Chapter Seven

MISSIONS AND POSTS ABROAD
I

The nature, functions, organization and working of Indian missions and posts abroad are similar to those of other countries, and are on the lines of well-established international regulations and practices. (1) The missions and posts of India abroad form the frontline of the Ministry of External Affairs when it acts in relation to other countries and international organizations, though in cases where the Ministry transacts business through representatives of other countries accredited to India the headquarters of the Ministry itself may be said to be its own frontline. (2) The scope of functions performed

(1) The term 'Mission' generally means an Indian representation abroad under the charge of a full fledged diplomatic Head of Mission. Indian posts abroad are under the supervision and general administrative control of the Head of Mission in the country concerned and are not fully independent.


by the missions covers the entire complex of 'foreign relations.' As in the case of other countries, Indian missions and posts are also of various kinds like diplomatic missions, consular posts, delegations to international organizations and the like. There are, at present, 128 missions and posts of India established abroad. (3) In general, the nature and problems of organization of these missions and posts are similar to those in other countries, but the special circumstances relating to their origin and growth have led to the creation of certain special problems.

(3) See Appendix I-D: List of Indian missions and posts abroad (as on 1 April 1962).
II

Functions of missions and posts

Harold Nicolson points out that the nature of functions of an envoy fall under two headings: reporting to the home government, and negotiating with the government of the country where the mission is located. (4) The major functions of Indian missions and posts abroad are also no different. (5)

The missions and posts are required to send periodic reports to the government on all matters of interest and importance in the relations between the Government and people of India and of the country where the mission/post is located. The reports may deal with political, commercial, economic or other similar developments in the foreign country. The reports should also be naturally in the context of the special interests which India might have in its relations with the country. Such reporting is to be made periodically - monthly, quarterly and annual. Besides, the head of mission may also send special reports on specific matters or developments, on his own initiative or on request from the Ministry. For example, at the time of the Suez and Hungarian crises in October 1956 and the succeeding months, according to the Prime Minister, almost daily reports were being sent by the Indian missions in Washington, London,


(5) See Appendix XIII: Detailed list of functions entrusted to missions and posts abroad.
Moscow, Belgrade, Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Berne, Vienna and some other places. Reports were being sent by other missions also, though less frequently. (6)

The negotiating functions of a mission are also related to any matter of interest in the relations between the two countries. It might deal with treaties, agreements and conventions of a political character or with questions relating to financial assistance, training facilities, industrial collaboration, etc. with foreign governments and institutions or with matters pertaining to trade, air, cultural or other agreements, or with matters related to shipping, Indian interests in the country, foreign exchange difficulties etc. or with any one of the innumerable matters which might arise in the nature of relations between India and other countries or international organizations.

Reporting and negotiating may also involve the function of advising. The head of the mission/post not only seeks to keep the headquarters of the Ministry abreast of all facts relating to the country, but also advises it on the best course of policy to be adopted. The references to policy might involve not only questions affecting the two countries directly, but also matters of international importance. The reporting, negotiating and advising functions of the missions/posts are of great help to the Cabinet, the Minister and the Ministry in the

(6) Statement by Prime Minister Nehru, Lok Sabha Debates, 9 (1956) col. 375.
formulation of policy. The Ministry may also have other sources of information such as the reports of the intelligence services, Commonwealth consultation, memoranda or notes prepared by the Historical Division and the like. (7) But as the views and opinions of persons who maintain direct contacts with persons and events in the foreign country and on account of the special training and experience which these officials acquire in the course of their work the reports from missions and posts are of great value to the Ministry in the formulation of policy. As Harold Nicolson points out, the "Ambassador in a foreign capital must always be the main source of information, above all the interpreter, regarding political conditions, trends and opinions in the country in which he resides." (8) It must be on his reports that the government bases its decisions upon policy. Through the exercise of the functions of negotiating, reporting and advising the missions and posts also become participants in the policy-making process. Similarly, in

(7) Though not possibly on the same regular basis as in the Commonwealth, friendly governments keep themselves mutually informed of developments and views in all parts of the world. For example, at the time of the Hungarian crisis, the inadequacy of Indian representation at Budapest was sought to be made up partially by the Ministry with the information supplied by other countries like U.S.A., Canada, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and some others. /Lok Sabha Debates, 9 (1956) col. 375./ This was particularly important with regard to Yugoslavia with which the supply of information and mutual appraisals of the situation were made more frequently than with any other countries. /Statement by Prime Minister Nehru, ibid., col. 582-3./

executing policy, the missions are in a position to exercise a limited degree of initiative and discretion, which also provides them with a further opportunity to take part in the foreign policy process.

The degree of influence which an envoy or a mission might exercise in regard to policy matters will vary with persons, places and situations. Envoys who enjoy high personal standing or those who are in the confidence of the foreign minister and the government will naturally be able to exercise a greater degree of influence than others. It has been said that V. K. Krishna Menon as India's High Commissioner in London was able to a great extent to influence Prime Minister Nehru to arrive at the decision on India's membership of the Commonwealth. (9) K. M. Panikkar as India's Ambassador in Peking is said to have been influential to a considerable degree in shaping India's foreign policy towards Communist China during the early years - on the questions of recognizing the new regime, Tibet and the Korean War. (10) In this case, the fact that the Ambassador had the advantage to be in Peking


during the transitional period of the fall of the Nationalist Government and the establishment of the People's Republic gave his reports and advices a unique value. This was also true in the case of the Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union in the period after the death of Stalin. The Indian Ambassador to Soviet Union during these years was K. P. S. Menon who had the advantage of having been in Moscow during the last few years of Stalin, the transitional years of Malenkov and Bulganin and the first years of liberalisation under Khrushchov. By general opinion, his assessment of the changing patterns in the Soviet Union during these years influenced considerably the formulation of Indian policy towards these developments. (11) The direct and first-hand reports from an able envoy is of inestimable value to the government in formulating policies with regard to developments abroad, particularly when events often move with such baffling complexity and unpredictable direction that the headquarters of the Ministry is in no secure position to make policy without the help of these direct and first hand reports.

The reporting, negotiating and advising functions of missions and posts cover the entire sphere of relations between the two countries - political, economic, commercial, military etc.

(11) K. P. S. Menon was India's Ambassador to the Soviet Union for a total period of nearly nine years, from 1952 to 1961 - the longest record for any head of Indian mission at the same station. His experiences during his years in the Soviet Union have been published recently. The book is not written in the form of a political diary, though glimpses of the author's thinking on these questions are available in it. K. P. S. Menon, Russian Panorama (London, 1962).
They may cover relations not only with official sources, but also with non-official sources like private industrial organizations, philanthropic and cultural institutions, organs of public opinion like the press, television, radio and the like. The art of representing the country at a foreign capital calls for the maintenance of friendly social relations with a large number of people. This in itself constitutes a new function - the social and representational. The social and representational duties form a necessary part of the official duties of the representatives abroad.
Nature of Missions and Posts

On the basis of the differences in the nature of functions that they are called upon to perform, the missions and posts abroad may be broadly classified under four heads: diplomatic missions, consular posts, delegations to international organizations, and miscellaneous. The establishment of these different types of missions and posts abroad are broadly on the lines of general international practices. It does not, however, mean that the specialization of functions by each type of mission/post is absolute and rigid. Diplomatic missions always handle a good deal of non-political work, while the consular, commercial and other non-diplomatic posts may perform political work whenever needs arise.

(i) Diplomatic Missions: A diplomatic mission is the main mission set up in a foreign country. It is in overall charge of the entire spectrum of relations between the two countries. It is also responsible for the general administrative control and co-ordination of work of all the subordinate posts set up in the same country. Where they are in existence the diplomatic missions are responsible for all negotiations on treaties and agreements of a political or non-political nature between the two countries. Moreover, all political matters arising in the course of the relationship between the two countries are also under the exclusive responsibility of the diplomatic missions.
As it is always the central or federal government that is exclusively responsible for foreign affairs, diplomatic missions are always established at the seat of the central government of the country, while consular and other establishments are set up in provincial capitals, industrial and commercial centres, seaports etc. The diplomatic mission deals only with the central government. Even when it wishes to take up a question with a provincial or local authority, it does so through the central government of the country or through its own subordinate post in that area, if there is any.

The opening of a diplomatic mission in a foreign country might be based on political, commercial, consular or other considerations. It follows an agreement between the two governments. The establishment of missions are made on reciprocal basis. Under such agreements, envoys of corresponding status are appointed at the two capitals and the missions are set up.

At the time of the formation of the Interim Government in September 1946 Indian representatives had been appointed in thirteen countries. (12) Of these, only the Permanent Representative at the United Nations had any diplomatic status. The Agent-General in Washington had, however, the diplomatic rank of Counsellor in the British Embassy there. During the period of the Interim Government, i.e. from September 1946 to August 1947, ten more representatives were appointed. All of

(12) See Appendix I-A: List of Indian missions/posts until the advent of Interim Government.
them, including the thirteen already appointed, assumed semi-
diplomatic or consular status. (13) Since then more than fifty
missions have been established in various countries. The total
strength of Indian diplomatic missions is at present 81. (14)

The establishment of diplomatic relations with a country
entails certain mutual obligations and is in itself an important
act of foreign policy. For example, India has not given formal
diplomatic recognition to the two Vietnam States or to the German
Democratic Republic (East Germany), though political, commercial
and other contacts exist with them. Similarly, India has given
diplomatic recognition to Israel, though diplomatic relations
have not been established with it. These have been due to
political reasons. (15) Diplomatic missions have not also been
set up in a number of other countries due to reasons of finance,
shortage of personnel etc.

Since independence, there have been two instances when
diplomatic relations were severed with foreign countries and the
missions were withdrawn. The first instance was that of the
withdrawal of the Indian Legation from Lisbon in June 1953 and the

(13) See Appendix I-B: List of names of countries where
India had its representatives and their status during the period
of the Interim Government.

(14) As on 1 April 1962. See Appendix I-D: List of
Indian missions and posts abroad.

(15) See, K. P. Misra, "India's policy of recognition of
States and Governments," American Journal of International Law
severing of direct relations between the Governments of India and Portugal in August 1955. (16) Since then, Indian interests in Portugal have been looked after by UAR and Portuguese interests in India by Brazil. The second instance was the closing down of the office of the Indian High Commissioner in Capetown in the Union (now Republic) of South Africa with effect from 1 July 1954 on the request of the South African Government. Contact between the two governments have since been maintained either directly or through the High Commissioners of the two countries in London. (17)

(16) The Indian Legation in Lisbon was established in 1949 "in the hope that this would facilitate an early negotiated settlement of the future of the Portuguese possessions in India," but due to the consistent Portuguese refusal to discuss the matter India decided to withdraw the Indian Legation in Lisbon in June 1953. /Announcement by Government of India on 10 June 1953. See The Hindu (Madras) 11 June 1953./ This did not however amount to breaking off diplomatic relations. The Portuguese Legation in New Delhi and the Indian Consulate-General in Goa continued. On the request of the Government of India the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi was withdrawn on 8 August 1955. Indian Consulate-General in Goa and Portuguese Consular establishments in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were also closed down with effect from 1 September 1955. /For text of notes demanding the closure and the Portuguese communique, see The Hindu, 20 August 1955 and 21 August 1955./

(17) An Indian Agent was appointed in South Africa as early as 1927. He was designated as Indian High Commissioner in 1941, but his functions were limited to looking after the interests of Indian emigrants to South Africa. In May 1946, the Indian High Commissioner was 'recalled for consultations,' after which a High Commissioner was not sent to the Union. In July 1946, trade relations with South Africa were severed. It was announced in New Delhi on 25 June 1954 that the Indian Government had agreed, at the request of the South African Government, to close down the office of the Indian High Commissioner in Cape Town as from 1 July 1954.

For texts of the aide mémoire exchanged between the two Governments on this question see The Hindu, 26 July 1954.
In accordance with general international practices Indian missions are also classified as Embassies, High Commissions and Legations. As on 1 April 1962 India had sixty-three Embassies, twelve High Commissions and five Legations. (18) Besides, there is also the Permanent Mission of India at the United Nations. During the early years of independence, primarily due to considerations of economy, India had established a number of Legations, but since then they have mostly been upgraded as Embassies. Again, primarily as an economy measure the practice of concurrent accreditation of heads of missions has also been widely resorted to. Of the total number of eighty Indian diplomatic missions abroad at present (excluding the UN Mission) twenty-nine have heads of missions resident in other capitals. (19)

The size and cost of missions also varies considerably from each other. The Indian High Commission in London is the biggest of all and is in a class by itself. Its functions exceed much more than that of a normal diplomatic mission. It has been stated that "it is in a way a microcosm of the whole

(18) Embassies and High Commissions do not basically differ from each other in status or functions. High Commissions are diplomatic missions of one Commonwealth country in another. A Legation is a diplomatic mission of lower status than an Embassy or High Commission. Embassies are headed by Ambassadors; High Commissions by High Commissioners who have the same rank as Ambassadors; and Legations by Ministers.


See also Appendix I-D.

