Appendix One:

A Chronological List of Censors’ Orders issued during the “Emergency” (September 1975 to January 1977)

The following list of verbal orders, dictated over the telephone by press censors, was compiled and published in the Statesman on 27 February 1977, and later, became one of the campaign materials used by the Janata Party. What remains ignored is the fact that all the English-language newspapers, including the Statesman and the Indian Express, followed similar directives during the “Emergency”, without the slightest gestures of protest.¹

As one can witness, these directives vary in focus—they refer to issues of severe political violence in the social sphere (such as the demolition of slums and the forcible implementation of “family planning”), as the censors’ ludicrously nonsensical view of various events (such a film actress caught shoplifting in London, and the Finance Minister resting during his budget speech) they thought could harm the “integrity” of the regime. They tell us much of the “Emergency” regime, and also about the “adversarial” newspapers who chose to follow these orders most conscientiously.

¹ A point deliberately avoided by Soli Sorabjee when he cites these in his later monograph on press censorship during the “Emergency”. Sorabjee, Emergency, Censorship and the Press in India, 26-38.
1975

*September 9:* All reports, features, photos and captions about demolition of jhuggies in Delhi. (Precensorship)

No reports, comments, articles or edits on bonus until further notice. (Banned)

*September 10:* Reports and comments on Bangladesh. (Precensorship)

*September 24:* No advertisements from either North or South Korea. (Banned)

Token strikes on bonus. (Banned)

Afzal Beg’s speeches on Jammu and Kashmir links with the Centre. (Banned)

*October 8:* No reports on today’s disturbances in Tihar Jail, Delhi. (Banned)

*October 20:* No adverse comment or report on Godavari water accord between the Chief Ministers of Maharashtra and Andhra. (News Management)

No comment on the Presidential order on 6-point formula. (Banned)
October 29: Delhi High Court judgement striking down Administration order restricting interviews with MISA detenus. (Banned)

October 30: Justice Khanna’s judgment on the Bombay Appeal case. (Banned)

November 4: No edits on Bangladesh for the present. (Banned)

November 7: Edits on Bangladesh now subject to precensorship. (Precensorship and Banned)

November 22: J.P.’s visit to Bombay is subject to precensorship. No photographs to be used. (Precensorship and Banned)

December 3: No reports or pictures of the DDA demolition around Jama Masjid are allowed except those issued or authorized by the DDA. Edits must be cleared. (Precensorship and News Management)

December 10: Details of the Congress WC draft resolution not to be published. (Banned)

December 17: No report about Badr Abdul Aziz of the Saudi Royal family, now in Amritsar, to appear. (Banned)
1976

*Mid-January*: All stories from Madras, especially statements by Karunanidhi or statements in the Assembly, to be cleared. (Banned)

News about JP, his health and comments thereon. (Precensorship)

*January 22*: Today’s walk-out in Rajya Sabha on Bonus Bill. (Banned)

*January 31*: The question about Wild Life Board meeting as to why a certain Maharaja’s was given a hunting licence. (Banned)

*February 2*: Bangladesh news bearing India must be cleared. (Precensorship)

*February 3*: Tulmohan Ram case copy to be precensored. (Precensorship)

*February 13*: Reports on questioning in the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly on MISA arrests. (Precensorship)

*February 19*: NUJ resolution on working journalists’ interim relief and formulation of wage board. (Precensorship)

*February 26*: Karunanidhi’s petition challenging imposition of President’s Rule in Tamil Nadu in Madras and Delhi High Courts is not to be published. (Banned)

*February 27*: Morarji Desai’s examination today on commission in the Gandhi murder case. (Precensorship)
March 5: All reports on Tulmohan Ram case. (Precensorship)

March 8: No edits on Indo-Canadian (nuclear) talks at this stage. (Banned)

March 9: Rajya Sabha starred Question 60 on Philips Petroleum International Corporation. (Banned)

March 15: Reports and comments on imposition of President’s Rule in Gujarat. (Precensorship)

The Finance Minister rested for a while in the course of his Budget speech; not to be mentioned. (Banned)


