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FREE SPEECH AND THE INDIAN JUDICIARY: A DOCTRINAL EVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes judicial interpretations of Articles 19 (1)(a) and 19(2) of the Constitution of India to chart the doctrinal trajectory of free speech in India. It considers how the Supreme Court has attempted to balance individual liberty with the powers it has given the state to impose reasonable restrictions on free speech on the grounds of "public order," "morality," and "national security." Landmark cases like *Romesh Thappar v. State of Madras*, *Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar*, and *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India* provided important insights into the Court's gradual movement from a more deferential stance toward a more speech-protective stance. This paper also considers more recent issues related to free speech in India such as speech in cyberspace, shutdowns of the internet, and regulations online, and their implications to the constitutional promise of free expression. Ultimately, this paper argues that while courts have begun to change the trajectory toward expansion of speech protections, recurrent reliance on prohibitive law and executive discretion will ultimately continue to test the viability of India's commitment to a constitutional democracy with free expression.

Keywords: Free Speech; Article 19(1)(a); Reasonable Restrictions; Indian Judiciary; Constitutional Law; Digital Expression.

INTRODUCTION

Freedom of speech and expression is an essential fundamental right under Article 19(1)(a)¹ of the Indian Constitution. Tracing the evolution of this fundamental right, we observe that the Supreme Court of India has played an eminent role in defining the contours of this right against various state interests. Article 19(2)² permits "reasonable restrictions" on speech. The First Constitutional Amendment of 1951 clarified this explicitly, adding grounds such as security, public order, morality, and defamation under Article 19(2). Since then, the Indian judiciary has

¹ India Const. art. 19(1)(a).

² India Const. art. 19(2).

had an evolving jurisprudence of free speech, sometimes solidly protecting individual speech, sometimes weighing state interests more. This paper investigates the trajectory by analysing important cases, constitutional changes, and recent developments and reflects on how Articles 19(1)(a) and 19(2) create an ever-changing balance that delineates the contours of free speech in India.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF FREE SPEECH JURISPRUDENCE

Following independence, the Supreme Court interpreted Article 19(1)(a) as expansive. In *Romesh Thappar v State of Madras, 1950*³ The Supreme Court struck down a Madras law that prohibited the circulation of a leftist journal. Though the Court frequently invokes the “fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression,” its interpretations at times end up curbing the very flow of ideas the right is meant to protect. The Court invalidated the ban on an RSS weekly. These early examples engaged Article 19(1)(a) almost absolutely, at least in the absence of clear legislative intent. The executive arms of government reacted quickly: on 18 March 1951, Parliament passed the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. The First Amendment introduced Article 19(2), which allowed for laws placing "reasonable restrictions" on speech, regarding state security, public order, decency or morality, contempt of court, defamation, incitement to offence, and friendly relations to foreign states. Contemporary commentary suggests that the First Amendment was aimed at rolling back the constitutional doctrine established by the *Romesh Thappar* line of cases.

The new Article 19(2) framed a dialectic that would energize decades of case-law: how to balance free expression against "reasonable" grounds of restriction. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Court contended with tensions like sedition and public order. In *Kedar Nath Singh v State of Bihar, 1962*⁴ A five-judge bench upheld Section 124A IPC, which is sedition, but read it narrowly. The Court made it clear that sedition charges are valid only when speech or actions are meant to provoke violence or disrupt public order. Simply criticising the government or its policies, so long as it's done peacefully and without incitement, does not count as sedition⁵.

³ *Romesh Thappar v. State of Madras*, AIR 1950 SC 124.

⁴ *Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar*, AIR 1962 SC 955, Supp. 2 S.C.R. 769.

⁵ *Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar*, Global Freedom of Expression (Colum. Univ.), <https://globalfreedomofexpression.columbia.edu/cases/nath-singh-v-bihar/>,

Similarly, in *Ram Manohar Lohia v Union of India*, 1957⁶, the Court upheld a preventive detention law because it needed to maintain public order, and implicitly accepted that restrictions could be imposed to prevent serious danger if those restrictions did not amount to an actual breach of public order. Over time, the public-order exception became more purposive: restrictions would have to target proximate threats. Similarly, cases from the 1960s and 70s began to more categorically elaborate on obscenity and decency as constitutional limitations under Article 19(2).

