A systematic attempt to study journalism as a profession in India cannot proceed without taking complete stock of the development of journalism since its inception in 1780. With this assumption, the present chapter aims to analyse the significant landmarks in the history of Indian journalism.

Before independence, very few scholars attempted a historical account of the growth of journalism in India, viz., Banerji (1928), Iyengar (1933), Barna (1940) and Srinivasan (1944). These scholars, however, did not give a complete picture of the state of journalism during the British rule. After independence the first Press Commission was assigned the task of providing a detailed historical account of the development of journalism in India. 'The History of Indian Journalism' constituted the second part of the report of the Press Commission (Natarajan, 1955). After this first systematic attempt, various studies on the history of journalism appeared. Some of the notable ones are: Natarajan (1962), Murthy (1966), Moitra (1969), Agrawal (1970) and Rau (1974). Moreover, the history of vernacular journalism also drew the attention of various scholars, viz. Bhatnagar (1947) and Vedalankar (1966) on the Hindi press; Rao (1966) on the Marathi press; Pillay (1966) on the Tamil press; Regani (1966), Rao (1968) and Arudra (1968) on the Telugu press; Khan (1973) and Sud (1980) on the Urdu press and Chakraborti (1976) on the Bengali press.
The history of journalism has been divided into six meaningful categories, each depicting a specific time span. These categories are: (a) British journalism (1780-1816), (b) Birth of Indian Journalism and its development during the Company rule (1816-1858), (c) Journalism as a mission for social reforms (1858-1885), (d) Journalism as a mission for national independence (1885-1947), (e) Journalism as an occupation in independent India (1947-1975), (f) the dark age (1975-1977), and (g) Freedom of the press reinstated (after 1977). It will be appropriate to describe these periods in the history of journalism in India.

**British Journalism (1780-1816)**

The first newspaper in India appeared on 29 January 1780, when James Augustus Hicky started the 'Bengal Gazette' or 'Calcutta General Advertiser'. This was a weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none (Natarajan, 1962 : 14). Hicky declared that "I have no particular passion for printing a newspaper, I have no propensity: I was not bred to lavish life of hard work, yet I take pleasure in enslaving my body in order to purchase freedom for mind and soul" (Moitra, 1969 : 11). Hicky strongly criticised Governor General Hastings and other senior British officials. Thus, journalism started in India as a mission to expose the malpractices of East India Company’s rule and administration. For his criticisms Hicky was fined a large amount and later on imprisoned. Simultaneously, a number of journals emerged under the sponsorship of Company
officials for defending themselves against the criticism made by Hicky and his followers. The papers started with government's patronage included Indian Gazette (1780), Calcutta Gazette (1784), Bengal Journal, Oriental Magazine, and Madras Courier (1785). These newspapers published government notices, foreign news, parliamentary debates, social news, and reflected the life and opinion of the European community. Editorials and letters to the editor related to the interests of European residents in India. "The newspapers as a matter of fact were organs of local British opinion and, if in a subdued way unlike that of Hicky's Gazette, reflected the views of those outside the privileged official circle of the administration" (Natarajan, 1962: 21). Journalism was solely in the hands of Britishers and was restricted to the Presidency towns of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Although there were no specific press laws, there were both censorship and precensorship on the press. Censorship was first introduced in Madras in 1795 when the Madras Gazette was required to submit all government orders for prior scrutiny before publication.

The first press regulations were issued on 15 May, 1799 by Lord Wellesley. A secretary, who functioned as a censor on the basis of the guidelines framed by the administration, was appointed. The papers were required to print the name of the printer, proprietor, editor, and place of abode. The commonest penalty for any offender was that of deportation, as all newspapers were published by foreigners. The press policy remained unchanged during the Governor Generalship of
Lord Minto (1807-1813). In 1814 Lord Hastings lifted this precensorship. The newspapers were complimentary as they were printed on alternative days.

**Birth of Indian Journalism and its Development during the Company Rule (1816-1885)**

The foregoing trend continued till 1816 when the first Indian newspaper was started by Gangadhar Bhattacherjee in English and named 'Bengal Gazette'. Natarajan comments that "The first Indian journalist seems to have represented a school of thought of progressive Hinduism - rather than a commercial interest or an individual" (1962 : 27). Indian journalism, therefore, started as a mission for social reforms.

