INTRODUCTION - METHODOLOGY
Indira Gandhi is often described as India's Margaret Thatcher. Superficially, there are obvious similarities; both went to Oxford, were deeply influenced by their fathers, spoilt their wayward sons and were skilled at manipulating populist sentiments. And, of course, they were implacable women, playing hard in a male-dominated world, leaders who grew hubristic and ruthless. Together with Benazir Bhutto, Thatcher and Mrs. Gandhi have also joined the gallery of female leaders who are invoked every time feminists need to be put in their places. This chapter deals with the Childhood, her early influences that moulded her personality, her role in freedom movement and the methodology related to the present study.

Indira Gandhi, the only woman Prime Minister of India till date, was born to Jawaharlal Nehru and Kamala Nehru on 19th November 1917. Named Indira Priyadarshini, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was born at Anand Bhavan in Allahabad, the ancestral home of the Nehru’s and hub of the National Movement. The only child of Jawaharlal Nehru and Kamala Nehru, she led a lonely life as a child, getting to see her parents and grandparents, especially her father, only when they were not in prison, which was not often. Although Kamala Nehru gave birth to a boy in later years, the child expired within a few days. But Indira Priyadarshini more than compensated for the loss. She proved the prophetic words of her grandfather, when he told his wife that the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, will one day prove better than a thousand sons. Motilal Nehru had to say this when grandmother Swarup Rani exclaimed at Indira’s birth that it should have been a boy. Motilal loved Indira from the moment she was born. She was the most precious thing to him.

Indira Gandhi was an extraordinary women and she possessed natural gifts and had a varied experience. She was a phenomenon. Her multi-faceted personality and charm could, perhaps, never be captured fully either by camera or open. She lived a life full of challenges. Indira Gandhi had an alert probing, independent mind a capacity for precise, apt and sometimes unsparing comment, criticism and characterization and, with a friend, a deep but engaging sense of humor. Her exemplary life of courage and dedication is a lesson both for present and future generations. She believed in the advice of her father, Jawaharlal Nehru that one should be brave and all the rest will follow. She was an apostle of peace and development. Above all, she was a humanist. Indira Gandhi has few parallels in history. Indira Gandhi’s life was characterized by fearlessness and dedication to the cause of India's millions. She was brave
in battle and was forgiving in victory. She always fought for the right cause and never shirked her duty however difficult, the task might have been. Her hope and faith in India never waned. Challenges and crises made her more determined in the pursuit of her path. Her approach to the problems of life was non-doctrinaire and pragmatic. She had the rare gift of an open mind, which allowed her to grow constantly in maturity and wisdom. Her speeches were conspicuous for their precision and richness. They displayed a rare combination of foresight, wisdom and intellectual integrity. She drew her inspiration from our ancient past and mingled it beautifully with the modern era. She stood for perennial values—peace and friendship between nations, love and brotherhood in international relations and socialism, secularism and democracy in our domestic life. She led our country at a most critical period of its political, economic and social development. Her love for the people and India was unbounded. She received the love and adoration of the people of her country as no one, after Gandhi or Jawaharlal did. Her total dedication to the Indian people was so great that she prophesized before her death, that even if she died in the service of nation, she would be proud of it and every drop of her blood will contribute to the growth of the nation and make it strong and dynamic. She was deeply committed to the building of a strong, united and prosperous India which would ensure social and economic justice to all without discrimination on the grounds of caste, creed, religion or faith. While she worked for the material advancement of India’s millions, she never lost sight of the need to maintain our spiritual and historical values. In her death, India has lost a leader, who toiled and died for the country. Her blood has cemented the nation as never before. The blood that flowed from her mortal frame on the 31st of October, 1984 will never dry up and shall continue to bind the nation for eternity with the immortal message that this nation shall never perish.

India was passing through a turbulent phase when Indira was born. India was suffering under the jack boots of the British government and the people were facing untold sufferings and hardships and were exploited in myriad ways. Many leaders took up the mantle to free India from the yoke of British subjugation. The Indian National Congress took its birth in 1885 under the leadership of A.O. Hume, to address and mitigate the sufferings of the natives. The Indian National Congress was the vanguard party in the long history of freedom struggle. By the second decade of Twentieth Century, Gandhi and Nehru along with scores of other leaders became the chief protagonists of the freedom movement. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru returned from England in
1912 and Mahatma Gandhi, in 1915, returned to India from South Africa, where ill-treatment of the Indians had profoundly influenced him and led him to start a non-violent, passive resistance against the South African Government. He named this movement “satyagraha” a sanskrit word which means “Truth-force “or “holding firmly to the truth”.

During the First World War (1914-18), India stood by Britain and helped it with men, money, and material so that it could win the war. In return for this, British Government gave assurances for “self determination” to the Indians. After the war, Indians believed that their aspirations will be fulfilled. The hopes of the people were belied. The British Government put on a more repressive and heinous act in the Statue book. In 1919, The British Government passed the Rowlatt Act which aroused the determination of Gandhi to oppose the British Policy of repression. He came forward with his plan of non-violence and non-cooperation against the government. He started a Sathyagraha Sabha and appealed to the people to join it. Its members were asked to take a pledge to disobey the unjust laws and to court arrest for civil disobedience. Nehru was very much impressed by the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. He wanted to join the Gandhiji’s movement “I was afire with enthusiasm” Wrote Mr. Nehru. But his father Motilal Nehru did not approve of his son’s ideas. The idea of going to jail which was limited to criminals was repulsive to his father.

On 13th April 1919, the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh, which was later described as the most infamous atrocity in the annals of the British rule in India, took place. At a public meeting organized by the Congress party in Amritsar, one of the chief towns in the then Punjab province, an enormous but peaceful crowd of about 20 thousand people assembled at Jallianwalla Bagh. Under the orders of General Dwyer, the venue was sealed off and the people were fired upon by the British troops. Hundreds of people were killed. Repression was at its highest in Punjab. It was cut off from the rest of the country. There was hardly any news from Punjab. People could not go there or come out of the province. When the ban was lifted, Nehru visited the place where a murderous fire by the British had killed scores of people. Smt. Indira Gandhi speaking about Jallianwalla Bagh said that she still remembered the national songs of those days calling for revenge. A young Punjabi later shot dead Sir Michael O’Dwyer, the then lieutenant Governor who was responsible for the massacre. But the answer, which Gandhiji wanted to give, was of different kind. Jallianwala Bagh could not be avenged by the taking of lives but only by the ending of imperialism itself.
Jallianwala Bagh was a turning point in Indian history. It gave a new quality and a new dimension to our national struggle. A movement which had been largely confined to the intellectuals spread rapidly to all sections of the masses and to all parts of the land. Hesitation and doubt were swept aside. These millions of unknown men, women and children to whom Tagore\(^2\) referred to, were the heroes of the struggle for freedom. And as they and many others fell, thousands arose in their place. The tide of the movement surged forward, overwhelming the great imperial power. By this time, the family of Jawaharlal Nehru came much closer to Mahatma Gandhi.

