

HOME

1920.

DEPT.

Political

K. W.

~~Part B.~~
~~Deposit.~~
Proceedings A. November 1920
Nos. 138-147.

SUBJECT.

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LATER REFERENCES.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

Revenue (Special) (War) Department.

G.O. No.336, 17th July 1919.

Publicity Board.

Passing orders constituting a - in the Madras Presidency

Order - No.336, Revenue (Special)(War) dated 17th July 1919.

The Government have had for some time past under consideration the question of improving the arrangements in force for making available to the public the results of the researches and experiments of their scientific and technical departments and for keeping the public informed as to their actions and policy in general and, where necessary, as to the reasons underlying action taken. In view of the complexity of the whole subject, His Excellency the Governor invited a number of leading and representative gentlemen to discuss it with the Government at the Banqueting Hall, Madras, on the 5th July 1919. The various points in issue were duly discussed with the results indicated in the following paragraphs.

2. There was a general consensus of opinion that it was time that the present attitude of isolation on the part of the Government should be abandoned and that a strenuous effort should be made to effect a more intimate touch between the Government and their officers on the one hand and the Press and people on the other. It was further urged that much of the present criticism of Government was due to inaccurate or inadequate information and that the issue of correct information would have the effect of sobering criticism that is at present intemperate. It was further urged that the present service of communiques is far too spasmodic and that a more permanent and regular organization is necessary. For this purpose it was generally agreed that it is essential to have a full-time Government officer assisted by a Board which would be largely non-official.

3. As to the nature of the Board, there was some difference of opinion, but the more general view appeared to be in favour of a comparatively small body. It was further thought that this

this Central Board should as soon as possible establish, in consultation with Collectors of districts, local Publicity Committees to represent particular localities, the duties of the committees being to bring to notice matters requiring attention and the trend of public opinion and to assist in distributing matter which was issued by the Central Board.

4. As regards the matters to be dealt with by the Board, stress was laid on the desirability of attention being given in the first instance to useful information. Among the departments concerned were mentioned those of Agriculture, Co-operation, Industries, Sanitation and Public Health. It was also agreed that news of any notable legislative and administrative developments in other countries should be collected and distributed.

5. On the question of interpretation of the actions and policy of Government to the people, there was some difference of opinion. On the one hand, it was urged, that it was urged that it was absolutely essential that such matters as the Reform scheme should be explained to the people in language they can understand. On the other, it was pointed out that it was not proper for a body which was largely non-official to explain the policy of the Government. It was generally agreed, however, that it was proper for ~~such~~ such a body to undertake the dissemination of such explanations as the Government might see fit to issue and this is all in the shape of direct explanation that the Government would desire the Board to undertake. The Government, however, observe that there are many subjects of great importance and interest which cannot be usefully discussed if controversial questions are to be entirely avoided. Instances of such subjects are the advancement of education, the industrial development of India and the past and present economic condition of the country. There is no question that the political education of the country at present suffers from the fact that the popular view on such subjects is too exclusively presented in the Press, while men who have expert knowledge of the problems to be solved are rarely called upon to put their conclusions before the

the public. The Government think therefore that the Publicity Board could do useful work by securing on the one hand the writing and on the other the publication of articles by gentlemen with special knowledge in cases of this kind. Such articles would ordinarily be published under the names of their authors.

6. As regards the manner of issue of the information which it was decided to put forward, opinion was strongly against a Government newspaper - a conclusion which the Government accept. Great stress was laid on the necessity for whatever information was given being couched in effective, simple English and, where necessary, translated into the vernaculars. The means of dissemination suggested were the existing Press, pamphlets and leaflets. Great stress was laid on the necessity for ensuring effective dissemination of leaflets by means of the village agencies, schoolmasters, dispensaries, post offices and local committees.

7. The meeting approved a proposal that the central organisation should also work through lecturers and that the local committees should maintain magic lanterns and keep themselves informed as to the public halls, etc., available so as to have facilities ready for arranging tours of gentlemen who might be engaged to lecture on particular subjects.

8. There was also a decided feeling in favour of the proposition that there should be maintained in Madras a large central bureau of information at which the officer in charge of the publicity arrangements should keep a library and periodicals relating both to local affairs and to legislative, administrative and other developments in other parts of the world and should himself be available to give information to editors and the public generally both on Government matters and upon other matters of public interest.

9. Since the 5th July, the Government have given their most earnest consideration to these important issues. They find themselves in general agreement with the views expressed at the meeting of that date and resolve as a first step towards giving

giving practical effect thereto to establish a Publicity Bureau. The Government officer who will be in charge of the Bureau will be Mr. J. T. Gwynn, I.C.S., He will be assisted by a Board of which the following gentlemen have been invited to become members :-

Mr. R. W. Brock.....Mr. M. D. Deva Doss
Khan Bahadur Mirza Abdul Husain Ispahani
M.R.Ry., Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami Chettiyar Avargal.
M.R.Ry., S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar Avargal.
The Raja of Kollengode, C.I.E.,
Rev. E. M. Macphail.
M.R.Ry., K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu Garu.
M.R.Ry., G. A. Natesan Avargal.
The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. Ranga Achariyar Avargal.
Dr. G. Slater.

10. It is not proposed at present to attempt to lay down detailed lines of working for the Board. The Government recognize that the whole subject is one of great difficulty and that the best lines of development can only be worked out by experience. They therefore leave the question of the form of such publications as it may be decided to issue, the relations of the Board with heads of departments and the best arrangements for dissemination of matter which it is decided to communicate to be worked out by Mr. Gwynn and the Board as time may show best.

11. In conclusion, His Excellency the Governor in Council desires to acknowledge the good feeling which was so generally manifested at the meeting of the 5th instant and to express his earnest hope that all sections of the community will co-operate freely with the newly established Publicity Board and with Mr. Gwynn whose labours cannot fail to be materially lightened and assisted if they can rely on public sympathy and support.

(True extract)

Letter from Bombay dated the 19th December 1918, from the Chairman, Publicity Department, Bombay, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

I have the honour to place before Government the views of the Committee in reference to the question as to whether this Department should continue and, if so, as to what its future activities and organisation should be. I may state that these questions were discussed at a Committee meeting held on 13th instant, when the lines of this letter were unanimously approved. This letter was then drafted and was on the 18th instant placed before the Committee and unanimously approved.

2. It is considered that it would be in the highest degree desirable especially in view of the circumstances set forth in paragraph 3 hereof, that this Department should continue with a view to explain to the people of this Presidency.

- (a) through the press;
- (b) by means of lectures to the public and posters; and
- (c) through the medium of the Educational Department by means of text-books, pamphlets, lectures and debates.
 - (i) the complete defeat of the Central Powers;
 - (ii) how the Navy and the Army of the Empire have contributed to that result with special reference to India's efforts; and
 - (iii) the horrors from which the Empire in general and India in particular have been saved.

It is further considered that this Department might well continue in its present form to carry on propaganda as above until it is replaced by a Department as hereinafter suggested.

3. The circumstances above referred to may be shortly stated.

The extremist section of the Home Rule Party headed by Messrs. Horniman, Jinnah and Jammadas have organised themselves very fully with a view not merely to poison the mind

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of the people against Government as it exists but to inculcate Bolshevik ideas.

This section is chiefly composed of clerks and students but a determined effort is being made to bring in the labouring classes.

Their propaganda are chiefly spread by two papers published in Bombay, viz., "The Bombay Chronicle" and "Young India", by pamphlets and by lectures and addresses delivered at Shantaram's Chawl and elsewhere in Bombay and the Presidency.

As things stand there is nothing whatever to counteract the malicious falsehood and perversions which are being spread. The situation is serious having regard particularly to the hold which has been obtained over students.

4. It is considered that a liberal system of educating the public would be the best method of counteracting these pernicious propaganda.

The only efforts in this direction at present consist of press notes clothed in formal official language and of Government publications clothed in similar language and issued at high prices.

The effect of these efforts is negligible.