Supplementaries to Lok Sabha Question 133 on generation of nuclear power not to be used; main reply may be used. (Banned)

All reports on Tihar Jail. (Precensorship)

March 23: Gujarat judgement on Bhoomiputra case. (Banned)

Maharastra Opposition leader’s comment on Emergency. (Banned)
March 26: Reference if any to censorship at AINEC meeting at Patna. No edit comments on censorship. (Banned)

March 29: Junior lawyers’ march to Delhi High Court. (Banned)

March 30: Reports on ONGC oil exploration contract with Iran (or Iraq?) to be cleared. (Precensorship)

March 31: Samachar report on Lok Sabha Question on Coca Cola Export Corporation may be used. Otherwise Precensorship. (News Management)

April 1: Rajeshwar Rao’s conference at Bhopal today. (Banned)

No criticism of family planning programme. This includes letters to the Editor. (News Management)

April 2: No reports on Indian Press counselor in Dacca being expelled. (Banned)

April 7: Various Congress leaders are issuing statements supporting the family planning programme; must be cleared. (Precensorship)

April 8: Nothing to be published on release of Farakka waters. (Banned)
The authorized version of Acharya Bhave's statement at the Acharya's conference at Pounar in January 1976, issued by Sriman Narayan to be cleared. (Precensorship)

Resignation of B.K.Karanjia from the Film Finance Corporation and appointment of a new chairman. (Banned)

April 14: Reports on family planning/vasectomy follow-up centre set up by the Lok Kalyan Samiti (in Delhi). (Banned)

April 19: DDA demolition activity around Turkman gate.

(Precensorship)

April 21: Censorship is issuing the official version of the Turkman incident; this is not to be played up and should be used with the suggested heading. Any other heading must be cleared. (News Management)

April 22: Play down or abstain from criticism of the current negotiations between Pakistan and Egypt. (News Management)

April 23: Nothing to appear about Hardinge Hostel incident in Calcutta even if it comes up in the Court. (Banned)

Bangladesh Mission (Delhi) statement on border incident today. (Banned)

April 25: Reports including speeches and resolutions at the National Conference meeting at Jammu today. (Precensorship)
April 26: No report is to be published on Monday about the arrival of a Pakistani delegation in Delhi. An official statement is due on Tuesday. (News Management)

April 28: Sanjay Gandhi today walked out of a function held in his honour. No reports or pictures to be published. (Banned)

No report of a small fire that broke out at TV Centre (Delhi) to be published. (Banned)

May 1: No edit or comment on Nepal King's visit to Tibet. (Banned)

Any news of a reported air crash near Srinagar. (Precensorship)

May 5: Only Samachar to be used on Prime Minister's statement in Lok Sabha on law and order situation in Bihar in reply to Misra's question. (News Management)

Incidents about Bhagalpur Jail, Bihar. (Banned)

May 6: No criticism of Sadat. (News Management)

No criticism of Bhutto nor any anti-Pak propaganda in view of the proposed Indo-Pakistan talks. (News Management)

May 7: Nothing should be published for three days until May 9 about demolition of the Theatre Communication Building Connaught Place, New Delhi. (Banned)
May 8: News and comments on the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission’s hearing on India’s application for the enriched uranium fuel replacement for Tarapur. (Precensorship)

May 12: Report on interception of a car on Tilak Marg, New Delhi. (Banned)

May 14: Use only Samachar on Sarkaria Inquiry Commission; own copy must be cleared. (Precensorship and News Management)

May 18: Press conference by O. P. Tyagi of Jana Sangh on party working committee resolution. (Precensorship)

May 20: May use the Canadian External Affairs Minister’s statement (made in Ottawa yesterday) on abrogation of nuclear agreement with India. But it should be preceded by Chavan’s statement in Parliament. (News Management)

May 22: News of Begum Vilayat Mahal squatting at New Delhi railway station. (Banned)

Rajya Sabha starred Question 304 on searches at the office and residence of Vinay K. Shah of Bombay. (Banned)