The Rowlatt Bills were denounced by even the most moderate of political leaders. Gandhiji also opposed it. He launched a nation-wide campaign to demand the repeal of the new repressive regime. In the autumn of 1920, the Indian National Congress meeting at a special session passed a resolution accepting Gandhiji’s policy of Non-Cooperation. The programme included the boycott of titles, of government owned or aided schools and colleges, of law courts, of legislatures and of foreign goods. It advocated resistance to unjust laws and willingness to suffer imprisonment peacefully. Thus, Gandhiji’s policy of Satyagraha became the Congress policy. In November 1921, Gandhiji proclaimed a nation-wide hartal on the occasion of the visit of Prince of Wales to India. The Government decided to act against the members of the Congress party and the family members of Jawaharlal Nehru were the first to be arrested. Mrs. Gandhi later said,” I saw my father pay frequent visits to jail and, before I was 13, he had been convicted and sentenced five times. All this in fact amounted to a suspension of normal family life and a highly charged and tense atmosphere. And although prison-going was a matter of pride for us, it was very disturbing to the family. Later, one got more used to it”.\(^3\)

The year 1929 has its own importance in the saga of Indian National movement. In that year, the Congress party had its sessions at Lahore and elected Jawaharlal Nehru as its President. It adopted “Poorna Swaraj” (Complete Independence) as its goal.Gandhiji also asked the people to disobey the government through Sathyagraha by breaking the Salt laws. The Government had monopolized the salt trade and the people were prohibited from collecting salt from sea water. On 12\(^{th}\) March 1930, Gandhiji begin to march on foot to Dandi, a small village on sea coast about 200-miles from Ahmadabad, where he was to break the salt laws. Thousands of People joined him on the way. Mahatma Gandhi entered the sea to collect the sea water from which he extracted salt. Throughout the country, people begin to make salt in evaporation pans.
Salt became the magic word in the Indian liberation movement for it united people against the colonial rulers. Salt laws were broken. Liquor shops were picketed. Foreign goods were boycotted. Kamala Nehru, the devoted wife of Jawaharlal Nehru also joined the protest movement. When both Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested, Kamala Nehru carried on the Congress work successfully with lot of determination and dedication. Indira was only 12 years old then and she organized the vanara sena which had enlisted over 5000 members. It performed many kinds of activities like carrying secret messages from the Congress leaders down to the workers and establishing contacts between the leaders. It rendered first-aid to the injured, served cooked-food for the workers and also did office work. It put up signs boards and made slogans. They stole news from the police station about police intentions and plans. They also sold khadi and Indian–made goods. Mahatma Gandhi frequently visited Anand Bhawan, the residence of the Nehru at Allahabad, and when Indira was four years old, the entire Nehru family visited Gandhiji at the Sabarmati Ashram. The year 1932 saw the failure of talks and led to the resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement by the Congress Party. Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and others were imprisoned. On September 18th, Mahatma Gandhi started “fast unto Death”. Civil disobedience movement resulted in mass arrests. Indira came to love the dignity of labour from Mahatma Gandhi and when he undertook fast unto death in 1932, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to her: If Bapu died what would India be like then..? Oh, India is a horrid country to allow her great men to die, and the people of India are slaves and have the minds of slaves to bicker and quarrel about trivial things and forget freedom itself, 4

In May 1942, the “Quit India” slogan was given by Mahatma Gandhi and the All India Congress Committee in Bombay adopted the historical resolution. On 9th August, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the other Members of the Congress Working Committee were arrested. In 1945, Jawaharlal Nehru was released and the British Cabinet Mission came to India. Mohamed Ali Jinnah, the Muslim leader was determined on the bifurcation of the country and the creation of a sovereign Pakistan and the Congress party was striving hard to maintain the unity and integrity of the Country. On 15th August 1947, India became independent and Nehru took up the reins of the Government, Mahatma Gandhi did not join the celebrations of independence in Delhi on August 15, 1947. He was not happy with the kind of independence that fell to the lot of Mother India. On August 15, 1947 he was in Noakhami, now in Bangladesh, where millions of Hindus were being tortured to death by the Muslim League fanatics. Gandhiji
was against the partition of the country and he used to say that India would be partitioned on his
dead body.

When partition riots broke out in September 1947, Mrs. Gandhi stood like a firm rock
and rendered enormous help to her father. During the insane days of partition of country, she was
a source of strength to the hapless victims. She was like soldier defending the helpless against
blood thirsty mobs. Gandhiji himself assigned her this task. Though her second son, Sanjay, was
an infant in arms, she moved about in the riot- torn areas and sent the affected people to places of
safety and reported the situation to the “Control Room” in the Congress Office every day. The
courage she displayed on those occasions was far superior to that of a soldier in the front line of
battle because a soldier in the field is fully armed, while for Indira Gandhi, her righteousness was
her sword and her moral courage was her shield. She went through the fire of communal hatred
unscathed, saving many lives. On 29th January, 1948 Indira Gandhi had a last meeting with
Mahatma Gandhi. The following day i.e.30th January, Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead by a
Hindu fanatic, Nathu Ram Vinayak Gadse. By accepting partition, rather than not resisting it,
Gandhiji brought about his own end. Gandhiji’s death was not only a major blow to the nation but
it was a deep personnel loss and pain to Nehru’s family. He was the focal point around which
everybody in whole country and the Congress party moved. Even in his absence, meetings were
held. It was however a comfort to know that he was somewhere in country one could reach him
easily when needed. Indira Gandhi wrote,” Each person’s understanding of Gandhiji is a measure
of his own change and growth. While he was alive, many of my age group found it difficult to
understand him. Some of us were impatient with what we considered to be his fads, and we
found some of his formulations obscure. We took his Mahatma-hood granted, but quarreled with
him for bringing mysticisms into politics. This applied not only to my generation. In his
autobiography, my father described the difficulty which he and others of his generation felt in
integrating Gandhian lives into their own thoughts-structure. But little by little, the experience of
the ebb and flow of our national movement enabled my father to arrive at a fuller understanding
of Gandhiji and to weave the essential elements of Gandhiji thinking into his own. He called him
a “Magician” and devotedly attempted to translate Gandhian thought into contemporary terms, to
make it more comprehensible and to extend its influence to young people and intellectuals.  