5. What is required is a special Department of Government to be organised and managed by a competent journalist with recent experience gained if possible in the Northcliffe School who should be guided and assisted by a small Committee of say six persons in touch with the views of all sections of the community.

The journalist should be salaried; the Committee would be honorary. As the success of the Department would depend upon the competence of the journalist the salary should be fixed as to attract the best men obtainable.

The object of the Department would be :-

(a) to keep in touch with all propaganda work in the Presidency;

(b) to conduct propaganda with a view to produce

- contentment and to counteract pernicious propaganda;
- (c) to give useful information and advice on topics such as agriculture, irrigation, railways, famine, hygiene and sanitation and any prevalent pestilence or disease; and
 - (d) generally to acquaint the people with the activities of Government.

These objects would be obtained :-

- (a) through the existing press by means of articles in propaganda form and special supplements;
- (b) pamphlets;
- (c) lectures and addresses; and
- (d) a bureau of information open to the public and stocked with Government publications.

A duty would be imposed on all other Government Departments to keep the Department informed :-

- (a) of any activities which could be made public; and
- (b) of the answers to any falsehoods or perversions.

A duty should also be imposed upon all district officers to give all necessary assistance to the Department both in the matter of advice and information and in the way of distribution. The Department itself should be run as a press and news agency than as a Government Department.

The journalist should have a free hand as to the agencies employed for turning into popular form and bringing it before the public.

It would greatly add to the usefulness of such a Department if the Governor and the Members of Council were permitted to speak on public platforms in support and defence of the policy and measures (both executive and legislative) of Government as freely as do Cabinet Ministers in England.

6. The Department should also keep in close touch with the Educational Department and supply the latter with all necessary material.

The Education Department would use such material and generally proceed upon the lines referred to in paragraph 4.

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hereof.

7. There should be a Central Board with the Government of India as at present, the relations between and the functions of the Department and that Board being of the same nature as they now are.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

~~GOVERNMENT OF INDIA~~
~~FINANCE DEPARTMENT.~~

~~Enclosure to despatch No. 235 of 1920.~~

Extract from a letter from the Govt of Bombay

No. 655, dated Bombay Castle, the 23rd January 1920.

~~From I. Cannon, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of Bombay,~~

~~To The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department (Political).~~

I am directed to refer ~~to the correspondence ending with the letter from the Government of Bombay in the Educational Department no. 2686, dated the 30th July 1919, regarding the question of publicity in relation to Government activities, and to state for the information of the Government of India that with a view to take measures in the directions indicated by the Government of India, so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, the Governor in Council has created with effect from the 31st December 1919 a special temporary appointment for a period of 3 years on a salary of Rs. 2,000 per month, with leave concessions under European Service Rules.~~ The officer will be designated Director of Information with the Government of Bombay, and will be given the necessary establishment. The Governor in Council has secured for the appointment the services of Major A. J. Dawson from England. Major Dawson has had extensive experience of journalism and publicity organization and was, during the war, attached to the Military Intelligence Staff of the War Office. The following is a list of his publications :—

Middle Greyness ; Mere Sentiment ; Leeway (by "Howard Kerr") ; God's Founding ; African Nights' Entertainments ; Bismillah ; In the Bight of Benin ; Daniel Whyte ; The Story of Ronald Kestrel ; Joseph Khassan ; Half-Caste ; Hidden Manna ; Things seen in Morocco ; The Fortunes of Farthings ; The Message ; The Genteel A. B. ; Finn the Wolfhound ; Jan : Son of Finn ; Across Canada ; The Land of His Fathers ; How to help Lord Kitchener, 1914 ; Somme Battle Stories, 1916 ; Back to Blighty ; For France, 1917.

In the opinion of the Government of Bombay Major Dawson possesses very high qualifications for this post.

~~2. It is proposed that Major Dawson should execute an agreement of service with this Government for a period of three years, and that if, on the expiry of one year, satisfactory results have been obtained, the question of increasing his emoluments to Rs. 2,500 should be considered. It is also proposed that he should be granted a free passage to and from England.~~

3. Major Dawson has actually entered upon the duties of his office with effect from the date from which the appointment has been created and I am to request that the Government of India may be moved to accord their sanction to these arrangements.

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Enclosure no. 2.

No. 280-R., dated Lucknow, the 27th February 1919.

From The Hon'ble Mr. S. P. O'Donnell, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces,

To The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Delhi.

*& extract from a letter from the Govt. of the
U.P. dt. 27th Feb'y 19*

2. The future of the War Journal had already engaged the attention of this Government in connection with a letter from the Government of India in the Finance Department, intimating that the assignment to provincial revenues would be limited to expenditure incurred up to the 31st January. The question was discussed at a meeting of the Publicity Committee which His Honour decided to convene on the receipt of this letter. A copy of the proceedings of the Committee is enclosed for the information of the Government of India. It will be observed that the Committee were unanimously of opinion that the publicity campaign inaugurated last year should not be abandoned, that a Government educational journal should be established and that in the interval the War Journal should be continued on a reduced and more economical scale. The Committee were deeply impressed by the remarkable results attained by the War Journal during the short period that has elapsed since its inception. It has penetrated to the most remote parts of the province; it has carried enlightenment regarding the war, its meaning and aims, into the villages; it has killed false rumours and inspired confidence in the people. Apart moreover from its utility for purposes directly connected with the war, the educational effects have been of great value, and of still greater promise. The journal has stirred

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the curiosity and stimulated the imagination of the people. It cannot, of course, be continued indefinitely on the existing lines, but it has pointed the way to new and fruitful developments in educational work.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor has directed, accordingly, the preparation of a scheme for a Government educational journal. The scheme will, in due course, be published for general information, and after consideration of such criticisms and suggestions as may be elicited, the Government of India will be asked to sanction formally its adoption, and to grant such financial assistance as they may find it practicable to afford. In the meantime, and pending the establishment of a new journal, it is proposed to continue the War Journal on a reduced scale. Although the war has terminated, there will be ample scope for a publicity campaign during the coming months. As pointed out by the Government of India, problems connected with demobilization and reconstruction are likely to arise in the province, and their solution may be facilitated by the continuance of an official propaganda in some form. It will certainly also be found desirable to keep the public accurately informed of developments at the Peace Conference and of the international changes and rearrangements which will ensue thereafter. This is of particular importance in connection with the Muhammadan community, which, as the Government of India are aware, is extremely sensitive on the subject of the future of the Turkish Empire. An estimate of the cost is enclosed. The figures are for a year's expenditure. It is not anticipated that it will be necessary to retain the journal for as long as one year, but the exact period must depend on future developments, and cannot therefore, at present, be stated exactly, though it is unlikely to exceed six months. By arranging for the sale of a certain number of copies it is hoped to keep the expenditure down to a total which for one year would not exceed a sum of one lakh of rupees. The last issue of the old journal is about to appear, and the new journal will be issued next month. The only items in the estimate which call for remark are nos. 1 and 2, under the establishments head. It is proposed that Dr. Garfield Williams should be retained as editor for the month of March on his present salary of Rs. 1,200 per mensem, and that thereafter the editor should be Mr. Armour of the Indian Educational Service, who would draw his existing salary of Rs. 950 per mensem, *plus* a duty allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem. The latter, in His Honour's opinion, is necessary in view of the arduous and responsible nature of the work. It is also considered that the editor will need the assistance of a part-time personal assistant. It is proposed to obtain for this purpose the services of a member of the Provincial Educational Service, to whom an allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem will be paid.

5. With reference to the statement in paragraph 1 of your letter to the effect that it is understood that the war activities of the United Provinces Provincial Publicity Board will cease after the 15th March 1919, I am to explain that arrangements had already been made for the continuance of the magic lantern campaign and propaganda work in the schools up to the end of March 1919. This was understood to be in accordance with the wishes of the Government of India, which in the letter from the Finance Department, already referred to, had seemed to contemplate expenditure from the assignment on propaganda work up to the close of the financial year except as regards expenditure on the War Journal.

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Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Publicity Committee held at Government House, Allahabad, on the 19th February 1919.

