometimes render difficult the task of a government agency like the External Publicity Division. Much that is said or done within the domestic scene may be seen in a different light abroad and may even be interpreted to our disadvantage. Our external publicity should endeavour to present these apparently negative aspects in their proper perspective."\(^{27}\)

This report dealt with the problems of current publicity at length, as distinguished from long term publicity. Its contention was that "the function of current publicity is to explain, interpret and to gain acceptance and support for our foreign policy objectives and actions." In positive terms it seeks to enlarge the areas of understanding of our policies; negatively it tries to ensure that influences and initiatives

\(^{26}\) Pillai Committee, n. 16, para 174.

\(^{27}\) ibid., para 176.
contrary to our own interests do not prosper. Timed correctly and directed intelligently, it may make all the difference between success and failure of a given policy.28

It had also pointed out that depending on the nature of the policy itself, and the prevailing world situation or climate of international opinion, the effort and approach would have to vary. "The object of diplomacy assisted by publicity is so to present our viewpoint as to make it acceptable to the persons in power or in a position to influence opinion and policy."29

Having dealt with the problems of external publicity in the Indian context, the Pillai Committee felt the need to warn against the danger of exaggeration and overemphasis. Therefore, it added that,

"It is easy to exaggerate the role of publicity. By definition, it is not a substitute for policy and its role is subordinate to that of the policy itself. Its effects on the course of temporary events or on the foreign policy attitudes and decisions of other governments will differ from country to country, according to the social and other conditions obtaining in each and as between one situation and another, depending on a variety of factors. It may not always be possible to influence the public opinion developing in a country with regard to a given situation or policy and the extent to which such opinion may ultimately affect the policy of that government

28 ibid., para 178.
29 ibid.
is variable and governed by circumstances beyond our control."30

Another committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sri Chanchal Saraf. The task before this committee was to make suggestions for improving India's external publicity efforts. The Report of this committee was presented to the Parliament on 28 March 1979 by the Minister of External Affairs, Atal Bihari Vajpayee.31 Its major recommendations included formulation of precisely worked out training programme, setting up of production centres in selected Indian Missions abroad (with adequate personnel and equipment) and the proposal to increase by thirty per cent the publicity budget of the Ministry. The recommendations of the committee had been accepted in principle by the Ministry and their implementation were to be subject to availability of resources.32

As far as the question of increase in the budget of X.P. Division is concerned, exact allocation for the Division does not reflect clearly in the Reports of the Ministry, specially after the year 1980-81. During the year 1980-81, it was 8.9 per cent.33 The ministry's subsequent Reports do not provide any break-up with regard to External Publicity Budget. The Annual Report for the year 1985-86 says that "Estimated expon-

30 ibid., para 179.
32 ibid.
diture on Headquarters Organisation of the Ministry is expected to be Rs. 13,12.79 lakhs. Out of which 242.99 lakhs will be on publicity. In terms of percentage, it works out to 18.5 per cent. The percentage of publicity expenditure in relation to the total expenditure by the missions and posts abroad is not given clearly.

Having had some idea about the organizational details of the X.P. Division, we must find out whether external publicity is an exclusive responsibility of this division or not. In other words, it is necessary to find out which are the other organisations whose tasks and responsibilities are closely related to those of the X.P. Division. We can begin with summarising the tasks of this Division.

The main functions of this Division are: Press Briefings; production and publication of magazines, periodicals etc.; commissioning of special supplements on India in foreign newspapers and magazines; special briefings to the media representatives both Indian and foreign; organisation of visits by foreign journalists to India and Indian journalists abroad and publicity through films, radio and other audio-visual media.

For dissemination abroad of publicity and information

35 MEA, n. 2, p. 2.
material of various kinds and in different media, the Division has to depend largely on the agencies and institutions under the control of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, for the necessary means and material. These agencies are the External Services of All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, the Films Division, the Publications Division, the Directorate of Advertisement and Visual Publicity and the Commercial Publicity Wing of the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Without going into the details of these organisations, we can find out the manner in which they help the X.P. Division in carrying out its functions.

