

CABINET OF INDIRA GANDHI

Under-Secretaries General:

Haluk Lütfü Erenler - Mehmet Emin Akyar

Academic Assistant: Sarp Karahan Karakoç

Topic: Open Agenda

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I. Letter from the Secretary-General

Most Esteemed Participants,

It is my honour and pleasure to welcome you on behalf of the Academic and Organisations Teams to the eighth annual session of HASAL Model United Nations Conference. I am İrem Beyza Uralcan, currently a senior at Hüseyin Avni Sözen High School. I have been a member of HASAL International Relations Society for five years now, and this year, I am serving as the Secretary-General of HASALMUN. By opening this document, you have started your preparation process for the Cabinet of Indira Gandhi. We are truly happy you chose to be a part of this experience, and we wish you the best of luck during the conference.

In order for us to analyse the dynamics of our day, we are obliged to know the past. Indira Gandhi, so far the only woman to serve as the prime minister of India, was one of the most controversial figures in the modern history. Until the day she was assassinated, she influenced the people of India, and led the army in the war with Pakistan. Ministers, while debating the topic at hand and coping with crisis, are expected to reflect on the idea of one person becoming the symbol of a movement under the right circumstances.

I would like to thank Mr. Akyar and Mr. Erenler who happen to be both the Under-Secretaries-General for this Cabinet and the Deputy-Secretaries-General. We expect the delegates to direct the flow of the debate and the course of events by taking careful actions and bringing authentic ideas to the table. The ministers may or may not change the history. We are very excited to see the end result.

I recommend all participants to read this guide carefully but also quickly. This guide provides you a starting point and a direction. It is very important for the members to do their own researches and then to come up with appropriate approaches to the issue. Please do not hesitate to contact me via beyza.uralcan@gmail.com should you have any questions.

Best Regards,

İrem Beyza Uralcan

Secretary-General of HASALMUN 2019

II. Letter from the Under-Secretaries-General

Most esteemed participants,

We, the Under-Secretaries-General responsible for the Cabinet of Indira Gandhi, are delighted to welcome you to the 8th edition of Hüseyin Avni Sözen High School Model United Nation Conference, 2019.

The Cabinet of Indira Gandhi will focus on Indira Gandhi's third term as the Prime Minister. In her third term, the Iron Lady of India had to deal with economic and political problems – including the Khalistani movement and the Pakistani conflicts. Her cabinet was there to advise her on many problems that she faced. Hence, the committee is expected to the same and help Indira Gandhi to overcome the obstacles she faces in those four days. The committee has the power to change the course of events, including the demise of Indira Gandhi.

To conclude, we would like to state our thankful wishes to the Secretary – General, Irem Beyza Uralcan. We have both started our MUN career with her guidance and now we are very honoured to stand side by side, giving our all for the conference. As we have talked about the conference, we would also like to thank the Director-General Sanem Su Dörttepe and the Deputy-Directors-General Zeynep Aktürk and Yunus Emre Bozyel for making this conference as amazing as it will be.

Should you have any questions regarding the committee, please contact us via our emails:

haluklutfuerenler@gmail.com

mhmt.emin.akyar@gmail.com

III. Introduction

Led by Indira Gandhi, the 7th Cabinet of Ministers of India- functioned between 1980 and 1984 and came into power with the 7th Lok Sabha- had to face numerous challenges, including uprisings from the Sikh people besides the general unrest among the people.¹ Indira Gandhi, in her previous term as the prime minister, caused great turmoil in the country as she declared a state of emergency; imprisoned all her political opponents and enacted laws that were not appreciated by the people.²

Indira Gandhi and her party won the 5th Lok Sabha elections by a large margin. However, one of the defeated parties, the Socialist Party, claimed that she and her party had violated the election laws.³ The High Court of Allahabad found Indira guilty, declared that she lost her seat in the parliament and had to step away from the politics for 6 years, despite the appeals made by Indira.⁴ Indira, on the other hand, resisted the decision of the High Court; declared a state of emergency and imprisoned many political opponents of hers.⁵ She enacted many laws that were unpopular among the people of India, including a birth control law.⁶ When the state of emergency came to an end and the political rivals were freed from the prison, they did everything they could to oust her from the position. Defeated in the 6th Lok Sabha, Indira was briefly prisoned but her supporters gathered and formed a new party, which would win the 7th Lok Sabha elections.⁷ Because of these former events, however, her third term as the prime minister faced serious turmoil and unrest among the people.⁸ The Pakistani conflicts, which plagued the country from its foundation, were escalating as well. Indira sought the Soviet

¹ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

² ibid

³ ibid

⁴ ibid

⁵ ibid

⁶ ibid

⁷ ibid

⁸ ibid

Union's support in the Pakistani conflicts, and thus started improving the relations between the two countries.⁹ Besides the Pakistani situation, during early the 1980s, she was countering serious threats to the political unity of India. Several states began to seek larger measures of independence while the Sikh people in Punjab were using violence to assert their demands of a fully autonomous Sikh state.¹⁰ A huge number of Sikh people, led by Jarnail Singh, occupied the Harmandir Sahib in Amritsar.¹¹ As the conflicts between the government and the Sikh escalated, Indira ordered an attack on the separatist forces located in Harmandir Sahib.¹² The conflicts took a heavy toll on the buildings as well as the Sikh people -resulting in more than 450 casualties.¹³ On October 31, 1984, five months later than the attack, two of Gandhi's Sikh bodyguards shot her numerous times as revenge for the attack on Amritsar.¹⁴ She was succeeded by her son Rajiv, whom she prepared to take her place for a long time.¹⁵

IV. Key Vocabulary

Lok Sabha: “(Hindi: “House of the People”) the lower chamber of India’s bicameral parliament.”¹⁶

Sikh: “A member of a monotheistic religion founded in the Punjab c1500 by the guru Nanak, that refuses to recognize the Hindu caste system or the Brahmanical priesthood and forbids magic, idolatry, and pilgrimages”¹⁷

⁹ *ibid*

¹⁰ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *India - Sikh separatism*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/India/Sikh-separatism> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

¹¹ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *India - Sikh separatism*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/India/Sikh-separatism> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

¹² *ibid*

¹³ *ibid*

¹⁴ *ibid*

¹⁵ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

¹⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2019). *Lok Sabha | Facts & History*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Lok-Sabha> [Accessed 9 Jan. 2019].

