

THE ASSASSINATION OF INDIRA GANDHI

By
Tinamarie Manning

A Seminar Paper Submitted in Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For A Bachelor
Of Arts In History

In The
Department of History & Politics
At Georgian Court University

Supervised By
Dr. Scott H. Bennett

28 April 2020

Words (Text): 4919
Words Quoted: 182

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. On October 31, 1984, her Sikh bodyguards Satwant Singh and Beant Singh, killed her in what was called an act of vengeance for the results of ongoing political tensions between Sikhs and Hindus. The main question that this paper poses is: what motivated Gandhi's bodyguards to assassinate her and what was the impact? It is important to understand why she was killed as it reflects the issues that were going on in India. This paper argues that her bodyguards assassinated her as a result of political and religious grievances, and that her death led to much retaliation and bias against Sikhs. The paper explores Gandhi's background as a political figure who sought for Indian autonomy and supported Indian nationalism. It also discusses the Sikhs within India, their religion and ideology, and their eventual desire to create their own nation which led to several Sikh rebellions that prompted Gandhi's response and crackdown. She did not support their nationalism and thus ordered Operation Blue Star to take down the rebellion. The results of this were determined to be the event that inspired Satwant and Beant Singh to assassinate her, which intensified the hatred of Sikhs that was displayed through riots and the killings of them. In short, this paper draws three conclusions. First, Gandhi was assassinated because of the tensions between Sikhs and Hindus and Operation Blue Star. Second, the assassination left India in a far worse state. Third, nationalism has both positive and negative dimensions and its power can unify people or lead them to kill for their cause.

Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister of India from 1966 to 1984. She entered office with grand ideas to promote Indian autonomy through the establishment of the Green Revolution. She also joined the fight to create what would be known as Bangladesh (then part of Pakistan). Despite her achievements, there was much opposition to her regime. The Sikh minority wanted their own nation which Gandhi rejected. Tensions rose and led to Operation Blue Star, which sought to stop the Sikh rebellions that Gandhi asserted inspired much terror throughout India. Several Sikhs were killed in the operation. Months later, on October 31, 1984 Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards, Satwant Singh, and Beant Singh. Why did Gandhi's bodyguards assassinate her and what was the impact of her murder? This paper argues that Satwant and Beant Singh assassinated Indira Gandhi as a result of political and religious grievances, and that her murder led to much retaliation and bias against the Sikhs.

There has been much debate over whether Operation Blue Star, which Indira Gandhi ordered, was justified. The Sikhs developed nationalistic movements to create their own nation. In some cases, they used terror to scare the Indian government into granting them a separate Sikh nation. Some historians argue that Operation Blue Star was necessary to put down Sikh nationalistic movements that were causing turmoil in India.¹ Conversely, other historians argue that the operation was not justified and that it was an exhibition of Gandhi's misuse of power and discriminatory action towards the Sikhs.² This paper supports the interpretation that Operation Blue Star was not justified and will argue that it was the direct cause of her assassination.

Background:

Indira Gandhi was born on November 19, 1917 to parents Kamala Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru. Her father, Jawaharlal, became a member of the Indian National Congress. She spent most of her time with him learning about Indian politics until he became less involved due to growing

issues involving India's independence movement.³ During her childhood, India was engaged in a movement to win independence from Great Britain that involved protests and sometimes violence. Indira's father worked with independence leader, Mohandas Gandhi. After India obtained independence in 1947, Nehru became the first prime minister and his work inspired Indira to enter politics.

After decades of struggle through demonstrations, resistance, noncooperation, and civil disobedience, India achieved independence in 1947. Jawarharlal Nehru, a leader in the Congress Party, served as India's first Prime Minister (1947-64). His daughter, Indira, became a member of the Congress Party in the 1950s and later Prime Minister (1966-77; 1980-84). Many opposed her because she was a female, yet she proved to be a very powerful ruler. Jad Adams and Philip Whitehead portray Gandhi as "...calculating and ruthless"⁴ because of her determination to make progress. Yet, she was also seen as warm and caring. Pupul Jayakar depicted her as "...an Indian mother, passionate, possessive, and protective."⁵ Depending on who was with her during certain times and what relations they had with her, they had differing opinions of her. In addition, Gandhi was underestimated because she was a woman. Many believed that women should be homemakers and not world leaders. Moreover, many believed that she would never match her father's accomplishments. Despite this, she came into office aimed to advance India's development. More precisely, her main goals were help in the creation of Bangladesh, and to implement policies to develop a more sustainable India since the country was largely dependent on other nations for valuable resources.⁶

In office, Gandhi strove to create social equality and autonomy for nations that had suffered like India had. One of her most significant achievements was her support in the independence movement with Pakistan. Pakistan was made up of two sections known as East and West Pakistan.