By the end of the 20th century, landmark cases had established basic tests. One famous case, *S. Rangarajan v P. Jagjivan Ram*, 1989, had confronted censorship of films before a Constitution Bench. The Court found as follows: “Democracy is based essentially on free debate and open discussion; free general discussion of public issues is essential”⁷. Thus, a Tamil film that was critical of caste-based reservation could not be banned simply because some viewers might be offended by it. The Court reiterated Justice Bhagwati's statement that freedom must also include thoughts “that we hate”. Film content is allowed to put audience members in a state of anger, so long as that content does not represent an imminent threat to public order. The case established a narrow “clear-and-present danger” test in Indian law: speech can be limited if it would prevent the occurrence of real violence or disorder.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND STATUTORY FRAMEWORKS

The guarantee of free speech under Article 19(1)(a) will always be read with the exceptions of Article 19(2)⁸. The First Amendment, 1951 was enacted under Nehru to explicitly add those exceptions. In practice, those exceptions will serve as the baseline for analysis: only laws limited to the narrow categories in (2) qualify. The Supreme Court has affirmed that Article 19(2) provides a complete and exclusive list of grounds on which speech can be restricted, no limitation is valid beyond what is explicitly stated. For instance, in *Express Newspapers Ltd v Union of India*, 1958⁹, the Court ruled out any possibility of restricting speech outside of Article 19(2)¹⁰.

⁶ *Superintendent, Cent. Prison, Fatehgarh v. Ram Manohar Lohia*, AIR 1960 SC 633, (1960) 2 S.C.R. 821.

⁷ *S. Rangarajan v. P. Jagjivan Ram*, AIR 1989 SC 574, (1989) 2 S.C.C. 574.

⁸ Tejaswini Kaushal, A Bird's Eye View of the Right to Freedom of Speech and Expression in India, *Manupatra* (Feb. 16, 2023), <https://articles.manupatra.com/article-details/A-Bird-s-Eye-View-of-the-Right-to-Freedom-of-Speech-and-Expression-in-India>.

⁹ *Express Newspapers (P) Ltd. v. Union of India*, AIR 1958 SC 578, 1959 S.C.R. 12.

¹⁰ *Restrictions on Public Official's Freedom of Speech: Judgment Summary*, *Supreme Court Observer* (Jan. 3, 2023), <https://www.scobserver.in/reports/restrictions-on-public-officials-freedom-of-speech-judgement-summary/>.

There are important laws that constrict free speech. The Indian Penal Code has a number of crimes related to speech: Indian criminal law contains several provisions that directly impact freedom of expression: Section 124A deals with sedition; Sections 153A and 153B address hate speech and the promotion of enmity between groups; Section 295A targets acts deemed blasphemous towards religion; and Sections 499–500 pertain to criminal defamation. In general, these, and in general restrictions on speech, are justified on the grounds of the restrictions being in the interests of public order, decency and to prevent defamation. Other laws, like labour laws, electoral laws and others impose restrictions, for example, Section 126-127 of the RPA prohibits certain types of campaign speech¹¹. The Cinematograph Act, 1952¹² allows for pre-censorship of films, the Court approved this in *K.A. Abbas*¹³, while the Broadcasting Act requires TV to be licensed. The Information Technology Act, 2000 included provisions in Section 66A, which were struck in *Shreya Singhal* case¹⁴, and still includes provisions related to cyber-defamation and harassment. More recently, Parliament has sought to introduce reforms to speech laws: as of the end of 2023, the new criminal bills which are now approved by the President, Sedition has been repealed and replaced by a vaguely framed offence targeting “acts endangering the sovereignty, unity, and integrity of India. Observers have called attention to this, and noted that it reflects the debate about sedition while complicating it.