Uprising: “an act of opposition, sometimes using violence, by many people in one area of a country against those who are in power.”¹⁸

Hegemony: “(especially of countries) the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others.”¹⁹

V. Indira Gandhi: The Iron Lady of India

Indira Gandhi was born Indira Priyadarshini Nehru on November 19, 1917 and was the only child of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was not only one of the leaders of the political movement for the independence but also the first Prime Minister of an independent India.²⁰ The political roots of her family do not stay limited with her father; her grandfather, Motilal Nehru, was a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi and thus, was also involved in the independence movement.²¹

As a result of her father’s years of imprisonment, Gandhi experienced a lonely childhood.²² She studied at a Swiss boarding school and then continued her studies at Visva-Bharati University and the University of Oxford, respectively.²³ Her mother died in 1936 due to tuberculosis and Indira soon married Feroze Gandhi –who is not related to Mahatma Gandhi

¹⁷ www.dictionary.com. (2019). *the definition of sikh*. [online] Available at: <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/sikh> [Accessed 9 Jan. 2019].

¹⁸ Dictionary, U. (2019). *UPRISING | meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary*. [online] Dictionary.cambridge.org. Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/uprising> [Accessed 5 Jan. 2019].

¹⁹ Dictionary, H. (2019). *HEGEMONY | meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary*. [online] Dictionary.cambridge.org. Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/hegemony> [Accessed 4 Jan. 2019].

²⁰ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2000). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

²¹ Ibid.

²² HISTORY. (2009). *Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/topics/india/indira-gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

²³ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2000). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

on the contrary to what the surname suggests.²⁴ The marriage was opposed by her father at first, mostly due to the Parsi origin of Feroze Gandhi but he ultimately gave approval and the two married in March 1942.²⁵

Indira Gandhi had her first big step in her career as becoming the hostess of her father when he was elected as the Prime Minister.²⁶ She was responsible for welcoming diplomats and world leaders and accompanying her father in his travels.²⁷ In 1955, she became a member of the working committee of the Congress party and continued contributing to her father and the party.²⁸ Her father passed away in 1964, resulting in Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeding him and acting as the Prime Minister for relatively short two years. Gandhi acted as the Minister of Information and Broadcasting in his Cabinet.²⁹ After his sudden death in 1966, Gandhi, although not expected, was chosen as the Prime Minister when the Congress Party won the elections.³⁰ Unwillingly, Gandhi accepted Morarji Desai, the former minister of finance and the leader of the right wing of the Congress Party, as her deputy due to only winning the elections with a slim majority.³¹ She later acted as Prime Minister for 2 other consecutive terms until her overwhelming loss in the elections in 1977. Until then, she had already conducted various successful projects and gained the trust and loyalty of the people. However, when she declared a state of emergency for two years in 1975 as a last effort to preserve her seat after being convicted of electoral corruption, she had lost the trust of the people and

²⁴ HISTORY. (2009). *Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/topics/india/indira-gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

²⁵ Biography. (2014). *Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <https://www.biography.com/people/indira-gandhi-9305913> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

²⁶ HISTORY. (2009). *Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/topics/india/indira-gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2000). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

²⁹ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2000). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

³⁰ Biography. (2014). *Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <https://www.biography.com/people/indira-gandhi-9305913> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

³¹ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2000). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

consequently, lost the elections in 1977. In 1978, her supporters have split from the Congress Party and formed Congress (I) Party, (I) representing Indira.³² She later joined the elections as the candidate for Prime Minister from the Congress(I) Party.³³ The happiness of the victory did not last long when death hit close to the family. Her son Sanjay, whom she prepared to succeed her one day, died in a plane crash.³⁴

After serving four years as the Prime Minister, she was assassinated on October 31, 1984 by her bodyguards who happened to be both Sikhs.³⁵ The reason of this assassination was the deaths of several hundred Sikhs during a confrontation with the military.³⁶ She passed away and was instantly succeeded by her only living son, Rajiv Gandhi. Her body was cremated three days after the assassination took place.³⁷

VI. First and Second Indira Gandhi Ministry

A. First Term as the Prime Minister

Indira Gandhi first came to the position of prime minister in 1967, when the previous prime minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, died in Tashkent, Uzbekistan.³⁸ Shastri was the leader of the Indian National Congress Party, which Indira Gandhi was a member of as well.³⁹ After Shastri's death, Gandhi was chosen to lead the party, thus she became the new prime minister.⁴⁰ Her rival in the Indian National Congress Party (from now on referred to as INC)

³² Ibid.

³³ HISTORY. (2009). *Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/topics/india/indira-gandhi> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

³⁴ Biography. (2014). *Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <https://www.biography.com/people/indira-gandhi-9305913> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2018].

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

ibid

⁴⁰ ibid

was Morarji Desai, the former minister of finance, and the leader of the right-wing supporters within the party.⁴¹ Her second term started after the end of her first term in 1971.⁴²

After the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, the right-wing and left-wing supporters mutually elected Indira Gandhi as the leader of the INC, his defeated opponent being Morarji Desai.⁴³ Her leadership, however, saw heavy pressure from the right-wing supporters led by Morarji Desai.⁴⁴ In 1967, the INC, led by Indira Gandhi, won 283 of a total number of 520 seats, while keeping their opponents to %10 of the seats at most.⁴⁵ Even though the party was victorious in the elections for the 4th time in a row, this number was considerably lower than the previous Lok Sabha elections, which the party had won 361 seats.⁴⁶ Besides the seats in the parliament, the party had lost important seats both at the Centre and the State Legislative Assemblies, which was an indicator of the decay of Congress hegemony -now challenged by the rise of regional political outfits.⁴⁷ At the same time, personal defeats of the Syndicate bosses, such as Atulya Ghosh, Kamaraj, S.K.Patil and others, led to an intense struggle for dominance and supremacy within the party hierarchy.⁴⁸ Besides these losses, the criticism on Indian currency getting devalued widened the gap between Indira Gandhi and the party bosses.⁴⁹ With the decreased Congress support base, intra-party rivalry and uncertainty about her future and position as the Premier, Mrs. Gandhi had turned out to be more of a rationalist and pragmatist than before, which was evident from her selection of the presidential

⁴¹ibid

ibid⁴²

ibid⁴³

ibid

⁴⁵Elections.in. (2018). *1967 India General (4th Lok Sabha) Elections Results*. [online] Available at: <http://www.elections.in/parliamentary-constituencies/1967-election-results.html> [Accessed 27 Nov. 2018].

⁴⁶ Norman D. Palmer, "India's Fourth General Election", *Asian Survey (California)*, Vol. VII, No. 5, May 1967, pp. 276.

⁴⁷ A detailed record and analysis in Subhash C. Kashyap, "The Politics of Defection: The Changing Contours of the Political Power Structure in State Politics in India", *Asian Survey*, Vol. X, No. 3, March 1970, pp. 195-208.

⁴⁸ Palmer, n. 74, pp. 283-284.