May 27: Use only Samachar story on V.C. Shukla’s statement in Rajya Sabha today on code of ethics for journalists in reply to Bhupesh Gupta. (News Management)
May 28: No publication of London report of arrest of actress Verghese—later corrected to Nargis—for shoplifting. (Banned)

May 30: Indian diplomat’s walkout from Bhutto’s banquet in Peking not to be played up. (News Management)

June 1: Bhutto’s Press conference in Peking and Sino-Pak joint communiqué not to be played up. (News Management)

June 2: News/comment on the transfer of High Court judges. (Banned)

No news about Acharya Vinobha Bhave’s proposed indefinite fast from September 11 on cow-slaughter ban nor any reference to this to be lifted from the Sarvodaya journal (Maitri), nor any statement by the Acharya or his secretary. (Banned)

Nothing about B.D. Goenka, corrected on 4 and 6 June to read as D.P Goenka, the Industrialist, to be used (Banned)

June 3: Parliament Street, New Delhi fire not to be played up and no picture to be used. (News Management and Banned)

June 4: Use only Samachar on Arab student’s demonstration in Delhi in bid to occupy Syrian Embassy (in protest against Syrian intervention in Lebanon). No pictures to be shown. (News Management and Banned)
June 5: No news/comment on jute exports or the jute industry until middle of next week. (Banned)

June 8: Transfer of an Andhra Pradesh High Court judge. (Banned)

June 9: In any report on Bansi Lal’s speech in Rohtak today delete any reference to future reactions or conflict with Pakistan. (News Management)

June 10: No comment on measures taken by Government to regulate production of jute goods. (Banned)

June 16: Articles and comments on the forthcoming meeting of non-aligned nations to discuss the creation of the NA News Pool. (Banned)

J.P.’s letter to the Prime Minister about her contribution from the PM’s Relief Fund for the purchase of dialyser for J.P.

Revised order on above: Only use Samachar. (News Management)

June 22: Reports on Boeing payoffs. (Precensorship)

June 23: No anti-Pakistan references permitted. (News Management)

June 24: No comment on Parthasarathi’s goodwill visit to Bangladesh. (Banned)
July 1: No critical comment on Mizo accord with Centre. (News Management)

July 2: Precensorship on any statement by Laldenga, the MNF leader. (Precensorship)

News on national symposium on films and TV. (Banned)

July 8: Until July 14 no news, comments, pictures on Israeli raid on Entebbe Airport, Uganda. In particular no justification for the eulogising the raid. (Banned and news Management)

July 10: Security Council debate on Entebbe raid. (Precensorship)

Samachar (UPI) story on Sadat’s interview comments on Gadaffi’s role in attempted Sudan coup not to be published from any source. (Banned)

July 12: The exchanges on bilateral issues at NA News Pool conference and walk-out of the conference are subject to censorship. Samachar copy cleared. (Precensorship and News Management)

July 15: Cancellation of passport of Kumar Poddar, wealthy Hindenberg (?) businessman and a permanent US resident. (Banned)

July 16: J.P.’s movement not to be published in the interest of law and order. (Banned)
July 17: All news, comments and edits on the price situation. (Precensorship)

Gujarat Government’s action in countermanding earlier order confiscating the Navjeevan Press, Ahmedabad. (Banned)

July 19: Reports of the members of the Kashmir Assembly crossing the floor or forming a separate block. (Precensorship)

July 28: No adverse news, comments or edits on family planning programme or education in UP. (News Management)

July 29: No news or comments on the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly debate on Thursday on the Ordinance issued by the State Government. (Banned)

July 29: No news or comment on the Delhi High Court order on Statesman petition with regard to a censor order. (Banned)

August 1: Statement of National Review Committee on constitutional amendments. (Banned)

K.S.Hegde’s reference to constitutional amendments in second Narasu Memorial Lecture at Hyderabad. (Banned)

August 10: A statement by Radhakrishna Bajaja on behalf of Acharya Vinoba Bhave being circulated by Samachar should be published prominently. (News Management)
Items about Acharya Bhave subject to censorship.
(Precensorship)

No news or comment about Subramanium Swamy. Rajya Sabha member having raised a point of order today in Parliament nor any other report about him relating to Parliament should be used. (Banned)

