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# RECENT TREND RELATING TO SEDITION LAW IN INDIA ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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# I. ABSTRACT

This paper provides a detailed analysis of contemporary issues surrounding sedition law in India, with a focus on Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. It traces the historical evolution of sedition law from its colonial origins to its application in democratic India. The study highlights the broad and ambiguous language of Section 124A, which criminalizes acts aimed at stirring disaffection towards the government and examines inconsistent judicial interpretations and potential misuse.

Drawing on landmark cases such as Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar (1962 AIR 955) and recent rulings like Vinod Dua v. Union of India (2021), the paper evaluates the judiciary's role in defining sedition and protecting constitutional rights. It discusses the Supreme Court's efforts to balance national security concerns with freedom of speech, emphasizing the requirement of direct incitement to violence or public disorder for sedition charges.

Comparative analysis with sedition laws in democracies like the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia offers insights into global trends of narrowing or abolishing such laws to uphold democratic freedoms. This comparison underscores the need for India to reconsider the expansive scope of its sedition law and align it with international human rights standards.

Proposed reforms include procedural safeguards such as mandatory judicial review before filing sedition charges to prevent arbitrary or politically motivated prosecutions. The paper also recommends enhancing police training and establishing independent oversight mechanisms to ensure fair application of sedition law.

Lastly, the paper emphasizes the need for judicial reforms, including clear guidelines from the Supreme Court to standardize the interpretation of sedition law across lower

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courts. It proposes alternative dispute resolution mechanisms to resolve sedition cases less adversarially and reduce societal impacts on accused individuals.

#### II. KEYWORDS:

Sedition law, Section 124A IPC, judicial interpretations, comparative analysis, proposed reforms, socio-political implications

#### III. INTRODUCTION

# A. Background and Significance

The sedition statute in India, codified in Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), stands as a focal point of fervent discourse and examination. Instituted in 1870 by the British colonial regime, this provision aimed to suppress insurrection and maintain colonial dominion. The section criminalizes any endeavor that incites or attempts to incite animosity, disdain, or disaffection toward the government established by law. Despite its colonial inception, Section 124A<sup>2</sup> has endured in sovereign India, provoking pivotal queries regarding its pertinence and application within a democratic framework.<sup>3</sup>

In contemporary epochs, the invocation of sedition law has escalated, with manifold high-profile cases capturing public and judicial focus. This amplification in sedition accusations, frequently targeting journalists, activists, and political adversaries, has ignited a discourse on its misuse and potential to quash free speech. The Supreme Court of India has sporadically intervened to elucidate the ambit and application of the law, yet ambiguities and quandaries persist. Deciphering these recent trends is paramount for evaluating the equilibrium between state security and individual liberties in India's evolving judicial tableau.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Indian Penal Code, Section 124A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Constitutional Law of India 46 th Edition by Dr. J.N Pandey, Published by Central Law Agency.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Walter Rusell Donough, the History and Law of Sedition and Cognate Offences in India, Thancker Spink and Calcutta, 1914, 2 nd Edition.

This paper aspires to scrutinize the recent trajectories relating to sedition law in India, discerning and dissecting the contemporaneous issues and predicaments. The cardinal objectives are to:

- 1. Elucidate the historical metamorphosis of sedition law and its legislative rationale.
- 2. Dissect recent amendments, policy evolutions, and judicial pronouncements that have sculpted its current interpretation.
- 3. Probe the juridical ambiguities and interpretative conundrums associated with Section 124A.
- 4. Appraise the human rights repercussions, particularly vis-à-vis freedom of speech and expression.
- 5. Deliberate the socio-political dimensions of sedition law, including its deployment as an apparatus for political repression.
- 6. Juxtapose India's sedition law with analogous provisions in other democracies to extricate best practices and gleaned insights.
- 7. Proffer legal, policy, and judicial reforms to rectify the identified challenges and ensure a judicious approach to sedition.<sup>5</sup>