⁴⁹ ibid

candidate, after the end of the term of President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.⁵⁰ The Syndicate bosses wanted the Chief of Justice of India, K. Subba Rao (the official Congress nominee) while Mrs. Gandhi denied the traditional approach by supporting the Vice President Dr. Zakir Hussain to run for President, and thereby she entered into a direct confrontation with the Old Guards.⁵¹ However, Dr. Zakir Hussain did become the next President of India in 1967.⁵² This was a decisive victory for Mrs. Gandhi against her party bosses and opened up fissures within the party hierarchy.⁵³ With the death of Hussain in 1969, the same issue had reappeared.⁵⁴ This time Mrs. Gandhi supported the then Vice President, Varahagiri Venkatagiri, while her party supported Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, the Congress President, on the assumption that a strong President would counter the growing supremacy of the Prime Minister.⁵⁵ This time too Mrs. Gandhi had won the battle and Giri became the next President of the country.⁵⁶ Such incidents led to the polarization within the party and soon came the split.⁵⁷ Indira Gandhi was expelled from the party at its Bombay session in 1969, hence was obliged to form her own party, called Congress Radicals (Congress R), with her loyal followers.⁵⁸

Two years prior to her ascendance to power, a major conflict between Pakistan and India took place to take Kashmir.⁵⁹ However, not any major conflicts happened during her rule as the prime minister.

During her first term, the first phase of her economic policy of “nationalization of banks” has been accomplished in 1969, leaving the second phase to be completed in 1982.⁶⁰ This policy

⁵⁰ Gandhi, n. 6, pp. 131.

⁵¹ *ibid*

⁵² Masani, n. 5, pp. 182-183.

⁵³ *ibid*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-187.

⁵⁵ *ibid*

⁵⁶ *ibid*

⁵⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵⁹ History.state.gov. (2018). *Milestones: 1961–1968 - Office of the Historian*. [online] Available at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/india-pakistan-war> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

helped the country to get rid of “bad loans” that plagued the country’s economics.⁶¹ During her first term, the country’s GDP grew to 17 billion USDs, while the GDP per capita was around 100 USDs.⁶²

B. Second Term as the Prime Minister

Following the victory against Pakistan in the Indian-Pakistani war, the 5th Lok Sabha was held.⁶³ The people’s mandate in the 1971 national election and India’s decisive victory against Pakistan in the Bangladesh War as well as solving the refugee problem in India had increased Indira Gandhi’s status, prestige, and power to the extent to leading her party to win the 5th Lok Sabha elections with a majority of 352 seats out of the total number of 545 seats, while her rival Morarji Desai, leading his own version of the Congress Party called Indian National Congress (Organisation), (INC(O) shortly) only won 51 seats; and thus, Indira Gandhi stayed in charge.⁶⁴

Besides the victory against her opponent Desai, there was another major success in the State Legislative Assembly elections held in March 1972.⁶⁵ Once more, the opposition was defeated due to the pre-eminence of the Congress (R).⁶⁶ From the selection of candidates for the election to the nomination of Congress Presidents, from now on all matters were decided primarily by the Premier in a manner that the candidates were loyal supporters of her faction

⁶⁰ Kundu, T. (2018). *How India fared under Indira Gandhi*. [online] <https://www.livemint.com/>. Available at: <https://www.livemint.com/Politics/UZVGcQyJMZ3t5ZJLNZRcMO/How-did-India-fare-under-Indira-Gandhi.html> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

⁶¹ *ibid*

⁶² Index, I., Index, P., Index, C., HDI, H., Years, G., Indexes, G., Premium, C., List, S., deficit, G., debt, G., Index, C., Exchange, E., Wage, N., rates, C. and Product, G. (2018). *Economics | Macroeconomics | country macro data | countryeconomy.com*. [online] countryeconomy.com. Available at: <https://countryeconomy.com/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

⁶³ Elections.in. (2018). *1971 India General (5th Lok Sabha) Elections Results*. [online] Available at: <http://www.elections.in/parliamentary-constituencies/1971-election-results.html> [Accessed 27 Nov. 2018].

⁶⁴ Elections.in. (2018). *1971 India General (5th Lok Sabha) Elections Results*. [online] Available at: <http://www.elections.in/parliamentary-constituencies/1971-election-results.html> [Accessed 27 Nov. 2018].

⁶⁵ *ibid*

⁶⁶ *ibid*

and owed unconditional allegiance to the authority of the Premier.⁶⁷ Being aware of the propensity towards the rise of state bossism, she became highly selective in putting only those figures in state leadership, who had little chance of endangering her supremacy, under the Premier's directives: "Ministers with a doubtful public image, or against whom corruption charges have been levied at any time, or with suspected 'Rightist' leanings were to be barred."⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ This inclination towards the centralization of power had already become manifest in the general elections of 1967 when the Congress lost seats to the regional parties that started taking active role around this time.⁷⁰ In her zeal to win back these 'lost territories', Mrs. Gandhi introduced a novel method of controlling anti-Congress groups through her policy of their 'suspension' by imposing Presidential rule.⁷¹ As an outcome, Article 356(1) was imposed on the non-Congress majority states of Bihar, West Bengal, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.⁷²

Among these attempts to further centralize the Indian government, claims and accusations came from her opponents, accusing Indira Gandhi of violating the election laws. Ultimately, the High Court of Allahabad found Indira Gandhi guilty of her actions.⁷³ This would mean that she could no longer have her seat in the parliament, and that she had to stay out of politics for six years.⁷⁴ Despite Indira Gandhi's appeals, the High Court did not change the ultimate decision.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ Norman D. Palmer, "Elections and the Political System in India: The 1972 State Assembly Elections and After", *The Round Table* (London), Vol. 45, No. 4, Winter 1972-1973, p. 536, 537

⁶⁸ Iqbal Narain and Mohan Lal Sharma, "The Fifth State Assembly Elections in India", *Asian Survey*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, March 1973, p. 321.

⁶⁹ S. Viswam, "Selection of Congress Candidates", *The Statesman*, February 4, 1972

⁷⁰ B. D. Dua, *Presidential Rule in India: 1950-1974, A Study in Crisis Politics*, (New Delhi, S. Chand, 1979), p. 43.