JUDICIAL CLARITY ON FREE SPEECH RESTRICTIONS UNDER ARTICLE 19(2)

Article 19(2) permits restrictions on speech, but only if they are both reasonable and confined to the expressly listed grounds. Judicial doctrine has gradually elaborated on the meaning of these terms. Reasonableness has been interpreted to mean restrictions must be neither arbitrary nor disproportionate; there must be a substantial link between the restriction and the objective. In *K.A. Abbas*, the Court remade censorship as permissible only if it conforms to intelligible criteria. In *Rangarajan*, the Court adopted the “clear and present danger” test, holding that speech may be restricted only when it poses a clear and imminent threat to public order. Similarly, *Maneka Gandhi v Union of India*, 1978¹⁵, on personal liberty, set out that constitutional rights to restrict fundamental rights must fulfil a threefold test of legality,

¹¹ The Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951.

¹² The Cinematograph Act, 1952 (Act 37 of 1952).

¹³ *K.A. Abbas v. Union of India*, AIR 1971 SC 481, 1971 S.C.R. (2) 446.

¹⁴ *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India*, AIR 2015 SC 1523, (2015) 5 S.C.C. 1.

¹⁵ *Maneka Gandhi v. Union of India*, AIR 1978 SC 597, (1978) 1 S.C.C. 248, 2 S.C.R. 621.

necessity and proportionality, factors later borrowed by analogy in extent and application to speech cases.

Out of the seven grounds for restriction to free speech under Article 19(2), public order is by far the most contested ground. In early cases, such as *Lohia*, broadly preventive action was allowed. Following this, in *Brij Bhushan v State of Delhi*, 1950 and *Atma Ram v Union of India*, 1954, the Supreme Court stressed that speech could only be restricted in the presence of a real and immediate threat, effectively invoking Holmes's "clear and present danger" test. Similar assertions were made by Rangarajan and the more recent judgment in *Azam Khan v State of U.P.*, 2023, where a Constitution Bench reiterated that neither Article 19(2) nor conflict with the rights of others, can excuse free speech. As such, "public order" has been interpreted narrowly as peacefulness or tranquillity and not mere general annoyance. Likewise, hate speech laws (IPC 153A, etc.) are upheld and only enforceable were, based on the facts in evidence, speech can be proven to incite enmity or violence. The Court has reasoned that hate speech has "no redeeming or legitimate purpose," and hence takes place outside the scope of Article 19(1)(a); and can only be imposed as an exception.

Another doctrinal adjustment is acknowledging the mediums of speech. In *Anuradha Bhasin v Union of India*, 2020¹⁶, the Court said that internet shutdowns in Jammu & Kashmir violate the freedom of expression of journalists, essentially viewing the internet as a medium for protected speech. The Court said that any orders to interrupt internet services must satisfy the criteria of Article 19(2) and must be published for public review. In *Foundation for Media Professionals v UOI*, 2022¹⁷, the Court called upon the government to develop guidelines regarding the search and seizure of journalists' digital devices, highlighting that any seizure poses a serious chilling effect on the media. These rulings showed the Court's willingness to apply principles developed for old media, such as prior restraint and proportionality to the speech on digital media.

CONCLUSION

The Indian judiciary has had a long and doctrinal path on free speech, one that has moved from the early absolutism of *Romesh Thappar v State of Madras* to the more balanced readings in *Shreya Singhal v Union of India*, and the recent decisions of the digital age. While Article

¹⁶ *Anuradha Bhasin v. Union of India*, AIR 2020 SC 1308, (2020) 3 S.C.C. 637.

¹⁷ *Foundation for Media Professionals v. Union of India*, Writ Petition (Criminal) No. 395 of 2022 (India Sup. Ct.).

19(1)(a) provides a strong fundamental right to free speech, the ever-increasing universe of "reasonable restrictions" under Article 19(2) has often led to state control during moments of political or moral panic. Judicial readings have moved from being able to passively accept state reasoning to constructively review it, especially in relation to national security, public order, or morality as they implicate rights. Still, the movement is uneven. The repeated use of outdated colonial laws like sedition, selective censorship of online expression, and procedural opacity in bans, give rise to grave questions about how devoted these institutions are to democratic dissent. In the end, the Indian judiciary exists in a doctrinal moment of choice. It can choose to cement a speech-protective jurisprudence, governed by constitutional morality and obligations, or it can begin to lean towards executive deference and moral conservatism. The future of India's free speech regime depends not only on the development of legal doctrine, but also on the constitutional imagination of its judiciary, the vigilance of its civil society, and resiliency of its democratic traditions.