*August 12:* Lok Sabha Question 22 and answers on uniform jail reforms and supplementaries, especially those relating to hunger strike by detenus in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta not to be used. (Banned)

*August 20:* News and articles about the likely revelation of President's Rule in Gujarat and speculation about Ministry-making in the state. (Precensorship)

*August 24:* Jamiat-ul-Ulemi-Hind resolution on Syrian intervention in Lebanon. (Precensorship)

*August 25:* Correspondence between the West Bengal Chief Minister and Jyoti Basu, CPI(M) leader. (Banned)

*August 26:* No reference to CIA activities by the Prime Minister in Parliament. Revised Order: PM's intervention in Parliament on foreign intelligence and any reference to CIA activities in that question are to be used. (Banned)
August 27: No speculative stories or any report or comment likely to create a scare regarding foodgrains price situation should be published. (Banned)

August 28: Jammu and Kashmir Ministers’ statements on affairs in the State (political controversy between National Conference and the Congress). (Banned)

September 1: Precensorship on today’s proceedings in Parliament (44th Constitutional Amendment Bill introduced on OPP. Leaders allowed to state reasons for their abstaining from session. (Precensorship)

September 2: PAC report on purchase of furnaces from the USA for use in Ordinance Factories. (Banned)

September 5: Gazette order circulated by Censor’s office regarding notification dated 2 and 9 imposing precensorship on all news and comments on family planning. (Precensorship)

News and comments on Jethmalani, President, Bar Council of India, now in USA. (Precensorship)

September 8: Reports on today’s incidents at Sealdah and Ultadanga. (Banned)

September 9: Demand for a corridor between Ambala and Chandigarh in Punjab Transport Minister’s statement on the Punjab-Haryana bus dispute must be deleted. (Banned)
September 11: No story based on the so-called eyewitness accounts of the hijacking or any reference to be identity, nationality or intentions of the hijackers should be published. All stories to be precensored. (Banned and Precensorship)

September 16: All news reports or comments on Philips Petroleum Company should be referred to Press Censor. (Precensorship)

September 20: DMK walkout of Sarkaria Commission should not be mentioned. (Banned and News Management)

Supreme Court proceedings on a writ petition of Nagi Reddi (Late) against the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh regarding contempt of court should not be published. (Banned and News Management)


September 22: Story of Jaigarh treasure hunt should be precensored. (Precensorship)

September 29: Do not publish speculation or sensational stories about Sundar dacoit, as these may hamper investigations. Only what is given out officially should be published. (News Management)

No report of the release of two members of Apana Bazar Staff is to be published. (Banned and News Management)
October 5:  Fernandes statement in court on dynamite case not to be used. (News Management)

October 7:  ‘Kindly do not publish any news about the strike in Dhariwal Mills’. (News Management)

October 7:  Only official version of Indo-Pak talks. No editorial comment on the same. (Banned and News Management)

October 12:  (Cal) K.K. Maitra, MLA, made a disparaging statement on family planning programme. We should not use it. (Banned)

October 13:  Any special report on Sheikh Abdullah’s Press conference subject to precensorship. (Precensorship)

October 14:  Story on reported bomb scare where the Defence Minister was staying should not be published. (Banned and News Management)

October 16:  All news reports and comment on the US arms sale to Iran is subject to precensorship. (Precensorship)

October 20:  Nepal Prime Minister’s statement or speeches on restrictions in border areas of India on Nepalese citizens. (Precensorship)

October 21:  Naga peace council delegation’s visit to UK to meet Phizo may not please be published. (Banned and News Management)
October 25: Swearing in of new Ministers of Kashmir which did not take place as scheduled only the Jammu and Kashmir Press note can be published. No commentative report.

October 29: “Nothing contemptuous about Arab tourists should be published.”

November 4: Any story on Gujarat High Court proceedings on transfer of judges should be submitted to precensorship. (Precensorship)

November 15: Nothing on the trouble in Jalpaiguri should be published.

November 19: Nityananda De, Sanat Roy and Nurul Islam issued a statement against the Chief Minister. This should not be published (Calcutta).