Lord Hastings promulgated his regulations on 19th August 1818. He introduced a system of warning; the editor was made responsible for whatever was printed in the newspaper.

The papers of progressive Hinduism criticised various customs of Hindu religion, viz. Sati, child marriage, stringency of the caste system, polygamy, untouchability, degraded position of women, etc. The influence exerted by the reformist papers is reflected in the abolition of Sati by Lord Bentinck in 1829 and later on the enactment of the Widow Remarriage Act XIV, in July 1856. Journalists, therefore, were crusaders and propagators of social reforms. Simultaneously, a section of the orthodox Hindu press emerged to defend against the criticism of reformists during 1820s onward. The Indian newspapers during this period, divided into progressive reformist papers on the one hand and orthodox Hindu papers on the other, debated religious controversies.
On April 4, 1823, Adam restricted the freedom of the press by fresh regulations. The papers were required to print the name of the printer and the place of printing. One copy of each paper was submitted to the local magistrate. The Act was directed to check Indian papers in particular. Adam's regulations drew a clear distinction between the Indian owned Indian language papers and the Anglo Indian Press, i.e. English owned English edited press. Journalists of reformist views were alone in protesting, neither the British press nor the orthodox Indian owned press protested against these regulations (Natarajan, 1955 : 26). The Act continued during the administration of Lord Amherst (1823-27). Lord Bentinck liberated the press during his administration (1828-35). The press enjoyed full freedom during this period, as it had never done before. Lord Metcalfe on August 3, 1835 promulgated the most liberal Press Act with two main provisions, i.e. the repeal of Adam's Press Regulations of 1823 and the abolition of the 1823 ordinance prohibiting the links of Company servants with the newspapers. During the period of Lord Auckland (1838-42) the press enjoyed full freedom granted by Metcalfe. In 1842 Lord Ellenborough became the Governor General. He issued an ordinance prohibiting Company servants from making public any official documents without the prior consent from the government. Later on, during the period of Henry Hardinge (1844-48) and Lord Dalhousie (1848-56), no change was made in the press policy.
The 1856-57 Mutiny changed the focus of the press from social reforms to political issues. "As the rebellion began to spread to other parts of the country, the free press in India, both English and Indian languages, filled its pages with highly provocative material" (Karkhanis, 1981: 42). Company officials suspected the role of the Indian owned press in causing the Mutiny. With this being the view, Lord Canning passed the Gagging Act on June 18, 1857, reintroducing the main features of the fore-mentioned Adam's regulations of 1823. This Act was aimed at restricting particularly the Indian owned press which was inciting rebellion. English and Indian owned press took contradictory positions. English owned newspapers treated every Hindu and Mussalman as a traitor. Indian owned newspapers exposed and attacked the racial thinking and policies of the British government. The Gagging Act remained in force till June 13, 1858. During this one year period, the Act betrayed a bias in favour of British editors.

During the period from 1816 to 1858, the vernacular press developed and became more influential than the English owned press. In this period the first Persian paper 'Samachar Darpan' (1818), Bengali paper 'Samvad Kaumudi' (1821), Gujarati paper 'Mumbai Samachar' (1823), Hindi paper 'Oodunta Martand' (1826), Urdu paper 'Sayyad-ul-Akhbar' (1857), Marathi paper 'Digdarshan' (1837), bilingual paper in Urdu and Hindi languages 'Malwa Akhbar' (1849) constituted the pioneering efforts. Commercial advertisements (1833) and illustrations (1850) appeared in the newspapers for the first time.
Journalism as a Mission for Social Reforms (1858-85)

On November 1, 1858, the Company's rule over India was transferred to the Crown of England. Lord Canning became the first Viceroy of India. He established an "Editors' Room", where some state papers were made available to journalists. "The press took a new turn after the Mutiny. It became nationalistic in character and aspirations. The vernacular press became more important as it appealed direct to the masses and spoke their own language" (Agrawal, 1970:43).