#### B. Methodological Approach

This paper employs a doctrinal research methodology, anchored in primary sources such as statutes, jurisprudence, and official reports, supplemented by secondary sources encompassing scholarly articles, commentaries, and media reportage<sup>6</sup>. A critical exegesis of landmark cases will be undertaken to apprehend judicial interpretations and trends. Empirical data on sedition cases will be scrutinized to delineate patterns and ramifications. Comparative analysis with international jurisdictions will furnish a broader purview on the issue.<sup>7</sup>

Through an exhaustive exploration of these facets, the paper endeavours to contribute to the ongoing dialogue on sedition law in India, furnishing a nuanced comprehension

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Law relating to Press and Sedition by Rai Bhadur G.K Roy 2 nd Edition Universal Law Publication

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> W.R.Donough, A treatise on the Law of Sedition and Cognate offences in British India, Penal and Preventive, Thakker, Spink and Co. Calcutta, 1911.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sastri G.D The Law of Sedition in India, N.M Tripathi Private Ltd. New Delhi, 1964.

of its modern-day relevance and the tribulations it engenders. The objective is to proffer well-grounded recommendations for legal and policy reforms that vindicate democratic ideals while safeguarding national security<sup>8</sup>.

#### IV. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

#### A. Genesis and Development

The roots of India's sedition legislation stretch back to the colonial epoch, when the British administration aimed to suppress nationalist sentiments and assert dominance over the Indian subcontinent. Enshrined as Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) in 1870, this statute served as a legal mechanism to criminalize any expression or action that incited disaffection against the colonial rulers. The wording of the section, targeting acts intending to stir up hatred or contempt towards the government, reflected the anxieties of the colonial regime amidst burgeoning independence movements.<sup>9</sup>

Post-independence, despite shedding colonial shackles, the sedition law persisted within the IPC. Significant judicial interpretation began with the landmark case of Romesh Thappar v. State of Madras<sup>10</sup>, where the Supreme Court underscored the paramountcy of free speech without directly addressing sedition. Subsequently, the pivotal Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar<sup>11</sup> cemented the constitutional validity of Section 124A, stipulating its application to acts involving incitement to violence or the intent to disturb public order. The Court clarified that mere criticism of the government, no matter how vehement, did not constitute sedition unless it entailed incitement to violence or public disorder.

#### B. Landmark Trials and Precedents

Numerous trials have shaped the implementation and interpretation of sedition law in India. During the pre-independence era, prominent figures such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi faced notable prosecutions. Tilak's conviction in 1897,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> V.N Shukla Constitution of India 46 th Edition by Dr. J.N Pandey by Central Law Agency.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Thomas David Human Rights: Group Defamation, Freedom of Expression and the Law of Nation 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Romesh Thappar v. State of Madras, AIR 1950 SC 124.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

following his writings in "Kesari" advocating resistance against British rule, exemplified the stringent enforcement of sedition laws. Gandhi's trial in 1922 further spotlighted the draconian nature of Section 124A, with Gandhi famously labeling it "the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen."

Post-independence, the Kedar Nath Singh case marked a turning point. Singh, a member of the Forward Communist Party, faced charges for his critical speeches against the ruling Congress government. The Supreme Court's nuanced stance in this case underscored the delicate balance between maintaining public order and safeguarding individual freedoms. The judgment emphasized that sedition requires incitement to violence, setting a precedent to prevent arbitrary application.<sup>12</sup>

In recent times, the ambit of sedition law has widened, prompting concerns over misuse. The case of Arundhati Roy v. State of Delhi<sup>13</sup> (2016) serves as a poignant example, where the author confronted sedition charges for her remarks on Kashmir. Although the charges were eventually dropped, the case underscored contentious applications of Section 124A against dissenting voices.