(19) See Appendix I-D. The question of concurrent accreditation is further discussed below in section VI.
government of India, for it includes representatives of nearly half the Ministries of the Government of India." (20) It employs about 1,200 people. The expenditure of the Ministry of External Affairs alone on the High Commission amounts at present to nearly Rs. 7 million an year. (21) A number of other Ministries in the Government of India also maintain sections and officers attached to the High Commission. Their expenditure is appropriated from the budget allotments to the Ministries concerned. The functions of the High Commission range from normal diplomatic, consular and other duties to the purchase of stores for the Government of India. (22) The total amount under "Charges in England" covering the expenditure of the entire establishment was Rs. 26.9 millions. The Indian Embassy in Washington comes next to the London High Commission in size and cost. Its annual expenditure, including that of the Information Services comes to nearly Rs. 3.5 million an year. The High Commission at Karachi is the third biggest mission in expenditure and spends nearly Rs. 23 lakhs an year. Besides, the office of the Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca accounts for an expenditure of about Rs. 18 lakhs an year. Indian missions at the UN, Peking, Paris, Moscow, Kathmandu, Cairo, Bonn, Colombo etc.

(20) H. Dayal, "The Organization of Diplomatic and Consular Services, with special reference to India," India Quarterly (New Delhi) 12 (July-September 1956) 277.


(22) The organization of the London High Commission is discussed further in the succeeding section.
are some of the more expensive of Indian diplomatic missions abroad. Smaller missions abroad like the Indian missions at Santiago, Rio-de-Janeiro, Oslo, Morocco, Mexico, Khartoum, Addis Ababa etc. are much smaller compared to the above and spend amounts ranging from Rs. 2.5 lakhs to Rs. 4 lakhs an year. (23)

(ii) Consular Establishments: The consular establishments are primarily concerned with consular work. As in the case of diplomatic missions, the establishment of consular posts follows specific agreements with each country. Compared to Britain and some of the other Western countries India maintains only very few consular establishments. They are mostly in Asian countries. At present, India maintains twenty-seven consular establishments in all. (24) There might be one or more consular establishments in the same country and none in some. For example, at present there are two consular establishments in China - Shanghai and Lhasa; two in the United States of America - New York and San Francisco; five in Germany - Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich and Stuttgart; and two in Indonesia - Sourabaya and Medan. (25)

(23) These figures are based on the Budget Estimates for 1960-61.

(24) See Appendix I-D. The two consular establishments in China have since been wound up.

(25) Besides the three consular establishments in China, there are also three Trade Agencies in Tibet - Gyantse, Gartok, and Yatung. The consular and trade establishments in China have since been wound up. Of the five consular offices in Germany two are headed by Honorary Consuls. See Appendix I-D.
Consular establishments are usually situated at provincial capitals, ports or trade-centres. But in cases where no diplomatic missions have been set up and only consular establishments are in existence the latter might be situated in the main capital itself. (26) Consular work in the capital city is looked after by the main diplomatic mission itself.

A consulate is primarily responsible for consular work, but it also performs a limited political work. Consular establishments in a country are under the general control of the main mission and, therefore, come to share a part of the general work of the mission. Being at provincial capitals which are away from the capital, they are in a better position to assess directly the political trends in their area of location and report on them to the head of the principal mission. Reports on economic, consular and other matters of interest are also regularly sent to the head of mission. In certain instances the consuls might perform political functions other than reporting, such as negotiating on matters of political importance. They are called political consuls. The Consul-General at Lhasa had, for example, been performing important political functions in reporting about the political developments in Tibet and in maintaining contacts and conducting negotiations with the local authorities.

(26) For example, Hanoi (Vietnam North) and Saigon (Vietnam South). Honorary Consuls may, however, be appointed in the main capital itself even when the main diplomatic mission exists there e.g. Helsinki and Athens.
There are also instances when a consulate might be performing direct political work. This happens, for example, when formal diplomatic relations have not been established with a country, though political relations exist between two countries. The Consulates-General at Hanoi and Saigon in North and South Vietnams are of this kind. Some of the consular establishments in trust or non-self-governing territories which are fast approaching the status of independent countries also perform political functions of this type.

A few consular establishments are headed by locally-engaged honorary consular officials. At present, India has four Honorary Consuls-General - in Copenhagen, Munich and Stuttgart and Athens. The practice of appointing Honorary Consuls has been resorted to by Britain also. (27)

As in the case of diplomatic missions, consular establishments also vary in status and size according to their importance. These are mainly of three kinds: Consulates-General, Consulates and Vice-Consulates, headed respectively by Consuls-General, Consuls and Vice-Consuls. Of the total number of twenty-seven consular establishments at present, seventeen are Consulates-General, five are Consulates and five Vice-Consulates. (28) Some of the consular establishments are bigger than most Embassies. The Consulate-General in New York is the biggest consular establishment of India, the annual expenditure

(27) Strang and others, n. 2, 61-2.
(28) See Appendix I-D.
on it being nearly Rs. 11 lakhs. Some of these consular establishments like the Vice-Consulates at Jalalabad, Kandahar, Mandalay, Zahidan etc. and Consulates at Medan, Sourabaya etc. cost less than Rs. 1 lakh each an year. (29)

(iii) Delegations to International Organizations: Diplomacy by conference, as Lord Hankey called it, became an important method of international relations in the years after the end of World War I. (30) It has assumed a very vital part of the diplomacy of nations particularly after the end of World War II. The birth of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization played a very important role in this development. India's association with international organizations begins mainly with the birth of the League of Nations of which she was an original member. (31) India is similarly an original member of the United Nations and of its various Specialized Agencies and associated bodies. She is also similarly associated with a large number of other international organizations and conferences. (32)

(29) These figures are based on the budget estimates for 1960-61.


(31) A brief account of India's earlier relations with international organizations was given above in Chapters I and II.

(32) See Appendix III: List of international organizations of which India was a member in 1961-62.
Delegations to international bodies can be of a permanent or of an ad hoc character. The only permanent mission of India to an international organization is at the United Nations. (33) It is responsible for the conduct of Indian diplomacy in the United Nations. Its functions are, therefore, as much political as of diplomatic missions to particular countries. It performs the reporting and negotiating functions like any one of them. In fact, its functions have a much larger scope than those of a diplomatic mission. It deals with a large variety of problems. It has also a larger volume of negotiating and reporting functions to perform. Lord Strang points out that the negotiating functions performed by a diplomatic mission to a foreign country and the delegation to an international organization differ in wide respects. In the former case, it is largely bilateral, while it is multilateral in the latter; written communications play a considerable part in one while the other is largely oral; the volume of negotiating work is much less in the case of the first than it is in the case of the second. (34) There is also difference in the nature of work of other delegations to

(33) The Ambassador to Belgium also represents India in negotiations with the European Common Market headquarters at Brussels and may be said to be accredited to the ECM. The headquarters of the Food and Agriculture Organization is at Rome and the Indian Embassy here has an Agricultural Attache. Similarly, the headquarters of the International Labour Organization is at Geneva and the Indian Consulate-General at Geneva has a Labour Attache on its staff.

(34) Strang and others, n. 2, 141-2.
international organizations and conferences. They have less representational and ceremonial work, greater intimacy and fellow-feeling with corresponding members of delegations from other countries, a greater sense of positive achievement and therefore satisfaction from the work etc. (35)

While India's permanent delegations to international organizations is limited to the one at UN Headquarters, the British Foreign Office maintains at least eight such permanent missions, though some of them may be described as limited to specific areas. (36) Britain's association with a number of European organizations is primarily responsible for this. India's policy of keeping aloof from international associations of a defensive or military character is also a further factor for the smaller number of such Indian missions.

Besides the Permanent Mission at the UN, there are also innumerable international organizations and conferences of which India is a member or participant and to which ad hoc delegations are sent. In 1961-62, India was a member of seventy-two international organizations and participated in a number of

(35) Ibid., 143-5.

(36) These are to the United Nations, New York; United Nations European Office, Geneva; North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, Paris; O.E.C.D., Paris; Council of Europe Strasbourg (the British Consul-General at Strasbourg bears the personal rank of the Permanent Representative); Brussels Treaty Organisation, Brussels; Disarmament Conference, Geneva.

international conferences. (37) Besides, a large number of political, technical, cultural, trade, economic and other delegations and missions were sent to foreign countries. The ad hoc delegations are sent on specific questions of a political, economic, cultural, commercial or other similar character and may consist of officials and/or non-officials. They are briefed by the Ministries concerned. Their status at the conferences is that of the representatives of the Government of India. This may endow their activities with a representative and, therefore, political importance, even when the nature of the organization or conference is non-political and technical. The size of the missions and the delegations to international organizations varies from one another considerably. The office of the Indian Delegation at New York is bigger than that of most embassies. In expenditure, it is exceeded only by the High Commissions in London and Karachi and the Embassy in Washington, the annual expenditure for 1960-61 being estimated at nearly Rs. 18 lakhs. Ad hoc delegations to large conferences like the General Session of UNESCO are necessarily larger than those to less important conferences.

(iv) Miscellaneous: Besides the three types of missions noted above, there are also a number of other missions which perform important political, economic, commercial or other functions. There are, however, differences in the nature of their designation, organization and functions.

(37) See Appendix II.
(a) **Special Missions:** The two Special Missions to Bhutan and Sikkim come under a separate category. (38) These states lying on the northern borders of India are in 'special treaty relations with India,' under which India is responsible for their foreign relations, defence and certain other matters. Relations with them have acquired special importance in view of political, strategic and other factors. The two missions are kept under the charge of a Political Officer appointed from the foreign service. His office is located at Gangtok in Sikkim.

(b) **Commissions:** In a different class altogether are the Commissions established in a number of non-self-governing territories under British administration. There are nine such Commissions today headed by commissioners. (39) The Commissions were established under special agreement with the British Government. India has a special interest in these territories on account of the large number of Indians and people of Indian origin residing in them. (40) The Commissions are not supposed to have political functions, but have come to assume some political importance on account of the rapid political developments taking

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(38) Sometimes, as for example, in the annual Reports of the Ministry of External Affairs, the Permanent Mission to the United Nations is also classified as a Special Mission.

(39) The Commissioners are in Grade IV and V or the Senior Scale of the Indian Foreign Service. Of the nine Commissions three are in Africa, four in Asia, one in Australasia and one in South America. Recently one of these Commissions (Kampala) was upgraded as an Embassy. See Appendix I-D.

place in these territories. They send periodic and special reports on problems relating to the economics, politics and commerce pertaining to the territories. They look after Indian interests in the area and arrange for Indian publicity and cultural activities in them. The Commissions do not, however, enjoy any diplomatic status and are, in this respect, more in the nature of consular establishments than diplomatic missions. With the attainment of independence by a territory the status of the Commission is also changed correspondingly. For example, in 1956 the Commission at Accra was raised to the level of High Commission on the achievement of independence by Ghana.

(c) Trade Commissions and Trade Agencies: The overseas establishments of India also include three Trade Commissions, headed by Trade Commissioners. (41) Their functions are related to the organization of Indian trade in the respective countries. Besides, there were also three Trade Agencies established in Tibet. They were established following the Agreement between India and China of 29 August 1954. Under this agreement China and India were each to have three trade agencies established in each other's territory. Certain privileges were also mutually accorded to the Trade Agents. (42) The Trade Agencies were found to be necessary

(41) The three Trade Commissioners are in the Senior Scale of the Indian Foreign Service. The Trade Commissions are established at Mombasa (East Africa), Sidney (Australia) and Vancouver (Canada). See Appendix I-D.

because of the special type of trade that exists between Tibet and India. On the expiry of the Agreement in 1962 the Trade Agencies were wound up.

(d) **Commissioners-General for Economic Affairs:** Two important overseas missions of a different type from above that were in existence for a short duration till recently were those of the Commissioners-General for Economic Affairs in London and New York. Unlike other missions and posts noted above which are under the administrative control of the External Affairs Ministry, the Commissioners-General were directly responsible to the Ministry of Finance. A Commissioner-General for Economic and Commercial Affairs was first appointed in Paris in 1948. His office was later shifted to London and attached to the Indian High Commission there. He was mainly concerned with seeking external economic assistance for India's development schemes from foreign countries. He was also often deputed to attend international economic conferences on behalf of the country. In 1958, this office was re-designated as the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs in Europe and a second Commissioner-General for America was appointed with headquarters in New York. The Commissioners-General were given Ambassadorial status.

While the working of these establishments produced good results, there were also constant difficulties felt because of the overlapping character of the nature of functions of these officials and the diplomatic envoys to the two countries. This difficulty was particularly present in the case of the Commissioner-General
in New York and the Indian Ambassador in Washington who were reportedly maintaining very strained relations with each other. The situation was a very anomalous one and contrary to general international practice under which the various types of establishments of a government in a foreign country work under the overall control of the head of the principal diplomatic mission there. The maintenance of these separate establishments by the two Ministries was reportedly on account of a sense of rivalry between them.

It was almost as a compromise solution that in 1961 the then incumbent of the office of the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs in New York, B. K. Nehru, was appointed as Ambassador to USA and the post of Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs for America was abolished. (43) A similar arrangement was made with regard to the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs in Europe. After the announcement of the British Government that it would apply for admission to the European Common Market his office was shifted from London to Brussels, the seat of the headquarters of the E.C.M. The Ambassador to Belgium also represents India in the negotiations with the European Common Market. (44)

(43) B. K. Nehru is a member of the Indian Civil Service. He was in the Ministry of Finance before he joined the foreign service as Ambassador.