During the Viceroyship of Lord Canning (1858-62) and Lord Elgin (1862-63) the press functioned with freedom. John Lawrence succeeded Lord Elgin. During his tenure (1864-69) the Press and Registration of Books Act (1867) was promulgated to keep the government informed about the development of the press in India. Lawrence also repealed Metcalfe's Press Liberation Law in 1867. Lord Mayo took over the viceroyship in 1869. During his administration (1869-72) the Indian Penal Code was amended in 1870 to prohibit inciting of sedition against the British government. Lord Northbrook became the Viceroy in 1872 and continued till 1876. He issued an ordinance on July 8, 1875, prohibiting government servants from owning or editing any newspaper which was political in nature.

When Lord Lytton became the Viceroy in 1877, various parts of India were facing famine. The press, particularly the Indian owned section, strongly criticised inadequacies of governmental measures for providing relief in the famine.
affected areas. The press also propagated the demand of Indians for greater participation in government affairs. Official opinion, both in the central and provincial governments, was largely in favour of strict restrictions on the press. In 1877, Lytton established the office of Press Commissioner to provide the press with adequate information about government measures and policies. The Commissioner functioned as a link between the government and the press. Strong criticism of the government by the vernacular press led to the enforcement of the Oriental Languages Press Act on March 1, 1878. Later on, in October 1878, this Act was modified and became known as the Vernacular Press Act. The Act was aimed at placing vernacular papers under the strict control of the government. The Act empowered any magistrate of a district or a commissioner of police in a Presidency town to call upon the printer and publisher to enter into a bond undertaking not to publish certain kinds of material, to demand security, and to confiscate it if any objectionable matter was published. The Act also empowered the government to issue search warrants and enter the premises of any press. This discrimination against the Indian press was severely criticised in vernacular papers. The Act, therefore, could not much influence the critical tone of the vernacular press.

Lord Ripon came to India as Viceroy in 1880 and repealed the Vernacular Press Act in December 1881. The Press Commissionership was abolished. A representation signed by 124 editors was made to Lord Ripon for the continuation of the
Commissioner’s office. Ripon did not give any consideration to this representation. However, a department associated with the Home Department was delegated to keep the press informed about the activities of government.

During this period (1858-85), the Indian press was not financially profitable. It was primarily pursued as a public service and not as a business. At most times, members of joint family provided the required personnel. Only a few journalists came from outside and for them the “attraction of journalism was not the remuneration. On the Indian side much depended on the personal relations between the proprietor, who was often the editor, too, and his assistants” (Natarajan, 1962:121). Newspapers were also not very widely circulated due to low literacy and low purchasing power of the masses. British newspapers became commercial undertakings. These papers also received patronage of the government as they defended their policies. Contrary to this, the Indian papers strongly opposed government policies on various issues and, therefore, always had to face a strong hand from the government. The gulf between the Indian and the British newspapers was widening.

Majority of the editorials were still non-political and focussed on various problems of the masses, policies of the government, social reforms etc. The Indian press mostly represented each editor’s personal views rather than those of any section of opinion. For this reason, the Indian press was not taken very seriously by the British government.
Besides circulation, during this period, advertisements acquired financial significance in newspapers' economy. The use of postal services for the circulation of newspapers also started in 1860. The press was given postal concessions. In 1859 Bombay Times started exchange of news with Reuter — a world news agency. Later on, in 1866 the office of Reuter was established in Bombay. This was the first news agency in India.

Journalism as a Mission for National Independence (1885-1947)

With the establishment of the Indian National Congress on December 28, 1885, journalism shifted its focus to political issues. Pat Lovett contends that "The real development of the art and business of journalism as it is understood in the West dates in India from the birth of Indian National Congress in 1885. .... The papers which were native and racy, of the soil, gained a new importance, whereas those owned and edited by Englishmen who voiced the views of British Raj and the British plantation, were compelled to a new orientation" (Quoted in Natarajan, 1962: 128).