Indira Gandhi, her name inevitably, evokes images of two historic phases in the
development of Twentieth Century India. During the freedom struggle, the nationalist stage was
dominated by Mahatma Gandhi until his assassination in 1948. He bequeathed to the India people ideals that have frequently been a source of inspiration to them, but as his virtues were very demanding and very few able to attain them, the rest who could not, were subject to a source of frustration and even despair. Jawaharlal Nehru who ushered India into the stage of independence was less demanding in this respect yet he too towered over other men, and he projected an image of leadership – familiar, loving, confident and reassuring – that the Indian nation needed during its years of infancy. But though he extracted high standards of performance from himself, Nehru failed to provide the firmness and direction his people sorely needed, to tackle in earnest, the staggering problems of development and national integration.

As for Indira Gandhi, she is the spiritual daughter of neither Nehru, her father, nor Gandhi, in whose aura she grew up, although she was influenced by both of them most deeply by her father. She is, as Gandhi and Nehru was, in their own way, heir to the Indian culture and historical traditions. She mirrors India in many ways.

A peep into her profile would reveal that Indira Gandhi, apart from being India’s Prime Minister, is a womanly-woman, an affectionate mother, an unfettered friend, exceedingly human and humane. Beautiful and charming, alert and intelligent, cautious and adventurous, she has rare dignity and poise which keep her cool, calm, collected and unruffled in the midst of storms and stresses of life, both personal and political, known for her flair for fine arts and love for tribal culture, she is immensely interested in music and dancing, particularly Manipuri dancing which she herself practiced when she was at Gurudev’s Santhiniketan. Mountains and mountaineering beckoned her away. Time permitting, sports and swimming and yoga claimed her attention. She is an excellent hostess and an accomplished house-wife who even found pleasure in flower arrangements. She has got great regard for Indian Philosophy and culture, for religion in its spiritualistic aspect, not the ritualistic. She pleads for happy harmony of spiritualism and science, traditional values and modern demands. She is heart and soul for human happiness and India’s well-being. Her first and foremost love is “India”. She has really grown to be a child of light, which Nehru dreamt, she would one day become.

Indira Gandhi had become a world renowned personality. Hers was not a sudden debut on the world’s stage but a process of gradual evolution and culmination of the training that her father had given her. Some are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them. All the three attributes of greatness apply to Indira Gandhi – she was not only
born in greatness, she also achieved greatness and all the while she also had greatness by her sincerity, intellect and sheer hard work. It is said that the busiest person finds time for everything and it is true in the case of Indira Gandhi. In spite of her multifarious activities as Prime Minister, who always finds time to look after home, play with her children and arrange flowers in her room. She had great love for the masses which was heartily reciprocated by the masses. She used to draw the largest crowds. No leader, not even her father – had drawn such large crowds as she did wherever she went. It is because the words come from the depth of her heart. There is no effort at oratory, no suggestion of any bragging and luster. She discussed even the most complicated matters with her audience with case and composure. The words came from her heart and went straight to the hearts of the people. She was the only leader who could keep the nation together, guard its integrity and independence and steer it through storm towards socialistic prosperity.

As the only child of Jawaharlal and Kamala Nehru, Indira saw from close-up the struggles of her family and of Mahatma Gandhi in gaining independence for India. The influence of the Mahatma undoubtedly served to neutralize much of the personal threat and hostility Indians might have harbored against the British soldiers. One old-time “freedom fighter” says that he hold no grudge against the British, now or then, for “we were after all much influenced by Mahatma Gandhi who told us that the British were there simply to do their job and of course, the Indians had to do what they had to do, and so no one should hold a grudge against anybody else”. This sentiment was echoed by many others like him – hard-nosed and hard-headed politicians. Strangely, the words did not sound incredible on their lips, for while the British could be harsh rulers, they could also show nobility of character and compassion. On the Indian side, although there were numerous instances of terrorism, this never became the dominant style of the nationalist struggle. Indira Gandhi was thus reared not in the midst of terrorists but at the feet of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, and of his main disciple and lieutenant, her father – Jawaharlal Nehru. This profoundly influenced her thinking and action.

The influence of Nehru and Gandhi on the articulation of ideas has been demonstrated in the course of Indira’s participation in the political processes in the post-Nehru era. She borrowed freely from the funds of her father’s knowledge on Nationalism and Internationalism and utilized the concepts in the actual shaping of her political career during the crucial days of her leadership as a continuum.
The feelings of nationalism and patriotism were strongly embedded in the mind of Mrs. Gandhi at a very tender age. The attitudes of duty and equality were reflected in her earliest fantasies in her games. By age 12, the child’s play had become an adolescent reality, as she organized the often mentioned ‘monkey army or Vanar Sena’. This army was made up of children and young adolescent who pledged to volunteer their time and energies to the Indian National Congress in the struggle for independence. Among their tasks was the transmission of messages when adults would be too conspicuous for “intelligence” work (such as eavesdropping on police men to learn about arrests, house searches etc.) and other minor activities. At a young age, Indira also pre-occupied herself with non-military social work. Even before the organization of the Vanar Sena, she was involved in the movement to spread Gandhi’s message of economic self reliance through the spinning wheel.

Her commitment to duty seems to have stemmed from an exceptionally strong conscience and an equally strong political consciousness at a precocious age. When she was only three years, she burned a treasured doll for sake of the nationalist cause. This may have been her first conscious conflict between her childhood desires and her conscience. This incident, reported in all her biographies was no doubt a traumatic experience, and this gives much insight into Indira Gandhi’s personality and the conditions under which it developed can be gleaned from it. It occurred shortly after the Nehru family had burned all their foreign clothes in a huge bonfire to signify their rejection of British ways and asserts their Indian identity and independence of foreign imports. The child was taunted by a relative, recently returned from abroad, for refusing to accept the gift of a foreign dress. Her mother had told her the choice was hers to make but reminded her of the bonfire a few days earlier. (This incident is also significant as an illustration of the early encouragement her parents gave her to be autonomous). Young Indira reached out her hand as if to take the frock but then moved it back. Whereupon the visitor mocked at her, saying that the doll she was carrying was also foreign. The child pondered over this, then, she took her doll to the terraced roof and set a match to it, crying copiously as she watched her burn.