The role of radio and short wave transmissions hardly needs any reiteration. Radio broadcasts had started in India in 1927 with two privately owned transmitters at Bombay and Calcutta. The Government took them over in 1930 and started operating them under the name of Indian Broadcasting Service. In 1936 its name was changed to All India Radio. Overseas broadcasts were started after three years of its establishment. The broadcasts in the external services of All India Radio aim at projecting a true and objective image of the

36 Pillai Committee, n. 16, para 182.
country to listeners abroad and to explain the country's point of view on matters of national and international importance. The broadcasts also attempt to acquaint foreign listeners with the ideas and achievements of India as an open society and its secular ideals and to stimulate interests in the rich heritage of country's art, culture and traditions and to highlight the progress achieved in different spheres of life. They are also designed to serve as a link with the people of Indian origin living or settled abroad.39

The main objective of AIR external services broadcasts is to project the Indian point of view on world affairs and acquaint the overseas listeners with the developments in India along with information on various facets of Indian life, thought and culture.40

All India Radio's External Service broadcasts daily programmes for 57 hours and 15 minutes in 25 languages for listeners in different parts of the world.41 The target areas to which the external broadcasts are addressed are in 54 countries. These include services in 16 foreign languages and a General Overseas Service in English. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, gives a detailed break-up of the duration and languages in which these

39 ibid., p. 164.
41 ibid.
broadcasts are radiated. They also have services in Indian languages.  

As part of its exchange programme the External Services Division (ESD) supplies recordings of various types of programmes to more than a hundred foreign broadcasting organisations. Recording of Weekly Press Review is supplied to the Broadcasting Foundation of America.

ESD supplies recordings of special orchestral compositions produced in connection with the Republic Day and Independence Day to about 65 (sixty five) countries. It also sends out half-an hour recordings of music items to these countries under the Cultural Exchange Programme.

The Press Information Bureau (PIB) is yet another organisation under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting whose activities have a bearing on external publicity. For example, during the year 1983-84, the X.P. Division had provided media facilities to the VII NAM Summit and CHOGM Heads of Government meeting in collaboration with the PIB. The PIB in the Central agency of the Government of India for informing the people about its policies, programmes and activities. For performing this necessary public relations function for

42 ibid., p. 19.
43 ibid., p. 20.
44 ibid.
the Government of India, it maintains constant liaison with the press at different levels in order to disseminate information and thus create a better understanding of the Government's policies, programmes and activities. The information put out by the Bureau goes to dailies as well as news periodicals, news agencies and radio and television organisations, both Indian and foreign.47

Information officers of the Bureau are attached to all the Ministries and Departments of the Government of India at its headquarters. The PIB maintains liaison with the Ministry of External Affairs and supplies publicity material to Indian Diplomatic Missions abroad.48

The Bureau provides professional facilities to correspondents, cameramen and technicians accredited to the Government.49 It gives temporary accreditation facility to foreign correspondents and cameramen coming to India on short visits. It also makes special accreditation arrangements for important events.50

The PIB acts as the implementing agency for exchange of delegations of journalists between Indian and foreign countries under cultural exchange programmes and protocols.51

47 ibid.
48 MIB, India 1975; A Reference Annual (New Delhi, 1975), p. 117.
50 ibid.
51 ibid.
It also arranges for press conferences. The accredited pressmen are also provided with in depth briefings on important occasions by ministers and senior officials. It organises press conferences for visiting Heads of states and VIPs.52

Through the above mentioned measures the PIB helps to create "a realistic and positive picture" of India. It is quite evident that the role of foreign correspondents and journalists is that of opinion leaders in their respective countries. Their despatches, reports and articles help in moulding the views of their readers and in creating awareness about India. In this context, the PIB has a much wider role to play than what appears to be on the face of it.

The organisations mentioned above, namely, the External Services Division of the AIR and the Press Information Bureau, take part in informational functions. In this manner they seem to be providing assistance to the X.P. Division. Greater acceptability and credibility for the material disseminated by the X.P. Division would have a lot to do with efficient handling of their respective tasks by the External Services Division of the AIR and the PIB.

There is yet another organisation whose activities can be said to be providing facilitative channels for Indian publicity. The activities of the Indian council for cultural relations (ICCR) come in the realm of cultural diplomacy.