Similarly, the Vinod Dua v. Union of India<sup>14</sup> (2021) case reaffirmed judicial scrutiny over sedition charges. Dua, a journalist, faced allegations of sedition for his critical commentary on the government's handling of the COVID-19 crisis. The Supreme Court dismissed the charges, emphasizing that strong dissent against the government does not constitute sedition unless it poses a threat to public order or incites violence.<sup>15</sup>

These historical trials and judicial interpretations highlight the evolving landscape of sedition law in India, reflecting an ongoing struggle to reconcile state security with individual liberties. The retention and application of this colonial-era legislation in modern India underscore enduring tensions between maintaining governance and upholding fundamental rights.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The Indian Penal Code 5 th Edition Central Law Agency by Prof. T. Bhattacharyya

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Arundhati Roy v. State of Delhi, 2002 CRI LJ 1792.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Vinod Dua v. Union of India, Writ Petition (Criminal) No.154 of 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> M.N Roy, the Radical Humanist Vol.72, University of Virginia, United States of America, 2008

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Armed Forces Special Powers Act: A Study in National Security Tyranny

#### V. RECENT TRENDS AND EVOLUTION

#### A. Recent Changes and Policy Shifts

Over the past decade, Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) has seen no significant legislative amendments. However, shifts in policy and governmental directives have exerted substantial influence on its implementation. The absence of legislative reform has sparked heated debates among civil society, legal scholars, and human rights organizations, all advocating either for the repeal or amendment of this colonial-era provision.

In 2016, the Law Commission of India, through its 267th Report, proposed a reevaluation of Section 124A to align it with contemporary democratic principles. Highlighting concerns about potential misuse of the sedition law to suppress dissent, the Commission recommended invoking it only in cases involving incitement to violence or intent to disturb public order. Despite these recommendations, there has been little progress towards legislative reform.<sup>17</sup>

During the proceedings of the S.G. Vombatkere v. Union of India<sup>18</sup> case in 2021, the Supreme Court of India expressed apprehension over the continued application of sedition law. It issued a notice to the Central Government, questioning the necessity of Section 124A in the current context. The apex court metaphorically likened the law to "a saw in the hands of a carpenter who cuts down the very branch on which he sits," highlighting judicial unease over potential abuses of this provision.<sup>19</sup>

## **B.** Judicial Statements

Judicial interventions have played a pivotal role in shaping the interpretation and application of sedition law in recent times. Several landmark judgments have emphasized the importance of interpreting Section 124A in a manner that upholds constitutional freedoms while addressing genuine threats to national security.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Nationalism and Social Reform in (SC) Colonial Situation by Arvind Ganachari.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> S.G. Vombatkere v. Union of India, (2022) 7 SCC 433.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> James William Nortan-Kyshe, The History of the Law and Court of Hong-Kong (Hong-Kong vetch and Lee limited 1971).

A significant case, Balwant Singh v. State of Punjab<sup>20</sup>, arose following the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, where appellants faced sedition charges for chanting pro-Khalistan slogans. The Supreme Court acquitted them, asserting that mere sloganeering without incitement to violence or public disorder does not constitute sedition. This ruling underscored the necessity for direct incitement to violence for sedition charges to be upheld.

In Common Cause v. Union of India<sup>21</sup> (2016), the Supreme Court reiterated the need for a cautious approach to the sedition law. It directed all authorities to strictly adhere to the guidelines set forth in the Kedar Nath Singh case, emphasizing that only actions involving incitement to violence or intent to create public disorder fall under the purview of Section 124A. This directive aimed to curb misuse of the law against individuals expressing dissent or criticism.<sup>22</sup>

The Vinod Dua v. Union of India (2021) case further underscored judicial efforts to prevent misuse of sedition charges. Vinod Dua, a prominent journalist, faced sedition allegations for his critical commentary on the government's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Supreme Court dismissed the FIR, reaffirming that robust criticism of government policies, without incitement to violence, does not constitute sedition. The judgment emphasized the importance of safeguarding journalistic freedom and preventing the chilling effect of sedition law on free speech.<sup>23</sup>

#### C. Statistical Analysis

The application of sedition law has witnessed a notable increase in recent years, as evidenced by available data. According to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), there has been a significant rise in sedition cases filed over the past decade. In 2014, 47 sedition cases were reported, increasing to 93 by 2019. However, the conviction rate for sedition remains strikingly low; for instance, in 2019, only two convictions were reported out of the 93 cases filed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Balwant Singh v. State of Punjab, 1995 AIR 1785.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Common Cause v. Union of India, AIR 2018 SUPREME COURT 1665.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Sir James F Stephen in 'The History of the Criminal Law of England (London 1883) Vol.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> National Human Rights Commission of India: Formation, Functioning Vol. 1 by Arun Ray

A study by Article 14, an independent news website, revealed that between 2010 and 2020, 96% of sedition cases filed against 405 individuals were registered after 2014. The study highlighted a growing trend of using sedition charges against individuals critical of the government, its policies, or its leadership. This trend has raised concerns about the misuse of sedition law as a tool for political repression and the stifling of dissent.