(44) Shri K. B. Lal, who till his appointment as Ambassador was Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.
Organization of missions and the hierarchy

In the general organization of the missions and posts and of their hierarchy India has followed general international practices. Each mission is under the charge of the head of mission. Embassies are headed by Ambassadors, High Commissions by High Commissioners and Legations by Ministers. (45) The Special Mission at the United Nations Headquarters has the status of an Embassy. The head of this mission is the Permanent Representative of India at the United Nations who has the rank of Ambassador. While the larger missions are headed by Grade-I officers of the Indian Foreign Service, the others are of correspondingly junior ranks.

The head of mission is appointed by the President on the advice of the Minister. The usual procedure in this respect is for the Minister to make his recommendations to the Cabinet which are normally accepted by it. In making the recommendations, however, there would normally be prior consultations between the foreign minister and the Prime Minister. (47) Describing the procedure for the appointment of Ambassadors and other heads of missions the Prime Minister stated,

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(45) For general international practices see Satow, n. 18, Chapter XV.

(46) See Appendix XVL Gradations of heads of missions/posts abroad.

The practice is for Ambassadors, etc. to be chosen by the Foreign Minister in consultation with the Prime Minister. It is not normally a Cabinet appointment but actually, of course, individual members of the Cabinet and others are consulted. (48)

The combination so far of the offices of the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs in India has made such consultations between the foreign minister and the Prime Minister unnecessary and has endowed the present incumbent with a greater personal discretion in this respect than what would have been the case otherwise.

The Ministry keeps a running list of persons whom it considers suitable for such appointments. If the appointment concerns one of the less important Embassies, the appointment is made from the career service itself. The Foreign Service Board constituted of the three Secretaries and other senior officials recommends a name to the Minister who would normally accept it. (49)

But if it concerns one of the more important missions as in London, Moscow, Washington and the like, the appointments are usually political though career diplomats must also be appointed. The Prime Minister may have consultations with all or some of his colleagues in the Cabinet and its Committee on Foreign Affairs and makes the selection for appointment. In the meanwhile, the proposal for the appointment is referred to the foreign government concerned for their informal approval. The formal announcement is made simultaneously.

(48) Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, 6 (1948) Part I, 531.

(49) The composition and functions of this Board are discussed in Chapter IX.
from the two capitals. The Protocol Division prepares the credentials and the Commissions of Appointment. It is then duly signed by the President.

No formal qualifications have been prescribed for appointment as Ambassadors. The suitability of a person for a post is related to his general temperament and abilities for the kind of official and social life of an Ambassador, a suitable wife, knowledge of the language of the country or any other advantageous association with it in the past etc. The persons might be officials, retired officials or non-officials. Non-officials are drawn usually from public life, the liberal professions, universities etc. At present, there are twenty-five posts of heads of missions and posts abroad which are kept reserved for non-officials. (50)

A diplomatic appointment normally extends over a period of three years. During the early years after independence they were appointed for one year each, but these were renewable further. (51) In the case of the regular I.F.S. personnel, under the general rules of transfer, the normal term at 'A' and 'B' types of stations is three years, and for stations in 'C' category, two years. (52) But in all these cases the period of

(51) Prime Minister's statement, Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, 6 (1948) Part I, 531.
(52) Indian missions abroad are classified as A, B and C according to the climatic and other living conditions - C being 'hardest' and A, 'least hard.' This classification is mainly for purposes of transfer and postings. This is discussed below. See also Appendix XVI: Categorization of missions and posts.
appointment can be extended. In fact, in the more important missions like Moscow, Peking, Washington, London, etc. there are sometimes advantages in keeping the tenure longer. In certain cases, this appointment has actually remained for very long terms. For example, K. P. S. Menon was India's Ambassador in Moscow for eight years consecutively (1952-1961). Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was High Commissioner in London for seven years (1954-61) and Mr. G. L. Mehta was Ambassador in Washington for six years (1952-58). Opinions have, sometimes, been expressed that no person should be kept in the same Embassy for more than five years; three years in the first instance and two years on renewal. (53)

Before proceeding to his post the head of mission is briefed on the nature and problems of his work. It was, however, stated by persons who had served as Indian representatives abroad that the time allowed and the briefings given to heads of missions when appointed to get acquainted with the duties and responsibilities attaching to particular assignments have been extremely inadequate. (54) Facilities are provided to read the


(54) See evidences given by K. M. Panikkar, Dr. Tara Chand and Jogendra Sen-Mandi and G. L. Mehta before the Estimates Committee, ibid., page 2, para 2; page 6, para 18; page 9, paras 35 and 36; page 14, para 14.
reports of earlier Ambassadors to the country, but 'it was generally assumed that the Ambassador-designate had sufficient political and other background to be able to pick up the work on the spot.' (55)

For periods when the heads of mission is out of station either on leave or gone home for consultation or in the intervening time between the retirement of one person and his replacement by another or when for political reasons a head of mission is recalled for an indefinite period a charge d'Affaires acts as head of mission. This is, however, part of the general practice of diplomatic representation everywhere and nothing peculiar to Indian missions abroad. (56)

The head of mission is in immediate charge of the main diplomatic mission and is resident at the capital of the country. In case of concurrent accreditation he might be residing for most of the time at the seat of the principal mission. The entire staff of the mission, including the specialists for publicity, commercial, military and other matters, work under his general guidance and control. Besides the immediate responsibility for the administration of the diplomatic mission he also exercises general control over all the other subordinate posts in the same country like the information posts, consular

(55) Statement by K. M. Panikkar before Estimates Committee, ibid., page 2, para 2.

(56) Charge d'Affaires themselves are of different kinds - Charge d'Affaires en pied, Charge d'Affaires ad interim, Charge des Affaires, and Charge d'Affaires. For the distinction between these different types see Strang and others, n. 2, 60; Satow, n. 18, 170.
establishments, trade missions and the like. In other words, his responsibilities extend over the entire field of relations between the two countries. Before making any appointment to the main mission or subordinate post the approval of the head of mission is always sought. (57)

As noted above, the instances of the Commissioners-General for Economic Affairs were, however, an exception to this concept of head of mission. At present, the only exception is that of the Ambassador to USA and the Permanent Representative at the United Nations. Though they remain within the geographical precincts of the same country they have the same status and are independent of each other. This is on account of the fact that they are accredited to two entirely independent institutions - the Government of the United States of America and the United Nations.

Below the heads of missions there are usually Ministers, Counsellors and Secretaries arranged in a hierarchy. But due to reasons of economy and shortage of personnel, most Indian missions do not have Ministers and Counsellors. Below the Ministers are the Counsellors. All the more important Embassies and High Commissions have Counsellors on their staff. (58) Many of the

(57) See statement by Prime Minister Nehru, Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, 6 (1948) Part I, 532.

(58) At present, Ministers who are not heads of missions have been appointed only in the UK and USA. Counsellors are more numerous, having been appointed in about fourteen missions. In certain missions like that of UK or UAR there are more than one. The Deputy High Commissioners in the Pakistan and Ceylon Missions are also of the same grade as Counsellors.
Counsellors are usually specialists in the commercial or economic or publicity sections. They advise the head of the missions on matters relating to their special fields and keep themselves in touch with the corresponding Ministries in New Delhi.

In the majority of missions, the Secretaries come next to the head of mission in the hierarchy. They are the First, Second, or Third Secretaries. In small missions there might only be a Second Secretary below the level of the head of mission. The First or Second Secretary who is next to the Ambassador in the hierarchy is the head of chancery. The chancery is 'the actual office of a head of a diplomatic mission, namely his first, second and third secretaries, plus the attendant clerks.' (59) It is the main office of the mission. The head of chancery is the senior-most among the Secretaries and occupies a very central position in the organization of the mission, even when there are more senior officials as specialists attached to the mission. He is in charge of the general administration of the mission. He plays an important role in co-ordinating the work of a chancery and of the specialized members on its staff. He may sometimes be asked to draft the political reports of the mission. (60)

Assisting the First Secretary and in the main line of command in a mission come the Second and/or Third Secretaries.

(59) Nicolson, n. 4, 232.

(60) See Strang and others, n. 2, 104-5.
They are relatively junior members of the higher branch of the foreign service. (61) They might be put in charge of some specialized work in the chancery or, more often, acting in general assistance to the First Secretary. This would depend upon the size of the mission staff, the nature and volume of its work and the assignments made to them by the head of mission and head of chancery. In the smaller missions, these junior officials will have greater opportunities to do the generalised kind of work than in the bigger missions which have a larger organization and where, therefore, work becomes specialized.

Under the level of the Secretaries are the office staff—the Section Officers, Superintendents, Cypher Assistants, Assistants, Stenographers, Typists, Clerks and the messengerial staff. The majority of them are locally recruited—from among the locally resident Indians, if they are available, or from the local population. Those performing the more important and confidential part of the work, are 'India-based,' i.e. to say, recruited in and sent from India. (62) This enables some

(61) Often, probationers under training in foreign countries are designated as Third Secretaries. Junior IFS (A) officers, soon after their training, are appointed as Second Secretaries when they are sent abroad.

(62) Almost all countries have adopted this practice, though the communist countries usually have the entire staff of the chancery home-based. Locally recruited personnel may, however, be employed in the specialized units—as for example, publicity. Other countries are more liberal in the appointment of local population, though care is taken that all confidential type of work is handled only by the home-based personnel.
reduction in expenditure as the locally recruited persons are not entitled to be paid foreign allowances, as in the case of the India-based persons. The regular and non-specialized staff of the mission are engaged in its political work. They are also responsible for the internal administration of the mission. They form, therefore, the core of the mission. Lord Strang says,

Although in recent times the scope of every diplomatic mission's activities has increased enormously by reason of the growing importance of new and technical subjects, economic and other, it is still true to say that at the average mission political questions form the hard core of the work; and those unspecialised members of the staff who deal with political questions are thus in a sense the backbone of the mission. (63)

Attached to the missions, but not belonging to the chancery, are the specialists. They perform functions relating to their specialized fields of work like trade and commerce, education, publicity and cultural affairs, defence etc. They may be members of the foreign service itself or be seconded from other Ministries. At present, apart from the political work, the commercial and information work is also mostly handled by members of the foreign service, while for defence, education etc. they are seconded from the respective

(63) Strang and others, n. 2, 104.
Ministries. (64) Primarily due to reasons of economy other specialists like Labour Attaches, Agricultural Attaches, Scientific Attaches etc. are not usually appointed in Indian missions abroad. (65)

The most numerous among these specialists are those for information and commercial work. In 1961-62, there were fifty Indian Information Units functioning abroad. (66) The information units are headed by specialized officers like the Public Relations Officers/Press Attaches, Assistant Public Relations Officers/Assistant Press Attaches/Information Officers, Assistant Information Officers etc. They organize the external publicity of India in their respective countries. Where there are no branches of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations functioning

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(64) Till June 1948, when the responsibility for external publicity was with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting the Information Officers in the missions belonged to this Ministry. In 1948 external publicity work was taken over by the External Affairs Ministry. The Information Officers engaged in external publicity work and serving at home and abroad, were now constituted into a separate service under the foreign ministry - the Indian Information Service. In 1958 it was decided to abolish the separate service and to amalgamate it with the career foreign service. This is discussed further in Chapter VIII.

(65) The UK mission alone has a Scientific Adviser. The Burma mission has a Labour Welfare Officer. An International Labour Adviser is attached to the Consulate-General in Geneva, which is the seat of the headquarters of the International Labour Organisation. An Agricultural Attache is attached to the Indian Embassy in Rome where the headquarters of the Food and Agriculture Organisation is located.

(66) Appendix I-E: List of Indian Information Units in 1961-62.
in an area they also perform the function of cultural publicity. Till 1948, when the responsibility for external publicity had remained with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, these information units had worked under the control of that Ministry. But since the taking over of the responsibility for external publicity by the Ministry of External Affairs they work directly under the foreign ministry. They work under the general directions of the head of mission.

The specialists for commercial work differ in status and rank in various missions. In a few missions they enjoy the status of Counsellors as in Washington, London and Cairo. But ordinarily they are of lower rank. This is usually determined by the size of the mission and the commercial importance of the country to India. During the pre-independence years, the commercial establishments used to be directly under the control of the Commerce Department. This continued up to 1953, but on the basis of a recommendation by an Estimates Committee of the Parliament in 1953, they were re-organized as ‘Commercial Sections’ of the diplomatic missions. (67) Commercial work is also performed by Trade Commissions and consular establishments.

The specialists from the Defence Services and the Education Ministry are less numerous than others. Only a few missions have specialists from the Defence Ministry like the Military,

(67) Estimates Committee 1960-61, Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Report, n. 1, page 17, para 47.
Navy and Air Attaches and their assistants. (68) There are also specialists from the Education Ministry attached to a few missions. (69)

The functions of the specialists are, in general, to negotiate and to report on matters relating to their respective fields. These are particularly important in matters like commerce and defence. They submit general reports on their work to the Ministry of External Affairs through the head of mission and detailed reports of a technical nature to the respective Ministries to which they belong. Many of them are not career members of the foreign service. They are, however, under the disciplinary and administrative control of the head of mission as long as they serve in it.