52 Press Information Bureau, Central Press Information Bureau (New Delhi, n.d.), p. 2.
Before the year 1970, it was under the Ministry of Education.

Pillai Committee had felt that cultural activities "form an important aspect of foreign relations and are usually dealt with by the Foreign Office itself in other countries." With this understanding they had suggested that "the government should review the relative position of the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Education with regard to the handling of this subject." 53

The ICCR, which was established in 1950 as an autonomous unit had almost become a wing of the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Education. According to its constitution its objectives were as follows:

(a) "To establish, revive and strengthen cultural relations and mutual understanding between India and other countries;

(b) To promote cultural exchange with other countries;

(c) To establish relations with national and international organizations in the field of culture; and

(d) To adopt all other measures as may be required to further its objects." 54

Following the recommendations of the Pillai Committee, the Ministry of External Affairs initiated a discussion with the Ministry of Education. They reached an agreement for

53 Pillai Committee, n. 16, para

transfer of its Administrative control to the Ministry of External Affairs in April 1970.55

Now the ICCR functions under the administrative control of the Ministry of External Affairs and plays an important role as the principal agency for promoting India's Cultural Relations with other nations.56

It receives scholars, artists and intellectuals from various foreign countries.57 As part of its exchange programmes the council had received around fifty distinguished scholars, artists, writers and intellectuals from countries including Bangladesh, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, U.K. and U.S.A. during the year 1985-86.58

ICCR also organises Indian Film Festivals abroad. In the last few years various Festivals of India have been organised. "Under the framework instituted by the Government of India, the ICCR is associated with the running of cultural

55 Bandopadhyay, n. 4, pp. 229-30. He also points out that this transfer was not a non-hesitant one. In 1967, the initiative taken by the Foreign Minister M.C. Chagla had been turned down by the then Education Minister Dr. T. Sen on the ground that the relative importance and effectiveness of ICCR would get undermined by supervision and control of the Ministry of External Affairs.

In this transfer, the constitution of ICCR was not changed but an administrative decision was taken that its Chief Executive Officer would be a senior IFS Officer deputed by the Ministry of External Affairs.

57 ibid.
centres of foreign Diplomatic Consular presence, and those of autonomous cultural organizations depending on foreign governments for financial assistance and support.59

One of the main recommendations of the Chanchal Sarkar Committee was "Appointment of a body to coordinate the work of the External Publicity Division, of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, External Services of All India Radio, the Indian Tourism Development Corporation and Air India's Public Relations Division".60

This kind of realization regarding the need for better coordination can be observed from time to time. For example, the Annual Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, 1981-82 says that: "Liaison work with other government departments, especially with the MIB, and the AIR and Doordarshan was intensified".61 This interaction is at two levels. At the Ministerial level, the Minister of External Affairs and the Minister of Information and Broadcasting held periodic meetings to evaluate the progress made. Principles and guidelines evolved at these meetings are taken up for implementation at the official level. At this level, a committee of officials on External Publicity was constituted which consists of officers belonging to the Ministry of External Affairs, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the All India Radio and

60 Indian Institute of Mass Communication, n. 19, p. 4.
Apart from the above mentioned institutionalised efforts for coordination, no other official body is mentioned in the Annual Reports of the Ministry of External Affairs.

Besides the Production Unit of the External Publicity Division which was set up in 1963, the X.P. Division depends on the Directorates of Publications Division and Advertising and Visual Publicity under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The Publications Division publishes 21 journals of specialised nature including the Indian and Foreign Review (Fortnightly) on behalf of the Ministry of External Affairs.

The foregoing discussion gives us some idea about the machineries and organisations that take part in these activities. On the whole, the techniques adopted by them are closely related to their own objectives and specific expertise. A fair idea of the methods by which the task of projection of "a correct and positive image of India abroad" is carried out, can be had from the various Reports of the Ministry of External Affairs.

Even at a risk of repeating some of the points mentioned earlier, we can recount the techniques adopted for external publicity one by one.