Additionally, data indicates significant regional disparities in the application of sedition law. States such as Jharkhand, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh have reported higher numbers of sedition cases compared to others, indicating varying levels of discretion exercised by state governments and law enforcement agencies in invoking Section 124A, often influenced by local political dynamics.<sup>24</sup>

The increasing number of sedition cases, coupled with low conviction rates, suggests a pattern of harassment rather than legitimate prosecution. Many accused individuals endure prolonged legal battles, repeated bail rejections, and incarceration, underscoring the chilling effect of the law on freedom of speech and expression. The prolonged legal proceedings and the stigma associated with sedition charges exacerbate the plight of the accused, even in the absence of convictions.<sup>25</sup>

These recent trends and judicial pronouncements underscore the urgent need for legislative and policy reforms to prevent the misuse of sedition law. They emphasize the importance of aligning the application of Section 124A with constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and expression. While judicial interventions have sought to curb misuse, the lack of legislative amendments and the rising number of cases indicate persistent challenges. Addressing these issues requires concerted efforts across all branches of government to ensure fair and judicious application of sedition law, upholding the principles enshrined in the Constitution of India.<sup>26</sup>

#### VI. ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

#### A. Legal Ambiguities and Interpretations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> A.E. Bonfield, "The Abrogation of Penal Statutes by Nonenforcement" 49 IOWA L Rev 216 (1963)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> International Journal of Business, Economics and Law, Vol.6 Issue 4 (April) 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> B.I. Taraporewala, "Freedom of Speech and Expression", BLR, January 1997

Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) is fraught with ambiguities, leading to diverse judicial interpretations that complicate its application. The wording—"brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards the government" is inherently vague<sup>27</sup>. This ambiguity allows for a broad range of actions and speech that could potentially be deemed seditious, depending on judicial interpretation.

The landmark case of Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar (1962) aimed to define the boundaries of sedition, ruling that only speech or actions inciting violence or having the intention to create public disorder can be considered seditious. However, subsequent rulings have shown inconsistency. For instance, in Balwant Singh v. State of Punjab (1995), the Supreme Court acquitted individuals for raising pro-Khalistan slogans, stating that mere slogans without incitement to violence do not constitute sedition. Yet, recent cases such as Arup Bhuyan v. State of Assam<sup>28</sup> (2011) have expanded the scope, suggesting that passive membership in a violent-prone organization could also be punishable under sedition.

This interpretive flux creates uncertainty and fosters a chilling effect on free speech, as individuals may self-censor to avoid potential legal repercussions.<sup>29</sup>

#### **B.** Human Rights Concerns

The application of sedition laws raises significant human rights issues, particularly regarding the freedom of speech and expression guaranteed under Article 19(1)(a) of the Indian Constitution. The constraints imposed by Section 124A often clash with the constitutional mandate to ensure free expression, crucial in a democratic society.<sup>30</sup>

Internationally, sedition laws have faced scrutiny for potentially infringing on human rights. The United Nations Human Rights Committee, in General Comment No. 34, emphasizes that restrictions on freedom of expression must be narrowly defined and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> J. Cohan, "seditious conspiracy, the Smith Act, and prosecution for religious speech advocating the violent overthrow of government" 17 St. John's L. Rev. 199 (2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Arup Bhuyan v. State of Assam, 2011 (3) SCC 377.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> James Stephen, History of the Criminal Law of England (Macmillan, London, Vol II, 1883)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> M. Lobban, "From Seditious Libel to Unlawful Assembly, Peterloo and the Changing Face of Political Crime 1710-1820" 10 Oxford J Legal Stud 308- 52 (1990).

should not stifle legitimate criticism of the government. However, in India, the broad application of sedition laws frequently targets journalists, activists, and ordinary citizens expressing dissent, contravening international human rights norms.