November 22: Speech of Mrs Ambika Soni and Manesh Joshi at AICC session should not be used. “For PM’S speech please take Samachar copy as model.”

November 30: In reports on the supplementary Budget 1976-7 in the State Assembly in Bhopal, any reference to the provision of subscription for National Moral should be deleted.

December 9: No report or comments on Indo-UK air services talks now in progress should be published at this stage.

December 10: Orissa stories are not to be cleared by the Censors at Delhi, but Bhubaneswar, if needed.
December 12: No statement or speech on apartheid by Mr A. M. Mulla, Chairman of South African Indian Council, should be allowed to appear in your esteemed paper.

December 15: With immediate effect all stories, comments, reports relating to intra-party rivalries within the Congress and between the Youth Congress and the All India Congress should not be used. This applies particularly to West Bengal, Orissa and Kerala. In case of doubt please refer the stories to the Censors.

December 17: Any statement by the Chief Minister or Congress leaders regarding the celebration of Mr Sanjay Gandhi’s birthday on 14 December should not be published.

December 19: “Kindly do not publish any report on the supply of US Jet Fighters (Sky Hawks) to India. Only official announcement must be used.”

December 23: Statement of Dr Miss Ruigol in the dynamite case in the Metropolitan Magistrate’s court should not be published. Pak Embassy’s functions. One at the India International Centre. Another presentation of Jinnah medals at Rashtrapati Bhavan on December 25. There might be other functions also. Stories on these functions have to be given in low key.

Stories and articles on insurgency in the North Eastern region should not be published without clearance from the Censor.
December 28: Nothing may kindly be carried about the collapse of the TV tower under construction at Raipur. (December 28 – 12.55 hrs). Samachar report on Raipur TV tower can be used (16.07 hrs).

1977

January 4: Statement by Mulla of African National Congress who represents the aspirations of the African people may be fully published. He made a statement at Bhopal and is likely to make another at Indore shortly. The earlier advice on Mulla, Chairman of South African Indian Council a stooge organisation of the SA Government stands, his statement should not be published.

January 8: All stories on intra-party affairs in the Congress including meetings of leaders, may be kindly sent for precensorship.

January 10: News reports regarding the judgment in the case of Dalmia Jain Airways should not be published.
Appendix Two:

A Selection of Advertisements from the *Indian Express*

The following advertisements are from the pages of the Madras edition of the *Indian Express*, occurring at various dates between the Second World War and during and after the era of the development state. While these are not the results of a systematic selection, they are included in the hope that they contribute to some awareness of the nature of advertisements alongside which “news” historically appeared in the “national” English-language newspapers in India during the greater part of the long twentieth century.

*Figure I.* Gullible Indians: Anti-Japanese war propaganda by the colonial government. July 22, 1942.
Figure II. Making good servants: Advertisement for Sunlight soap during the Second World War. July 30, 1942.

Figure III. A display advertisement from the central government asking public donations for the welfare of school teachers. September 6, 1962.

Figure IV. Page one “solus” advertisement by the Golden Tobacco Company (above). January 3, 1970. Note how it banks on the “indigenous” and “national” character of its business.
Figure V. Cinema advertisement during the war (below). July 26, 1942. The advert, somewhat bemusedly, targets “native” aspirants reading the English-language paper, but without alphabetical knowledge of the English language.

Figure VI. Cinema advertisement during the “newspaper revolution” (above). February 3, 1989. The advert stresses its overcoming of state censorship to promise pornographic content. The visual appeal of “thrills of life” is nonetheless spoiled by the ink-smudged nature of its appearance on the newspaper’s pages, amidst a host of similar bespattered advertisements printed on web-offset.

Figure VII. The changing language of advertising: Advertisement by the Khaitan company manufacturing fans. Note how the company stresses its brand name with proud self-reference to its “independent” ability in manufacturing fans. May 3, 1990.

Figure VIII. Wooing advertisers: Advertisement by the Indian Express promising real estate brokers simultaneous visibility of their classified and display advertisements, across its seven city editions in southern India, run through facsimile transmission. March 1, 1987.