62 ibid.
63 Pillai Committee, n. 16, para 29.
External Publicity Transmissions (XPT):

Through the XPT network Indian Missions are kept informed of the important political, scientific, technological and economic developments in India. "On an average XPT consists of 2000 to 2500 words and it is sent in two batches at 2 pm and 8 pm on week days." 65

It is divided in three specific categories. Section I pertains to "Important Policy statements and news to be used by the Missions for publicity purposes". 66 Section II contains "News briefs of Important internal developments for the information of the missions including a Press Summary". 67 Section III is comprised of "Service messages for the officers and staff of the missions." 68

The number of transmissions go up during special occasions. For example during general elections, four hourly transmissions are made. 69 The Division also aims to put all the missions on satellite network. Some of them have already been put on satellite communication channels. 70

65 MEA, Activities of External Publicity Division, no. 2, p. 6.
66 ibid.
67 ibid.
68 ibid.
69 ibid., p. 7. The instance given here is that of January 1980 general elections.
70 ibid.
Print Publicity:

There are two types of printed publicity material: (1) Among the regular publications which are supplied to all the missions and posts abroad are: Foreign Affairs Record (Monthly), Indian and Foreign Review (Fortnightly) and Courier de L'Inde (Fortnightly in French). 71 (2) Apart from these regular publications, special booklets and pamphlets were brought out on state and official visits. Important statements and speeches by President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and other leaders relating to India's foreign policy are also produced. 72 Indian missions abroad also bring out publicity material. Some of them bring out regular publications. 73

On special occasions, like Republic Day, Independence Day, Mahatma Gandhi's birthday etc., special supplements and surveys on India are brought out by foreign newspapers and periodicals. It is interesting to note that during the period between January 1980 to March 1981, 116 such supplements were published but no supplement was brought out in Bangladesh, Pakistan and East Europe. 74 Besides these, books are also sent to the missions for their libraries and presentation purposes. 75

71 ibid., p. 8.
72 ibid.
73 ibid., pp. 11-13.
74 ibid., p. 14.
75 ibid., p. 18.
Audio Visual Publicity:

For this type of publicity Indian missions maintain libraries. They include 16 mm and 35 mm. projectors, cinema vans, Radio-receiving sets, gramophone records of Indian classical and popular music, art calendars and photographs.

Films are subtitled in Arabic, English, French and Spanish depending on the requirements of the region. Various reports of the Ministry enlist the numbers of gramophone records supplied to different Indian missions and posts. They in turn, use them for lending to broadcasting corporations or for presentation to municipal libraries, universities and local dignitaries.

Exhibition and Cultural Work:

In important world capitals, photographic exhibitions are organised. Photographs and slides are used by the missions to show development activities, cultural and social efforts and subjects of topical interest. Some of these exhibitions are of general nature and highlight developmental work in the country, whereas the others may be on specialized

76 ibid., p. 20. Upto March 1981 there were 116 such libraries with a total number of 19,967 documentary films.

77 ibid., p. 26.

78 ibid., pp. 29-30.
themes. Missions are also provided with other visual materials for participating in local exhibitions. They are also asked to cooperate with the various delegations and troupes of Indian artistes to ensure that their performances are a success.

Press Work and Relations with Foreign and Indian Media:

Press Relations Section of the X.P. Division caters to the needs of visiting foreign journalist and T.V. teams. Here the PIB also comes into the picture. Both foreign and Indian media representatives are handled. At special occasions like elections, state and official visits, international conferences, etc., this work has to be done at a bigger scale. Under this type of task, the Division gives temporary and permanent accreditation to foreign journalists; provides full or local hospitality to journalists visiting as guests of Government of India; grants permission to television teams; arranges interviews with the Prime Minister; provides facilities to Indian journalists going abroad; and makes special arrangements during international conferences.

To take care of deliberate or mischievous slant in the reporting by foreign media including the items based on the despatches by foreign correspondents based in India, the X.P. Division brings it to the notice of the correspondents based

79 ibid., pp. 30-32.
80 ibid., pp. 33ff.
in New Delhi. The Diplomatic missions try to bring it to the notice of concerned publication. They are given the correct factual position. The missions also try to give the correct perspective by meeting the editorial management of the publication if there is any unfavourable interpretation of Indian policies in their coverage. 81

X.P. Division also issues Press Releases which are used by Indian and Foreign media representatives, transmission unit of the Division and the All India Radio. 82

The World Press Review bulletins issued as a daily service by the X.P. Division is based on telex messages, cables, press clippings etc. received from the missions abroad. It contains news comments and editorial articles in the foreign Press, which are of interest to India. 83

From the feedback point of view World Press Reviews are of immense value. Depending on these comments, the informational activities in a particular country or a region may be reoriented and the earlier work can be evaluated. It can also be found out if there are any special reasons for unfavourable reporting or if it is only due to misinformation. Whatever may be the finding, attempts can be made to rectify the mistakes and make things more favourable.