The demand for social reforms was now overwhelmed by political issues. Journalists propagated the lack of faith of the Indian masses in the British rule. The tone of journalism was violent and journalists were fired by the high ideal of national independence. On October 17, the Indian Official Secrets Act was adopted to prevent the disclosure of official documents, information on defence matters and their publication in newspapers. Later on, in 1889 the Act was amended to include
civil official documents. This amendment was strongly criticised by the Indian owned press. On June 25, 1891 the Government of India restricted the rights of the press to print newspapers without the written permission of the Political Agent.

Indian papers were divided into two groups, i.e. supporting either the Extremists or the Moderates - two ideological factions of the Indian National Congress. The English press was against all the activities of the Congress and highlighted the split in the party. It always defended the government against the criticism of Indian owned papers. Nevertheless, "Newspapers both English and Indian language were reporting on the aspirations of Indians for greater freedom and more opportunities" (Karkhanis, 1981: 53). Especially the extremist newspapers strongly criticised government policies. Journalism, through its tone, was provoking the masses against the government and propagating the idea of a free India. This led to a heavy crackdown on journalism with the promulgation of the Incitement to Offence Act 1908 and the Indian Press Act 1910. Various newspapers faced trials for seditious writings. Heavy security was demanded from newspapers, and this led to the closure of small newspapers.

The First World War broke out in 1914 and newspapers began to publish detailed news of the War. The press was still under the repressive measures. In 1915 the press Association of India was formed to look after the various interests of the
Indian press. The press urged the government to repeal the repressive press acts. The government, in view of this demand, established a Central Publicity Bureau, in 1918, to establish a link with the press. In 1919, the Press Association of India studied the intensity of the repressive measures and found that 286 papers were warned, 779 were compelled to provide security and over 129 newspapers were stifled at their birth owing to the demand of heavy security. On August 1, 1919, Gandhi launched the Non-cooperative Movement and Indian press contributed its might to it. The Indian owned English newspapers focussed on legislative reforms, university education etc., while the vernacular press was interested in the activities of the Congress.

On March 21, 1921, a Press Law Committee was formed. The Committee studied the pattern of control in the newspaper - between the editor and the proprietor. Mrs. Besant suggested "that the proprietor of the press also owned the newspaper and the editor was a paid employee". Similarly, Banerjee held the view that, "More or less we editors and printers are dummies in the hands of our proprietor. .... We are obliged at times to take to seditious writings by our proprietors because it sells" (in Natarajan, 1962 : 176). Thus, editors were guided by the policies laid down by the proprietor of the paper. The Committee recommended the repeal of the Press Act of 1908, 1910 and the amendment (1890) of the Registration of Press and Books Act. The Committee was of the view that these Acts were emergency measures and the political situation had
undergone rapid changes since 1910. Further, these Acts were not impartially applied to English owned and Indian owned newspapers. The latter had to suffer more.

In 1922, the Central Legislative Assembly repealed the Incitement to Offence Act 1908 and the Indian Press Act 1910. Describing the journalism of the 1920s, Natarajan contends "Journalism was not yet a profession except in the Anglo-Indian world; advertisement did not have that importance yet which it was to acquire later and sales and private philanthropy alone sustained Indian newspapers. ..... Technical proficiency with the British owned press and popularity with the Indian newspapers were the contrasting qualities which divided the two into distinct types" (1962:183). He further mentions that the Indian newspapers, "represented at best a small section of the Indian people - the educated and literate classes; financed by the meagre earnings of the middle classes, they occupied a position which was anomalous, in as much as the government itself refused to consider them truly representative of the nation" (1962:194).

In 1923, serious communal riots broke out in various parts of Northern India and a distinction between the Hindu and the Muslim press emerged. Regional journalism, particularly in regional languages, developed in almost every part of the country. The need for an Indian owned world news service was widely felt. In 1927, S. Sadanand started the Free Press of India News Agency. This was a pioneering effort in this direction and enabled the Indian newspapers to acquire more accurate and wider news coverage.
Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement and the government restricted the freedom of the press by promulgating the Press Ordinance (1930), reviving the provisions of the Press Act of 1908. When this Act expired in 1931 a new Act named the Press Emergency Powers Act was adopted. On June 30, 1932, the government promulgated the Special Powers Ordinance which included all the provisions of the 1930 and 1931 Acts. Pandey mentions that "between October 1931 and February 1935 the government mandated 327 presses and newspapers to furnish security; 124 were required to furnish additional security; 17 newspapers and presses forfeited their security and 256 ceased publication" (Quoted in Karkhanis, 1981 : 73).