⁷¹ *ibid*

⁷² *ibid*

⁷³ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

⁷⁴ *ibid*

⁷⁵ *ibid*

Indira Gandhi then declared a state of emergency, imprisoned her political opponents and rivals, and assumed the emergency powers.⁷⁶ Many laws were enacted which would result in the limitation of people's freedoms.⁷⁷ In April 1976, a family planning initiative was put in order to limit the ever-growing population of India.⁷⁸ Elections were postponed; Gandhi and her parliamentary majorities could rewrite the nation's laws since her Congress party had the required mandate to do so – a two-thirds majority in the Parliament.⁷⁹ When she decided the existing laws were inadequate, she got the President to issue ordinances, a law-making power in times of urgency, invoked sparingly – completely bypassing the Parliament and allowing her to rule by decree.⁸⁰ In 1977, Indira Gandhi declared that the state of emergency was officially over, and released all of her opponents, thus the 6th Lok Sabha elections was held.⁸¹ Morarji Desai warned the people of India against India as a propaganda, claiming that this election “could be the last chance to choose between democracy and dictatorship.”⁸² Indira Gandhi and her party lost by only winning 189 seats, while Desai and the Janata Party, won 345 seats in the parliament, bringing an end to the second term of Indira Gandhi's prime ministry.⁸³

The same year she was elected as the prime minister, the grand conflict between Pakistan and India took place, from December 4th to December 16th, 1971.⁸⁴ The main cause for this

⁷⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

⁷⁷ *ibid*

⁷⁸ BBC News. (2018). *India's dark history of sterilisation*. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-30040790> [Accessed 27 Nov. 2018].

⁷⁹ *ibid*

⁸⁰ *ibid*

⁸¹ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 26 Nov. 2018].

⁸² Elections.in. (2018). *1977 India General (6th Lok Sabha) Elections Results*. [online] Available at: <http://www.elections.in/parliamentary-constituencies/1977-election-results.html> [Accessed 27 Nov. 2018].

⁸³ *ibid*

⁸⁴ The Indian Express. (2018). *India-Pakistan 1971 war: 13 days that shook the subcontinent*. [online] Available at: <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/india-pakistan-1971-war-bangladesh-indira-gandhi-4429236/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

conflict was the Bengali nationalism in East Pakistan (Bangladesh, after its independence).⁸⁵

The conflict ended with decisive Indian victory and resulted in the creation of Bangladesh.⁸⁶

This military conflict boosted Indira Gandhi's legitimacy over the country.⁸⁷

The economic situation of India's GDP grew to 31 billion USDs until the emergency rule begun.⁸⁸ However, the international oil crisis due to the Arab-Israeli war in 1973 further

weakened the economy of India which has already been weakened by the Pakistani conflict.⁸⁹

Due to this sudden oil crisis, the inflation rate increased to 35 percent.⁹⁰ Following the non-stopping increase in the inflation, the country had to seek IMF's financial aid to stabilize the

deficit the country was facing.⁹¹ During the emergency rule, the economy actually improved;

the focus of country's economic policy was pro-business and the increase in productivity due

to higher capital investment led the economy to grow at a rate of 5.5 percent after 1975.⁹² In

1975-76 the country's agricultural output increased manifold.⁹³ Industries such as basic

metals, mining, quarrying, and electricity saw an immense growth during these two years.⁹⁴

The inflation rate fell from double digits and became negative in 1975 and about 2.1 percent

in 1976.⁹⁵ Exports of the country increased during the two years and imports decreased.⁹⁶ Last

⁸⁵ ibid

⁸⁶ ibid

⁸⁷ ibid

⁸⁸ Index, I., Index, P., Index, C., HDI, H., Years, G., Indexes, G., Premium, C., List, S., deficit, G., debt, G., Index, C., Exchange, E., Wage, N., rates, C. and Product, G. (2018). *Economics | Macroeconomics | country macro data | countryeconomy.com*. [online] countryeconomy.com. Available at: <https://countryeconomy.com/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

⁸⁹ Mahajan, D. (2018). *Economy During The Emergency*. [online] IndianFolk. Available at: <https://www.indianfolk.com/economy-emergency-edited/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

⁹⁰ ibid

⁹¹ ibid

⁹² ibid

⁹³ ibid

⁹⁴ ibid

⁹⁵ ibid

⁹⁶ ibid

but not least, the economic transformations during the emergency were very important in the run-up to the economic reforms introduced in India in 1991.⁹⁷

VII. Situation of India during the Third Indira Gandhi Ministry

After the defeat of Indira Gandhi and her party, Indira Gandhi was jailed on charges of corruption on October 4th, 1977; to be released on December 26th of 1978.⁹⁸ While she was in jail, her supporters had split from the Congress Party to form a new party called Congress (I) Party, “(I)” representing Indira.⁹⁹ Upon her release, she won a new seat in the Lok Sabha in November 1978, and her newfound party began to gather strength. Conflicts within the Janata Party led to its demise in the 7th Lok Sabha elections, on 18 January 1980.¹⁰⁰ The Congress (I) Party had a major success, winning 353 seats; while the Janata Party could only win 31 seats; and thus, the Third Indira Gandhi Ministry began.¹⁰¹

A. Military

In the 1970s, agricultural advances made Punjab one of India’s most prosperous states, and Sikh leaders began calling for greater autonomy from the central government.¹⁰² This movement was largely peaceful until 1982, when the Sikh fundamentalist Jarnail Singh

⁹⁷ Mahajan, D. (2018). *Economy During The Emergency*. [online] IndianFolk. Available at: <https://www.indianfolk.com/economy-emergency-edited/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

⁹⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

⁹⁹ *ibid*

¹⁰⁰ Mitra, C. (2018). '*Revolving door politics became the hallmark of Indian democracy*'. [online] India Today. Available at: <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/20051226-revolving-door-politics-became-the-hallmark-of-indian-democracy-786334-2005-12-26> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹⁰¹ *ibid*

¹⁰² HISTORY. (2018). *Indian army storms Golden Temple*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/indian-army-storms-golden-temple> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

Bhindranwale and his followers launched a separatist campaign in Punjab.¹⁰³ Employing terrorism and assassination, Bhindranwale and his guerrillas killed scores of political opponents and Hindu civilians in the name of establishing an autonomous Sikh Khalistan, or “Land of the Pure”.¹⁰⁴ Most Sikhs did not support Bhindranwale’s violent campaign, in which the extremists also assassinated several Sikhs who spoke out against the creation of Khalistan.¹⁰⁵ The tension grew as the conflicts became more and more frequent. It reached its peak in 1984, when Indira Gandhi gave the order to seize the bases of Sikh separatists.¹⁰⁶ The government forces stormed the Golden Temple, the holiest ground of Sikh belief.¹⁰⁷ The operation, named Operation Blue Star, took more than 400 lives, both Hindu and Sikh.¹⁰⁸ On June 1, 1984, army troops surrounded the Golden Temple and exchanged gunfire with the rebels, who were heavily armed and commanded by a high-ranking army defector.¹⁰⁹ The Sikhs refused to surrender, and in the early morning of June 6 army forces launched an assault on the temple compound.¹¹⁰ Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the rebel leader, was found dead in the conflict zone. The Indian government announced that 492 Sikh militants were killed.¹¹¹ More than 100 army troops were killed and several hundred wounded. More than 1,500 Sikhs were arrested in the operation. The Golden Temple itself suffered only minor damage, but the Akal Takht, a scene of heavy fighting, was heavily damaged.¹¹²