81 ibid., p. 38.
Indian missions send a large number of press clippings for analysis and future reference. This is in addition to the World Press Review, which is also based on telexes, cable and despatches from Indian missions. This is an important work as far as monitoring and analysis of the reportings in the global media is concerned.

**Liaison with other Departments: External Services of the All India Radio:**

We have already gone into the need and details of the External Service Broadcasts. What needs to be mentioned here is the exact nature of publicity being carried out by the External Services Division. According to a brochure brought out by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, "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. A news bulletin and a commentary form an essential part of everyday service."\(^{34}\)

It has been felt that liaison with the AIR has not been adequate in the past. But, with the system of fortnightly
meetings with the External Services of AIR in which broad
guidelines are conveyed with regard to specific matters of
topical interest, things seem to be better organized. The
X.P. Division has also undertaken to supply the ESD with
press clippings from abroad for the latter's reference pur-
poses. 85

The X.P. Division also goes into the transcripts of the
External Service Broadcasts. Their perusal is with the ob-
jective of offering suggestions for improvement. If there
are any particular problems pointed out by missions abroad,
they are brought to the notice of the AIR for necessary recti-

Mostly the complaints regarding the External Services
broadcasts are about their poor technical quality. Its beams
are alleged to be inaudible even in the periphery of India,
which is in sharp contrast to the radio beams of others
neighbouring countries. 87

Apart from maintaining liaison with the Department of
Culture and Indian Council for Cultural Relations in organis-
ing and ensuring adequate publicity to the tours of Indian
artistes, the X.P. Division sends publicity material produced
by other departments to Indian Missions. These departments

85  MEA, n. 2, p. 40.
86  ibid.
87  Indian Institute of Mass Communication, n. 19, p. 4.
are ITDC, DAVP, Trade Development Authority and other Public Sector undertakings and Ministry of Commerce, Education and other Government Departments. 88

Foregoing description briefly gives us an idea about the present-day official structure dealing with Indian external publicity and the general techniques that are applied by them for the same.

By incorporating in this study a description of the present official machinery and its conscious ways of influencing the non-official channels, it is not being ignored that the period of our study is only up to the beginning of 1966. It is true that the ideas regarding publicity and propaganda were still being shaped when the Kashmir question needed immediate attention. It was referred to the UN Security Council in 1948. That was the time when Nehru was talking about the need to bring external publicity under the Ministry of External Affairs. 89 Setting up of the External Publicity Division in 1958 followed the second phase of discussions on Kashmir which began in January 1957. Similarly Press Relations Section was set up in 1958. 90 Pillai Committee had submitted its Report in 1966 which had very vital and important suggestions for the reorganisation of the Ministry of

88 MEA, n. 2, p. 41.
89 op. cit., n. 6.
90 op.cit., n. 14
External Affairs and the X.P. Division.\(^9\) It means that the publicity work got better organized after the period of active propaganda on Kashmir was over.

The later developments and reorganizations indicate two important points. First, quite a lot of organizational and conceptual sophistication was lacking while handling the Kashmir question. Secondly, even the facilitative channels which can be availed of today, were not available to India in the 1950's and 1960's.

Another important aspect of the later developments should also be kept in mind. This is regarding the lessons one learns from past experiences. Here also we can say that the past experiences, including that on Kashmir must have also provided certain valuable insights into the "do's and don't's" of persuasive communication. Realisation of organizational and other deficiencies and the efforts to rectify them are important because analysis of contemporary history can not close its eyes to the factors of continuity and change. This understanding is very important for an issue like Kashmir which has been as much in the realm of publicity and propaganda as in reality. In order to ascertain India's specific propaganda goals and objectives on this issue we need to go into the details of the Kashmir question in the next chapter.

\(^9\) op.cit., n. 16.