The subordinate posts situated in the same country like the consular establishments, Commissions, Trade Missions and Trade Agencies are kept under the charge of an officer of suitable rank. A Consulate-General is under a Consul-General, a Consulate under a Consul, a Trade Commission under a Trade Commissioner, a Commission under a Commissioner and a Trade Agency under a Trade Agent. They are under the general control

(68) The Defence departments in the Washington and London missions are the largest with representatives from all the three wings of the defence forces. Besides, eighteen other missions have also Military, Navy or Air Attaches from the Defence Ministry. Some of them are concurrently accredited.

(69) The Education Department in the London and Washington missions are the largest. They are headed by officers of the rank of First Secretaries. Education officers are also attached to the missions in Bonn and Nairobi.
of the head of the principal mission in respect of their work. They are assisted by the necessary staff, India-based and/or locally recruited.

High Commission of India, London: It was noted above that the Indian High Commission in London is in a class by itself. The functions of this mission are more numerous than that of other Indian missions. It is the largest Indian mission established abroad.

The High Commission is headed by the High Commissioner (Grade I) who is also concurrently accredited as Ambassador to Ireland. Immediately below him is the Deputy High Commissioner who has the diplomatic rank of Minister (Grade II). The High Commission is divided into various departments and sections for the sake of administrative convenience, each department being headed by a senior official, sometimes of the rank of Ministers and Counsellors. (70) For diplomatic work, the usual complement of Secretaries and other foreign service officials are attached to the mission. Each of the departments performs primarily the work of the Ministry from which they are seconded. Special provisions for expenditure in England are made in the appropriations to the different Ministries in the Government of India. The specialized departments in the High Commission are in this sense something like the London offices of the respective Ministries. The Accounts Department is thus related to the Indian Audits and Accounts Department, the Education department to the Ministry of

(70) See Appendix XVII-A: Officer-strength of the High Commission of India, London.
Education, the Commerce department to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the India Stores department to the Directorate-General of Supplies and Disposals in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, the Tourist Office to the Department of Tourism in the Ministry of Transport and Communications etc.

The different Ministries have found it necessary to maintain these overseas units because of the large volume of business that they transact in the United Kingdom. For example, the Commerce department in the High Commission is an expanded version of the commercial sections in other missions, the large organization necessitated by the very large volume of trade between the two countries. (71) The Education department has been set up on account of the very large number of Indian students undergoing higher study and training in British Universities and other institutions. The India Stores department makes all purchase, inspection and supply of stores required for Government Departments in India. Some of the departments like the Consular, Political and Establishment, and the Information Services of India are directly under the External Affairs Ministry and are manned by foreign service personnel.

(71) UK has been the largest single trading partner of India for years. According to the figures for 1960, UK accounted for nearly 20% of India's total imports and 27.4% of its total exports.

The administration of these departments is carried on in the same way as that of specialists in any other mission. The High Commissioner has the overall authority and responsibility, though each department maintains direct contacts with the respective ministry at home. Each of the departments is headed by a senior officer seconded from the corresponding Ministry at home and paid out of its own budget allotments. These officials are assisted by other officials drawn from the respective Ministries. Belonging directly to the chancery are the Deputy High Commissioner who has the rank of Minister; the Counsellor (Political), Principal Private Secretary etc. There are also besides the Legal Adviser, the Communications Adviser, the Railway Adviser, the Medical Adviser, the Financial Adviser and the Scientific Adviser and Scientific Liaison Officer attached to the High Commission.

The functions of the Financial Adviser are particularly noteworthy in this respect. He is attached to the High Commission from the Ministry of Finance. He has functions similar to that of the Financial Adviser to the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi. His appointment was found necessary on account of the large sums spent by and through the High Commission. He exercises control over the spending of money by the High Commission. The High Commissioner is given certain specified powers in respect of spending money which are higher than that of heads of missions in other countries. In financial matters the High Commissioner usually acts only in consultation with the Financial Adviser. In case of disagreement between the Financial Adviser and the High
Commissioner, the matter is referred to the Government of India for final orders, though in exceptional circumstances where the High Commissioner considers that action cannot be suspended without detriment to government interests he might take action and then report the full facts to the home government.

The Embassy of India in Washington is the second largest Indian mission abroad. The mission is headed by the Ambassador (Grade I). The chancery consists of the Minister (Political) and various Secretaries. As in the case of the London mission the Embassy is divided into different departments headed by senior officials who are career foreign service officers or are seconded from other Ministries. (72) The organization of work by these departments is similar to that in the London High Commission.

Other missions and posts abroad are also similarly organized, though on much smaller scales. The Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations in New York is, however, in a different category. As noted earlier, it is the only Indian mission abroad accredited to an international organization and not to a government. The mission is headed by the Permanent Representative with the rank of Ambassador (Grade I). Immediately under him is the Counsellor (Grade V). The mission has a unit

(72) See Appendix XVII-B: Officer-strength in the Embassy of India, Washington.
of the Information Services of India attached to it. Besides the usual establishment for administration there are also two Assistant Research Officers appointed to the mission. (73) The Permanent Mission, as noted earlier, is one of the largest of Indian missions abroad.

(73) See Appendix XVII-C: Officer-strength in the Permanent Mission of India at the United Nations, New York.
Working of missions and posts abroad and problems of co-ordination

(1) Headquarters - Field Relationship: In the working of the missions and posts the major problem of administration is that of headquarters - field relationship. The headquarters of the Ministry should keep the missions and posts informed of developments at home and of all policy matters if they are to perform their representative function efficiently. The missions and posts, in turn, should report to the headquarters on all developments in their respective countries for the most effective formulation of policy at home.

The missions are kept informed of developments at home through circulars and instructions from the External Affairs Ministry. The diplomatic missions pass on the necessary information to the subordinate posts in the country. All Ministries in the Government of India have been directed to forward every month to the Ministry of External Affairs 'a note describing such of its activities as are likely to be of interest to the Indian Missions abroad.' These notes are consolidated and forwarded to the missions by the External Affairs Ministry. A copy is also sent to the Cabinet Secretariat. (74) The Ministry also sends instructions and circulars to the missions and posts on matters of policy and keep them, thereby, informed of Indian policy on important international developments. The various missions may

also send information to each other regarding developments in their respective countries, but such correspondence is limited to matters of information only. Efficiency in the working of missions is naturally related considerably to this flow of information, instructions and advice between the headquarters and the missions and posts.

It has been pointed out that the flow of directions and instructions from headquarters to missions is not adequate. According to K. M. Panikkar 'there were no general or specific instructions within the framework of which a Head of the Mission was required to function. Ambassadors have to be guided by the general policy of the Government of building up friendship, non-alignment and international co-operation. No detailed instructions were given to Ambassadors.' (75) In the experience of Dr. Tara Chand, Ambassadors had to guide themselves with the speeches of the Prime Minister and the statements made in Parliament. (76)

The missions are required to send regular reports to the Ministry on political, commercial, economic, publicity and administrative matters. Ad hoc reports might also be called for on special occasions or on specific questions by the Ministry.

(75) Evidence before the Estimates Committee, Estimates Committee 1960-61, Minutes of Sittings relating to the Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Report, n. 53, pages 2 and 3, para 5.

K. M. Panikkar was India's Ambassador to China (1948-'52), Egypt (1952-'53) and France (1956-'59).

(76) Ibid., page 6, para 20.

Dr. Tara Chand was Indian Ambassador to Iran from 1951 to 1956.
The heads of missions may also send special despatches on any matter which they consider important. The political reports are prepared by the head of mission who is assisted by the chancery. The specialists attached to the missions send detailed reports of a technical nature to the respective Ministries concerned with them. The function of reporting is one of the most important performed by the missions and posts. These reports form an essential and vital source of information and advice to the different Ministries in the formulation of policy.

It has been pointed out that the present system of reporting from the missions is not entirely satisfactory. One important defect of the present system is that no systematic training has been given to the personnel serving in missions to perform the function of reporting efficiently. Reporting is an essentially technical job and requires specially developed skill of a high order. According to K. M. Panikkar, except in the UK and USA Missions, there was inadequate staff to perform this function satisfactorily. He suggested that in order to assist the Ambassador in his high level reporting work separate reporting Counsellors should be posted in the major Embassies. He also wanted a specialized officer who was well-equipped in modern economic, industrial and scientific problems to be attached to each mission to report on such developments. (77) The Special Secretary to the Ministry, however, thought that while there

(77) Ibid., pages 10-11, paras 2 and 3.
should be a Counsellor in every mission, it was neither necessary nor desirable to have special reporting Counsellors. In all major missions there were already specialists of the rank of Counsellors, who could deal with such problems. He pointed out that an additional Counsellor in a mission would cost about Rs. 5,000 a month. The IFS probationers attached for training purposes to the important missions could also be allotted such official duties by the Ambassador. (78) The Estimates Committee, felt, however, that "neither the I.F.S. probationers nor the existing Counsellors may be adequately equipped for such special work requiring a certain amount of scientific and economic background." To the Committee, the need for such specialist staff in some of the important missions seemed to be fully justified. (79)

The reports from missions and posts are dealt with at "appropriate levels in the Ministry and decisions on those relating to political matters were taken at fairly high level by the Joint Secretaries concerned of the territorial division or by the Foreign Secretary himself. If necessary, they were also put up to the Minister for External Affairs." (80)

(78) Ibid., page 21, para 9.


Similar procedure is also adopted in other Ministries regarding reports from the specialists in the missions and posts. It is essential for purposes of co-ordination that arrangements should exist for proper processing of the reports and that no important communication fails to reach the policy-making levels. Opinion was expressed by many officials in the Ministry that the present arrangements provide considerable scope for improvement.

(ii) Other Ministries and the missions and posts: Problems of co-ordination become more complex when other Ministries in the Government of India also come into the picture. As noted above, the missions and posts function under the general control of the External Affairs Ministry, but they also act as the channel of communication between other Ministries and foreign governments. Till 1959, it had been directed that 'all communications to foreign governments should invariably be made through the Representative of the Government of India in that country, and NOT direct.' (81) But, since 1959 the provision has been partly relaxed. Under the present arrangements, in purely routine cases where enquiries are being made from the local authorities in India or from the missions abroad direct correspondence is authorized, but with copies endorsed to the External Affairs Ministry. But all questions involving international law or questions involving policy are to be routed through the Ministry

of External Affairs. The purpose of associating the missions with such correspondence is that they are responsible for all relations between the Government of India and the foreign governments. It enables to utilize the benefit of information, advice and assistance that the representatives might be able to give in the light of their local knowledge and contacts.

It is also directed that communications by other Ministries to foreign governments should not be made directly through the representatives of other countries in Delhi but only through the External Affairs Ministry, though copies of such relevant correspondence might be furnished to them or they might be apprised informally of such communications. (82) Ministries of the Government of India are permitted to enter directly into correspondence with non-official organizations in other countries, but copies of such correspondence and the relevant information are endorsed to Indian representatives in the concerned countries. (83) On technical and scientific matters, heads of attached and subordinate offices of the Ministries are similarly permitted to enter into correspondence with their counterparts in other countries though copies of these are also to be endorsed to the Ministry of External Affairs and the Indian representative in the country. (84)

(82) Ibid., page 4.
(83) Ibid., page 3.
(84) Ibid., page 126, para 5.
(iii) **Means of Communication**: To develop efficient methods of communication between the missions and headquarters, and the missions and subordinate posts has been a further problem in the working of missions. Reporting and commenting from one end and giving instructions from the other must keep pace with the speed with which events move and situations change. Secrecy and speed in the communications between headquarters and field establishments become vital in such circumstances. Two means of communications are ordinarily available between the Ministry and the missions abroad. These are:

1. **(i) letters sent through the diplomatic bag which under international practices are assured inviolability;**

2. **(ii) telegrams sent through the Overseas Communication Services, using code telegrams wherever secrecy is necessary.**

Both these means are not, however, wholly satisfactory. The Special Secretary to the Ministry represented to the Estimates Committee that the Ministry greatly lacked adequate communication facilities. He suggested that if the Ministry had its own wireless transmitting sets at least in London, North America and perhaps one in South East Asia, they could get in touch with their missions, whenever necessary, independent of the normal telegraphic facilities which were expensive but not adequately quick. (85) It has now been decided, in consultation with the UK Government, to have installed as a first step a direct wireless

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link between the Indian High Commission in London and the Ministry in New Delhi. This is expected to facilitate speed, quantity and economy in communications between New Delhi and London. Onward transmissions could be made from London to the various missions in Europe and some other countries which may be linked up with London. In case this proves economical and useful further links of this kind are also to be established. (86)