The struggle for national independence launched by the Congress gave an impetus to Indian owned journalism, but on the other hand, various press ordinances promulgated by the government hindered the development of journalism. In 1935, the Free Press of India News Agency closed down. Later on, in 1937, the United Press of India, a new world news agency, was established. Describing the nature of journalism during this period Barsh holds the view that "Never before had the press played so important a part in the national campaign and enthusiasm was kindled and maintained by the vigorous action of the Nationalist newspapers. The facts of daily arrests of leaders, vast processions, injuries to Congress volunteers, were all displayed in bold type. Indeed all the methods which a nationalist press might be expected to use in a country at war were employed by the journals supporting the movement."

42
She describes the economic conditions of Indian journalism thus: "Newspapers in India do not yield large profits and for many of them existence is very precarious. Restrictive legislation has in the past, made the business of a newspaper conductor extremely hazardous and there are very few instances of papers being founded with the object of making money. Though tending to increase, salaries accorded to journalists working for Indian newspapers are generally much below the 'market value' of the men employed" (1940 : 432).

In 1939, the Second World War broke out and the newspapers widely reported the war news. The same year the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society, an association of newspaper proprietors, was formed to look after the business interests of the press. The Society secured an increase of the press quota of the papers to 30 per cent, but this was reduced to 10 per cent due to war conditions. On October 25, 1940, the government promulgated the Defence of India Act to keep the newspapers under control. Censorship was imposed with the help of a Chief Censor, Central Press Advisory Committee, in each province. The Act was withdrawn after seventeen days when the representatives of newspaper society assured the government that they would observe self-restraint. The All India Newspaper Editors' Conference was formed in 1940 to safeguard the interests of Indian journalism.

In 1942, Gandhi gave the call of Quit India Movement and the Indian owned press propagated it. The government issued a fresh regulation under Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules.
The Act was directly aimed at the suppression of all news relating to Congress activities. The tone of newspapers, however, remained unchanged. A few newspapers suspended publication on the call of Gandhi that it was better not to publish newspapers than to publish them under restrictions. The majority of the papers strongly criticised press censorship but continued publication. The Act was withdrawn as the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference assured the government of its readiness to observe self-restraint on the publication of news relating to Congress and the Quit India Movement. The provincial governments continued repression. On January 12, 1943 newspapers, in protest, suspended publication for a day.

During the 1940s, one finds two major developments in journalism: First, the formation of journalism associations at the national level, viz. the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society (1939), the All India Newspaper Editors Conference (1940) and the Indian Languages Newspapers Association (1941). Journalism associations at regional level had been in existence since 1920s. Secondly, systematic training in journalism started in 1941 in Panjab University, Lahore.

The issue of a separate Muslim state with the independence of India got momentum. The Indian press now became divided into the Urdu press and the Hindi press, supporting the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, respectively. Communal riots broke out all over the country and became the focus of the press. The government left the press free, and this aggravated the communal element in vernacular press.
Descriptions of riots, demonstrations, communal clashes, arson, looting, murders on a mass scale, etc., filled the pages of all newspapers.

Journalism as an Occupation (1947-1975)

On August 15, 1947, India got its much awaited independence. Newspapers greeted the birth of Free India. In March 1947, the Press Law Enquiry Committee was appointed to examine the press laws in the light of the Fundamental Rights formulated by the Constituent Assembly. In May 1948, the Law Committee submitted its report. The Committee recommended the abolition of press laws and incorporation of major provisions in the ordinary law of the land. The Constitution was adopted in January 1950. There was no specific mention of the freedom of the press, though it was guaranteed under Article 19(1) - All citizens shall have the right (a) to freedom of speech and expression. Article 19(2) supplemented it in the following manner: Nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevents the state from making any law relating to libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security or tends to overthrow the state.