PRESENT :

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (*in the Chair*).
 The Right Reverend the Bishop of Lucknow.
 The Hon'ble Mr. C. F. DE LA FOSSE, C.I.E.
 The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMANI.
 The Reverend Dr. GARFIELD WILLIAMS.
 The Reverend Dr. C. A. R. JANVIER.
 C. B. BATTIGAN, Esq.
 Rai Pandit SALIG RAM Bahadur, M.B.E.
 Munshi DAYA NARAIN Nigam.
 G. S. INGRAM, Esq.
 W. S. ARMOUR, Esq.
 V. A. STOWELL, Esq., O.B.E., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).
 The Hon'ble Mr. S. P. O'DONNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., also attended the meeting.

General.

1. Proceedings of the last meeting held on the 6th December 1919. Read and confirmed.

2. The question of a permanent Provincial War Museum. It was resolved on His Honour's proposal that action should be postponed for the present.

3. Report of the Temporary War Exhibition at Lucknow from the 27th January to the 1st February 1919. (Mr. Bennett's Naval Pictures.) Report read and recorded. It was resolved that the Central Publicity Board be asked whether the pictures can be obtained for exhibition in other cities of the United Provinces when other provincial capitals have done with them.

Educational Department Campaign.

4. Reports of progress in— Mr. Armour gave the meeting an interesting account of the satisfactory progress made in the Magic Lantern Campaign, and other propaganda work in the schools. Large numbers of pamphlets have been issued by the Educational Publicity Bureau and much interest has been aroused by the Magic Lantern Campaign. An examination on knowledge of the war is just about to be held in almost every High School in the province and about 4,500 examination papers have been asked for by 139 schools, including a number of girls' schools. He further mentioned the excellent work which has been done among women and girls' schools by the Inspectresses.

His Honour remarked that he had heard from other sources of good work being done under Mr. Armour's directions, and Rai Salig Ram Bahadur mentioned that at Ghasipur the District War League had been offering three monthly

prizes to Middle Schools for essays on the war and that this had been very successful. About 45 essays were sent in every month. He proposed that the Magic Lantern Campaign should be made a permanent feature of the educational system of the province. Mr. de la Fosse was disposed to agree to this suggestion and the meeting resolved to recommend to Government that the the Magic Lantern Campaign be made a permanent feature of the educational system of the province and be brought to the special notice of district boards, who should be informed of the monthly cost of keeping one lantern at work.

Mr. Armour said that the cost came to about Rs. 100 a month.

On His Honour's proposal the meeting recorded its appreciation of Mr. Armour's valuable services in starting and organising this work.

War Journal.

5. For financial reasons it has been necessary to close down the War Journal in its present form. The question for the consideration of the Publicity Committee is whether the production of the War Journal on a reduced scale should be continued, and, if so, for what period.

His Honour opened the discussion by explaining the existing position with regard to the continuance or stoppage of the War Journal and the proposals which had been put forward for establishing a future journal as a means of enlightening and affording instruction and interest to the villagers without competing with the existing press in the matter of news or advertisements.

6. To consider a memorandum by the Director of Public Instruction and Dr. Garfield Williams regarding a proposal to start a weekly or fortnightly paper for free circulation in schools. (Copy of memorandum printed and circulated to all members.)

Mr. Ingram then gave an interesting account of the results of his tour made to study the distribution of the War Journal. He described to what a remarkable extent the War Journal now reaches almost all the villages in the provinces, how little wastage occurs and the remarkable effect which the War Journal has had on the people. It has killed false rumours, it has inspired confidence in the people and has given them a new and wider vision of the outer world. He showed by actual instances how widely and immediately anything published in the journal reached the people throughout the provinces. (A full copy of his report is attached to these proceedings.)

Mr. Rattigan considered that it would be sound to continue a journal as an educational organ in which the Agriculture and Medical Departments could issue useful information to the people.

Dr. Janvier approved of the proposal to continue a Government paper although he confessed, to having some doubts with regard to the obtaining of sufficient interesting material and with regard to the financial question. He thought that the journal might be made more self-supporting if some small charge were made for it.

Rai Salig Ram Bahadur described his conversion from opposition to the War Journal at the outset to warm support of it. He had at first not believed that it would be of any use and thought it was a waste of labour and money and he had declined at first to be Editor of the Ghazipur District Supplement. Subsequently, however, he had accepted the editorship and had become a warm supporter of the War Journal and a strong advocate of continuing a paper on similar lines, which, he said, would be a very potent instrument for uplifting the masses, provided—

- (i) there was no competition with the existing press; and
- (ii) no controversial matter was included.

The Bishop of Lucknow agreed with the previous speakers.

Mr. Chintamani considered that a scheme should be prepared and published for public discussion; this meeting, he said, could not decide the question. He

was in favour of continuing a journal for educational purposes subject to the provisos mentioned by Pandit Salig Ram. He was, however, disposed to be alarmed at the expenditure which would be involved and he thought that Government, after getting the opinions of the public, should appoint a small committee to advise on the question and then pass orders.

Munshi Daya Narain agreed with Mr. Chintamani and thought that a Government journal might lose its interest when there was no more war news to be published.

His Honour said it appeared that the meeting was unanimous that the establishment of some Government educational journal was desirable.

With regard, however, to item 5. of the Agenda, the immediate question for the meeting was whether we should for the present carry on the War Journal on a reduced scale and ask the Government of India for financial help. We could not carry on on the present scale and any continuance of the War Journal must be on more economical lines. But it was an experiment and could not be tested as a business concern. The very fact that it was not a business proposition strengthened its position *vis-à-vis* the existing press. It was an experiment all through—a very valuable educational effort of more value than many new schools. We had got very good value out of the money spent on the War Journal even though the cost had been great. The question for the Government and its advisers now was whether it was worth while going on spending, say, a lakh of rupees a year to carry on for the present. If the suggestion were approved the scheme could be worked out and sent by post to members for suggestions and criticism, and the local Government would then address the Government of India.

The following resolutions were then recorded:—Proposed by Mr. Rattigan and seconded by Mr. Chintamani:—

“That the War Journal on a reduced scale with every possible economy be continued until the new journal be started.

“That a committee be appointed to consider and work out proposals for starting such a new journal on educational lines and that such committee should contain representatives of the journalistic profession and of the educational, agricultural, co-operative, medical and industrial activities of the provinces; and that in view of the good work done by the existing War Journal the Government of India be asked to reconsider the position in regard to finance.”

These resolutions having been carried unanimously, His Honour remarked that the points to be insisted on in any scheme to be drawn up for the future journal must include the following conditions:—There must be no competition with the existing press in news or in advertisements, economy must be strictly observed and the journal must be purely educational in character and no controversial matter should be admitted. The journal should not be the organ of one department only. There should be a committee of management, as suggested on page 2 of the memorandum which had been placed before the meeting.

The Publicity Committee had, His Honour said, reached a very important decision. The recommendations of the Committee which would be appointed to discuss the new journal would be published and discussed before Government took any action.

His Honour then moved a formal vote of thanks to Dr. Garfield Williams, Pandit Satyanand Joshi and their co-adjutors Messrs. Armour, Ingram and Abel for the splendid work which had been done by them in starting and conducting the War Journal.

The motion was cordially adopted and the meeting then closed.

(Sd.) V. A. STOWELL,

Secretary.

Estimate of the cost of the revised War Journal.

Establishment.	Amount.
	Rs.
One General Editor (pay <i>plus</i> local allowance of Rs. 200)	14,000
One part-time Personal Assistant at Rs. 200	2,400
One Vernacular Editor at Rs. 350—30—500	5,200
Two Translators at Rs. 120—6—150 each .	3,420
Two Caligraphers at Rs. 35 each	840
One Office Superintendent at Rs. 150 .	1,800
Two Stenographers at Rs. 100—10—150 each	3,300
One clerk at Rs. 80—4—100	1,140
One daftri at Rs. 9	108
Three peons at Rs. 7 each	252
Travelling allowances	500
Total	32,960
<i>Contingencies.</i>	
Books and publications	500
Postage and telegram charges	500
Telephone charges .	350
Office rent at Rs. 75 and taxes.	960
Office furniture and repairs, etc.	100
Stationery purchased locally	120
Hot and cold weather charges	500
Sweeper at Rs. 3, chankidar at Rs. 7, and water-bearer at Rs. 2	144
Liveries for peons	48
Miscellaneous	100
Total	3,420
<i>Printing charges.</i>	
Printing charges	80,000
GRAND TOTAL	1,16,380

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Draft scheme for the proposed Provincial Journal.