Geographically, they were separated by one thousand miles with India in between them. West Pakistan was more powerful than East Pakistan and thus began to control them which East Pakistanis did not want. So, East Pakistanis wanted to create their own independent nation which resulted in a bloody conflict between East and West Pakistan. Gandhi decided to act because she did not want them to suffer the same way Indians did under Britain's rule. She gave support through providing financial, military, and refuge assistance to East Pakistan which ultimately allowed for the creation of an independent Bangladesh. ⁷ According to Gandhi herself in, Of People and Problems, she believed that she should help nations who wanted freedom because, "these countries...are trying to stand on their own feet, and none of them would like to feel guided by any other...we ourselves perhaps, would not like that position." ⁸ Bangladesh remembers Gandhi as a hero for her efforts. However, a negative and unintended consequence that would later hurt Gandhi was that there were several Bangladeshi refugees who traveled to India for multiple forms of aid that included housing, economics, jobs, and more which resulted in the depletion of much of India's resources for a decent period of time.

Her other main policy was economic development, prosperity, and self-sufficiency. She wanted India to feed its own people, provide resources, and be more economically and technologically adept without relying on foreign countries.⁹ Gandhi enacted the Green Revolution which was designed to promote advancement in many areas of India. It focused on developing technologies and efficient methods for agriculture to produce more food within the nation. This helped to eliminate some of the dependence they had on other nations. She helped the environment flourish and she also supported programs that were tasked with saving species that were becoming endangered.¹⁰ Despite her achievements, she would eventually lose popularity and confront an internal and political religious crisis.

In the 1970's a growing divide emerged between the Hindu majority, and the Sikh minority. The two religions and communities had stark differences that would later lead to an attempt to create an independent Sikh nation. The issue did not reach its peak until the months preceding Gandhi's assassination in 1984. Meanwhile, during the 1970's Gandhi, as prime minister, became increasingly authoritarian. India experienced turmoil as a result of protests over jobs, the economy, and Gandhi's position since there was an investigation underway that claimed that she won the 1971 election illegally.¹¹ Therefore, her popularity was decreasing which led her to arrest several people. Then, she was charged and found guilty of misuse of government power and corrupting the election which greatly limited her political power.¹² It was ruled that she used tactics to change the polls to work in her favor. Following the ruling, she declared India to be in an emergency to hold her power even though the declaration was not approved by the people. The Prime Minister can declare an emergency only in times of war or when there is unrest within the nation that is catastrophic. Due to the numerous problems during Gandhi's term as prime minister, she lost her seat in office during the 1977 election. She returned to the role of Prime Minister after winning the 1980 election and remained there until her assassination in 1984.¹³

Who Killed Her and How:

It is important to know who was responsible for her murder and how it had occurred. On October 31, 1984, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her two bodyguards Satwant Singh and Beant Singh.¹⁴ Both men were Sikhs and sympathizers of the Khalistan movement that sought the development of an independent Sikh nation. Beant did not survive the day, while Satwant lived for a few years more but was given the death penalty for his crime against Indira Gandhi and the nation of India. He was executed in 1989. Journalist William Stevens described the attack: "Mrs. Gandhi was killed by at least eight bullets...from a submachine gun and a pistol by two men."¹⁵

News of her death broke quickly as she was murdered near her home with several witnesses, including her close personal aid, R.K. Dhawan. Based on these eye-witnesses, it was determined that Satwant and Beant Singh acted alone and were solely responsible for her assassination. In an interview with R.K. Dhawan, he recalled that she had received death threats for some time and remembered her as, ‘full of nationalism, and full of feelings for the people...’¹⁶. The assassination of Gandhi received mixed responses. Specifically, there was hatred, and pride towards Satwant and Beant Singh based on their personal feelings towards the Prime Minister as some agreed with her power, while others did not.¹⁷