For example, the case of Arundhati Roy, who faced sedition charges for remarks on Kashmir, exemplifies the law's potential to suppress dissenting voices. Although the charges were eventually dropped, the case underscores the threat to freedom of expression. Similarly, sedition charges against journalists, such as in the Vinod Dua case, highlight ongoing challenges to press freedom. The Supreme Court's intervention in quashing the FIR against Dua reaffirmed that criticizing government actions does not constitute sedition, emphasizing the need to protect journalistic freedoms.<sup>31</sup>

#### C. Political and Social Dimensions

Sedition laws in India have often been used as political tools to silence dissent and target political adversaries. This politicization undermines democratic principles of free speech and political pluralism.<sup>32</sup>

The rising number of sedition cases against government critics indicates a troubling trend. For instance, the sedition charges against student activists during the JNU protests in 2016 sparked nationwide debates on the misuse of the law to suppress political dissent. The frequent use of sedition charges against activists, political opponents, and dissenters suggests a pattern of selective enforcement to stifle opposition and maintain political control.<sup>33</sup>

Public opinion on sedition laws remains divided. While some support their strict enforcement for national security reasons, others argue that their misuse stifles legitimate dissent and erodes democratic freedoms. The social impact of sedition charges, including prolonged legal battles and social ostracization, further

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Nivedita Saksena and Siddhartha Srivastava, "An Analysis of the Modern Offence of Sedition", 7 NUJS Law Review (2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> R. Douglas, "Saving Australia from Sedition: Customs, the Attorney General's Department and the Administration of Peace time Political Censorship" 30 FLRev 135, 138 (2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> A. Sarat, Terrorism, Dissent and Repression: An Introduction, Dissent in Dangerous Times (University of Michigan Press, Michigan, 2005

complicates the issue. The stigma associated with being accused of sedition can have long-term consequences on individuals' personal and professional lives, contributing to an atmosphere of fear and self-censorship.

#### D. Enforcement and Implementation Issues

The enforcement of sedition laws highlights significant discrepancies and challenges, particularly concerning the roles of police and judiciary. Law enforcement agencies often exhibit inconsistency in invoking Section 124A, leading to arbitrary and uneven application. Police play a pivotal role in initiating sedition cases, from filing FIRs to conducting investigations. However, instances abound where sedition charges were filed without sufficient evidence, often influenced by political pressures or public sentiment. This misuse underscores the necessity for clear guidelines and mechanisms for accountability to prevent arbitrary application.<sup>34</sup>

Similarly, the judiciary, despite its oversight role, has shown inconsistencies in interpreting and applying sedition laws. While the Supreme Court has attempted to establish clear boundaries in cases like Kedar Nath Singh and Vinod Dua, lower courts' interpretations vary widely. This judicial inconsistency contributes to legal uncertainty and the potential for misuse.

Moreover, the disparities in enforcement across different states add another layer of complexity. States like Jharkhand, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh report higher rates of sedition cases, reflecting regional political climates and local law enforcement discretion. This unequal application underscores how sedition laws are often used for political convenience rather than genuine national security concerns.

#### VII. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

#### A. Sedition Laws in Other Democracies

#### **United States**

In the United States, sedition laws were historically governed by the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which criminalized criticism of the government. However, these

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> K.D.Gaur, The Indian Penal Code (Universal Law Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd.4thedn.2009)

Acts expired in 1801 amidst significant backlash. The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, providing strong protection against the misuse of sedition charges.<sup>35</sup>

The Smith Act of 1940 made it illegal to advocate the violent overthrow of the government. While initially upheld in Dennis v. United States<sup>36</sup> (1951), subsequent rulings like Yates v. United States<sup>37</sup> (1957) and Brandenburg v. Ohio<sup>38</sup> (1969) narrowed its application. The Brandenburg test now requires that speech must incite imminent lawless action to be punishable, ensuring robust protection for free expression.