1. The journal should be entitled "The United Provinces Journal" with the sub-title "A Popular Educator." It should be published weekly in super-royal octave size, containing 12 pages of printed matter together with not more than four pages of pictures. The Committee considered the suggestion that the journal might be published fortnightly, but were unanimous in recommending that it should be a weekly paper.

2. The journal should contain :—

- (a) an explanatory summary of the news of the world taken from such news as has already been published through the ordinary press channels in India ;
- (b) articles having special reference to the Imperial point of view ; and
- (c) articles specially related to the life of the villager and the inhabitants of small towns. These articles should deal with problems connected with agriculture, sanitation, irrigation, industries and their development, co-operation, etc.
- (d) It should also contain articles introducing ideas of citizenship in a somewhat larger world.

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- (e) Stories should also be a feature.
- (f) The journal will be one of the media through which Government will make known any departmental developments that will be of interest to the people of the province.
- (g) Although the journal would necessarily be a popular "educator" and therefore be an "educational" experiment, yet its activities should be inter-departmental; and it should in ordinary circumstances be looked upon by each department as the natural means whereby that department would give publicity to any ideas or schemes for which a wide publicity was required.
- (h) The journal should be used by Government for *communiqués* setting forth plain facts without arguments regarding public events and the acts of Government such as are likely to affect the people for whom the journal is intended. Government is already in the habit of issuing such *communiqués* in the public press, and this procedure would be in accordance with the existing practice.
3. The journal should be non-political.
4. The journal should not in any way trespass upon the territory occupied by the ordinary provincial press. It should take no advertisements. It should not seek to get special news; indeed its chief purpose would be rather to explain and interpret the ordinary news and the ordinary non-political material which the press publishes in India from time to time.
5. With regard to distribution, the Committee propose that Government should be prepared to finance a free distribution of 24,000 copies a week, and that any distribution above this figure should be paid for at cost price. The Committee wish to emphasize the necessity of this free distribution. There is not the slightest doubt that the *United Provinces War Journal* has done a remarkable piece of educational work among a class of persons who could not possibly be expected to buy a newspaper. It is possible that in course of time this free distribution may be paid for, but at the outset the Committee think it advisable that Government should be prepared to carry on the work of free distribution that has already been begun.
6. An estimate of the cost of producing the proposed journal is appended to this scheme. The question of printing charges was considered by the Committee, but they held that the charges were the lowest possible.
- *7. The Committee carefully considered the estimate of expenditure in respect of staff and contingencies, and were unable to suggest any possible reductions, having due regard to efficiency and to the amount of work to be done. The gross cost amounts to Rs. 1,14,580, taking the average incidence of the time-scale salaries proposed, calculated as required by article 150 of the Civil Service Regulations. By selling 6,000 copies on the proposed scale of Rs. 3-4-0 per copy per annum, the nett cost to Government would be reduced to below a lakh of rupees. As 8,000 copies have already been ordered on payment by District Boards and others, the nett cost to Government would actually be less than this sum.
8. The Committee have proposed that there should be an Advisory Committee to assist the Editor and Government in the conduct and management of the Journal. The functions of this Committee should be purely consultative, and the following are proposed for its members:--

1. The Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces.

* The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, who was unable to attend the meeting, sent in a written opinion, objecting to the suggested scale of expenditure and proposing to reduce the staff. He considered that one Indian Editor with two assistants, who would do translating work, would be sufficient, and the expenditure should be brought down to the neighbourhood of Rs. 50,000 a year. The Committee discussed this proposal at length and were unable to agree with Mr. Chintamani. The Editorship of the journal would be a highly responsible post, and in view of the necessity of bringing out Urdu and Hindi versions in addition to the English edition, the Committee considered that it would be impossible for one man to do the whole work. The reduction of the expenditure to Rs. 50,000 would, the Committee thought, involve cutting down the circulation to such an extent as to impair the utility and the efficiency of the journal to a very serious degree.

2. The Hon'ble Mr. H. R. C. Hailey, C.I.E., I.C.S., Director of Land Records and Agriculture, United Provinces.
3. Mr. C. B. Rattigan, Editor of the *Pioneer*.
4. The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Editor of the *Leader*.
5. A representative of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce.
6. Pandit Devi Prasad Shukla, Editor of the *Saraswati*.
7. The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Abdul Majid, C.I.E.
8. Mr. G. S. Ingram.
9. Captain Ranjit Singh.

Estimate for *United Provinces Journal* on the basis of a weekly issue.

Establishment.	Amount.
	Rs.
One General Editor	13,800
One part time Personal Assistant at Rs. 200	2,400
One Vernacular Editor at Rs. 350—30—500	5,400
Two Translators at Rs. 120—6—150 each	3,420
Two calligraphers at Rs. 35 each	840
Two stenographers at Rs. 100—10—150 each	3,800
One clerk at Rs. 80—4—100	1,140
One daftri at Rs. 9	108
Three peons at Rs. 7 each	252
Travelling allowances	500
Total	31,160
Contingencies	3,420
Printing charges	80,000
GRAND TOTAL	1,14,580

Estimate of receipts and expenditure of the *United Provinces Journal* for the year 1919-20.

Receipts.	Amount.	Expenditure.	Amount.
	Rs.		Rs.
By sale of 6,000 copies of the journal.	19,500	Establishment	31,160
Nett cost to Government	95,080	Contingencies	3,420
		Printing charges	80,000
Total	1,14,580	Total	1,14,580

No. 668.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

Dated Naini Tal, the 3rd May 1919.

RESOLUTION.

At a meeting of the United Provinces Publicity Committee held at Allahabad on the 19th February 1919, the following resolutions were proposed by Mr. Rattigan and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani:—

"That the *War Journal* on a reduced scale with every possible economy be continued until the new journal be started ;

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that a committee be appointed to consider and work out proposals for starting such a new journal on educational lines and that such committee should contain representatives of the journalistic profession and of the educational, agricultural, co-operative, medical and industrial activities of the province; and

that in view of the good work done by the existing *War Journal* the Government of India be asked to reconsider the position in regard to finance."

These resolutions having been carried unanimously His Honour observed that in any scheme for the future journal the following conditions should be borne in mind :—

There should be no competition with the existing press in news or in advertisements; strict economy should be observed; the journal should be purely educational in character and no controversial matter should be admitted. The journal should not be the organ of one department only, but there should be a committee of management.

The committee appointed to consider the question of starting a new provincial journal met on the 12th of April, and their proposals are embodied in the following draft scheme, which is published for general information: Before coming to a decision His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor wishes to obtain the opinion of the public on the questions involved, and it is requested that criticisms and suggestions may be communicated to the Chief Secretary to Government on or before the 31st May 1919.

A. C. CHATTERJEE,
Chief Secretary to Government, United Provinces.

No. III-388.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

Dated Naini Tal, the September 1919.

RESOLUTION.

READ :—

The proceedings of the United Provinces Publicity Committee held on the 19th February 1919 to consider the question of the continuance of the United Provinces War Journal on a reduced scale.

The draft scheme drawn up by the Committee appointed to work out the proposals for starting a new provincial journal.

The opinions and criticisms on the Committee's scheme received from the public and the officials and non-officials consulted.

Observations.—During the war the need for some popular organ to bring home to the people of these provinces the nature of the conflict that was in progress and India's part in it had been acutely felt. Such an organ it was believed would help not only to kill false rumours and inspire confidence in the people, but would also give them a new and wider vision of the outer world. The "United Provinces War Journal" was in consequence started, its first number appearing on the 17th July 1918. Its success surpassed all expectations. It reached the remotest villages of the province and was read and studied in village schools and at village chaupals. The journal continued its useful career right up to the end of the war. Its circulation then reached 1,19,500.