The world’s media and pundits asked a barrage of questions about why these men committed such a heinous act. Yet, those living in India knew about the turmoil that Gandhi had caused and the exact chain of events that inspired her killers to end her life. In the years leading up to her assassination, India had experienced political and cultural battles over nationalism and religion. More specifically, the Sikh minority was beginning to rally for their own independent nation as they felt underrepresented and marginalized by the Hindu majority. So, they wanted a country that revolved around their religion. Sikhism is a complicated religion in that it is an offshoot of Islam that is more strict and is less tolerant of other faiths. However, there are many divisions within the Sikh community. Sikh scholars Louis E. Fenech, and W.H. McLeod noted, “... Sikhs themselves have disagreed on the meaning of the faith they affirm...”¹⁸ Consequently, this created divisions that ranged from mild to extremist Sikhism. Also, since India’s independence from Britain, many Sikhs, inspired by nationalism, believed that they also deserved their own nation. Moreover, they thought that the Indian government and people would understand this nationalist impulse and support a Sikh nation.¹⁹ However, the opposite occurred. In response to

Gandhi's crackdown on Sikh nationalism, in the 1970's and 1980's an extremist Sikh group emerged and events that would lead to the fateful event that caused Gandhi's death.

Within India, there was a state known as Punjab which was where many Sikhs lived. Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a Sikh freedom fighter centered himself in Punjab to begin the Sikh independence movement. He would be considered an extremist and terrorist by Indians from his actions during the movement. He developed the Khalistan movement as a response to Gandhi's failure to intervene in the rising tensions between Hindus and Sikhs and for the desire of a Sikh state.²⁰ He got his inspiration from a Sikh political party in India known as Akali Dal. This party represented Sikh nationalism and tried to earn a place within the Indian government but was unsuccessful which led him to join the party and create the Khalistan movement with the goal to make their own nation named Khalistan.²¹ Bhindranwale gathered a large group of followers and committed acts of terror that provoked fear throughout India. He also turned their holiest place, the Golden Temple, into an arsenal.²² By the early 1980s, the people of India and the government were begging Gandhi to do something about the Sikh rebellions. So, in response, Gandhi developed Operation Blue Star.

Why She Was Killed:

Operation Blue Star aimed to eliminate the threat from the Golden Temple, the Sikh's holiest place. The temple contained vast amounts of weaponry that was considered a threat to Indians. This decision was met with opposition as many did not know if this was the appropriate action to take. However, Gandhi decided to go ahead with the operation. On June 1, 1984, Operation Blue Star commenced and lasted for almost a week. The events that transpired were unwarranted as a rupture of violence had ensued beyond what Gandhi had intended. The attack led to the storming of the Golden Temple and the death of several Sikhs including Jarnail Singh

Bhindranwale. The response to the attack differed among the Hindu and Sikh communities. Some felt that the attack was justified in the name of safety, and others felt it was unnecessary as it was an attack against the religion.²³ Also, there was growing opposition towards Gandhi from the Sikhs. She had received death threats and many feared that she was going to be murdered.²⁴ At one point, the Indian government fired her Sikh bodyguards, but she reinstated them in order to show the Sikhs that she still trusted them and would not discriminate against them. However, she was unaware that her bodyguards were so outraged by her actions that they believed it was their duty to kill her to avenge their people and continue Bhindranwale's mission.²⁵ They were successful in their revenge in that they made a thought out plan to execute her and they did so without regret.

Alternative Explanations/Conspiracies

Following Gandhi's assassination, several alternative explanations and conspiracy theories emerged that challenged the official view. Many civilians within the country thought members of the Indian government were responsible for Gandhi's death. However, they never went too far as the Indian government could not gather up enough evidence to prove that these conspiracies were in fact true. Others charged that Gandhi's close aide, R.K. Dhawan, who was tired of being an aide to the prime minister, had ordered the bodyguards to kill her in order to obtain more power. However, when the government's investigative commission produced its report, it could not confirm nor deny that he was involved but held a strong bias against him believing that he was. Another conspiracy concerned a member of government known as Jagtar Singh. He was part of Gandhi's security and was blamed because he was a Sikh. Yet, the charge was dismissed because according to "Conspiracy Inquiry," Singh, was not present for her assassination.²⁶ For Jagtar Singh, his arrest occurred merely because of his religion which showed the people that the government was looking to blame only Sikhs due to the tensions and Operation Blue Star.

As the investigation continued, more Sikhs were blamed for the assassination. The government, which took a stance that the murder was plotted by more than the two men, identified at least five Sikhs who could have been part of the conspiracy. Prominent among them was Jasbir Singh, a relative of Bhindranwale.²⁷ According to journalist Sanjoy Hazarika, in “India is Holding Fifth Sikh” Jasbir Singh was named a target because he claimed that “...Mrs. Gandhi’s slaying... was part of a larger plan to kill several top Indian leaders.”²⁸ This led to great fear throughout India and the government was unsure of what to do to protect themselves. However, it was once again found that there was not enough evidence to conclude that there was a solid case against him. Eventually, Gandhi’s son, Rajiv Gandhi, who succeeded his mother as the new Prime Minister, offered to pardon everyone except Satwant and Beant Singh to demonstrate that he believed that they alone were responsible. He wanted to put the investigation to rest amid the anti-Sikh violence that was occurring so that India could begin to move on from that tragic day to finally come to some sort of peace again which would take several years. Even after Rajiv Gandhi’s pardon, conspiracy theories still turned up but with no luck as the investigations would close with no evidence to make a substantial point.