#### **United Kingdom**

In the United Kingdom, sedition laws trace back to common law but were effectively abolished in 2009 with the Coroners and Justice Act. This reform recognized that sedition laws were outdated and posed a threat to free expression. The UK now addresses similar concerns through laws against incitement to violence and terrorism under the Public Order Act 1986 and Terrorism Act 2006.<sup>39</sup>

#### Australia

Australia's sedition laws, historically similar to the UK's, were reformed in 2010 due to criticism over broad restrictions on free speech. The National Security Legislation Amendment Act replaced the term "sedition" with "urging violence offenses," introducing clearer definitions and higher thresholds for criminality to better balance security concerns with civil liberties.<sup>40</sup>

#### **Lessons Learned**

The experiences of these democracies offer valuable lessons for India. Firstly, sedition laws should be narrowly defined to prevent their misuse against political dissent and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> T.K. Tope, Constitutional Law of India (Eastern Book Company, Lucknow, 2010)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Brandenburg v. Ohio, 395 U.S. 444.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Sharad Kharkhani, Indian Politics and the role of the Press (Vikas Publishing House, 1981)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Zechariah Chafee, Free Speech in the United States (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1954).

free speech. Models like the Brandenburg test in the US demonstrate how clear thresholds can protect free expression while addressing security concerns.<sup>41</sup>

Secondly, judicial oversight plays a crucial role. US Supreme Court decisions and UK reforms show that robust judicial scrutiny ensures sedition laws align with democratic values and constitutional rights.

For India, these lessons underscore the need to reform Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. Narrowing its scope to include only speech inciting imminent violence, as per the Brandenburg standard, can safeguard both national security and free speech. Furthermore, ensuring consistent judicial application, as seen in landmark cases like Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar, and implementing procedural safeguards against arbitrary arrests are essential steps.

# VIII. REFORM PROPOSALS

#### A. Legal Reforms

Addressing the ambiguities and potential for misuse in Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) requires significant legal reforms. First and foremost, the definition of sedition should be amended to align closely with the principles established in Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar. This amendment should clearly state that mere criticism of the government or its policies, without incitement to violence, does not constitute sedition.<sup>42</sup>

Alongside narrowing the definition, introducing procedural safeguards is crucial to prevent arbitrary arrests and prosecutions. These safeguards could include mandatory judicial review before filing sedition charges and a higher threshold of evidence to demonstrate incitement to violence or intent to disrupt public order. Such measures would ensure that sedition charges are reserved for serious threats to national security, protecting individuals from frivolous or politically motivated accusations.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Rai Bahadur G.K. Roy, Press and Sedition (Universal Law Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2nd edn.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> T. Tedford and D. Herbeck, Freedom of speech in United States (Strata Publishing Co. USA, 5th edn., 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> T.K. Tope, Constitutional Law of India (Eastern Book Company, Lucknow, 2010)

Another essential reform is the introduction of a statute of limitations for sedition cases. Setting a reasonable time limit, such as five years, would balance the state's interest in addressing genuine threats with individuals' right to legal certainty and closure.

## **B.** Policy Recommendations

Achieving a balance between state security and individual freedoms requires a holistic approach encompassing both legal and policy measures. It is crucial to enhance training and awareness among law enforcement agencies regarding the proper application of sedition law. Training should focus on distinguishing legitimate dissent from incitement to violence, ensuring that sedition charges are applied judiciously and proportionately.<sup>44</sup>

Establishing independent oversight mechanisms is another vital policy recommendation. A dedicated committee within the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) could oversee sedition cases, ensuring adherence to legal standards and human rights principles. Such oversight would mitigate misuse and enhance public trust in the legal system.<sup>45</sup>

Promoting a culture of dialogue and engagement between the government and civil society is equally important. Providing platforms for citizens to express grievances and participate in policy discussions can reduce the perceived need for stringent measures like sedition. This approach fosters democratic values and strengthens societal resilience.