(iv) **Autonomy and discretion of head of mission:** A major problem in the working of missions for which no final and definite answer can be given is that of the amount of autonomy and discretion that could be exercised by the head of mission in matters relating to policy. It has often been pointed out that with the introduction of modern means of communications, the "relative independence" of the Ambassador has disappeared "along with much of his power to influence policy as well as to channel it as he saw fit to the government to which he was accredited." (87) This has not, however, made him 'a clerk at the end of the line' who takes down and does what the Minister dictates from the other end. Harold Nicolson points out that it must be on the reports of the Ambassador that the government bases its decisions upon policy. He should "possess sufficient authority with his home government to be able to

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(87) Lester B. Pearson, Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959) 3.
dissuade them from a course of action which, given the local circumstances, he knows will prove disastrous." (88)

The degree and nature of discretion and independent initiative which an envoy might exercise would vary with persons and situations. For example, in the course of the voting on the United States' resolution of 27 June 1950 on the Korean question, the Indian representative at the UN Security Council did not participate in the voting on the ground that he had not received instructions from his Government. (89) On the other hand, at the Second Emergency Session of the UN General Assembly in 1956 the Indian Delegation exercised its initiative in the voting on the Five Power Resolution on Hungary of 9 November 1956, even though this voting had very important policy implications. (90) In this latter instance V. K. K. Menon was the leader of the delegation. It was criticised in Parliament that the leader of the delegation had strayed beyond his mandate in exercising this vote without

(88) Nicolson, n. 8, 82-3.
(89) This resolution had noted inter alia that urgent military measures were required to restore international peace and security and had recommended that the members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area. This involved very important policy implications and the Indian Representative preferred to wait for instructions from home. Later, on receiving instructions from home, in a special communication to the President dated 30 June 1950 India accepted the resolution. For details see United Nations: Department of Public Information, Year Book of the United Nations 1950 (New York, 1951) 222-5.
(90) Resolution 1005 (Es-11). For more details see ibid., 1956, 71-2 and 86.
waiting for instructions from home. The voting was, however, later upheld by the Prime Minister. (91) In this particular instance, it was obvious that the personal factors related to Krishna Menon viz. his close association with Nehru and the conduct of foreign affairs, had made it possible for him to act with a certain degree of independence and initiative. The trend of debates in Parliament indicated, however, that the criticisms were inspired not as much by the abstract question of the delegation exceeding its mandate as by opposition to the policy adopted by the delegation implied by the voting. But the degree of independence and initiative which a delegation might exercise is not related to factors of a personal nature alone, viz. the amount of personal authority which the leader or members of the delegation may without question exercise. It is also dependent upon other circumstances of the situation, like the urgency of taking the decision, the time available for consultation, the facilities for quick and secret communication with the home government, the nature of the decision to be taken etc. Even in the normal course there are liable to be occasions when the head of mission may have to act on his own initiative and without full directions from home. (92) It is not, however, impossible that there can be occasions when the over-enthusiasm of an envoy lands him and his Minister and government into embarrassments.

(91) Lok Sabha Debates, 9 (1956) cols. 371-604.

(92) For example, see K. M. Panikkar's account of such a situation when he was Ambassador to China. Panikkar, n. 10, 121-3.
Talleyrand's famous advice to diplomats that they should not be over-enthusiastic in their work is relevant to such situations. For example, certain remarks made by B. K. Nehru, Indian Ambassador in Washington in the course of a television interview on 24 May 1962 on India's inadequate defence capacity and on a Cabinet Minister were subjected to very agitated discussion in Parliament and outside. The Prime Minister himself stated in Parliament that he was not happy about the remarks made by the Ambassador. (93) It is, (93)

The controversial remarks made by the Ambassador on defence forces was as follows:

"Indian defence forces, in spite of impressions to the contrary, are certainly insufficient for protection and security of country because they are badly equipped."

On this part of the interview the Prime Minister said:

"About this particular statement, I accept I am not happy at it. Certainly, I would not have said so; if I could not have said so, I do not like anyone else on our behalf to say so."

[Lok Sabha Debates, 4 (1962) cols. 7493-4.]

Another controversial remark of the Ambassador was in answer to a question by the interviewer which referred to the unpopularity of V. K. K. Menon, the Indian Minister for Defence in the USA. In the course of his answer the Ambassador had said,

"You know that is (a) very difficult question to answer. You ask me as (the) Indian Ambassador - I know that Krishna Menon is not popular in this country and (the) manner in which he often speaks at United Nations irritates American people. Yes, we are aware of that. And I suppose this is one of (the) reasons for (the) Senate Committee being (a) trifle displeased with us."

Regarding these remarks the Prime Minister said:

If this question were put to me, I would have dealt with it differently. I do not wholly like the way he dealt with it.

[Ibid., col. 7496.]

For the entire debates see Ibid., cols. 7215-22 and 7487-97.
therefore, safe to accept the general proposition that in matters involving important questions of policy it is always necessary that the mission should wait for instructions from home, while on other questions which do not call for any basic re-interpretation of policy the mission might proceed on its own on the basis of established principles. It is often difficult, however, to draw this fine line of distinction between the two kinds of situations.

(v) Main missions and special missions: Important problems of co-ordination have been felt in the relations between the diplomatic mission and other missions established in the same country. This is different from the relationship between the main diplomatic mission and the subordinate posts. The power of general control and supervision exercised by the head of mission over all subordinate posts acts as an important co-ordinating link in the case of the relationship between them. This is not, however, the case when different missions of equivalent status are set up in the same country. The case of the Indian Embassy, Washington, and the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs for America in New York - was an instance of this kind. While the Washington Embassy is under the External Affairs Ministry, the Commissioner-General was responsible to the Ministry of Finance. They were supposed to perform different functions in different spheres, but in reality there was considerable overlapping of

(94) The nature and functions of the office of the Commissioner-General were discussed earlier. The office has since been wound up. See above section III.
functions between them. Seeking economic and technical assistance for India's development efforts from the Americas - this meant primarily the U.S. Government - was to be the special sphere of responsibility of the Commissioner-General. But this is also considered part of the normal responsibilities of any Ambassador. The Indian Ambassador in Washington could also legitimately consider it to be within the scope of his functions. In other words, even if it had been felt that some special arrangements were necessary to organize economic assistance from USA, they should have been in a way of giving assistance to the Ambassador in the performance of his work. This could have been arranged by appointing a Counsellor or Minister for economic affairs in the Embassy. This would have been so much more economical and efficient than to set up a separate and costly establishment. (95)

Previous experience in this respect was already available through the appointment of the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs

(95) The expenditure on the office of the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs for 1959-60 and 1960-61 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Revised Estimates 1959-60</th>
<th>Budget Estimates 1960-61</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay of officers</td>
<td>63,100</td>
<td>64,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay of establishment</td>
<td>79,500</td>
<td>1,01,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowances, Honoraria etc.</td>
<td>3,56,000</td>
<td>3,51,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Charges</td>
<td>2,51,500</td>
<td>2,04,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,50,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,21,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

for Europe. This office had been created as early as 1948 in Paris and had later been shifted to London. It functioned in the premises of the Indian High Commission, London and his office was serviced by the High Commission. The difference in expenditure between the Washington and London establishments of the Commissioner-General had been considerable, running to lakhs of rupees (in foreign exchange) every year. (96) In spite of this, the separate office and establishment of the Commissioner-General was allowed to continue in Washington. No arrangements were also made to define the nature of relationship between the Ambassador and the Commissioner-General. In fact, both the envoys had the same status of (class I) Ambassador. No proper system of co-ordination was also evolved between the two offices. The two envoys were also made responsible to two different Ministries – the Ministries of Finance and of External Affairs. These administrative difficulties were reportedly aggravated by

(96) Expenditure on the office of the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, Europe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay of officers</td>
<td>15,867</td>
<td>42,000</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay of establishments</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowances, Honoraria etc</td>
<td>17,706</td>
<td>1,05,000</td>
<td>1,47,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Charges</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34,553</td>
<td>1,92,000</td>
<td>2,37,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Finance for 1960-61 (New Delhi, 1961) 4}._{/}\]

See also the previous footnote for expenditure on the office of the Commissioner-General, Washington.
temperamental maladjustments between the two incumbents. The consequent system, by general agreement, was leading to much confusion and waste. G. L. Mehta, who was Indian Ambassador in Washington during these years, stated before the Estimates Committee that since there was not, in the existing set up, any dividing line between political and economic affairs it was worth consideration whether for economic affairs also, there should be a separate post of Commissioner-General. (97) The office of the Commissioner-General has since been wound up, but it is necessary to have a clear understanding, as K. M. Panikkar pointed out, that in a foreign country all services would be under the control of the Ambassador and that no department of government could function in a foreign country without being co-ordinated by the head of mission. (98)

A more or less similar, though less complicated, situation exists with regard to the Indian Embassy in Washington and the Permanent Mission at the UN in New York. They are supposed to perform "different functions in different spheres." (99) But in


G. L. Mehta was Indian Ambassador to USA and Mexico (1952-58) and to Cuba (1956-58).

(98) Ibid., page 14, para 13.

(99) Statement by the Special Secretary before the Estimates Committee, Ibid., page 31, para 2.
reality there is a good deal of overlapping of functions between the two missions. Washington is one of the two most important world capitals, and the functions of the Indian Ambassador there will naturally include negotiations with the US Government on all problems in international relations cropping up in any part of the world. Most of these very same questions are also handled by the Permanent Representative of India at the United Nations. Moreover, the activities of one mission are likely to make an impact on the work of the other, as both of them are situated close to each other and within the geographical precincts of the same country. In other words, with proper understanding and co-ordination between the two missions, there is considerable scope for each of them to complement the other's work. G. L. Mehta, Indian Ambassador in Washington for long (1952-'58) pointed out before the Estimates Committee that in order that there might not be any divergence of opinion in the foreign policy of the country between New York and Washington it was necessary to have complete co-ordination between the two. (100) But, at present, no special arrangements are in existence to effect such co-ordination. The Permanent Representative had no special responsibility of informing the Ambassador in Washington about things happening in the U.N.O. (101) With proper co-ordination between the two missions it is obvious that there could be considerable improvement in both economy and efficiency. Much of what has been said above about

(100) Ibid., page 26, para 8.

(101) Ibid., page 31, para 2.
the two missions is also applicable to the Consulate-General in New York which also maintains a very large establishment.

(vi) **Main Missions and ad hoc delegations:** Problems of co-ordination have also appeared about sending ad hoc delegations to foreign countries. The majority of these delegations are usually sponsored by other Ministries and deal with problems, most of which are directly unrelated to political questions. At the same time, as noted earlier, the Ministry of External Affairs cannot remain indifferent about their work - as they are, in a wide sense, part of foreign relations. (102) In the decision to send the delegation and in the selection, and briefing of delegations the foreign ministry has a voice.

Particularly important in this context is the problem of co-ordination between the diplomatic missions established in a country and visiting delegations from home. For example, before sending a delegation to a foreign country, it must be examined how far the purpose of the delegation could be discharged by the mission already functioning in the country. There should be large scope for this on account of the fact that the more important

(102) How far such an absolutely non-political question like sports can be 'political' at times was demonstrated recently in August-September 1962 at the Fourth Asian Games. An Indian representative in the Asian Games Federation who had nothing to do with the Government of India was directly involved in the matter. For details see, W. A. Hanna, "The Politics of Sports," American Universities Field Staff Report Service: Southeast Asia Series, 10 (October 1962).
of the missions are equipped with specialists in commercial, economic and military matters. The Estimates Committee pointed out the inadequacies of the present practices to elicit the necessary co-ordination between visiting delegations and missions/posts abroad. The Committee urged that no delegation should be sent abroad for purposes which can be carried out by the missions and posts abroad. (103) In the same way, before selecting the personnel of a delegation it should be ascertained how far the specialized members in nearby missions can be utilized for the purpose. This would enable some saving of expenditure.

So also, when a delegation is being sent to a foreign country it is necessary to associate the local mission with the delegation. The mission bears general responsibility for all forms of relations between the two countries. Moreover, the experience of local conditions which the diplomatic mission possesses could be of invaluable help to the visiting delegations in the performance of its work. The local missions have responsibility to do every thing to make the visit of the delegation a success. This is true not only of official delegations visiting the country but also of some of the non-official delegations. (104) Standing instructions have been


(104) For example see, Panikkar, n. 10, 137-8 and 171-2; Hanna, n. 102.
issued to all State Governments and other Ministries that whenever any delegation of the Government of India goes abroad contact should first be established with the Indian mission in the country concerned and that such contact should be maintained regarding all official business conducted by the delegation. Every official delegation or deputation proceeding abroad is provided with a letter of introduction by the Ministry of External Affairs to obtain for him, the good offices of the Government of India's or of Her Britannic Majesty's representatives in the countries in which India has no representatives of her own. But these arrangements are often ignored in actual practice. The following extract from a circular from the Ministry of External Affairs to other Ministries/Departments brings out the sorry state of affairs in this respect.