B. Social and Political

¹⁰³ *ibid*

¹⁰⁴ *ibid*

¹⁰⁵ HISTORY. (2018). *Indian army storms Golden Temple*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/indian-army-storms-golden-temple> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*

¹⁰⁸ *ibid*

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*

¹¹⁰ *ibid*

¹¹¹ *ibid*

¹¹² HISTORY. (2018). *Indian army storms Golden Temple*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/indian-army-storms-golden-temple> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

While Indira Gandhi was in jail, her supporters had split from the Congress Party to form a new party called Congress (I) Party, “(I)” representing Indira.¹¹³ Upon her release, she won a new seat in the Lok Sabha in November 1978, and her newfound party began to gather strength.¹¹⁴ Conflicts within the Janata Party led to its demise in the 7th Lok Sabha elections, on 18 January 1980.¹¹⁵ The Congress (I) Party had a major success, winning 353 seats; while Janata Party could only win 31 seats.¹¹⁶ After her election, all legal charges of corruption against her and her son was dropped.¹¹⁷ In June 23rd, 1980; Indira’s favored successor - her son Sanjay Gandhi - died in a plane crash.¹¹⁸ Upon the crash, Indira started to prepare her other son, Rajiv Gandhi, to take the mantle of the leader of the Congress (I) Party.¹¹⁹ She also continued her father’s quasi-socialist policies and established closer relations with the USSR, to back India against any possible Pakistani-Indian conflicts.¹²⁰

Sikh people, on the other hand, was threatening the political integrity of India from within the borders. The Sikh separatist rebels have gone violent under the name of Khalistan movement.¹²¹ Several conflicts took place, and they started to get support from Pakistani strategists.¹²²

C. Economic

¹¹³ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹¹⁴ *ibid*

¹¹⁵ Mitra, C. (2018). '*Revolving door politics became the hallmark of Indian democracy*'. [online] India Today. Available at: <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/20051226-revolving-door-politics-became-the-hallmark-of-indian-democracy-786334-2005-12-26> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹¹⁶ Elections.in. (2018). *1980 India General (7th Lok Sabha) Elections Results*. [online] Available at: <http://www.elections.in/parliamentary-constituencies/1980-election-results.html> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹¹⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2018). *Indira Gandhi | Biography & Facts*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Indira-Gandhi> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹¹⁸ *ibid*

¹¹⁹ *ibid*

¹²⁰ Gktoday.in. (2018). *Foreign Policy of Indira Gandhi - General Knowledge Today*. [online] Available at: <https://www.gktoday.in/gk/foreign-policy-of-indira-gandhi/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹²¹ Aziz, S. (2018). *A leaf from history: The rise and fall of the Khalistan movement*. [online] DAWN.COM. Available at: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1193181> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹²² *ibid*

Although Indira Gandhi was the first to introduce liberal economic policies, India was behind of the other East Asian countries in terms of economic prosperity during most of Indira's rule over the government; as well as the third term as the Prime Minister.¹²³ The implemented liberal economic policies included a policy that was introduced in 1982; Indira's government took the decision of de-regulating the cement industry which quickly resulted in cements disappearing from the black market and caused actual prices to drop.¹²⁴ The de-regulation of the cement industry by Gandhi created the infrastructure that other liberal economic policies were built on. Her regime also encouraged foreign investment in automobiles and consumer technologies.¹²⁵ Despite these innovations in economy, the country's GDP per capita during the Third Indira Gandhi Ministry was never higher than 300 USDs, with a total GDP of 183 billion USDs; India's rival Pakistan was in better condition in terms of the GDP per capita, since it was over 300 USDs, however their total GDP was much less than India's, given that it was only 23 billion USDs.¹²⁶ Another neighbor of theirs was China, which was also struggling in economy, and was in worse condition in the first 2 years of the Third Indira Gandhi Ministry in terms of GDP per capita, but their total GDP was around 189 billion.¹²⁷

VIII. Foreign Policy

Indira Gandhi came to power amidst the Cold War between the US and Soviet Union.¹²⁸ This played an important role in shaping her foreign policies.¹²⁹ Indira Gandhi was direct; for

¹²³ Bureau, B. (2018). *The Economics Of Indira Gandhi*. [online] BW Businessworld. Available at: <http://www.businessworld.in/article/The-Economics-Of-Indira-Gandhi/19-11-2015-88463/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹²⁴ *ibid*

¹²⁵ *ibid*

¹²⁶ Index, I., Index, P., Index, C., HDI, H., Years, G., Indexes, G., Premium, C., List, S., deficit, G., debt, G., Index, C., Exchange, E., Wage, N., rates, C. and Product, G. (2018). *Economics | Macroeconomics | country macro data | countryeconomy.com*. [online] countryeconomy.com. Available at: <https://countryeconomy.com/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹²⁷ *ibid*

¹²⁸ Gktoday.in. (2018). *Foreign Policy of Indira Gandhi - General Knowledge Today*. [online] Available at: <https://www.gktoday.in/gk/foreign-policy-of-indira-gandhi/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

instance, in the need of additional grain imports, Indira didn't hesitate to contact with the US, but refused to modify Indian policies in favor of them.¹³⁰ And later on, she would criticize them on their policy in Vietnam and even issue a joint communiqué with Soviet Union titled "imperialists in South Asia".¹³¹ Closing to the end of the Cold War, however, Indira Gandhi pursued closer relations with the US, visiting the country in 1982 under the name "operation defrost".¹³²

Among all these nations, though, one nation was far more important for India: Pakistan, as the main rival of India for years up to this day. While Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister, relations with Pakistan were heated; many religion-based conflicts took place between the nations.¹³³¹³⁴ Indira Gandhi strongly and openly supported the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan, both diplomatically and militarily.¹³⁵ In 31st of March, 1971, Indira Gandhi pledged her and her people's support for the fight for democracy and freedom of Bangladesh.¹³⁶ They were victorious, and India became the second country to recognize the new-found state of Bangladesh, after Bhutan.¹³⁷ However, US criticized Indira's actions for muddling with Pakistan's internal affairs.¹³⁸ Nixon ordered a blockade in the Bay of Bengal to any military,

¹²⁹ *ibid*

¹³⁰ Gktoday.in. (2018). *Foreign Policy of Indira Gandhi - General Knowledge Today*. [online] Available at: <https://www.gktoday.in/gk/foreign-policy-of-indira-gandhi/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹³⁰ *ibid*