The poignancy of this act is more striking because she was the only child and had no playmates of her own age. It must have been a devastating experience to “kill” her companion, as she afterwards put it. She recalls that the doll was not a mere inanimate toy but a “friend” and her “child”. Even so; there must have been also some inner satisfaction, for the stronger impulse towards duty won out. This deeply painful experience of “killing” her playmate must also have
infused her with a terrible sense of guilt, for she manifested a loss of appetite, sleeplessness, and a high temperature immediately preceding and after her decision. After so many years, traces of the trauma remain, and she confesses that “to this day I hate to strike a match.”

Throughout her childhood and later on, as we have seen, sacrifices of one kind or the other were exacted from her—the most significant being separation from her parents. Nonetheless, there is no indication that she or her family considered these deprivations unusual; she was just doing what was expected of her. Speaking of her imprisonment in 1942, she said that she had decided that she had to go to prison and without that something would have been incomplete and that’s why she was glad to be arrested. It was a matter of family as well as national honor. Her secretary, Usha Bhagat, who had been with her for many years and probably knew her better than most people, stated that the sense of duty that prompted her to go to her father shortly after he had become Prime Minister was “not just to her father but her sense of what her father meant to the country.”

Nehru wrote letters to his daughter Indira Gandhi from prison enlightening her both about the World History and Indian history. He extolled Indian virtues and Indian civilizations. These gave form to some of his daughter’s dispositions and self-perceptions. Among them were her sense of Indianess, and its political expression in strong nationalist feelings. While Nehru never shrank from pointing out the drawbacks of Indian civilization, he also communicated his sense of pride in the achievements and high aspirations of Indians in many different fields like philosophy, the arts, and of course, government. As he approached the nineteenth and twentieth century events, we see building in his correspondence a crescendo of that nationalist feeling with which his daughter was as strongly imbued. Throughout her younger years, as we can see, the struggle for independence was the centerpieces of her life, and most of her personal decisions were subordinate to this national goal. So too, her fierce pride in being Indian, expressed frequently during her tenure as prime minister, must be attributed in no small measure to these letters, which dwelt so often on the glories of India’s past.

Mrs. Gandhi is secular in outlook and nationalist in spirit. She is aware of the fact that India with its diverse groups is but a nation politically, not ethnologically. In a country like India with lot of diversity, people have to imbibe a spirit to live together in peace and in case of conflicts; they have to resort to peaceful settlement instead of indulging in violence. It is India Gandhi’s firm conviction that in spite of cultural, religious and other difference, India continues
to be a nation. Speaking on nationalism in India, she observes” what holds people tighter is not religion, not race, not language, not even a commitment to an economic system. It is shared-experience and involvement in the conscious and continuous effort at resolving internal differences through political means. It is a sense of “Indians which unites our people despite ethic, linguistic and religious diversity. Most conflicts and tensions in the world originate in the failure to take note of the importance of nationalism”.

Indira felt that India is an integrated country but its’ oneness’ can be further strengthened by education of our cultural heritage. Every Indian must be proud of the great variety of his culture. India Gandhi always spoke eloquently about Indian culture. India Gandhi always used to give fullest encouragement to folk dance festivals because she believes that through dance and music, barriers are broken down and people get to know each other. She used to wear saris from different parts of India and tied the sari according to the custom of the place she visited.

Indira Gandhi rightly believed that the desire and ability to live together and to remain united gave great strength to India as a nation, in spite of its diversity. Speaking on the need to develop and strengthen national sentiment, she said,” No matter what our religion, language or state, we are one nation and one people. Let us all –farmers, and workers, teachers and students, scientists and technologists, industrialists, businessmen, politicians and public servants-put forth their best effort. Let us be strong, tolerant and disciplined, for tolerance and discipline are the very foundations of democracy. The dynamic and progressive society, the just social order which we wish to create can be achieved only with unity of purpose and through hard-work and cooperation”.

**Internationalism**

Indira Gandhi neither believed nor espoused the cause of narrow parochial nationalism but believed in internationalism which caters to the needs, welfare, well-being and happiness of the entire mankind. Mrs. Indira Gandhi believed in international public opinion and activism of international agencies promoting world order. In her address to U.N. she has affirmed her faith on the utility and efficacy of International forums and cooperation. Like her father, she believed in peaceful settlement of all disputes and mobilizing international public opinion in bringing to an end the mad race for use of force in bilateral issues. Her concept of internationalism is tinged with humanism and national dignity with mutual understanding and reciprocity. As a staunch opponent of imperialism, Mrs. Gandhi often irritated the Western Block but endeared herself to
the Third World on international issues. Her firm stand on converting Bangladesh refugees’ issue to a problem of international concern, proved the maturity of her commitment to international institutions. Her approach to China’s arrogant leadership during the debate on the Chinese admission into the U.N. leads one to conclude that national sentiments are subordinate to international postures. Her concept of internationalism included various facets. They are as follows: 1) Equality of status for all states in the international sphere. 2) Resistance to superpowers’ subjugation of the weaker nations in any form. 3) Just economic distribution of world resources among the haves and haven’t countries. 4) Complete support for revolutionary values whereby nationalities struggling for nationhood got Indira’s support and backing in, not withstanding of the dangerous consequences of such international stance. 5) Dominance of superpowers in the United Nations is antithetical to her concept of internationalism.

Providing leadership to the 77 Non-Aligned countries is an expression of her style of international group-life. Understanding the pernicious motivation of Pakistan on “no war pact for concept of internationalism, unfolds the sinister conclusions on world problems and on problems of acquisitions of military hardwares by Pakistan. Her internationalism is not subject to the touch of religion, regionalism or alliances. On the other hand, mutual friendship-treatises are the expressions of her internationalism in bilateral diplomacies. Recognition of P.L.O and Bangladesh Government testified that her internationalism is pragmatic in nature and normative in contents.