In the following years Article 19(2) was found unsuitable to check the press as the state could not impose restrictions for purpose of maintaining public order or prevention of incitement to an offence. A number of court decisions went against the government and editors who wrote...
provocative articles were let off. In view of these court decisions, the government amended Article 19(2) in June 1951 and included among permissible restrictions the matters relating to public order, friendly relations with a foreign state and incitement to an offence. Moreover, on October 23, 1951, the government promulgated the Press Objectionable Matters Act. The All India Newspaper Editors' Conference and the Indian Federation of Working Journalists strongly protested against the amendment and the Press Objectionable Matters Act.

In 1948, a few newspapers jointly formed the Press Trust of India with the object of establishing a cooperatively owned internal news agency. This was the first news agency to be formed in free India. On October 28, 1950, the Indian Federation of Working Journalists was formed. This was the first association of journalists organised at the national level in independent India.

Describing the nature of journalism after independence, Natarajan holds the view that, "It had grown into an industry which gave a suggestion of being profitable. It had in English and in the Indian languages developed a highly critical faculty. It had given rise to subsidiary occupations" (1962 : 295). Rau submits that, "The character of journalism has changed. The romanticism is gone and with it the tears, blood and sweat. Newspapers are now near to an industry and the profession is losing its inspiration and adventures" (1968 : 66). "As distinguished from pre-independence days there is a tendency in the press to gravitate into the hands of the rich classes"
who most often are not imbued by a sense of purpose and dedicated to the national cause, but are motivated largely by the desire to earn a good return on their investments and to use the press for their personal advancement" (Ayyangar, 1970 : 4). The press was in search of a new direction. "The Indian press prior to independence had a theme and a goal: to assist in the objective of gaining freedom for India. Having gained freedom in 1947, the press at least for a while, was at a loss for common goal" (Karkhanis, 1981 : 87).

Sensationalism and salesmanship now emerged in the press. The main object of the newspaper industry was to increase circulation. This new trend lowered its responsibility towards the public. "The crusading spirit and zeal for public causes that distinguished the pre-independence press of the country, are conspicuous by their absence in our present day newspapers" (Mankar, 1970 : 8). Newspaper industry seems to be preoccupied with making profit at the expense of papers' public role.

In the newspaper organisations, after independence, journalists received regular salaries but these were not adequate. Neither were the working conditions healthy. Journalists became mere cogs in the machine, as financial gains became the sole aim of the industrialist proprietor of the newspaper and, for this purpose, journalists were fully exploited. "The net result of these five years was the total destruction of all interest in codes of journalism and all pride in the work; a general lowering of the status of
journalist within the office and outside; and the virtual elimination of the editor as a moderating influence between journalist and proprietor" (Natarajan, 1962: 304). With this being the background of working journalists, and in response to the agitations of journalists' associations, IFWJ and AIJEC, the government established the Press Commission on October 11, 1952. The Commission was to look into various aspects of journalism in India. After two years, the Commission submitted its recommendations on July 14, 1954. On the recommendations of the Commission, a Press Registrar was appointed to maintain a statistical record of the development of the press in India. Further, a Press Council was established as a statutory body to regulate the press.

The Commission was of the view that working journalists should be included among industrial workers. Consequently, the Working Journalists Act (1955) was enacted with provisions for establishing a Wage Board for fixing the wages of working journalists. In May 1956, the first Wage Board was established, which declared its recommendations one year later, in May 1957.

The debate on the issue of forming linguistic states was the main focus of both the English and the vernacular press. In October 1956, a bill was passed by the Parliament dividing the country into fourteen states and seven union territories. The vernacular press played a very significant role in the promulgation of this bill.
During the prime ministership of Nehru the relations between the government and the press remained very cordial. The press enjoyed full freedom and stood by the government on most occasions. On October 20, 1960, when China attacked India, the press was taken by surprise, as it had been totally ignorant of the developments on the border. On October 26, the President declared Emergency. The press gave full moral support to the government and played a very positive role in facing the war.

After Nehru's death, Shastri took over as Prime Minister on June 9, 1964; the press continued to enjoy all freedom. India faced a short war with Pakistan and, as on the earlier occasion, the press played a positive role. The press was on good terms with the government and always cooperated.