Impact:

Indira Gandhi’s assassination had a major impact on India and triggered crude violence and sadness for many people. For one, thousands of people within India and the world identified the event as tragic and unfortunate. Gandhi herself at one point had believed that her time was coming to an end due to the turmoil that was resulting from her own decisions.²⁹ In the months prior to her assassination, the government feared her death and told her to take measures to protect herself but she decided not to because she knew that when it was her time to go, it would be it. Many spoke on Gandhi’s behalf saying what a wonderful person she was. K.K. Birla, an associate of Gandhi

stated, “Every morning, Indira would meet anyone who wanted to see her...She would attend to their queries and try to help them...Young and old, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, barring perhaps a few fanatics, everyone loved her. Even those Sikhs who did not agree with her...held in her high esteem.”³⁰ Many who had worked with Gandhi expressed their admiration for her as she was a true leader who strived for a better India. President Ronald Reagan addressed the nation and the world about the assassination. He expressed his sadness and revealed his respect for her as person. Reagan explained in his statement, “...Mrs. Gandhi was a source of global leadership.”³¹

Her assassination led determined to much unrest in India and sparked a chain of anti-Sikhism that lasted for years. Shortly following her assassination, there were several anti-Sikh riots that plagued the country. Hindus participated in mass killings of Sikhs as an act of revenge.³² The riots lasted for months and the death toll rose to thousands. There seemed to be no effective ways to stop the violence. There was fear all over. Also, there was speculation that the government was purposefully not doing anything because they hated the Sikhs for killing Gandhi. However, this was proven to be false because they had several members in the government that were Sikhs, so the argument had gotten shut down as well. Many nations had no idea how bad the situation was until the numbers were displayed. At this point in time, Sikhs were being blamed for almost everything, even things that were not related to Gandhi. Pav Singh explained that they were put to blame for things including poisoning the water supply throughout the country.³³

The divide between Sikhs and Hindus grew at an exponential rate as was the amount of Sikh deaths in India. Rajiv Gandhi, Indira’s son took office as Prime Minister following her assassination and found that he could not keep the situation under control. However, it was becoming apparent that the police would not intervene to save the Sikhs that were being tortured, and killed.³⁴ So, he had decided to attempt to hide the events that were taking place. Despite his

efforts, eventually other nations had discovered what had happened and expressed their disgust towards the events but did not take much action in doing anything to remedy the issue. Throughout the period of anti-Sikhism, there were thousands of them killed, raped, tortured and more. Homes and holy places of the Sikhs were also destroyed. It was a dark time for the people of India especially the Sikhs.³⁵

During the crisis, Rajiv Gandhi was desperately trying to pledge peace with the Sikhs and Hindus but to no avail because the groups despised one another.³⁶ He made promises to better India and reconcile the Hindu and Sikh communities but failed to do so as these communities refused to make peace. After a few years, India established some form of peace, though tensions remained between the two groups. Also, the Indian government officially convicted two Sikhs, gave them the death penalty, and hanged them for their crimes. The government blamed Satwant and Beant Singh for the crime and also placed some sort of blame on another government worker known as Kehar Singh for his identification as a Sikh. Beant Singh was killed on the day Gandhi was assassinated so the death penalty was given on the other two. Their act against the Prime Minister could not be justified in any way regardless of the opinions of her.³⁷ For many people in India, particularly the Hindus, they felt it was a day to rejoice as the killers of their beloved Prime Minister were brought to justice for ending her life so cruelly and before it was her time. Some Sikhs who sympathized with Gandhi and felt the assassins deserved their sentence while the extremists viewed the men as heroes and martyrs. This is because they acted to advance Sikh independence. For too long the Sikhs had been forgotten. They felt they needed to be represented better in the country and in ways this may have been their only way of communicating the message.