The Western Governments were against India because of our general policy of Non-Alignment, because we were the only ones, whenever we saw anything was weakening, who gave the push and said, “come along, do not get discouraged”. We encouraged people to stand up to the western powers. India was taking a leading part, they did not like anybody who does not listen to them and who was making a success in spite of listening to them.

On internationalism, she said, “we are determined that India’s strength and size shall never become a cause of apprehension to any of our neighbours. We are pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of our neighbors in any way but to live with all countries in a spirit of co-existence, equality and mutual respect. We reject the great power-chauvinism, 12

In keeping with our heritage, we followed a policy of peace and friendship with all nations yet reserved to ourselves the right to independent opinion. The principles which have
guided our foreign policy are in keeping with the best tradition of our country, and are wholly consistent with our national interest, honor and dignity. They continue to remain valid.\textsuperscript{13}

“Today I pledge myself anew to the ideals of the builders of our nation-to democracy and secularism, to planned economic and social advance, to peace and friendship among nations.”\textsuperscript{14}

The Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers Conference opened with an ardent appeal by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi to member-nations to maintain their unity in the face of the all-out attempts of the Big Powers to exploit their discords and intervene in their conflicts. Speaking on internationalism, she cautioned the countries against the dangers of outside intervention in their disputes for enlarging local conflicts into wider confrontations posing a serious threat to international peace and mankind.

The Prime Minister voiced her deep distress over events in Afghanistan and the unhappy conflict in west Asia in an obvious reference to the war between Iraq and Iran. She called upon the powers, implying the United States and the Soviet Union, to reduce their “presence” in the Indian Ocean, restore international understanding and peace. She asked Non-Aligned countries to be beware of Big Powers attempts to exploit discords.\textsuperscript{15}

“On the historic magic day when India’s independence was proclaimed, my father declared that India looked at the world with clear and friendly days and would cooperate with all nations and people of the world in furthering peace, freedom and democracy. Since then, we have worked consistently to democratize international relations. We have supported international struggles. We have fought against all foreign domination and racism. We have pleaded the cause of coexistence and the peaceful resolution of conflicts.”\textsuperscript{16} Prime Minister Indira Gandhi warned that never in the last two decades, had the international outlook been “as grim as it is today.”\textsuperscript{17} she said India welcomed the entry of Pakistan into the Non-Aligned movement.

\textbf{Assurance to Neighbours}

India, she observed, had never resorted to any step that would alarm or worry its neighbors. “Indeed, we have repeatedly assured them of our policy of respect for their sovereignty and integrity. We want them to live in peace and stability. In fact, the pace of socio-economic development in our country is vitally linked with what happens in our neighborhood”.\textsuperscript{18}
In India’s view, the policy of containment of one power by another is counterproductive. Yet, it was this that was stated to be the reason for the militarization of this part of the world. Such militarization, she said, would prevent political negotiated settlement in Afghanistan, nor it would bring peace in the Gulf region or west Asia. She pointed out that inter-dependence among nations was inescapable, but such inter-dependence could prevail only on a foundation of full political independence and economic self-reliance.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi who expressed her concern at the growing tension in the Indian Ocean region, had preliminary discussions with the UAE president, Shaikh Zayed bin Sultan at Nahyan. During their meeting, India Gandhi conveyed to Shaikh that in the fast changing situation, there was greater need for closer cooperation between the countries of the region whose security was threatened by events like militarization of the Indian ocean, the situation in the Gulf and Afghanistan. The UAE President said, such a cooperation was extremely important in the relations between the two countries.

Giving her assessment of the situation in the Indian sub-continent during which time she dealt particularly with India’s relations with Bangladesh and Pakistan, Mrs. Gandhi told the shaikh that genuinely India wanted its neighbors to be strong. India was not against Pakistan having adequate defenses, but it would deplore anything that aggravated tension and led to the area being used by others. Shaikh, paying tributes to Mrs. Gandhi’s leadership, said that what the world needed today was sagacious leadership.

Indira Gandhi said that India was worried that Pakistan was being sought to be armed in such a way as to bring Great power conflict closer to us. She told at a press conference at the end of her tour of Gulf Countries at Dubai on May 3, 1981, which she described as successful, that there was “great similarity” of views in her talks with leaders. They agreed that tensions should not come closer to “our borders” and that they should get together and try to fend off the threat. “Our friendship with the Arab Countries is of a very special nature” it was traditional and historic and was “regardless of oil”. Most of the political ideas that Mrs. Gandhi dwells upon are reflected in the domestic policies during her tenure as Prime Minister. As a natural political activist with statesman like posture, she links the consequences of her concept on Naturalism and Internationalism of those ideas that determine the nature of her policy in socio-economic spectrum at home. Good ideas need thorough scanning to present the philosophical foundations of her dreams of building India.
Statement of the problem

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the first woman Prime Minister of India. In fact, she was the second woman Prime Minister in the world after the Sri Lankan first woman prime minister, Sirimao Bandaranayake. Daughter of the first Indian charismatic Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, she faced tough challenges which she overcame effortlessly. When she came to power in 1969, India was besieged with problems both on domestic front as well as on international front. As far as domestic front is concerned, debilitating poverty was all pervasive, unemployment was at its peak, the nation was being torn asunder by fissiparous forces, land was concentrated in the hands of few landlords and most of the rural peasantry was landless and as a result it was leading to a lot of unrest in the countryside. Indira Gandhi took up the gauntlet that was thrown at her and ably resolved the issues one by one. Coming to a perception that the banks which are supposed to be engines of growth by assisting people, by lending money, were not doing their job, but were catering to the needs of few wealthy people, Mrs. Gandhi as a result, decided to nationalize banks for the national cause, so that these could be of great help to the common man and as a result she nationalized 14 major banks in 1969 and another seven banks in 1980. Similarly, she left no stone unturned to protect and promote the integration of the country. She could successfully quell the separatist movements in Punjab, Kashmir, North-East and other areas, which were advocating the partition of the country. Her contribution to India’s foreign policy was of no less significance. Her role in dismembering Pakistan in 1971 Bangladesh war and friendship treaty with Russia, explosion of nuclear device at Pokhran in 1974 were defining moments in India’s foreign policy. Similarly her role in Non-alignment was laudable. The present study entitled “POLITICAL SAGA AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF Mrs. INDIRA GANDHI— A STUDY” is a modest attempt to study the life and achievements of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, both on domestic and on foreign policy front.