#### C. Judicial Reforms

Judicial reforms play a pivotal role in ensuring a consistent and rights-respecting approach to sedition cases. The judiciary should continue to uphold fundamental rights, as demonstrated in landmark cases such as Vinod Dua v. Union of India (2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Macaulay and the Indian penal code of 1862 by David Skuy: The Myth of the inherent superiority and modernity of the English system compared to India's Legal System in the Nineteenth Century. Modern studies, Vol. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Sir James F Stephen in 'The History of the Criminal Law of England (London 1883) Vol.2.

Courts must rigorously scrutinize sedition charges, demanding clear evidence of incitement to violence or public disorder before accepting such cases.

To promote consistency in judicial decisions, the Supreme Court could issue comprehensive guidelines on the application of sedition law, building on the principles outlined in Kedar Nath Singh. These guidelines should emphasize protecting free speech and preventing misuse against political dissenters. Lower courts should be mandated to adhere to these guidelines, ensuring a coherent judicial approach.

Exploring alternative dispute resolution mechanisms for sedition cases, such as mediation and conciliation, could offer a less adversarial approach to resolving grievances. This approach promotes reconciliation and understanding, reducing reliance on punitive measures. Lastly, enhancing judicial awareness of human rights standards and the importance of free speech in democracy through regular training programs is essential. This would empower judges to uphold individual freedoms while addressing genuine threats to national security effectively.<sup>46</sup>

Ccomprehensive legal, policy, and judicial reforms are imperative to address challenges posed by Section 124A of the IPC. By refining the definition of sedition, implementing procedural safeguards, and fostering dialogue, India can strike a balance between national security and individual liberties. Judicial oversight and consistent application of the law will ensure that sedition charges are used judiciously, preserving democratic values enshrined in the Constitution.

# IX. CONCLUSION

This research paper has delved into the complex issues surrounding sedition law in India, particularly focusing on Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code.<sup>47</sup> The examination reveals several critical insights. Firstly, the historical backdrop of sedition law reflects its colonial origins, initially designed more to stifle dissent than to uphold

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Constituent Assembly of India, 2nd December 1948; Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report, Vol. VII, Reprinted by Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, Sixth Reprint (2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Constituent Assembly of India, 2nd December 1948; Constituent Assembly Debates Official Report, Vol. VII, Reprinted by Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, Sixth Reprint (2014)

public order. Despite attempts by the Supreme Court in Kedar Nath Singh v. State of Bihar (1962 AIR 955) to narrow its interpretation, the law remains broadly defined, allowing for diverse judicial readings and potential misuse. Recent judicial decisions, such as in Vinod Dua v. Union of India (2021), underscore the judiciary's pivotal role in safeguarding free speech while cautioning against the excessive use of sedition charges. Comparative analyses with democratic nations like the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia illustrate a global shift towards restricting or abolishing sedition laws to safeguard free expression and align with democratic norms.<sup>48</sup>

Future research should prioritize empirical studies that analyze the socio-political impacts of sedition charges in India, including regional disparities and the operational practices of law enforcement in applying sedition provisions. Additionally, investigating the long-term effects of sedition charges on individuals, encompassing psychological and socio-economic dimensions, would provide a more nuanced understanding of its broader implications. Legislative reforms should aim to refine the definition of sedition, introducing precise criteria that distinguish between legitimate dissent and actions that genuinely threaten public order or security. Implementing procedural safeguards, such as mandatory judicial oversight before initiating sedition cases, could mitigate arbitrary or politically motivated prosecutions. Strengthening police training and establishing independent oversight mechanisms are crucial policy measures to ensure the fair and balanced application of the law.<sup>49</sup>

Judicial reforms should include comprehensive guidelines issued by the Supreme Court to ensure consistent interpretations of sedition law across different jurisdictions. Additionally, exploring alternative dispute resolution mechanisms could offer less adversarial avenues for addressing grievances related to alleged seditious activities. Ultimately, achieving a harmonious balance between state security imperatives and individual freedoms necessitates concerted efforts across all branches of government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Annual Report: Human Rights-2008 (England, 2009)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Law Commission of India, 39th Report on "The punishment and Imprisonment for Life under the Indian Penal Code" (1968).

Aligning sedition law with democratic principles and constitutional protections is paramount for fostering a resilient and rights-respecting society in India.