After Shastri's death, Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the third Prime Minister of India. After the war with Pakistan in 1965 the country was facing socio-economic crises and the press criticised the government for its tardiness in solving the problems. Confrontation between the government and the press started. Newspapers published reports of food shortage, rising prices and incidents of violence in the universities, colleges and streets. The government put all responsibility for inciting and spreading the violence on newspapers' reporting. Mrs. Gandhi warned the press while presiding at the International Press Institute in December 1966. "How much freedom can the press have in a country like India fighting poverty, backwardness, ignorance, disease and superstitions?" (Quoted in Sunder Rajan, 1966: 819).
On December 3, 1971, Emergency was declared due to the war with Pakistan. On December 4, the Defence and Internal Security of India Act was enacted, restricting freedom of the press in reporting the news concerned with the defence and security of the country. It empowered the state and local governments to impose censorship on newspapers. The government provided the news regarding the developments on the war-affected borders. The news of Bangladesh refugees and stories of the high courage shown by Indian soldiers were the main headlines for the newspapers. The press observed full social responsibility during the war days.

When the war was over newspapers again shifted their attention to the increasing economic crises in the nation. Newspapers gave wide coverage to the protests against rising prices and low wages. The press was filled with the news of widespread violence, corruption at various levels, inflation and demonstrations. The proceedings of the Allahabad High Court received wide press coverage where a case against Mrs. Gandhi, for using corrupt practices in 1971 elections, was under judicial review. The government "charged the press with being unrepresentative of and isolated from the people; and of being owned by monopoly business and of being used by the latter as a vehicle for projecting their own reactionary views on the country's political affairs and economic problems. Any impartial observer will not hesitate to pronounce these charges on the basis of contemporary performance of the Indian press, as baseless, imaginary and motivated" (Mankekar, 1978 : 62).
In this context, on June 26, 1975, Emergency was declared and heavy censorship was imposed on the press with the 'Central Censorship Order' and 'Guidelines for the press in the present Emergency'. Mrs. Gandhi held the view that, "In situations of internal disturbances, whether language or communal riots, grave mischief has been done by irresponsible writing. .... For sometimes several newspapers have deliberately distorted news and made malicious and provocative comments. .... The purpose of censorship is to restore a climate of trust" (Manekar, 1977 : 18). The censorship prohibited the publication without prior scrutiny of news, comments and reports of the actions taken by the government. On June 13, 1975, a communication was issued by the government instructing the editors not to publish anything which was likely to convey the impression of a protest or disapproval of the government. A few months later, on August 5, 1975, another communication was issued which suggested to the editors always to keep in mind the initial communication while writing about court proceedings. Due to the wide publicity of heavy censorship in the international media, the government relaxed the control by lifting precensorship on September 20, 1975. The responsibility of restrained reporting was put on the editors.

On January 31, 1976, four news agencies, namely, the Press Trust of India, United News of India, Samachar Bharti and Hindustan Samachar were merged by the government into one agency - the 'Samachar'. This was done to achieve full control
of the government over the circulation of news. On February 11, 1976, the government promulgated the Prevention of Objectionable Matters Act to prohibit publications detrimental to the sovereignty and integrity of India, friendly relations with foreign countries, public order or publications inciting the breaking of law or opposing the government. In various cases where journalists challenged censorship orders the decisions of the courts went against the government, viz. Minoo Masani, editor of the monthly journal 'Freedom First', case decision dated November 26, 1975; T.D. Lorukar, editor of 'Sakal', case decision dated November 13, 1975; Lawyers' Meeting Petition, case decision dated December 16, 1975, in the Bombay High Court (Sorabjee, 1976).

With a few exceptions, most of the journalists yielded to the government's wishes. David Loshak (1976) calls it 'India's Sterile Press'. "Every spark of intellectual independence had been snuffed out and what was reported appeared to be nothing more than government propaganda. ... Negativism disappeared from the Indian press; gains in the birth control, agriculture, industrial programmes and technology were the fare of the newspaper reports" (Karkhanis, 1981: 149-50). L.K. Advani, Minister for Information and Broadcasting (1977-79) divided the performance of individual journalists into three categories: (i) the small band who paid the price for their journalistic courage; (ii) the very large number, who were not made of heroic stuff but indicated their disapproval of the goings-on in the country by keeping up a sullen silence and doing no more than carrying on their formal journalistic duties,
where compelled to by circumstances; and (iii) those who when expected to bend, crawled (quoted in Mankekar, 1978: 178).