Need for the study

Indira Gandhi, being one of the most successful Prime Ministers, has been subject of study for many authors. There is no dearth of books on the subject of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. However, all the books are focused on only one particular aspect, be it the 20 point programme, or emergency, or Indo-Soviet friendship treaty, or Non-alignment etc. There is no one particular book or a study which vividly scripts the political dynamics and the troubled times that pervaded in India during the time of Mrs. Gandhi, that forced her to take the decisions that she took, both
in the arena of domestic affairs as well as foreign affairs. In this particular study, an attempt is made to tell the complete story and explain the enigmatic personality of Mrs. Gandhi, in the then existing political context and explain why Mrs. Gandhi had to take such appropriate measures to overcome the challenges prevailing them. The study on Mrs. Gandhi is very much pertinent even today because the formidable challenges she faced, be it the secessionist movements in Kashmir or in the North-East or the regional feelings in Telangana or Vidhrabha, Gorkhaland, or the Bodoland continue to dog the nation in a more virulent form. Similarly, the challenges on the national front say, heightened tensions in Indo-Pak relations, unsettled border problems with China, and other international issues continue to trouble the nation. Revisiting the troubled times and the challenges that she faced and understanding how she resolved the issues will help us to appreciate the present problems and will help us to find out solutions for them.

Overview of Literature

The number of biographies on the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi would justify a modest library of its own. The following are some of the books on Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Inder Malhotra, (1989) 23 scripted the most comprehensive account of her life and times in his book “Presenting Indira Life” published by National Book Trust. Malhotra’s book serves as a purely educational exercise with details of her volatile political life and complex character condensed into this biography. He narrates in his book that she had been a voracious reader and had strong views on political and social changes taking place around the world. In some places, especially to do with the Emergency, Malhotra is actually kinder to her than other authors.

Katherine Frank, (2001) 24 in her book “The Life of Indira Nehru Gandhi” published by Harper Collins, gives a detailed account of the childhood influences on her, of her father Jawaharlal Nehru especially, and the ill-treatment meted out to her mother by her father’s family, made her feel insecure and that made her cultivate a suspicious nature in her future life.

It is also mentioned in the book that Indira Gandhi is often described as India's Margaret Thatcher. She drew parallels between Margaret Thatcher and Mrs. Gandhi and said that they were implacable women, playing hard in a male-dominated world, leaders who grew hubristic and ruthless. Together with Benazir Bhutto, she says that Thatcher and Gandhi have also joined the gallery of female demons who are invoked every time, feminists need to be put in their place. The role of the impetuous Sanjay in her eventual unpopularity is also clearly described, as are the staggering mistakes in Punjab and Kashmir.
Nayantara Sahgal, (1984) in her work, “Indira Gandhi: Tryst with Power” published by Penguin, speaks of the authoritarian style of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. After Mrs. Gandhi’s defeat in 1977, a rash of books on her and her political style appeared, but Nayantara Sahgal’s is one of the most clear-eyed and critical in its analysis. Her recounting of the lead-in to the Emergency is detailed and unrelenting, illustrating the impact of irresistible force meeting between two towering personalities – Jai Prakash Narayan and Indira – and their effect on history. There is a third towering personality in this book, and that, of course, is Nehru, whose political legacy the author believes was unforgivably subverted by his daughter. The author further states that Non-alignment was abandoned by Mrs. Gandhi by cozying up to the Soviet Union; decision-making by consensus was jettisoned; chief ministers were unseated; Congress cadres were demoralized, an all-encompassing quest for power replaced a visionary politics. She believes that Indira Gandhi substituted Nehru’s and India’s – tryst with destiny with her individual tryst with power.

Pranay Gupte, (1992) in his work “Mother India- A Political Biography of Indira Gandhi” published by Penguin, describes in detail the loneliness of Mrs. Gandhi’s early years; her fierce attachment to her mother who suffered humiliation and neglect at Anand Bhavan; her slow but dramatic transformation from a painfully shy teenager to tentative politician, war hero, and finally to the authoritarian, monarch-like figure of the Emergency phase. The narrative takes in its sweep the oversized story of India, its chequered political journey, its many foreign policy challenges, its battles with disease, poverty and terrorism. The author describes Indira's assassination and its violent aftermath in painstaking detail, using his own primary source, to reconstruct the pain and horror that visited on the Sikh community. In addition, it has covered Rajiv Gandhi's years as Prime Minister, his assassination, the Congress party, and India's emergence in recent years as a country of substance.

Pupul Jayakar, (1992) who was Indira Gandhi's friend for 30 years, in her book “Indira Gandhi: An Intimate Biography” published by Pantheon Books, draws on her notes of meetings and conversations for an empathetic biography of India's Prime Minister who was assassinated in 1984. She offers a vivid, unusually insightful look at the emotional and familial factors that transformed a silent, withdrawn girl into an assured, far-seeing leader who was closely attuned to her country, if at times obsessive and arrogant. She says that Indira Indulged,
yet also neglected as a child, was prepared for leadership by her proud, expansive father, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister. She also speaks on Indira’s unhappy marriage to Feroze Gandhi, on her key role in freeing East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) from West Pakistan's bloody rule and on her relationship with her sons Sanjay, killed in a plane crash in 1980, and Rajiv, assassinated in 1991.

Dhar, P. N., (2000) who was the head of the prime minister's secretariat under Indira Gandhi, in his book “Indira Gandhi, the emergency and Indian democracy” published by Oxford University, says he witnessed and participated in some of the major decisions made by Mrs. Gandhi, most notably the controversial 'Emergency', the merger of Sikkim with India, the Bangladesh war of 1971, and the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan. As a result, this book combines an insider's account of these years and a compelling analysis of the changing contours of India democracy.

Harish Kapur, (2009) in his work, “Foreign Policies of India’s Prime Ministers” published by Lancer Publishers, looks in detail at the Prime Ministers of India who played major role in setting out the goals, the strategies, and the day-to-day execution of foreign policy. Each Prime Minister is discussed in chronological order, with Indira Gandhi and A.B.Vajpayee having two chapters each since they held the post twice. He says that the personality factor is being increasingly recognized as a crucial dimension in foreign policy making, perhaps as crucial as the established institutions because it is necessary to understand the decision maker, his background, his education, his perceptions, his biases and prejudices etc; for they all are, in many ways vital inputs responsible for a decision.