2. With the signing of the armistice the question arose whether the journal should be maintained in its existing form or on a less ambitious scale, or whether it should be closed down. At a meeting of the United Provinces Publicity Bureau held on the 19th February 1919, a Resolution was moved by

Mr. C. B. Rattigan, seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, to the effect that the "War Journal" should be continued on a reduced scale with every possible economy until a new journal on educational lines could be started to take its place. The new organ was to be non-controversial in character and was not to compete in any way with the existing press in the matter of news and advertisements. It was also proposed that a committee should be appointed to consider and work out proposals for starting such a journal and should contain members of the journalistic profession and representatives of the educational, agricultural, co-operative, medical and industrial activities of the province.

3. This committee met on the 12th April 1919 and its proposals were embodied in a draft scheme which was published for general information and criticism in the local Government Gazette of the 10th May 1919. The opinions of non-official gentlemen as well as of officials have now been received and carefully considered by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

4. The criticisms made fall into certain definite categories. These are :—

- (1) the doubtful utility of the journal ;
- (2) the lack of enthusiasm on the part of those it is meant to reach ;
- (3) the paucity of subjects of interest now that the war is over ; and
- (4) its expense.

The first three classes of criticisms are outweighed by the emphatic opinion of the majority who consider that the journal has been highly appreciated, that it is performing a useful function and that its discontinuance would deprive many of instruction and information that would otherwise be inaccessible to them. The strongest argument in favour of the continuance of the journal is the fact that the number of copies subscribed for is increasing rapidly. In the estimate framed by the Committee published in the local Government Gazette of the 10th May 1919, the number of copies likely to be sold is estimated at 6,000 whereas the number of copies actually sold according to the latest figures supplied is 15,000, the free distribution being maintained at 23,000. The circulation has been increasing at an average of 500 copies per week, and indents continue to be received not only from residents of the province but also from people and public institutions in other provinces.

5. The view that with the termination of the war the journal will become featureless is not one that need be seriously considered. The journal in its modified form is designed to be a popular educator. It will deal with subjects that are of interest to all classes of the people. Articles on agriculture, irrigation, co-operation, industry, health, education, sanitation and the like, treated in a simple manner, will find a place in its pages, and it will be the natural means whereby a department of Government will give publicity to any ideas or scheme for which a wide publication is required. Even in its transitional form the journal is appealing to a wider circle of readers and there should be no apprehension that interesting and appropriate subjects will be lacking.

6. The last criticism levelled against the journal is on the ground of expense. If the circulation of the paper, apart from the free copies, increases, the cost to Government will naturally be decreased. The estimate framed by the Committee was merely an approximate one. The Editor will be asked to supply a definite estimate of the probable expenditure based on that incurred since the conversion of the journal into its present form. Every economy possible will be effected, but it must be recognized that a paper such as the one projected cannot be judged by commercial standards. The criterion of its success or failure must not be gauged by the money spent but by the results achieved in the instruction and enlightenment of the people. It is natural that there should be doubts and adverse criticism. The journal is an experiment and as an experiment it is necessary to proceed with caution. But the educational results already achieved have been of great value and are of greater promise, and point the way to new and fruitful developments in educational work.

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7. After mature consideration of all the opinions received, Sir Harcourt Butler is convinced that the journal in its modified form is valuable not only as an instrument for the dissemination of information to the people but as a means of education, particularly for those in the villages. He is convinced of the utility of the journal and has decided to continue it. The new journal will in future be published as "The United Provinces Journal—A Popular Educator."

Order. Ordered that a copy of the Resolution be published in the United Provinces Government Gazette.

Ordered also that a copy be forwarded to the Editor of the journal for information.

M. KEANE,

Chief Secretary to Government, United Provinces.

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Extract from a letter from
the Govt. of the Punjab d. 27th March 1919

Enclosure No. 3.

No. 8558 H., dated Lahore, the 27th March 1919.

From—The HON'BLE MR. L. FRENCH, C.I.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to refer to Mr. Young's letter no. 1237-C and your letter no. 221 both of the 1st February 1919, in which the opinion of this Government is sought on:—

- (a) the advisability of continuing the publication under Government auspices of the vernacular organ (known as 'Haq') which was started last year in this Province in connection with the publicity campaign ; and
- (b) the expediency of establishing a department of publications with the aims and functions described in your letter, under reply.

2. In regard to (a) I am to refer you to Mr. Thompson's demi-official letter no. 1341-2 P.B., dated the 14th December 1917; to Mr. Hignell's address, in which this Government's scheme for the establishment of a Government journal was explained. Before action could be taken in accordance with the sanction given by the Secretary of State on the 4th June, 1918, it was decided to constitute a Publicity Committee in the Province with a weekly organ devoted mainly to war propaganda. The success of the "Haq" in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province was immediate and has been mainly due, His Honour believes, to the desire of the public to be put in possession of trustworthy information imparted in attractive form. By the end of the war the Urdu and Gurmukhi issues, sold at a pice per copy, had attained a circulation of over 50,000. From 1st January the price was raised to two pice but the circulation is still 25,000. The question under consideration when your letter was received was whether this paper should continue to be published as a weekly in English, Urdu and Gurmukhi (the two principal vernaculars of the Province) or be converted into a daily—the form in which it was originally intended to publish the Government organ.

3. After careful consideration of the situation the Lieutenant-Governor has come to the conclusion that, for the present and until further experience has

been gained under normal conditions, the balance of advantage lies in continuing to issue the "Haq" as a weekly organ. But the English edition will be dropped, for although it pays its way, His Honour does not consider that it is any longer required or that its continued publication will secure results commensurate with the trouble entailed by its production.

4. As regards the vernacular editions, the Lieutenant-Governor does not anticipate that the continued publication of an established organ in this Province will provoke any general antagonism, as appears to be apprehended by the Government of India : and in this connection it is significant that it is only the Indian owned English press, which appeals almost exclusively to urban circles, that has subjected the proposed continuance of the "Haq" and publicity work in the Province to hostile criticism. Its circulation will probably expand when it is understood that the scheme of a Government organ containing reliable news is to be persevered in.

6. A programme of work for the new Provincial Publications Department on lines adapted to existing conditions from the propaganda of the Publicity Committee has already been drawn up ; and the Lieutenant-Governor has arranged that the Secretary of the Bureau (assisted by a small consultative committee of officials and non-officials) will be in charge directly under Government and will also exercise general supervision over the production of the "Haq." The local Government is prepared to provide the necessary expenditure which is estimated at about Rs. 1,30,000 per annum, with receipts from the sale of the "Haq" of about Rs. 30,000 or roughly a nett expenditure of Rs. 1 lakh per annum. ~~Budget provision has been made accordingly. I am to request formal approval with effect from the 15th March 1919 to an estimated expenditure of Rs. 1,30,000 per annum on—~~

- ~~(1) the continuance of the publication of the "Haq" under Government auspices as a weekly organ, and~~
- ~~(2) the establishment of a Provincial Publications Department on the lines indicated in this letter.~~

No. 756-2P.-1.

GOVERNMENT OF BURMA.
GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

FROM

THE HON'BLE MR. C. M. WEBB, I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma,

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
HOME DEPARTMENT.

Dated Rangoon, the 19th March 1920.

SIR,

*Extract from letter from
the Govt of Burma d 19th March 1920*

2. The meeting of the 6th February was concerned mainly with the question of the publication of such a newspaper, because that was the question on which some doubt was entertained. Although the preparation and issue of this newspaper would be an important portion of the functions of the Publicity Bureau, it would not be its sole function. It is intended that the Bureau should issue under its own name news and notes on any matter of public interest, and supply them to every paper in the province. It is not intended that the Bureau

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and its newspaper should be actively propagandist in its attitude. The columns of the newspaper and the news and notes issued would put forward the policy of Government in a straightforward and non-controversial manner. In cases of misrepresentation it would set forth the correct facts in the manner least likely to irritate or to provoke recrimination. A copy of the "Rangoon Mail" of the 19th February 1920 is enclosed showing something of what is intended in this respect. The Director of Publicity will be instructed that it will be part of his duty to maintain friendly professional relations with the editors of all the newspapers in the province. He will be expected to take the lead in inculcating the spirit that though there may be differences of opinion on matters political, such differences should be expressed with restraint and with due regard to the existence of other points of view.