According to the Dasa Commission Report, during the Emergency, 253 journalists were arrested, 57 journalists and press photographers were deprived of accreditation, seven foreign correspondents were expelled from the country and twenty-nine foreign correspondents were banned from entering India. Thus, during the Emergency, the Indian press was totally governed by the government; it thus became a kept press.

**Freedom of the Press Reinstated (1977 Onward)**

On March 20, 1977, Emergency was lifted. On April 18, the newly elected Janata government repealed the Prevention of Objectionable Matters Act. All the four news agencies merged into 'Samachar' were again allowed to separate and to work independently. The Press Council was reinstated in 1978 and the Second Press Commission was appointed to look into various aspects of journalism. The freedom of the press was reinstated. The press was thankful to the government for the freedom granted to it. But the newspapers did not ignore the socio-economic crises in the country and criticised the government for being inactive. Newspapers also exposed the emerging internal defections and scandals in the ruling party, initiated to achieve power.

After two years of Janata rule, Mrs. Gandhi again returned as Prime Minister in January 1980. On press censorship she expressed her views in the press conference on September 15, 1979 thus: "censorship was a special remedy for
a very severe, acute disease. We do not think that particular disease will hit the country again. Nor do we want to give the same medicine" (quoted in Karkhanis, 1981: 186). After that period of emergency no government has tried to restrict the freedom of the press unduly till today. On various occasions the press was advised to observe restraint while reporting matters of a communal nature. A need for a code of ethic for journalists was felt during the 1980s.

In brief, journalism emerged in India in 1780 with the aim of exposing the malpractices of British rulers. For three decades journalism remained fully an affair of Britishers. Indian owned vernacular journalism came later in 1816, with the aim of promoting social reforms related to various evils of orthodox Hinduism. Simultaneously, an orthodox Hindu press emerged to counter the reformists' campaign. Journalism was a mission for social reforms. This trend continued till 1885 when the Indian National Congress was formed and journalism shifted the focus of its attention to political issues. Gradually, journalism developed into mission for the independence of India. During the 1940s, two significant developments are noticeable in journalism, first, the formation of journalists' organisations at the national level, and second, the systematic training of journalism. Journalism was not a profitable venture and most of the journalists joined it with the missionary seal of achieving freedom for the country. The British government enacted various laws to curb the freedom of journalists and to restrict the influence of the vernacular
press which propagated the goal of an independent India. In 1947 India got its much awaited independence. In the Constitution, press was given no privileges other than those of the ordinary citizens of India. The press developed as an industry and journalism as an occupation.

Initially, proprietor and the editor were one and the same person. Gradually as the capital investment in the press increased, proprietorship shifted into the hands of the industrialist proprietor, particularly in large newspapers, and editors became their employees. This major change adversely affected the autonomy of journalists. During British rule journalism had a common goal, i.e., independence of the country. After independence was achieved, it has no common goal but varied, sometimes even conflicting interests. With this the missionary seal disappeared to a great extent.

The formation of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists was the first major effort to organise journalists at the national level. On the demand of the Federation, the Press Commission was established in 1951 to evaluate the press laws, working conditions and wages for journalists. On the recommendations of the Commission, the Press Council was formed to develop self-regulation in journalism. Later on, the Working Journalists Act was enacted in 1956, which provided for the establishment of a Wage Board for working journalists after every three years. In three decades, four wage boards have been established. The press enjoyed full freedom till June 1975 when emergency was declared and the government seriously
curtailed it - this was the dark age in Indian journalism. The strictures imposed on the autonomy of the press during emergency are comparable to those imposed by the British government during the independence movement in the 1940s. On March 20, 1977 emergency was lifted and freedom of the press was restored. Since then no government has tried to restrict the press unduly. However, on various occasions, the press has been criticised for practising sensationalism, and a need for a code of ethics has been felt.