¹³¹ *ibid*

¹³² BADHWAR, I. (2018). *In the space of one crowded week, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi dazzles America*. [online] India Today. Available at: <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/19820831-indo-us-relations-prime-minister-indira-gandhi-dazzles-america-772112-2013-10-07> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹³³ The Indian Express. (2018). *India-Pakistan 1971 war: 13 days that shook the subcontinent*. [online] Available at: <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/india-pakistan-1971-war-bangladesh-indira-gandhi-4429236/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹³⁴ History.state.gov. (2018). *Milestones: 1961–1968 - Office of the Historian*. [online] Available at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/india-pakistan-war> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹³⁵ The Daily Star. (2018). *MARCH 31, 1971: Indira Gandhi pledges support*. [online] Available at: <https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/march-31-1971-indira-gandhi-pledges-support-1555957> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹³⁶ *ibid*

¹³⁷ News, W. and News, S. (2018). *Bhutan, not India, was first to recognize Bangladesh - Times of India*. [online] The Times of India. Available at: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/south-asia/Bhutan-not-India-was-first-to-recognize-Bangladesh/articleshow/45434808.cms> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹³⁸ Gktoday.in. (2018). *Foreign Policy of Indira Gandhi - General Knowledge Today*. [online] Available at: <https://www.gktoday.in/gk/foreign-policy-of-indira-gandhi/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

economic or humanitarian aid to India.¹³⁹ But the war changed the scenario. Pakistan Air force attacked on India on 3 December 1971 under Operation Genghis Khan.¹⁴⁰ It struck 11 airbases in India. The war lasted 13 days and on 16 December 1971, the allied forces of the Indian army and the Mukti Bahini defeated the West Pakistani forces deployed in the East.¹⁴¹ The resulting surrender of 78000 Pakistan Army soldiers and paramilitary personnel and some 12000 civilians was the largest in number of prisoners of war since World War II. However, creation of Bangladesh proved very costly for India.¹⁴² India had to look after the refugees, prevent the outbreak of epidemics, prevent refugees to mix / melt into the Indian population.¹⁴³

After the secession of Bangladesh, India emerged as a major power in South Asia.¹⁴⁴ The US was following a policy to keep Pakistan and India at equal strengths; but after the Bangladesh Secessionist War, USA and India's relationship became bitter. Nevertheless, in 1973 the United States effectively wrote off India's huge debt accruing from food grain imports.¹⁴⁵ Indira Gandhi swiftly withdrew forces from Bangladesh and signed a long-term treaty of peace and friendship with Mujibur Rahman government and extended generous economic assistance to Bangladesh.¹⁴⁶ However, in 1975, a coup at Dhaka gave a set-back to India's relations with the newfound country.¹⁴⁷ In the west, even though Indira tried to bring the Kashmir boundary problem to its ultimate end, Pakistan refused since their 90,000 prisoners and 5,000 square kilometers of land was under Indian possession. When India started to

¹³⁹ *ibid*

¹⁴⁰ *ibid*

¹⁴¹ *ibid*

¹⁴² *ibid*

¹⁴³ *ibid*

¹⁴⁴ Gktoday.in. (2018). *Foreign Policy of Indira Gandhi - General Knowledge Today*. [online] Available at: <https://www.gktoday.in/gk/foreign-policy-of-indira-gandhi/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

¹⁴⁵ *ibid*

¹⁴⁶ *ibid*

¹⁴⁷ Gktoday.in. (2018). *Foreign Policy of Indira Gandhi - General Knowledge Today*. [online] Available at: <https://www.gktoday.in/gk/foreign-policy-of-indira-gandhi/> [Accessed 16 Dec. 2018].

conduct nuclear tests, Pakistan called this an act of intimidation.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, both countries agreed to reopen diplomatic establishments in 1978. This was cut short however, since Pakistan came under a military rule and the relations dropped to an all-time low between the countries during Zia-ul-Haq's regime.¹⁴⁹

On the other hand; Indira also pursued closer relations with Iran and China, made boundary and sea zone pacts with Sri Lanka, solved the Berubari Union issue with Bangladesh.¹⁵⁰

IX. Indira Gandhi's Domestic Programmes

A. Planned Economy and Poverty

1. The Twenty Point Programme

The Twenty Point Programme was launched by Indira Gandhi in 1975 and was subsequently restructured in 1982 and again in 1986.¹⁵¹

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in a radio broadcast, announced measures to revive the economy and reinforce her image as a leader with socialist leanings.¹⁵² Among the announcements were: raising the income tax exemption limit from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000, confiscation of properties owned by smugglers, ceilings on ownership and possession of vacant land, and acquisition of excess land.¹⁵³ Land ceiling laws would be strictly implemented and surplus land distributed among the rural poor.¹⁵⁴ The Twenty Point Programme included steps to bring down prices of essential commodities, promote austerity in government spending, crackdown on bonded labour, liquidate rural indebtedness and make

¹⁴⁸ *ibid*

¹⁴⁹ *ibid*

¹⁵⁰ *ibid*

¹⁵¹ Indiragandhi.in. (2018). *Garibi Hatao Programme by Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <http://indiragandhi.in/en/timeline/index/garibi-hatao-timeline> [Accessed 25 Nov. 2018].

¹⁵² *ibid*

¹⁵³ *ibid*

¹⁵⁴ *ibid*

laws for a moratorium on recovery of debt from landless labourers, small farmers and artisans; the twenty points of the Programme were carefully designed and selected to achieve the above objectives.¹⁵⁵

The Twenty Point Programme is consisted of the following:¹⁵⁶

1. Attack on rural poverty
2. Strategy for rained agriculture
3. Better use of irrigation water
4. Bigger harvest
5. Enforcement of land reforms
6. Special programmes for rural labour
7. Clean drinking water
8. Health for all
10. Two child norm
11. Justice for SC/ST
12. Equality for women
13. New opportunities for women
14. Housing for the people
15. Improvement for slums
16. New strategy for forestry
17. Protection of environment
18. Concern for the consumer
19. Energy for the villages
20. A responsive administration

¹⁵⁵ *ibid*

¹⁵⁶ *ibid*

2. The Garibi Hatao Programme

Though Indira Gandhi never experienced poverty because she was brought up in luxurious life conditions, she attached importance to poverty when she was the prime minister. As the Prime Minister, she was concerned about the steep prices affecting the economy and was also aware that the poor were the worst hit by the situation. The radical Naxalite movement was spreading among the country. She was aware of the implications of the massive land grab movements inspired by leftist ideology. As the Prime Minister, she was concerned about the steep prices affecting the economy and was also aware that the poor were the worst hit by the situation. The radical Naxalite movement was gaining ground in different parts of the country. She was aware of the implications of the massive land grab movements inspired by leftist ideology.¹⁵⁷

Indira's political opponents had campaigned on the slogan "Indira Hatao," (Remove Indira), Indira retooled it to "Garibi Hatao," (Remove Poverty).¹⁵⁸ This slogan had a considerable impact; Indira was now looked upon by many as India's saviour. Her election campaign was more energetic than it had ever been before. This was the backdrop of the Garibi Hatao desh bachavo (meaning 'Abolish Poverty rescue the country') slogan of Indira Gandhi's 1971 election bid and later also used by her son Rajiv Gandhi.¹⁵⁹

In her speech delivered at the Red Fort on 15th August, 1975, Mrs. Gandhi stated: "Please do not expect magic remedies and dramatic results, there is only one magic which can remove

¹⁵⁷ Indiragandhi.in. (2018). *Garibi Hatao Programme by Indira Gandhi*. [online] Available at: <http://indiragandhi.in/en/timeline/index/garibi-hatao-timeline> [Accessed 25 Nov. 2018].