3. As will be seen from the second enclosure, it is estimated that the Bureau and its newspaper will require an initial expenditure of Rs. 10,000, and a net recurring expenditure of Rs. 3,360 *per mensem*. It is quite possible that this estimated gross expenditure *per mensem* will be exceeded, especially if the paper is a success; but it is anticipated that the revenue would increase proportionately, and that the net monthly expenditure could be kept within the total of Rs. 4,000.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

C. M. WEBB,

Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma.

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Enclosure I

Extrait from the

Notes of a meeting held in Chief Secretary's Office on Friday, 6th February 1920, to discuss the question of the adoption of active propaganda to counteract misrepresentation in the Press made for political motives.

~~PRESENT:~~

The Hon'ble Mr. R. E. V. ARBUTHNOT.	Mr. J. J. NOLAN.
The Hon'ble Mr. C. M. WEBB.	Mr. W. F. GRAHAME.
The Hon'ble Mr. F. LEWISOHN.	Mr. E. C. S. SHUTTLEWORTH.
The Hon'ble Mr. H. TONKINSON.	Mr. H. C. NANGLE.
The Hon'ble Mr. MARK HUNTER.	Mr. MATHEW HUNTER, C.I.E.
Mr. F. MCCARTHY.	Mr. C. A. SNOW.

Mr. R. W. BISHOP.

2. Chief Secretary started the meeting by giving a history of the proposals, specially referring to the following records:—

Flag A.	Mr. Gavin Scott's letter of the 27th May 1918.
Flag B.	Mr. Rice's note of the 8th June 1918.
Flag C.	Mr. Rice's letter of the 13th June 1918.
Flag D.	Mr. English's note of the 22nd December 1918.
Flag E.	Paragraphs 9 and 10 of Sir James DuBoulay's letter of the 18th February 1919.
Flag F.	Paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 of Local Government's letter of the 19th July 1919.
Flag G.	Mr. Craik's letter of the 18th September 1919.
Flag H.	Paragraphs 11 to 13 of this Government's letter of the 10th December 1919.

3. The meeting was unanimous that the Local Government should be advised to proceed with its scheme to publish a newspaper without delay. ~~Much regret was expressed that the scheme outlined in Mr. Gavin Scott's letter of the 27th May 1918 had been put aside.~~

Flag A. ~~It was noted that Mr. English was largely responsible~~
Flag B. ~~for its abandonment but that he had subsequently~~
Flag D. ~~changed his views. Mr. McCarthy considered that~~
~~the change in his views was probably due to the failure~~

~~of the alternative which was ultimately adopted at his suggestion. The Recruiting Committee, however good its work was in other respects, failed utterly in its general propaganda. Mr. McCarthy considered that with the failure of the alternative, the initial scheme of Mr. Gavin Scott held the field without any rival.~~

4. The question of the language of publication was next considered. It was unanimously agreed that the primary object of the publication was to reach the literate members of the great mass of the people, and that it was essential that the publication should be in Burmese. There was some difference of opinion as to the necessity of publishing an English edition of the paper. It was finally recommended, practically unanimously, that if an English edition could be published without any large additional expense, it would fully justify its existence. Mr. Lewisohn considered that it would be of special value in providing special reading for the more highly educated Burmans, at College, and after leaving College. At present, they have nothing but anti-Government papers to supply them with the class of reading they desire, and their minds are generally influenced by the doctrines preached.

5. On the question of the price of the paper Mr. Shuttleworth was the only member present who advocated free distribution. The meeting as a whole were

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in favour of a small charge (2 annas was the price suggested), with a considerable element of free distribution for the first year of the establishment of the paper, as a commercial measure to advertise the paper and bring it to the notice of as many readers as possible.

6. It was considered that the paper should be a weekly, in size and get up something like the "Tharrawaddy News,"—perhaps a little smaller. Emphasis was laid on the importance of making the paper of as high a quality as possible in the following particulars :—

- (i) the supply of general news,
- (ii) the quality of the paper,
- (iii) illustrations, and possibly cartoons,
- (iv) promptitude and regularity of issue,
- (v) the inclusion of matter in which the Burman, as a cultivator and a townsman, is likely to be interested.

7. This led to the question of the editorial staff. The meeting endorsed

Flag A. paragraph 7 of Mr. Scott's letter of the 27th May 1918,

Flag B. but considered the staff suggested in paragraph 5 of Mr. Rice's note more suitable. Mr. Grahame considered that the Editor should know Burmese, but on being asked

to suggest the name of any person with adequate journalistic experience who knew Burmese, he was unable to do so. Mr. Nolan's name was mentioned as a possible Director of Publicity and unanimously approved.

8. The question of the methods of distribution was also considered, and in this connection the possibility of incorporating into the newspaper special district sheets giving local district news on the lines of a Parish Magazine was discussed. Mr. Bishop, the Superintendent of the Government Press, explained that this would cause considerable difficulty in the printing and issue of the publication up to date. Messrs. McCarthy and Nolan were however of the opinion that such difficulties could be overcome by good organization and proper management. It was considered that District Committees might be appointed to prepare the local news sheet and also to stimulate the local circulation of the newspaper. It would not be necessary to have a district sheet for every district. For instance, one sheet might do for all the districts in the Arakan Division, and to save time the Arakan news sheet might be inserted locally at Akyab. Then again, districts like the Upper Chindwin and Bhamo would not be likely to require a news sheet. A start could be made by inserting news sheets in a few districts where such news sheets would be welcome, and the experiment could be extended as experience was gained. Local Committees for the encouragement of the circulation of the paper should however be arranged in every district.

9. On the question of accommodation, Mr. Bishop stated that the Government Press could carry out the printing of the newspaper, but would not be able to undertake the accommodation of any of the Editorial or Translating or Clerical Staffs. Mr. Hunter, Director of Public Instruction, said that he thought he would be able to provide three rooms in his portion of the Secretariat for accommodation for the Editorial, Translation and Clerical Staffs of the paper for a start, while suitable permanent accommodation was being obtained.

10. The subject of the control of the newspaper by the Local Government, and especially the question whether the control should be direct or through an Advisory Committee, was next discussed. It was considered that the more direct the connection between the Local Government and the management of the paper, the better. It would be difficult to get a Committee together, and promptitude and punctuality were considered to be essential conditions if the paper is to be a success. A Committee might be of use occasionally to advise the Government on matters of policy or finance, but it was thought that recourse should not be had to the assistance of such a Committee except occasionally. The normal every day management of the paper should be in close and direct touch with the various Secretaries and Heads of Departments of the Local Government.

11. The question of finance was discussed only very superficially. It was suggested that the Revenue Secretary and Mr. Bishop, Superintendent of the Government Press, should meet and discuss the cost of issuing a paper of the

circulation desired. Estimates might be made of the cost if the circulation were 1,000, 2,000, 5,000 or 10,000. It was recommended that full advantage should be taken of the possibility of using the newspaper as an advertisement medium. The more unattractive Government announcements might be put in the advertisement columns, the reading part of the publication being devoted to matters of general interest. It was accepted that the paper must be run at a loss, as its cost must largely exceed any subscription and advertisement revenue that could be anticipated. However the fact of a loss must be faced as the cost of the large political advantages to be secured.

12. I had intended to raise the question of the name of the paper, but this was overlooked in the course of discussions on other aspects of the case. The more simple the name, the better. I had intended to suggest the name "The Burma News."

13. The members present at the meeting desired that the Local Government should be impressed with the need for very early action. It was the general opinion that action on these lines at a much earlier date than the present would have been of great value. Each month's delay in starting the paper, if the Local Government is prepared to take action on the lines suggested, will mean a diminution in its efficacy in securing the objects which it is intended to attain.