... in spite of detailed instructions laid down... cases continue to occur where visitors/visiting delegations going from India to abroad inform the foreign governments through their Embassies in India about their proposed visits without sending similar intimations to the Missions concerned. (105)

The inadequacy of co-ordination in this respect was also pointed out by K. M. Panikkar. According to him, Ambassadors were not properly associated with the visiting delegations and that except in special cases, the Ambassadors were not also briefed

about the purpose and programme of such delegations. (106) The Special Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry confirmed the complaint when he said that 'sometimes the purpose of visit is known only after the return of the delegations.' (107)


Further Problems in the Working of Missions and Posts

(1) **Expansion of Diplomatic Representation:** There has been an impressive growth in the organization of Indian representation abroad since the attainment of independence. In 1946, when the Interim Government took charge there were only thirteen Indian representatives abroad. (108) Few of them could be described as performing diplomatic functions. But during the last fifteen years this number has grown to 128. (109) According to the Special Secretary it has been the policy of the Ministry to open diplomatic missions in all countries with which the country has established diplomatic relations, though the objective has not been fully realised so far. As on 1 April 1962 India had set up diplomatic missions and posts in 95 countries and territories. This included only 77 of the total of 104 members of the United Nations. In certain cases, as for example Israel, the failure to set up diplomatic missions has been on account of political reasons. (111) According to the Special Secretary in the Ministry, the major problems hindering the expansion of diplomatic

(108) See Appendix I-A.

(109) See Appendix I-D.


representation have been those of finance and personnel. (112)

The inadequacy of diplomatic representation in Africa was in particular pointed out by the Estimates Committee. (113) At the beginning of 1961, of the twenty-six African states (which were members of the United Nations) Indian diplomatic representation had been established in only twelve, of which five heads of missions were resident in other capitals under the system of concurrent accreditation. By the beginning of 1962, the number of independent African States (in the UN) increased to twenty-nine; Indian diplomatic representation also increased to nineteen. This would seem to indicate that the situation has improved considerably. But the facts are different. Of the nineteen missions, nine are merely nominal; their heads of missions being resident in other capitals under the system of concurrent accreditation and the missions not even maintaining a skeleton staff in these capitals. Effective representation, in other words, was limited to ten countries, of the total of twenty-nine. Surprisingly, Indian diplomatic representation was conspicuously absent in full in the group of states which had emerged into independence from


colonialism under France. (114) Another area where Indian diplomatic representation has been consistently weak is Latin America. In the case of African states it could be argued that these states had only recently come into independence, but the same argument is not applicable to the Latin American Republics. Of the twenty Latin American Republics (in the UN at the beginning of 1961) Indian diplomatic representation extended over only ten - seven Embassies and three Legations, but of these ten missions, six have their Ambassadors/Ministers resident in other capitals under the system of concurrent accreditation. From the point of view of Indian foreign policy today and in the nature of present international politics it is obvious that India should expand and activise its diplomatic representation in these areas.

One of the ways by which the problem of finance and personnel has been sought to be overcome is that of concurrent accreditation. At present, of the total eighty Embassies, High Commissions and Legations of India abroad, thirty have their heads of mission resident in other capitals under the system of concurrent accreditation. Under this system the same person is accredited to more than one capital. For example, the High Commissioner to Ghana is concurrently accredited as Ambassador/High Commissioner to Guinea, Liberia, Mali and Sierra Leone.

(114) The ten African states where no kind of diplomatic, consular or other forms of representation has not been set up are: Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabob, Manritania, Niger, Togo and South Africa. Regarding the present state of the nature of relations between India and South Africa, see footnote 17 above.
The Commissioner in Nairobi (Kenya) is concurrently accredited as Commissioner to Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; as Commissioner in Uganda; and as Consul-General in Ruanda-Urundi. (115) In a number of cases this concurrent accreditation has been resorted to in the case of officials other than the head of mission. For example, the head of mission and all officials in the Embassy of India in Mongolia are resident in Peking. In certain cases, a skeleton staff may be retained in the capital, while the head of mission and other senior officials may be resident in other capitals. These latter officials try to perform their diplomatic duties relating to one country from another capital and by occasional visits.

The practice of concurrent accreditation is advantageous as a ready means of establishing diplomatic representation in a country without immediately incurring any large expenditure on this account. But it is useful only as a temporary measure. In the long run it fails to pay any of the advantages of diplomatic representation. It is obvious that in such circumstances the usual functions of a mission like reporting, negotiating, organizing publicity etc. cannot be performed satisfactorily. The same envoy appointed to five capitals, as in the case of the High Commissioner to Ghana, cannot be legitimately expected to perform

(115) These arrangements were as they existed on 1 April 1962. The advent of independence of Uganda, Ruanda and Burundi have brought about necessary changes in the form of representation in them. The recent political changes in the Central African Federation leading to its disintegration may bring out similar changes about the post at Salisbury.
his diplomatic functions in any one of them to satisfaction. (116)
In certain cases of concurrent accreditation, even factors of
geographical and political proximity have been ignored. The
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary concurrently
accredited to the Vatican is not the Indian Ambassador in Rome,
but the Ambassador to Switzerland. This system of absentee
diplomatic representation is even likely to provoke resentment
when practised over a long period. No country likes to be
treated as if it is less important than another. The system of
concurrent accreditation cannot be a satisfactory means of
meeting the needs of diplomatic representation.

The difficulties of concurrent accreditation were
exemplified at the time of the Hungarian crisis in 1956. India
had established diplomatic relations with Hungary in 1951 itself.
The Indian Ambassador in USSR had been concurrently accredited
as Minister to Hungary also. When the crisis broke out in
October 1956, the only official representative of India in the
country who could give first-hand reports on the events was an
young officer who had arrived there just some two weeks earlier.
The Indian Minister to Hungary, resident in Moscow, was directed
to proceed to Budapest and report from there. He could, however,
do so only after some two weeks. As the Prime Minister himself
stated in Parliament, the absence of proper officials in the
country at the time of the revolt to report on the developments

(116) The High Commissioner to Ghana is concurrently
accredited as Ambassador/High Commissioner to Guinea, Liberia,
Mali and Sierra Leone.
was a great handicap to the Government in getting reliable information without which formulation of policy becomes hazardous. (117)

(i1) Staff and expenditure: Conflicting views have often been expressed regarding the strength of staff and expenditure in the missions and posts abroad. For example, it was held before the Estimates Committee by different people that some of the missions are overstaffed and that there was considerable room for economy in the staffing of missions. It was also represented at the same time that they were very inadequately staffed. According to the Special Secretary there was no tendency for proliferation of posts and appointments in the missions and posts. (118) Their strength and staff requirements will naturally vary from mission to mission, depending upon the political, economic and commercial importance of the country in relation to India.

Under the present system, on the opening of a mission its staff requirements are first assessed on the basis of the actual strength of a few of the missions of the same category of representation. Later on, as the mission establishes itself, its strength is reviewed on the basis of statistics of work and its actual needs. For this purpose, the norms followed in the Secretariat for sanctioning the various categories of staff are

(117) Lok Sabha Debates, 9 (1956), cols. 265 and 589. See also Menon, n. 11, 255-62.

followed for correspondence work. Additional staff are also sanctioned in consideration for the outdoor and protocol duties of a mission. (119) The Foreign Service Inspectorate, while it was in existence, played some role in making such periodic review of the staff needs of the missions. The difficulty of these arrangements is that they are based on traditional calculations of administrative work in a Ministry or Department and do not take into full consideration the special types of tasks of the missions functioning abroad. In assessing the staff requirements of a mission or post abroad there should first of all be a clear understanding as to the importance of the mission or post in the economic, commercial or political policies of the country. This, in turn, calls for a perspective view of the commercial, economic and political importance of each country in relation to India. The function of a mission is not simply to look after existing relations, but also to improve and promote them as best as it can. For example, in assessing the strength of a commercial section in a mission abroad, the Ministry must have a clear consciousness of the importance of the country to the total trade of India as it is and/it should be or will be in future. The size of the commercial section in the India High Commission in London has necessarily to be large in view of the large volume of existing trade between the two countries, but the commercial section in another country should not be weak merely because the present volume of trade is not very significant. If on a long-range view

(119) Ibid., page 31, para 89.
it is in the interests of India to develop larger commercial interests with it and there are possibilities for realizing this corresponding measures regarding commercial representation in the country should be made well in advance. This calls for a clear understanding on a long-term basis of the political, economic, commercial and other policies of India in relation to the various countries and regions and to correlate them with the question of the size and strength of diplomatic establishments in them.

By these standards, it would seem that there is a clear case for strengthening the size and strength of the missions and posts in many African and Asian countries. They are important to India on grounds of foreign policy and possibly of future commercial and economic relations. In most African countries, at present, Indian missions are very weak in staff matters. For example, the total number of officers in all African missions and posts was smaller than those in the Embassy of India and the Consulates-General in New York and San Francisco together or was more or less the same as in the London High Commission alone (as on 1 April 1962). (120) In the same way, according to the

(120) As on 1 April 1962, the total number of Indian missions and posts in Africa (including those in non-self-governing territories) was 24. This included fifteen Embassies, four High Commissions, three Commissions, one Trade Commission and one Consulate-General. The total number of gazetted officers in all the missions and posts, drawn from the foreign service, Defence Services and other Ministries/Departments in the

...(contd. on next page)
budget estimates for 1960-61, the expenditure on all missions and posts in Africa amounted Rs. 42.5 lakhs, while for the same year, it was Rs. 66.56 lakhs for the Indian High Commission in London and Rs. 58.11 lakhs for the Washington Embassy and the Consulates-General in New York and San Francisco. (121) The Indian missions and posts in Africa require to be strengthened considerably. What is true of Africa is also true of certain other regions, notably Latin America.

Criticisms have constantly been made that the missions and posts abroad indulge in extravagant expenditure. Though it is,

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Government of India, was 55. This included 17 officers in the Indian Embassy in Cairo alone. In other words, there were only 38 officers in the remaining 23 missions and posts. The number of gazetted officers in the London High Commission at the same time was 54 and in the Washington Embassy alone 48. The total number of gazetted officers in the Washington Embassy and the Consulate-General in New York and San Francisco together was 59. The officer-strength in the African missions/posts was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IFS (A) - Grade</th>
<th>Other Scales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1300-1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1100-1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1000-1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>700-1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Scale</td>
<td>620-830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Scale</td>
<td>600-860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFS (B) - Grade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>400-900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>530-830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55 (17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Figures in brackets indicate the number of officers in the grade in the Cairo Embassy alone.

(121) The total number of missions and posts in Africa brought under the budget estimates for 1960-61 was only ten.
often, difficult for an outsider to judge: the justice or otherwise of such statements, it might be pointed out that such criticisms are often based on vague impressions and the application of certain ascetic standards inherited partly from national life and partly from the nationalist movement of the country. In the course of referring to the fact that Russian diplomats "while personally simple, unaffected and workmanlike, live as aristocratically as the aristocratic English and spend as much money as the moneyed Americans," K. P. S. Menon commented that would this was an example which India do well to emulate. He added

We, in India, believe almost ostentatiously in plain living and high thinking, but when we represent our country abroad, it will do us no harm to indulge in a bit of plain thinking and high living. (122)

The total expenditure on overseas missions and posts in 1951-52 was nearly Rs. 23.9 millions while in 1961-62 this increased to Rs. 49.5 millions. But in the meanwhile the number of missions and posts also increased from 55 to 89. The average expenditure on a mission in 1951-52 was Rs. 4.35 lakhs; by 1961-62 this increased to Rs. 5.56 lakhs. This increase in average has been mainly on account of pay and allowances of officers and staff, and rents for office and accommodation. The officer-strength of the missions and posts has increased, and along with it their rate of pay and allowances also. Of the average of Rs. 5.56 lakhs estimated to be spent on a mission in 1961-62, Rs. 1.66 lakhs per mission was for the pay and allowances

(122) K. P. S. Menon, Delhi-Chungking: A Travel Diary (Bombay, 1947) 195.
of officers; Rs. 1.69 lakhs for the pay and allowances of its staff; Rs. 1.00 lakh for office and residential accommodation; and Rs. 1.21 lakhs for contingent and other expenditure. (123) According to K. M. Panikkar there was scope for some saving with regard to the expenditure on external publicity and entertainments. (124) The whole matter should possibly be examined by competent persons, acquainted with the working of missions and posts abroad.

(iii) Commercial sections: The working of the commercial sections in the various missions and posts have not been, according to informed opinion, very satisfactory. The Import and Export Policy Committee appointed by the Government of India pointed out in its Report that the trade representatives abroad should keep themselves abreast of economic developments and watch for sales opportunities for Indian goods, be conversant with the commercial, fiscal and monetary policies and regulations of the local governments, build up a net-work of distribution of Indian commodities, offer expert assessment of market trends, help resolve difficulties between India and local merchants and participate in trade negotiations and keep a watch on their operation. A great part of their time and


energies should be devoted to trade promotion activities. (125) "In short, the Trade Representatives have to be at once the eyes and ears of the business community." (126) The activities of the commercial representatives abroad have not however succeeded in fulfilling these requirements. In the Memorandum submitted to the Import and Export Policy Committee, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) pointed out that "neither important exporters from India, nor foreign importers of substance abroad make any use of ... commercial sections." (127) The FICCI Memorandum stated that this was because the commercial sections, as they were equipped, were not able to give them worthwhile information speedily enough. (128) In other words, the Memorandum emphasized two main requirements: quality of information and speed of service. According to the FICCI Memorandum, the commercial sections were usually very small, consisting of a Commercial Secretary assisted by a Registrar and a couple of typists. The Manual of Instructions given to them were such that "one has to have extra-ordinary talent even if

(125) Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Report of the Import and Export Policy Committee (New Delhi, 1962) page 49, para 24. Dr. A. Rama Swami Mudaliar was Chairman of the Committee.