¹⁵⁸ *ibid*

¹⁵⁹ *ibid*

poverty, and that is hard work, sustained by clear vision, iron will and the strictest discipline”.

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3. Abolition of the Privy Purse

Payments of ‘privy purse’ to the former rulers was often questioned as a relic of the past. Attempts were made to do away with this system of payment. The motion to abolish the ‘privy purse’ system in India and the official recognition of the titles was brought before Parliament in 1969 and passed in the Lok Sabha. But it did not get the required two-third majority in the Rajya Sabha, 149 voted for it and 75 against.¹⁶¹

The abolition of ‘privy purse’ had to wait till 1971 and was successfully passed as the 26th Amendment to the Constitution of India in 1971. The then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, argued the case for abolition based on equal rights for all citizens and the need to reduce the Government’s revenue deficit. The Constitutional Amendment recorded the following as its objectives and reason:¹⁶²

“The concept of rulership, with privy purses and special privileges unrelated to any current functions and social purposes was incompatible with an egalitarian social order. The Government, therefore, decided to terminate the privy purses and privileges of the rulers of former Indian States. It was necessary for this purpose, apart from amending the relevant provisions of the Constitution, to insert a new article therein so as to terminate expressly the recognition already granted to such rulers and to abolish privy purses and extinguish all rights, liabilities and obligations in respect of privy purses. Hence this Act.”¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ P.M.'s NEW PLAN FOR REVITALISATION OF OUR ECONOMY. (1975). *SOCIALIST INDIA*, 11.

¹⁶¹ Pioneer, T. (2018). *India's new privy purse*. [online] The Pioneer. Available at: <https://www.dailypioneer.com/2017/columnists/indias-new-privy-purse.html> [Accessed 17 Dec. 2018].

¹⁶² *ibid*

¹⁶³ *ibid*

4. The Nationalisation of Banks

As endorsed by the CWC, the nationalisation of banking institutions also upheld Mrs. Gandhi's propensity to implement socialist principles. It was another significant and calculative strategy to counter the growth of criticisms following her devaluation policy and her expulsion from the Congress. It was more of a defensive strategy to win back the Indian electorate and discredit her rivals and opposing camps, who were vociferous critique of her policy endorsements.¹⁶⁴

After the victory in the 1967 general elections, Mrs. Gandhi sought to nationalise the commercial banks of India to allow the distribution of credits to the rural areas as well. Accordingly, the 'Banking Laws (Amendment) Act, 1968 sought to "ensure...an equitable and purposeful distribution of credit, within the resources available, keeping in view the relative priorities of development needs."¹⁶⁵ In tune with her socialist leaning, Mrs. Gandhi's primary intention was the removal of monetary control by the few; provision of adequate credit for agricultural and small industry; and rapid expansion of banking services⁹⁶ to rural areas, which would be accomplished through the complete government ownership of banks. The resultant effect was the nationalisation of fourteen major banks for the betterment and welfare of the society and extension of loan facilities to the impoverished sections in 1969.¹⁶⁶

In this connection, it is necessary to mention that the decision behind the state control of commercial banks was once again not a sole decision of the Premier. Rather, it was an

¹⁶⁴ Steinberg, n. 2, p. 34.

¹⁶⁵ H.L. Bhatia, *Indian Economy: Issues and Politics* (New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1988), p. 688.

¹⁶⁶ Baldev Raj Nayar, n. 66, p. 110.

outcome of the joint preparation of Mrs. Gandhi's concerned Ministers, technocrats and her personal advisers.¹⁶⁷

B. Birth Control

Every man over the age of 15 was directed to assemble at a high school on the main road. For the past year, senior government administrators and police officers had been attempting to convince male villagers with more than two children to get a vasectomy.¹⁶⁸ But in a country where being a man was defined by his virility, sterilization was a tough sell. Numerous misconceptions associated with vasectomies didn't help. Some people believed the procedure caused death on the operating table; others thought they'd lose weight—or worse, their sex drives. To combat these fears, posters that extolled the pragmatism of family planning were hung throughout the village. Their messages read: “With one, two or three kids, you'll have a happy house. Fewer kids means more food for each. Greater the number, more the hunger.”¹⁶⁹

A year earlier, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had declared a national emergency because of what she deemed an “internal disturbance.” India was weathering a perfect economic storm: Food production had fallen thanks to below average rainfall; an international crisis had increased the price of imported oil; and inflation was at an all-time high.¹⁷⁰

To share authority with Sanjay Gandhi, her ambitious, yet inexperienced, youngest son, who despite having little knowledge of how the government functioned, played a critical role in the mass sterilization campaign that would lead many to regard the emergency period as “The

¹⁶⁷ Hindustan Times (New Delhi), July 18, 1969.

¹⁶⁸ Smith, C. (2018). *In 1976, More Than 6 Million Men in India Were Coerced into Sterilization - MEL Magazine*. [online] MEL Magazine. Available at: <https://melmagazine.com/en-us/story/in-1976-more-than-6-million-men-in-india-were-coerced-into-sterilization> [Accessed 17 Dec. 2018].

¹⁶⁹ *ibid*

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*

Dark Age of Indian Democracy.”¹⁷¹ In particular, the younger Gandhi was convinced population control was essential for India’s economic development, and so, he argued family planning should be a way of life. It was hardly a novel concept, though. More than one million men were sterilized in India in 1971, and a little more than three million were sterilized just two years later in 1973—neither, of course, inconsequential numbers. What set apart the Gandhis’ effort, however, was the sheer size and aggressiveness of their program, with 6.1 million men being snipped in 1976 alone.¹⁷²

X. Riots and Assassination of Indira Gandhi

As mentioned in section VII, the Sikh people in the state of Punjab started a movement - later called Khalistan Movement - to have a land of their own. The idea was first mentioned, officially, by Akali Dal – a political party – in 1972.¹⁷³ The working sub-committee that had been created to formulate new policies submitted a resolution named Anandpur Sahib. The resolution had many new resolutions, including regulations on smoking, drinking and the propagation of Sikh nationalism.¹⁷⁴ Hence, the resolution had suggested a more autonomous state for Sikhs to live in if the religion they practiced was to survive.¹⁷⁵ A state that would only contribute to the country in the ratio of the delegates it has in Lok Sabha: 13/541 of their total income.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Smith, C. (2018). *In 1976, More Than 6 Million Men in India Were Coerced into Sterilization - MEL Magazine*. [online] MEL Magazine. Available at: <https://melmagazine.com/en-us/story/in-1976-more-than-6-million-men-in-india-were-coerced-into-sterilization> [Accessed 17 Dec. 2018].