C. M. WEBB, — 8-2-20. —

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ENCLOSURE II.

Note on Conference with Messrs. Bishop and Nolan regarding cost of bringing out a Government Newspaper with reference to Chief Secretary's Office Note No. 463-2P.-1, dated the 13th February 1920.

We have thought it convenient to proceed on the assumption that the number of copies of the vernacular paper at its first inception will be 10,000 and that the price at which it will be sold will be Re. 0-1-0. Most of the other papers are Re. 0-1-3. It is proposed that it should have 16 pages of reading matter and 4 pages of advertisements, one illustration and one cartoon. The

* Though not at present, as there is a paper famine.

requisite paper could be got locally from Messrs. John Dickinson & Co.,* and blocks for photographs could be made locally, though it would perhaps be

necessary to include a process-making plant in the Government Press next annual indent.

The following estimate is for non-recurring expenditure :—

	Rs.
A new printing machine	5,000
A new folding machine	2,000
New type ...	2,000
Incidental expenses	1,000
Total ...	10,000

For recurring expenditure—

	Rs.
1 Director of Publicity	1,500
1 Burman Editor	500
1 Clerk	100-5-150
1 Despatcher ...	40-3-70
1 Assistant Foreman	80-4-120
1 Reader ...	100-5-150
1 Copy-holder ...	40-3-70
8 Compositors at piece rates, say Rs. 50 each a month	400
Total initial recurring cost of staff	2,760

(Mr. Nolan has, however, suggested that although Rs. 1,500 may have been a suitable figure before, it is hardly adequate now owing to the increased cost of living and that it ought to be raised by at least a house allowance.)

The cost of producing and distributing the paper and all contingencies connected therewith is estimated at Rs. 650 a week or Rs. 2,600 a month. The total non-recurring cost at the beginning would be Rs. 5,360.

As against that, receipts may be estimated as follows :—

	Rs.
Sale of 3,200 copies a week ...	800 a month.
Advertisements at Rs. 300 a week	1,200 "
Total	2,000 "
Net cost	3,360 "

It is proposed that the paper should appear every Wednesday morning and the staff might be available for use in getting out the vernacular edition of the *Burma Gazette*.

As regards the English edition, no additional initial expenditure would be necessary. Owing to the more concise nature of the English language, a paper

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(2)

of 16 pages would suffice and probably 2,000 copies would be sufficient. It is estimated that the total cost would be Rs. 250 a week or Rs. 1,000 a month. It is also estimated that the sales would amount to about Rs. 400 a month and the advertisements to Rs. 600 a month, giving a total of Rs. 1,000 a month. In other words an English edition ought to pay for itself.

The accounts of the paper should be included in the Government Press Accounts and receipts in the districts would be credited to the head "Stationery and Printing."

~~It is suggested that if orders could be obtained on the proposal by the 15th of April, it would be possible to start the paper by the 1st of June—if there is paper available.~~

In my opinion an expenditure of Rs. 3,360 a month is not too much to pay for an important political enterprise of this sort.

F. LEWISOHN,—25-2-20.

CHIEF SECRETARY.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

31

MEMORANDUM ON PUBLICITY IN INDIA.

1. The necessity for Publicity Works.

The necessity for systematic and sustained publicity work in India has now become self-evident. It is a point upon which the Joint Committee of Both Houses on the Reform Bill recently laid much stress. From the Indian point of view whether we look to the immediate past, to the heavy loss of reputation sustained by the Administration in this country over the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab disturbances, the constitutional reforms; or to the future form of polity when misconceptions, now dangerous, will become fatal; we cannot fail to be struck by the serious risk involved in continuing the policy which has up to now characterised the administration in India, namely, the policy of trusting good work to tell its own story.

It may be pointed out that every civilised Government now finds itself obliged to take measures to educate public opinion, to make its position plain, to secure for its own statement of the case a fair hearing. In India, those whose aim it is to misrepresent Government have now got a long start. Their greatest triumph consists in the fact that they have cultivated in the reading public a taste for invective against Government, with the result that at the present moment a temperate statement on a political question exercises little influence and excites less interest. The most casual study of the comments of the press of India, of the United States, and of Great Britain, suffices to show that the time has now come for the Administration in India to face seriously the task of making good the loss of reputation which now everywhere confronts it.

2. The aims of Publicity Work in India.

The aims of publicity work in India may be defined as follows:—

- (a) the removal of the wall of misconception and mistrust which hems in Government, and hampers its work;
- (b) the education of general public opinion to such understanding of the work of Government as will dispose that opinion to put a favourable, rather than unfavourable, construction upon the acts and motives of the administration—in other words, the recapture of the position now for some years lost, but still not irretrievable, in which Government found its pronouncements and its opinions received on all hands as though they bore the insignia of unquestioned truth;
- (c) the strengthening of our hold, now seriously threatened, on the affection and the loyalty of the uneducated classes; together with the recapture of such sections of the educated classes as are not definitely committed to racial hostility against us;
- (d) the creation of healthy, sound, and balanced opinion upon questions in which Government and people are alike interested that the right view should prevail.

3. Types of Publicity Work in India and the Agencies by which they should be performed.

Publicity in India falls under three principal heads:

First.—Publicity in which the Central Government is primarily interested. This includes not merely all-India questions, but also the representation of the work of the various Indian Governments in a favourable light in the eyes of the publics of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan.

AGENCY :—

(i) Publicity outside India should be the work of the publicity organisation attached to the Central Government, which on the one hand has sources of information not available to the provincial Governments, and on the other, can promptly open up permanent channels of communication between India and other countries, through which any foreign publicity work desired by the provincial Governments can be performed more economically and more expeditiously than would ensue, were each provincial publicity organisation to attempt to perform its own external propaganda.

(ii) Publicity work on all-Indian questions must be done by intimate co-operation between the Central and the provincial publicity organisations. The Central organisation can suggest the line of policy and co-ordinate the efforts of the local organisations; but the execution of the policy and the shaping of the raw material in accordance with local requirements must be done upon the spot by the provincial publicity bodies.

Secondly.—Publicity work in which the provincial Governments are primarily interested. This includes on the one hand questions of purely provincial importance, and on the other, all-India questions of such importance as to force them upon the notice of every Administration.

AGENCY :—

The actual execution of publicity work must remain in the hands of the provincial publicity organisations; but they will benefit much from the co-ordination of their efforts by the Central organisation, and from the more extensive information that it will be able to place at their disposal.

Thirdly.—Publicity in which both the Central Government and the provincial Governments are interested. This consist mainly of attacking popular misconceptions which are used to bring Government, in general, into hatred and contempt; for example, the drain on India; the rise of prices; the charges about famine, disease, and the declining physique.

AGENCY :—

Here, again, the work must be done by intimate co-operation between the Central and the provincial organisations, the former in many cases supplying the line of policy and the material, the latter being responsible for putting the policy into execution and giving the material the necessary local shape.

4. Publicity Machinery and its Function.

A.—CENTRAL ORGANISATION.

(i) Existing Machinery and work accomplished up to date.

Central Organisation.—At present, the Special Section of the Home Department, Government of India, consists of a single officer on special duty, with a small staff. This section has been in existence about six months.

The work falls into two branches :—

FIRST BRANCH. HEADQUARTERS WORK.

(a) Information Division.—dealing with references from the provincial organisations. For the last six months references have been received almost every day from one or other of the provincial bodies, and the quantity of matter sent down has been very great.

- (b) *Propaganda Division*,—dealing with specific Government of India propaganda in this country. During the last six months more than 200 articles, communiques, telegraphic notices, have been issued to English and Vernacular papers, and in not more than half-a-dozen instances have they failed to appear. A step towards the popularisation of Government publications has been taken in the preparation of the new Moral and Material Progress Report, the sale of which has run into thousands. Pamphlets and leaflets also have been issued from time to time as occasion demanded.
- (c) *Foreign Division*,—dealing with propaganda in Great Britain, America, and ultimately in Japan. Material of various kinds has been sent to persons in Great Britain and the United States of America, who are in a position to secure its insertion in the current press, and its most advantageous utilization for the purpose of forming public opinion. It is hoped that steps will shortly be taken to open up regular and direct channels of communication between Government in this country and the press of Great Britain, America and Japan, and schemes for the accomplishment of this have already been submitted.
- (d) *Press Division*,—dealing with the press of India. Newspaper cuttings are extracted, classified, and supplied to the Departments they concern. An elaborate card-index is maintained for purposes of ready reference to the current press.