“India’s Search for Power: Indira Gandhi’s Foreign Policy, 1966-1983” written by Surjit Mansingh, (1984) which was published by SAGE Publications, is one of the few comprehensive studies of Indira Gandhi’s foreign policy. One of the book's themes is that Mrs. Gandhi's failures on the domestic front restricted her room for maneuver in foreign affairs. Another important theme, brought out in the introduction, is the persistent American tendency to underrate India's power potential. One of the weaknesses in the book is the failure to analyze the costs and benefits of Mrs. Gandhi's Soviet link. And there is an unsatisfactory section about the impact on Indian foreign policy of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
Nalini Kant Jha, (1985) in his book, “Internal Crisis and Mrs. Indira Gandhi’s Foreign Policy”, published by Janaki Prakashan, presents a survey of Indian foreign policy including foreign economic policy during the period 1975-1977. The strength of this book lies in the details that it gives about India’s foreign policy and foreign economic policy during these crucial 24 months. The author’s basic belief is that through this policy initiatives in India’s relations with individual countries and with regional groupings especially with the two superpowers, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asian Nations and the nations of Western Europe, Mrs. Gandhi tried to give legitimacy to her regime which otherwise was considered to be an authoritarian one because of the Emergency.

Panigrahi, D.N., (1985) in his book “Indira Gandhi – an apostle of National integration” published by Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, describes that Indira Gandhi during her time, was engaged in the task of nation building, of transforming an ancient civilization into a modern society, of evolving a secular, nationally integrated and democratic Indian polity, which guaranteed freedom, equality and social justice to all its citizens without discrimination of caste, creed, religion or sex.

Alexander, P.C., (2012) In his book “My Years with Indira Gandhi” published by Vision Books, India, the author, P.C. Alexander narrates not only the government affairs but also things related to her party, politics, and sometimes even personal matters. Having served as Mrs. Gandhi’s Principal Secretary from 1981 till her assassination and Rajiv Gandhi’s taking over as Prime Minister in October 1984, he presents an important and honest insider’s account of much of what happened during that period, including: The rocky shoals through which her relations had to pass with two successive Presidents. It also presents new insights into Mrs. Gandhi’s role in the dismissals of the first communist government in Kerala in 1957, and N.T. Rama Rao’s government in Andhra Pradesh in 1984. Her attitude towards those who had deserted her in her years out of power (1977-1980), her assessment of key party and government colleagues and the background on various cabinet reshuffles have been dealt with, vividly in the book. The major thrust Mrs. Gandhi made in improving India’s international relations has also drawn the attention of the writer. Indira Gandhi’s death and the drama behind Rajiv’s succession as Prime Minister is also discussed in the book.
Indira Gandhi, Child of Politics" written by Sreelatha Menon, (2013) published by Penguin Books, India, speaks of Mrs. Gandhi as a loving daughter, a caring mother, an affectionate grandmother, a confident globetrotter and finally prime minister, who slipped into each role with effortless ease.

The story of India's first woman prime minister, she says, is no ordinary story. It is the story of a girl for whom sacrifice and loss came early. For whom growing up meant seeing her father drift in and out of jail and a mother in and out of hospital, wearing khadi and organizing her own band of troops, combating loneliness and giving up the things she loved for a bigger cause. With the freedom struggle playing out in the background, Indira Gandhi's life was inextricably linked to the politics and destiny of her country. In this compelling biography, Sreelata Menon vividly recreates the life and times of a young girl who goes on to become one of the most powerful and charismatic leaders of the world. Filled with little-known facts about Indira Gandhi's life, this book is a fascinating reading that brings to light the different facets of her personality.

Syed, M.H., (2010) in his book “Indira Gandhi”, published by Himalaya Publishing house, New Delhi, describes how Mrs. Gandhi born in the politically influential Nehru Family, grew up in an intensely political atmosphere. Returning to India from Oxford, he says, she became involved in the Indian independence movement and later became President of Indian National Congress also. After her father's death, she became a member of Lal Bahadur Shastri's cabinet. She was made the Prime Minister after Shastri death. She led the nation as Prime Minister, during the decisive victory in the 1971 war with Pakistan. He describes vividly how she rose to leadership and ultimately became the prime minister. He also traces the contours of her personality at length and has covered her speeches which are of interest to the readers.

In his brilliant, insightful book, “Makers of India's foreign policy”, published by HarperCollins, India, the author, Dixit, J.N., (2004) describes the role of those who have played an important role in fashioning and implementing India's Foreign Policy since and before independence right up to the 12th SAARC Summit in Islamabad in January 2004. In doing so, he fulfills a major gap in the study of Indian foreign policy. He focuses not just on the Nehru-Gandhi’s but also on those who are less well-known, including diplomats and policy advisers. He shows us how India's foreign policy was linked to the personalities and beliefs of the men and
women who happened to be at the helm of affairs. Apart from the central role played by Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi, the book highlights the contributions of other Prime Ministers such as Narasimha Rao, I.K.Gujra and Atal Behari Vajpayee. Also portrayed are ministers such as V.K. Krishna Menon, Sardar Swaran Singh, Y.B. Chavan, Jaswant Singh and Yashwant Sinha. The role of behind-the-scenes operators like Girija Shankar Bajpai, Badruddin Tyabji, D.P.Dhar, P.N.Haksar and Brajesh Mishra is also recalled.

Willes, (1978) \(^{37}\) in his book “The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance”, starts with an account of the diplomacy, the development of the ideology, different emphases on different aspects of the first decade of the policy of Non-Alignment and the institutionalization of the Movement. There follows a quantitative analysis using the data on the United Nations voting, the exchange of diplomats, army supplies, trade and communications to produce the foreign policy behavior smith in East-West relations and towards Southern Africa. This book furnishes an understanding of the various shifts of Non-Alignment policy in different times.

Leo Mates, (1972) \(^{38}\) in his work, “Non-Alignment: Theory And Current Policy” Published by: Canadian International Council substantiates, New York, discusses the essence and prospects of the Non-Aligned Movement scientifically. Mates reviews the formation of the movement and characterizes the basic orientations of its development. He analyses the causes for the turn of the foreign policies of most developing nations towards Non-Alignment.