¹⁷² *ibid*

¹⁷³ <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/19821115-akali-dal-wants-a-ban-on-drinking-and-smoking-at-public-places-805313-2014-09-22>

¹⁷⁴ *ibid*.

¹⁷⁵ Weiss, M. (2002). *The Khalistan Movement in Punjab - Operation Bluestar - Gateway to Sikhism Foundation*. [online] Gateway to Sikhism Foundation. Available at: <https://www.allaboutsikhs.com/operation-bluestar/the-khalistan-movement-in-punjab> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2019].

¹⁷⁶ *ibid*.

Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale (Sant), on the other hand, had a different approach to the issue. He thought that the political power the Sikhs were asking for was their birthright and that the Akali Dal was wrong with negotiating with the central government to obtain something the Sikhs should have already had.¹⁷⁷ As a result of his propagations, Bhindranwale was able to convince a great number of Sikhs to follow his footsteps.¹⁷⁸ Indira Gandhi tried to turn the tables on Akali Dal by using the conflict that Bhindranwale started. However, Bhindranwale and his followers started to challenge Indira and cause mayhem around the country.¹⁷⁹ Indira waited to take any action for a while against this treason, in a rise of negative comments on the issue indicating that Indira Gandhi was unable to- only to take a military action 5 years later.

Bhindranwale was able to develop a mass base by forming an alliance with the All India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF) - an organisation formed in 1943 by the Akali Dal.¹⁸⁰ This organisation helped Bhindranwale reach the man power he needed since members of the organisation mostly operated as militants.¹⁸¹ The animosity between the Akali Dal and Bhindranwale ended when the two formed a coalition in August 1982, launching a campaign of demonstrations against the government.¹⁸²

The violence in Punjab continued to grow, resulting in bombings, the killing of politicians, and a general uneasiness. Hence, Bhindranwale was considered to be the main organiser of all

¹⁷⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2019). *Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale | Sikh leader*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sant-Jarnail-Singh-Bhindranwale> [Accessed 3 Jan. 2019].

¹⁷⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica. (2019). *Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale | Sikh leader*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sant-Jarnail-Singh-Bhindranwale> [Accessed 3 Jan. 2019].

¹⁷⁹ Sikhiwiki.org. (2007). *Punjab insurgency - SikhiWiki, free Sikh encyclopedia..* [online] Available at: http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Punjab_insurgency [Accessed 1 Jan. 2019].

¹⁸⁰ Weiss, M. (2002). *The Khalistan Movement in Punjab - Operation Bluestar - Gateway to Sikhism Foundation*. [online] Gateway to Sikhism Foundation. Available at: <https://www.allaboutsikhs.com/operation-bluestar/the-khalistan-movement-in-punjab> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2019].

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

these vicious acts that caused the killing of Hindus.¹⁸³ An attack on a bus that carried Hindu passengers was the last action to push the government over the edge and make them dissolve the Punjab legislative assembly in October 1983.¹⁸⁴ When the violence did not come to an end with this precaution, the government decided to conduct an operation named Blue Star to the Golden Temple- the place where Bhindranwale and lots of Khalistan supporters infiltrated once and resided in afterwards.¹⁸⁵ The operation was divided into two parts: The Operation Metal, limited to Golden Temple, and The Operation Woodrose- carried throughout Punjab by the Indian Army.¹⁸⁶ The attack on the Golden Temple resulted in the deaths of hundreds, including Bhindranwale.¹⁸⁷ The conflict attracted lots of unwanted attention by the Sikh people all around India. Hence, the enmity between Hindus and Sikhs grew stronger.

Sikh people wanted revenge, clearly, after what had been done to one of their sacred spaces. As a result, on October 31, 1984, Gandhi was shot numerous times by her Sikh bodyguards: Beant Singh - who was about to be transferred due to fear of assassination if not for Indira who rescinded the order since she trusted him as her long-time bodyguard - and Satwant Singh.¹⁸⁸ She was immediately succeeded by her son, Rajiv, whom she prepared for this day.

The assassination of Indira Gandhi resulted in riots around New Delhi- later referred anti-Sikh riots. More than 2.500 innocent Sikhs were killed during the riots.¹⁸⁹ Although the Delhi High Court was 34 years late to bring the responsible high-profile politicians to justice, many

¹⁸³ Subrahmanyam, S. and Schwartzberg, J. (2019). *India - Sikh separatism*. [online] Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/India/Sikh-separatism#ref486527> [Accessed 3 Jan. 2019].

¹⁸⁴ Weiss, M. (2002). *The Khalistan Movement in Punjab - Operation Bluestar - Gateway to Sikhism Foundation*. [online] Gateway to Sikhism Foundation. Available at: <https://www.allaboutsikhs.com/operation-bluestar/the-khalistan-movement-in-punjab> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2019].

¹⁸⁵ Desk, I. (2018). *What happened during 1984 Operation Blue Star?*. [online] India Today. Available at: <https://www.indiatoday.in/fyi/story/1984-operation-blue-star-amritsar-1251681-2018-06-06> [Accessed 3 Jan. 2019].

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Subrahmanyam, S. and Schwartzberg, J. (2019). *India - Sikh separatism*. [online] Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/India/Sikh-separatism#ref486527> [Accessed 3 Jan. 2019].

¹⁸⁸ HISTORY. (2009). *The prime minister of India is assassinated*. [online] Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-prime-minister-of-india-is-assassinated> [Accessed 3 Jan. 2019].

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

people including Sajjan Kumar - Congress leader - were convicted of multiple murders related to the anti-Sikh riots.¹⁹⁰

XI. Further Readings

- INDIRA GANDHI: ELECTIONS AND DOMESTIC POLICY

http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/133087/7/07_chapter%202.pdf.pdf

- A LEAF FROM HISTORY: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE KHALISTAN MOVEMENT

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1193181>

- KHALISTAN

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Khalistan>

¹⁹⁰ BBC News. (2018). *Milestone conviction over Sikh killings*. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-46589391> [Accessed 3 Jan. 2019].