SECOND BRANCH.

Co-ordination work.—The Officer on Special Duty has spent a considerable time on tour, and has been able to act as *liaison* officer in the matter of publicity both between the Central and local Governments, and also between one local Government and another. It has thus already become possible to arrange for the conduct of simultaneous campaigns of public enlightenment in various parts of India; and it is hoped that with the institution of publicity organisations in those provinces that do not at present possess them, this important work will become at once easier and more effective.

(ii) *Requisite Machinery*.

First.—An understudy for the Officer on Special Duty, who will be competent to 'carry on' when the officer goes on tour, who can assist in the overwhelmingly heavy task of collecting and shaping the mass of material now issued every week, and to whom certain divisions of the work can, when the Special Officer is at headquarters, be definitely delegated. It is at present no exaggeration to say, that if the Officer on Special Duty fell ill, it would take a substitute several months to acquire the necessary knowledge of the conditions under which the work can be carried on; to cultivate friendly relations with the various editors and press-men; to learn the different methods by which alone the most effective publicity can be secured for matter of different kinds.

Secondly.—An increased staff, which will enable at least one clerk to be permanently assigned to each of the first four divisions.

Thirdly.—Increased elaboration of the machinery, at present rudimentary, for foreign propaganda.

B.—LOCAL ORGANISATIONS.

(i) *Existing*.

(a) *Bengal*.—None.

(b) *Bombay*.—A Director of Information has just been appointed who is a journalist of first class ability, with extensive propaganda experience. Having been in India only a few weeks, he has not yet evolved a definite line of work; but it may be taken for granted that he will before long tackle the problems, confronting him, with complete success. He will require, it may be assumed, an adequate staff to assist him at headquarters, and a system of local correspondents and representatives throughout the Presidency.

(c) *Madras*.—A Publicity Officer, to some extent controlled by a publicity board with a non-official majority, at headquarters. Local representatives and correspondents, now some 4,000 in number, by whose agency the leaflets, etc., are widely diffused. The work is so far primarily non-political, and aims almost entirely at explaining the activities of Government to the people. It has given no offence at all, and may be trusted in a little while to produce a considerable change in the view of Government entertained by the literate community of the mufassal. The Publicity Officer acts as a link between Government and the Press, dresses up Government communiqués, summarises Government publications, and arranges lectures for public information, and answers enquiries about matters of public interest.

(d) *United Provinces*.—Government runs a non-political magazine, which touches no controversial questions. With a wide circulation, it is believed to possess considerable educational value. As for its publicity value, it is more difficult to speak with certainty : but in so far as it explains the work of Government, it helps to produce an atmosphere favourable to the Administration. Expert journalistic talents could probably make it a publicity medium of considerable influence; but the non-controversial character of its contents tends to divorce it from reality, since those questions upon which public interest is greatest, find no place in its pages. The arrangements for local distribution are good.

It is understood that the local Government are considering measures for the organisation of publicity work in the Provinces upon an established footing. The existing machinery of the United Provinces Journal, if placed under the control of an experienced journalist with the requisite political *flair*, would lend itself readily to the institution of a regular Department of Information, with a headquarters staff under a Director, and local representatives in every district and every town of importance.

(e) *Punjab*.—Government runs a newspaper edited by a professional journalist of conspicuous ability. Already his influence is making itself felt. He is on excellent terms with the local press-men, both Indian and English, and now secures a fair statement of Government's position in many quarters which previously would have refused to see more than one side of the question. It would seem that the only thing required for the establishment of a really satisfactory provincial organisation, is the setting up, throughout the districts of the mufassal, of such a system of local correspondents and representatives of the central publicity body, as is employed so successfully in Madras.

(f) *Bihar*.—The local Government has placed an officer on special duty to report on the prospects and methods of publicity work in the province. His report has not been available to me.

(g) *Assam*.—The local Government has professed itself unwilling to take any steps in the matter of publicity.

(h) *Burma*.—I regret that no information is available to me as to the steps which the local Government is taking in the matter of publicity, and I have not found it possible to make enquiries on the spot.

(ii) *Requisite.*

Broadly speaking, there should be attached to each local Government a Department of Information, presided over by a Director. This Department should consist of :—

(a) *Headquarters Staff*.—Director (who should possess journalistic experience) and in some cases a Deputy Director, if the work requires it, together with clerks, translators, typists, etc.

(b) *Local Representatives*.—Scattered up and down the provinces, consisting of Secretaries of Co-operative Societies; Chairmen of Municipalities; Heads of schools and colleges; prominent local gentlemen; persons recommended by District officer, etc.

The function of these local representatives is to provide a distribution machinery for the pamphlets, etc., of the Department which shall cover a wider area than the ordinary newspaper-reading public.

5. General note on publicity methods.

In a country which presents such diversity as does India, it is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules as to the methods of publicity work. If only for this reason, it is absolutely necessary that wherever Publicity work is contemplated, there should be local machinery *ad hoc*. The problem of publicity is not one which can be viewed from any particular angle. It must be attacked from every conceivable direction. The first process is a careful study of local conditions, and the collection of all available data bearing upon the possibilities of influencing public opinion. The second is a thorough examination of the data so collected and the evolution of a whole series of lines of attack intended to bring about the result desired. Even so Publicity methods do however fall under the three obvious headings of the printed word, the spoken word, and the visual appeal. It is important that all three of these media of communication between Government and the people should be employed. The channels of the ordinary press provide the most obvious way of commencing publicity activities among the literate. Whether a particular publicity organisation should run a newspaper of its own, or assist an existing paper with a subsidy, is a question which can only be settled after expert examination of the local conditions. But in any case, it should be the aim of Publicity officers everywhere to get upon the most intimate terms with the editors of journals circulating in their area. The foundation of journalists' clubs, of reference libraries, and of information bureaux, provide some methods by which an official publicist may bring himself into intimate contact with professional journalists. By personal influence alone much may often be done in an unostentatious way. The insertion of articles framed in a suitable manner can be ensured if the publicity officer is on the proper terms with his editors. For publicity work among the illiterate, or those not in the habit of reading newspapers, recourse must be had to the pamphlet or the bulletin. Another obvious channel by which the popular view-point may be influenced in favour of Government is provided by itinerant lecturers of proved reliability. Government already knows to its cost, through the increasing hold which the Home Rule propaganda is securing over rural areas, something of the efficacy of this method. The organisation of public lectures by experts upon topics where public opinion is likely to be misled; the explanation of the work of Government Departments by the Heads of those Departments such are some of the lines by which the Publicity officer may organise an effective oral appeal.

A further line is that of organising cinema shows, lantern lectures, and the distribution of illustrated newspaper supplements, posters and leaflets. The suggestion conveyed by a picture is extremely hard to combat; and there can be no doubt that the employment of suitable pictorial propaganda on a sufficiently extensive scale would in the course of a short time work a revolution in the general opinion which the rural classes now hold and express about the methods and aims of Government as they conceive it.

The only maxims that can be laid down with something like certainty for the guidance of official publicity work are these:—

First.—To employ as publicity officers only men with journalistic experience, political *flair*, and a faith in propaganda;

Second.—To allow such men a reasonably free hand in working for the results they are instructed to obtain;

Third.—To attack the publicity problem from every possible angle.

Government, with its still extensive control over the machinery of administration, will have the game in its own hand, if it will only seize the present opportunity and spend a little money on publicity work. But in a short while, if the policy of drift is allowed to prevail, it may be too late.

L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.

CAMP, ADYAR MADRAS,

The 16th January 1920.