(126) Ibid., page 50, para 25.

(127) Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Memorandum submitted to the Import and Export Policy Committee (Mimeographed, New Delhi, September 1961) 41.

(128) Ibid.
part of the instructions contained in the Manual can be carried out." (129) It stated that there was great need to streamline the information and advice that was transmitted to the commercial representatives from Delhi, especially by the Commerce and Industry Ministry, if only to keep the commercial representatives up-to-date with the export policies and programmes in particular. The existing arrangements were, in its opinion, extremely slow and insufficient. (130) The aim should be "that the services of all the senior officials of our Embassies should be made available, as a matter of course, for the commercial sections." (131) G. L. Mehta stated before the Estimates Committee that the commercial sections did contribute to the country's trade, but there was not adequate follow-ups of their working. He added that one of the complaints of the members of the trading community was that, sometimes, the trade representatives were more in touch with the prospective exporters from foreign countries to India rather than encouraging Indian exports to those countries. (132) Similar opinions were also expressed by Dr. Tara Chand. According to him proper attention was not being given by Government to the matter of Indian exports and that the reports of the Embassies and the suggestions made by them towards fostering better trade and

(129) Ibid.
(130) Ibid., 41-2.
(131) Ibid., 42-3.
commercial relations were not given proper attention by the Government. (133)

Certain recommendations of the Import and Export Policy Committee deserve serious consideration in this respect. The Committee pointed out that, for the efficient working of these sections, it was necessary that the staff working in these sections should have specialized training in commercial and economic work. In the opinion of the Committee Indian trade representatives did not possess this knowledge and training. Often, they did not have even the aptitude for this type of work. The Committee wanted that trade representation abroad should be strengthened both in numbers and in the quality of personnel and that all consulates and consulates-general should function primarily as trade promotion centres, the visa, passport and other allied questions taking a secondary place. (135) The normal tenure of an officer abroad should also be extended to five years from the present tenure of three years. (136) Arrangements are also called for to make immediate follow-ups of the reports from the commercial sections. Periodic surveys could also be arranged to assess the utility of the commercial sections abroad and about the utilization of their efforts abroad at the headquarters level. At present,

(133) Ibid., page 8, para 32.
(135) Ibid., page 50, paras 26 and 27.
(136) Ibid., page 5 para 32.
a committee set up by the Minister of Revenue and Civil
Expenditure (Ministry of Finance) with representatives from the
Ministries of Commerce and Industry, and of External Affairs and
of Finance reviews periodically the working of these commercial
sections and on the basis of this assessment the needs of staff
in the missions are decided. (137) It seems a little surprising
that the initiative for constituting and convening the Committee
should lie with the Department of Revenue and Expenditure rather
than with the Ministries of Commerce and Industry or of External
Affairs. If this is any indication the Committee mainly serves
the purpose of economizing on the staff of the commercial sections
and the missions rather than assessing their real working.

A basic prerequisite for the efficient working of the
commercial sections is effective co-ordination between the Ministry
of Commerce and Industry and the Ministry of External Affairs.
The former is primarily responsible for commercial work, while
the latter mostly supplies the personnel of the commercial sections.
The division of responsibility between the two Ministries
regarding these matters seems rather vague and un-co-ordinated.
For example, in the case of the establishment of commercial
sections abroad the initiative is taken by the Commerce and
Industry Ministry. It is also responsible for keeping watch on the
results of the activities carried out by the commercial sections.

(137) Evidence by the Special Secretary before the
Estimates Committee. See Estimates Committee 1960-61,
Minutes of Sittings relating to the Hundred and Thirty-
The External Affairs Ministry takes interest 'only on those matters arising out of commerce and industry which impinged upon the political or diplomatic side of foreign relations.' (138) Similarly, while the personnel to work in these sections belong to the foreign service and commercial work is considered to be an essential part of the functions of the foreign service, the responsibility for the training of these officers in commercial work is assigned to the Commerce and Industry Ministry. This training is consequently not properly integrated with the general training programme of the foreign service. The arrangements that exist for training in commercial work to the new recruits to the foreign service are also not of a very satisfactory nature. (139) The need for better co-ordination between the Ministries of External Affairs and of Commerce and Industry in the matter of the working of the commercial sections in the missions was also emphasized by the Estimates Committee. (140)

(iv) External Publicity: An important part of the work of missions and posts abroad relates to external publicity. This consists of organizing publicity for India in other countries and of informing the home government of the trends of public opinion in them relating to India and its policies. As the Estimates Committee pointed out, the former task of informative publicity consists of

(138) Ibid., pages 22-3, para 12.
(139) See Chapter IX.
(140) Estimates Committee 1960-61, Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Report, n. 1, page 18, para 49.
three aspects: first, in relation to general cultural and other background i.e. the projection of the self-image of the country; secondly, about the present-day activities and policies; thirdly, with regard to any controversies and special interests. (141)
The latter task consists of reporting on the trends of public opinion in other countries on Indian problems and policies as represented by political parties, press, television, radio etc. to the home government. Both these functions can be performed only by maintaining close contacts with sources of public opinion abroad.

For the performance of these functions a relatively large organization has been built up at the headquarters of the Ministry and at the missions and posts abroad. The External Publicity Division of the Ministry bears primary responsibility for this work at the headquarters. As noted earlier, it is organized under the Director, External Publicity who is assisted on the technical side by the Director, Information Services of India. (142)

(141) Ibid., page 47, para 146.
(142) The headquarters staff consists of the following officers in addition to the usual complement of office staff (as on 1 April 1962).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Director, External Publicity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director, Press Relations (internal publicity)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director, Information Services of India (ISI)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dy. Director, ISI</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Secretary</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Officers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attache (Information)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Information Officers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section Officers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publicity Officers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abroad, most of the missions are equipped with specialists to deal with the work. This usually consists of a Press Attache assisted by Assistant Attache. In the bigger missions additional staff like Public Relations Officers and their assistants are also provided. The biggest of such specialized sections are in the India High Commission, London and the Indian Embassy, Washington. (143) At present, there are fifty such Information Units attached to the various missions and posts abroad. (144) In 1961-62, the External Publicity Division employed a total staff of 548, of which 350 were locally recruited personnel. (145)

The headquarters periodically supply materials containing news and information about India to the Information Units abroad and receive and study the reports from them. The supply of news from the headquarters is usually made through morse transmissions. Most of the missions abroad are provided with the necessary equipments to receive such transmissions directly. Posts where such transmissions are not possible on account of technical difficulties like Canada, USA, Ghana etc. are served by daily cable

(143) See Appendix XVII-A, B and C.

(144) See Appendix I-E: List of Indian Information Units abroad: 1961-62.

(145) The total staff of 548 consisted of nine Public Relations Officers; one Deputy Director, Information Services of India; one Under Secretary (Information); 37 Information Officers/Press Attaches; 26 Assistant Information Officers/Attaches/Assistant Press Attaches; five Publicity Officers; 119 India-based ministerial staff and 350 locally recruited personnel.

service. Supply of news and information by wireless transmissions are broadcast three times a day. The information posts abroad make use of the news and information supplied by the headquarters to bring out news bulletins and special releases for the local press. They also make free distribution of feature articles, books and pamphlets published by the various Government of India or approved agencies on India's social, political, economic and cultural life, history, religion, developments efforts, to local periodicals, libraries, newspapers and the like. Some of the Information Units also bring out weeklies or fortnightlies called 'India News.'

The Information Posts are required to keep the headquarters informed of developments in public opinion with reference to India in foreign countries. They send daily press cables to the External Publicity Division. The External Publicity Division publishes daily the World Press Review and distributes it to the newspapers, the various divisions in the Ministry and other Ministries and Departments. A fortnightly printed bulletin, World Press on India, is also published by the External Publicity Division. (146)

Special publicity is organized on events of special importance whenever the need is felt. For example, towards the end of 1961, events in Goa culminating in military action necessitated special publicity arrangements. A special cell was

(146) The annual reports of the Ministry contain sections dealing with the activities of the External Publicity Division and the Information Posts abroad.
created to cope with the work. Special publicity material was sent to the missions. The daily morse transmissions gave wide coverage to developments in Goa which was used to brief foreign press. Special bulletins and pamphlets were brought out by some of the missions abroad. Daily briefings of Indian and foreign press were also held at the headquarters on these developments. (147)

The developments on the borders with China have also given rise to the need to organize a similar publicity campaign. For occasions like the Republic Day, the Independence Day, the Children's Day, Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday etc. special brochures and pamphlets are brought out and distributed. Other special occasions, like the inauguration of the Third Five-Year Plan and the Tagore Centenary Celebrations in 1961, are utilized to publicise the economic or cultural or other attainments of the country. (148)

In spite of such efforts there have been constant and severe criticisms within India that the external publicity work is very ineffective and wasteful. The Estimates Committee pointed out in its Report that it was represented to them that the quantity of publicity material circulated does not have really much effect. (149) As early as 1948, the Prime Minister expressed


(148) Ibid., 65.

in Parliament his own feeling of dissatisfaction with the methods
of external publicity. (150) He said,

At the present moment the various hand-outs, etc.
that are issued no doubt do some useful purpose,
but I do not think they are worth the money we
spend upon them. My own impression ... is that all
these hand-outs and leaflets and pamphlets find
their way to waste paper basket. They influence
very few persons - except a few persons who have been
previously converted and who use them and keep them
for their own benefit. (151)

K. M. Panikkar stated before the Estimates Committee that the
existing organization of publicity which sent out a great deal
of material was of no particular importance. Also, it was being
done mechanically, it had very little effect on the countries
concerned. He thought that considerable saving could be made with
regard to the present expenditure on external publicity. (152)
Criticisms have been constant that the publicity organization
has, in general, failed to live up to its responsibilities and
that even on vital issues like Kashmir, Goa and the border
disputes with China the publicity organization has failed to
build up the case for India in foreign countries. (153) It has
been criticized that the publicity officials posted abroad are

(150) Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates,
3 (1948) 2191.

(151) Ibid.

(152) Estimates Committee 1960-61, Minutes of Sittings
relating to the Hundred and Thirty-eighth Report, n. 53,
page 14, paras 13, 14 and 15.

(153) The debates on the Demands for Grants of the
Ministry of External Affairs in Parliament year after year
bring out such criticisms.
often unhelpful and bureaucratic in their attitude to visiting Indian journalists and others. (154) Foreign press representatives in Delhi complain of the inadequacies of existing arrangements regarding press facilities made available to them. Some of the difficulties confronted by the Ministry in this respect are natural and understandable. For example, the representatives of the Ministry pointed out before the Estimates Committee that the results of their work are not, often, tangible or spectacular. It is necessarily a slow process which must go on from day to day. (155) More relevant to the immediate context have been the difficulties of finance. The total budgetary provision for the External Publicity Division in 1961-62 was nearly Rs. 10.6 million, of which nearly 2.5 million accounted for expenditure at headquarters. (156) For the fifty Information Units abroad the average budget allotment for each was only Rs. 1,62,776. (157) This included salaries and allowances for

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(154) For example see, Chanchal Sarcar, The Statesman (Calcutta) 25 and 27 December 1958.


(157) In fact, the amount available to most of the missions is much smaller, as the larger information posts take up considerably more than this average. For example, in 1960-61, the budget estimates for the information post attached to the Washington Embassy alone was Rs. 11.5 lakhs. The information posts at London, Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut, Salisbury, New York (Consulate-General) etc. were some of the costliest. Of the 42 Information Posts in 1960-61, 16 spent more than Rs. 2 lakhs an year, accounting for nearly 60% of the total budget allotments while the remaining 26 spent together only 40%.
officers and staff, cost of passages, rents and taxes for the premises, cost of furniture and other equipment, postage, wireless transmissions etc. According to the Ministry, the actual amount available for information and publicity work is only a very small proportion of the total financial outlay. (158) It was pointed out that "until more funds become available for external publicity, the proportion of total resources that can be deployed for actual information and publicity work will continue to be small." (159)

There is also need to re-organize the methods of publicity adopted by the missions and posts. Some of the criticisms of the existing methods have already been examined. Discussing the question of external publicity, the Prime Minister pointed out the distinction between the two ideas of work conveyed by the designations of Public Relations Officers and of publicity agents. He wanted external publicity to mean the former type of work of public relations rather than the latter. (160) In other words, he wanted the more direct and dynamic means of public relations and publicity of an informative nature rather than mere propaganda through pamphlets and leaflets. He also wanted that the whole question of external publicity had to be looked upon "entirely .