In “War and secession: Pakistan, India and the creation of Bangladesh” written by Richard Sisson and Leo E Rose (1973) \(^{39}\), published by Canadian International Council, New York, the authors trace the events that happened prior to the 1971 Bangladesh war. They say that the year 1971 commenced with two historic collections; the first national election ever held on the basis of universal franchise in Pakistan, where the incumbent martial law regime was endeavoring to transfer power to civilian authority; the return of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with the overwhelming parliamentary majority in an election with a massive turnout in India. They, in their book, try to reconstruct as best as possible the decisional structures and processes that contributed to this war. They discussed Indo-Pakistan relations at length from (1947-1970) and the factors that led to the war. Similarly, they also studied in detail the Soviet, Chinese, and American policies in the 1971 crisis.
Sita Ramachandran (1996) in his book, “Decision-making in Foreign Policy” published by North Book Centre, New Delhi, deals with the survey of the literature on decision-making approach to the study of foreign policy and also sketches in brief the theoretical aspects of foreign policy making with special reference to India. He also described vividly the global environment with reference to super power politics and their impact on India, the triangular relations in South Asia namely Sino-American relations, Sino-Soviet relations, Sino-Pak relations, Indo-Pak relations and the Bangladesh crisis, the Indo-Soviet treaty of 1971 etc.

In “Unsettling Memories: Narratives of the Emergency in Delhi” published by University of California press, California, the author Emma Tarlo (2003) discusses the ethnography of events that led to the imposition of emergency. It is also scripted in the book the various excesses that are committed and the numerous victims and the perpetrators of the emergency. It sketches in detail the role of Indira Gandhi and her crony men in imposing the emergency.

Sanjay Gaikwad (1977) in his book, “Dynamics of Indo-Soviet relations: The Era of Indira Gandhi” speaks of the importance of Indo-Soviet treaty that was signed on 1971. He explains in detail how the treaty was not only very significant but subsequently became an important landmark in the history of Indo-Soviet relationship. He further says how leaders of various political parties and public opinion and among others India’s parliament, the press, eminent public personalities, scholars, academicians expressed satisfaction and applauded the treaty. There was a popular support and a rousing welcome to the treaty. The author also explained vividly the circumstances that led to the signing of this treaty. He says that the growing US-Pak-China axis, the strains in Sino-Indian relations, the serious differences Sino-Soviet relations and the accompanying Cold War politics in South Asia, the insecurity perceptions entertained by India all contributed to the signing of this treaty.

“India: The Years of Indira Gandhi” published by E.J Brill, (1988) which has series of articles on different dimensions pertaining to Mrs. Gandhi and her era. The personality of Mrs. Gandhi, the political power and the party politics that prevailed are discussed and debated. Similarly, how the constitutional structures were trampled upon and eroded is also discussed elaborately. The book also focuses on India’s foreign policy towards her neighboring countries
and also Indian security and defense policies under Indira Gandhi. Indian economy, during Mrs. Gandhi’s regime, is also a matter of interest for the writers this book and has been discussed.

**Objectives of the study**

- To study the life and achievements of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the various influences that moulded her personality
- To study her efforts towards protecting and promoting National Integration
- To study the factors that promoted the imposition of emergency and the happenings that took place later
- To study the philosophy, contents and the implementation of 20-Point Economic Programme
- To study the various administrative reforms initiated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the fields of banking sector and in rural agricultural land distribution to the landless
- To study Mrs. Gandhi’s contribution to India’s Foreign Policy and Non-Aligned Movement.

**Methodology**

The approach to the study is descriptive, empirical and analytical. The researcher has relied mostly on secondary data. The researcher has collected sumptuous material in the form of books, journals, government document etc. by visiting various libraries. Such as Parliamentary Library, New Delhi, Osmania University Library, Hyderabad, University of Hyderabad Library, Hyderabad, Sri Venkateswara University, Sri Padmavathi Mahila University, Tirupati, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, A.P.Secretariat, Gandhi Bhavan Library, Hyderabad. For material pertaining to 20-point programme, the researcher has visited Twenty point programme office, Hyderabad and discussed personally with the chairman, the issues relating to the programme. Going through the old newspapers pertaining to Mrs. Gandhi’s time was also very useful for the researcher for this study. The collected data was processed, tabulated where ever necessary and analyzed and the conclusions were drawn. The tables were prepared where ever necessary.
Scope of the study

The scope of the present study is limited to studying the political, economic and the social factors that influenced Mrs. Gandhi to take the decision that she took, to solve the problems that persisted during her times. Due attention is paid to issues like 20-point programme, Land reforms, the developments that led to the imposition of Emergency and its aftermath, Nationalization of Banks, abolition of privy purses etc. Issues relating to foreign policy like the war with Pakistan over the Bangladesh issue, the thickening of friendship with USSR through the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1971, souring of relations with USA. Non-Alignment etc. are also discussed at length.

Chapter scheme: The present study is organized into seven chapters.

Chapter-I: Introduction- Methodology

This chapter narrates the early life of Mrs. Gandhi, her achievements as politician and administrator and the various influences like the influence of Gandhi, Nehru etc. that helped her in shaping her personality. It presents a broad contour of her life. Along with those the methodology adopted is also discussed.

Chapter-II: Smt. Gandhi’s efforts towards Promoting National Integration

The main thrust of this chapter is the concerted efforts made by Mrs. Gandhi for protecting and promoting the National Integration by curtailing divisive forces.

Chapter-III: Emergency and its aftermath

The state of affairs that persisted in the country preceding the promulgation of Emergency, the factors that forced the declaration of Emergency and the conditions that led to the lifting of Emergency, are the subject matter of discussion in this chapter.

Chapter-IV: The Content and Philosophy of 20-Point Programme with reference to Andhra Pradesh

This chapter paints a vivid picture of the contents and the philosophy that lies behind the Twenty-Point Programme.

Chapter-V: Administrative Reforms- Nationalization of Banks and Land Reforms

Various administrative reforms like the Nationalization of Banks, abolition of privy purses, imposition of land ceiling and distribution of surplus lands to the landless through land reforms is scripted in this Chapter.
Chapter-VI: Indira Gandhi’s Foreign Policy

Indira’s contribution to India’s foreign policy, her realistic perception of international politics in contrast to her father’s idealistic vision of international politics, dismemberment of Pakistan, Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation are discussed at length in this Chapter.

Chapter-VII: Conclusions

This chapter winds up with assessing the role and contribution of Mrs. Gandhi to Indian polity, both in domestic arena and in the area of foreign policy and her legacy that continues to persist even after thirty years, after her death and why she is passionately loved or thoroughly abhorred but certainly not ignored by the people of her country.
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