(160) Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, 3 (1948) 2190.
from a different point of view, from a psychological point of view, from the point of view of the requirements of each country." For instance, the approach in the United States of America should be different - completely different - from the approach in France and even more different from the approach in the Soviet Republic. The Prime Minister assured that the Ministry of External Affairs was considering the matter fully and hoping to evolve some more feasible and better method. (161) Still, it happens often that the same kind of publicity material are indiscriminately, and probably indiscretely, circulated in all the countries irrespective of the differences in the social, economic, political, psychological and cultural make-up of each. The conception of external publicity has also to be widened in such a way that every foreign service officer considers external publicity as a normal part of his work. The present methods of training foreign service officers do not include adequate provisions to impart to them a scientific training in the methods of external publicity. (162) This also requires to be re-organized.

As in the case of the establishment of missions and posts abroad, there seems to be an inadequate appreciation of the importance of Africa and Latin America with regard to external publicity in the countries situated in these continents. Of the

(161) Ibid.

(162) The methods of training are discussed in Chapter IX.
50 Information Units of India in 1961-62, there were twenty-three in Asia, eleven in Europe, eight in Africa, five in North America and three in South America. (163) When the foreign policy of the country puts great emphasis on maintaining close contacts with the African and other developing countries it is obvious that there should be more efforts to cultivate public opinion in them. The strength of information units that have been set up in Africa and South America at present are very inadequate to meet this responsibility. A possible explanation for the fewer number and the smaller resources and size of missions and posts in Africa at present might be that most of the African nations came into independence only very recently. But the same argument cannot satisfactorily explain the reasons for the weakness of the missions and posts and their external publicity organization in the South American Republics. It is not only in number but also in the amount spent on these information units in these continents that this inadequacy is apparent. The four information units situated within the geographical presincts of the United States of America together accounted for more than 20 per cent of the total expenditure on the external publicity organization of India abroad. (164) This amount was larger than

(163) See Appendix I-E.

(164) According to 1960-61 budget estimates the expenditure on these information units were as follows:

Washington (attached to the Indian Embassy) - 11,49,000
New York (attached to the Permanent Mission) - 2,25,000
New York (attached to the Consulate-General) - 2,41,800

Besides, a Press Attache and his staff are attached to the Consulate-General at San Francisco.
what all the information units in Africa and South America spent together. In the whole of Africa and South America there was only one information unit (Salisbury), the expenditure on which was more than Rs. 2 lakhs. (165) The weakness of the existing external publicity organization in Africa and South America is obvious from this.

A further difficulty regarding the proper organization of external publicity is related to the personnel employed in them. The personnel who are employed in publicity work abroad have not been given status and rank adequate for them to perform their functions with efficiency. The highest rank of an external publicity officer serving abroad is that of Public Relations Officer, whose rank is below that of a senior First Secretary. As on 1 April 1962 only six information units abroad were headed by Public Relations Officers. Twenty-six were headed by Press Attaches and the rest by Assistant Press Attaches and other junior officers. (166) It is obvious that as long as their

(165) According to the budget estimates of 1960-61, there were sixteen Information Units spending more than Rs. 2 lakhs an year. They were (in descending order of expenditure) Washington, London, Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut, Salisbury, New York (Consulate-General), Kuala Lumpur, Karachi, Ottawa, Canberra, New York (U.N.), Ankara, Bonn, Paris and Kathmandu.

(166) As on 1 April 1962:

Public Relations Officers (1300-1600) - 6
Press Attache (700-1250) - 26
Attache (Information) 350-900) - 3
Assistant Press Attache (350-800) - 3
place in the hierarchy of the mission is kept relatively low; it will not be possible for them to make the necessary contacts with important and influential persons who would public opinion in foreign countries like leaders of political parties, proprietors and editors of important newspapers, well-known columnists, authors and journalists etc.

A further problem related to personnel is that of the strong sense of dissatisfaction prevalent among them. The personnel employed in this came under the service of the External Affairs Ministry in 1948, when the function of external publicity was taken over from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. They were then organized into the Indian Information Service. They were not, however, appointed on a permanent basis, but for varying terms. In 1959, a "scheme for the re-organization of the cadre of the Information Service of India and its gradual integration with the Indian Foreign Service" was announced. (167) The integration has not yet been completed in spite of the passage of nearly three years after its announcement. (168) The personnel engaged in publicity work continue to remain as 'second class' members of the foreign service. They feel dissatisfied and frustrated. The more able and enterprising among them seek to leave the service as soon as other opportunities are available. The dissatisfaction is

also liable to express itself in the quality of their performance. Along with improving the status and service conditions of the personnel employed in this work measures have also to be adopted to improve their quality and the standards of training for them.

(vi) **Transfer of personnel:** The transfer and posting of personnel to the various missions and posts have also presented certain problems. For administrative purposes of transfer, postings etc. of foreign service personnel Indian overseas missions/posts have been classified under three groups: A, B and C. The classification primarily follows climatic and other conditions of work in the various foreign capitals. Category A forms the 'least hard' type of capitals. Most of the Western European and North and South American capitals come under this category. Category B is less hard. They are mostly in Eastern Europe, Soviet Union and Asia. Category C covers China, Indo-China, Persian Gulf Area and Africa. (169) Under the present rules, the normal term at 'A' and 'B' types of stations is three years. For stations in 'C' type it is only two years. But in the stations in the 'C' category the term is only two years at a stretch or three years with home leave after 18 months.

The basis of classification, viz., climate and other conditions of work, is not scientific in terms of the nature of work to be performed in the Ministry. A number of foreign capitals which are politically very important from the point of

(169) See Appendix XVI: Categorization of missions and posts.
view of Indian diplomacy, like Accra, D'Jakarta, Karachi, Kathmandu, Peking etc. come under 'C' category, and others like Belgrade, Colombo, Moscow, Rangoon etc. come under the 'B' category. Under the present rules an officer cannot be normally retained there beyond his term of two or three years. It has also been felt that the categorization of missions has become a 'status symbol' for the men transferred to various places. Persons serving in A and B category missions are disinclined to be transferred to the C category missions on this account. Persons serving in category C missions also are unwilling to have their terms extended at the same place or to be transferred to missions in the same category. But there might be occasions when the presence of certain officials in certain places might be essential for efficiency of work. In other words, the categorization of missions puts an unnecessary restriction on the best utilization of the foreign service personnel in the postings to missions and posts.

Similar difficulties are also experienced on account of fixing rigidly the grades of posts in the various missions and posts. For example, it is rigidly fixed that the posts of heads of missions at certain places should be filled only by Grade I officers, at certain others by only Grade II officers and the like. (170) This also puts difficulties in the way of free utilization of personnel in making transfers and postings.

(170) See Appendix XV: Gradations of heads of missions and posts abroad.
There might be special advantages in appointing a particular person to a certain mission and yet it might be made difficult because the officer's grade is lower or higher than the one fixed for the post in the mission. It should not be difficult to relax such provisions to provide for greater mobility of personnel in making transfers and postings.

Sufficient attention is also not paid to the question of appointing persons with the necessary language and area specialization to the missions and posts. This is, often, on account of the inadequate availability of suitable personnel with area specialization for all countries and regions. (171) Most of the staff employed overseas do not possess the necessary specialization to serve at their particular posts. This naturally puts limitations on the quality of their work at their posts—in cultivating the necessary acquaintanceship with persons and situations and, therefore, in interpreting the country to the Ministry, or India to the government and people there. On account of rigid rules of seniority and of gradations of posts at home and abroad it becomes often necessary, in making transfers and postings, to appoint people to particular posts for which they may not be the best available in the service at the moment.

(vii) Revival of the Foreign Service Inspectorate. The disadvantages of having abolished the Foreign Service Inspectorate

(171) For example, of the total of 79 officers in the Information Service of India as on 1 October 1961 only nineteen had passed any foreign language examinations. These were as follows: Arabic - 2; French - 9; German - 3; Persian - 3; Portuguese - 1; and Russian - 1.

See also Chapters VII and IX.
become evident in this context. Through periodical on-the-spot inspections of missions/posts the Inspectorate could have dealt with these and other similar administrative problems that arise in the working of the establishments abroad. The present system provides for periodic inspections by the Secretaries themselves, each of the three Secretaries making periodic visits to the Missions within their respective territorial jurisdictions. (172) The Secretaries are hard-worked people and it cannot be expected that they would have the necessary time to deal thoroughly with details of such administrative problems during the course of their brief visits to the stations. Their visits are more likely to be taken up by policy questions. They cannot also be expected to be able to visit all the missions and posts. They may arrange meetings of heads of missions of particular areas and discuss general policy and other questions, but the necessary on-the-spot study of the working of each mission/post can be performed only by a full-time body engaged for the purpose.

The abolition of the Inspectorate has actually arisen out of a misunderstanding about its actual functions. It was stated before the Estimates Committee by the representatives of the Ministry that it was decided to keep the Inspectorate in abeyance because its 'main function' of the fixation of the rates of foreign allowance was practically over. Other reasons

advanced were those of shortage of funds and suitable personnel. It was also stated that there were difficulties experienced about implementing the recommendations of the Inspectorate, particularly due to objections from the Finance Ministry. The representative of the Finance Ministry, however, denied this last statement. (173)

The need to set up the Inspectorate had been pointed out as early as 1949 by the Standing Finance Committee of Parliament. The grounds on which the Committee had urged this suggestion were related to Finance: "to examine the number of posts, scales of pay and allowances and other expenditure involved in the working of diplomatic offices in the foreign countries." (174) The Inspectorate was set up in 1954 'in order to achieve greater efficiency and economy in the operations of the Missions abroad.' How far these objectives have been facilitated by the functioning of the Inspectorate might be difficult to assess, but at least in respect of regularising the foreign allowances of officials it achieved something. But this should not be considered as the 'main function' of the Inspectorate. After examining the reasons advanced for keeping the Inspectorate in abeyance by the representative of the External Affairs Ministry, the Estimates Committee strongly urged that there was still need for the


revival of the Inspectorate to look into such important matters like reviewing the working of the missions, the question of staffing in the Missions etc. which called for a continuous watch. Expenditure on account of the Inspectorate had not also been very high so far, being a little over a lakh of rupees annually. (175) The Committee also hoped that the expenditure on the Inspectorate would be repaid by the savings likely to be effected as a result of the Inspections by the Inspectorate. (176)

In recommending the revival of the Inspectorate two major recommendations were, however, made by the Committee. It wanted

(175) The expenditure for the various years was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>1,37,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>1,07,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>1,18,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>1,20,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>49,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>1,13,500 (Approximate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>75,000 (Revised Estimates)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>75,700 (Budget Estimates)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The expenditure in 1960-61 and the budget provision for 1961-62 were for 'sweeping operations' i.e. towards the payment of bills on expenditure incurred in earlier years when the Inspectorate was in existence. The average actually works out to a little more than 1.3 lakhs. This, however, excludes the salary of the officers.

(176) The Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs informed the Committee that as a result of the review undertaken by the Foreign Service Inspectorate, the rates of entertainment allowances had been altered in a number of cases, in some cases those being enhanced by 50% and in others being reduced.

/Estimates Committee 1960-61, Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Report, n. 1, pages 27-28, paras 79 and 82./

/Estimates Committee 1960-61, Minutes of Sittings relating to the Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Report, n. 53, page 39, para 12./
that the functions should approximate to that of the UK Inspectorate, though its strength should not be equally large. It also expressed the desirability of having an officer of adequate status to be in charge of inspections. (177)

In the United Kingdom, the corps of Inspectors consists of a Senior Inspector and five assistants. They visit between them all the principal diplomatic and consular posts once in every two or three years. At each post visited, they investigate a wide range of matters such as questions of pay and allowances; the grading of staff; the organization of the work with an eye to the most effective and economical use of man-power; accommodation; welfare; the training of junior staff; security arrangements; accounts; the operation of the official car pool; and a general enquiry into the proper execution of routine duties. It is largely on their recommendations, resulting from personal investigations on the spot, that local allowances are fixed. In addition to these, the Inspectors also perform the very important function of playing a personal liaison role between headquarters and field-establishments. They explain the problems and requirements of the Foreign Office to posts abroad and vice versa. (178)

Obviously, the functions of the Foreign Service Inspectors in India in the past were in no way comparable to those performed by their counterparts in the U.K. The Foreign Service Inspector in India was primarily concerned with recommending the rates of

(177) Estimates Committee 1960-61, Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Report, n. 1, pages 28-29, paras 83 and 84.

(178) Strang and others, n. 2, 159-60.
foreign allowances, and incidentally about staff or building or other requirements of the stations abroad. The revival of the Inspectorate should be accompanied by a comprehensive expansion of their functions and powers than were being performed by them previously. But in order to fulfil these functions it may be necessary to modify the composition of the Inspectorate also. The rank of the Inspector in the past had been that of a Joint Secretary (Grade IV), while Ambassadors in important missions are equated with the Secretaries (Grade I). Certain non-official witnesses before the Estimates Committee pointed out the need for raising the status of the inspecting team and of including very senior men in it, if it was to perform its functions satisfactorily. (179) K. M. Panikkar suggested that they should be men with experience as heads of missions and that it would be useful to have the Inspectorate separate from what was called field appointments. (180) The Special Secretary to the Ministry had also agreed with the view that the Inspectorate should be manned by senior personnel. (181) There seems to be a strong case for reviving the Inspectorate, possibly with more enlarged functions, rank and authority than in the past.


(180) Ibid., page 15, para 19.

(181) Ibid., page 31, para 4.