Indira Gandhi left a profound legacy behind her, one that could be judged profoundly. For many, she created a period of peace. Her Green Revolution had left the nation more sustainable which led to less fighting over food and financials. The earlier years of her time in power had brought prosperity. However, there are also those who believed that she left the country for worse. For each act of her time in office, she made calls that did one or the other but the opinions of her overall are going to vary as a result.³⁸ Reflecting on his mother's death, Rajiv and recalled her as a grand woman and that she would be dearly missed. Gandhi wanted to carry out her life's work so that her strides would not be forgotten as to him, she had great ideas and they should be continued.³⁹

It can be said that Gandhi's time in office was great because of her values of independence, foreign relations, and ideas of sustainability, but can also be described as time of hardship due to her turn towards dictatorship. She was able to get India to a point where they did not need foreign assistance as they had all the tools that they needed to be sufficient. For a time, the country had absolutely flourished from her policies. She was a strong woman who had developed policies that would also make her country strong.⁴⁰ Yet, she put the nation on lockdown to maintain her power and was responsible for the death of thousands of Sikhs.

There were those who believed that her work was a failure as her time in office peaked and she led the country to a downward spiral. Depending on how one looks at it, it can be said that this may be true. If she had not helped in the creation of Bangladesh, then there would not have been the influx of refugees and eventual lack of food that came with it. Nor would there have been an increase in tensions had she allowed the Sikhs to have a free independent nation or if she has not turned into a more totalitarian ruler to hold on to her power. However, this can be recounted in the sense that there are limits to nationalism. Just because one group gets a nation does not mean that

every group can have one. If that was the case then there would not be really any rooms for a country like that because there are too many groups who want it. Also, just because a group wants a nation does not mean they should earn it because they could want it for the wrong reasons. Maybe they would want it to invoke terror or become imperialistic on other nations. The fact of the matter is that Gandhi did the best that she could with what she was given. She was doubted from the beginning due to her status as a woman yet she proved that she could in fact handle some tough situations and run a nation for that matter.⁴¹ Whatever ideas or opinions people choose to believe or take, Indira Gandhi wanted to give Indians a fighting chance to become a prominent nation especially on the global scale. Like Gupte mentions in Mother India, "...Her flaws were obvious..."⁴². While that may be true, it should not take away from the person that she was.

Regardless of one's opinion about Indira Gandhi, political assassination is not justified especially on the basis of revenge or to make a political statement. Politics and politicians are imperfect. They are going to make mistakes, but they should be allowed to remedy them. In this case, she did not get that chance. Whether or not she regretted her decision to carry out Operation Blue Star, she did not deserve to die simply based on of the results of one event. Rajiv Gandhi had even remained in her position to carry out her life's work, but he was also assassinated as a result of the tensions he caused, and failed to remedy that related with political issues involving Sri Lanka⁴³ Gandhi was often called cold and scary, and not loving enough and that is why she was killed. Inder Malhorta, in Indira Gandhi suggests that it has been claimed, "...India would have been better off if she had loved it a little more..."⁴⁴. It is evident that this is false. It seems that she loved India possibly too much. She loved it so much that she wanted to have a free and equal nation that could stand up to others when needed. She wanted a world free of terrorism. She wanted everyone to have equal opportunities and access to food, technology, money, and more. It

cannot be said she did not love her country enough as she had in fact loved it more than enough. If people kept killing political leaders on the basis of dislike and revenge, how would the world succeed if there are not any people left to fight for it? The world needs to realize that it is going to take time for things to change. Nothing was built in a day and Gandhi certainly could not produce a fully independent nation in one. It is easy to understand the Sikhs frustration and judgement of her when there are groups that are always the underdogs. Yet, there are better and more smarter ways to get a message across. Instead, of creating rebellions and committing acts of terror, there could be meetings held or other civilized ways to make peace and change happen.

Conclusions:

In conclusion, Indira Gandhi's assassination was significant for three reasons: First, Beant Singh and Satwant Singh killed Prime Minister Indira Gandhi as a response to the increasing political tensions between Hindus and Sikhs. The intense nationalism that arose among Sikhs led to her undoing as her judgments and decision were what led to her demise. The Sikhs demanded an independent nation and she could not just give it to them because then other groups would want the same which would not be feasible. Unfortunately, Operation Blue Star was the catalyst for her death as her call to put down the Sikh rebellion directly led to her death. Her bodyguards believed that she was restricting their people's right to national self-determination, along with the dignity and equality that statehood would provide to the Sikh community. To them, the Sikhs were tired of living underneath the shadow of so many other groups and countries. So, they felt it was appropriate to assassinate her to show that they were not going to allow anyone to stand in their way.

Second, the assassination of Gandhi increased tensions within India. Her death resulted in extreme political and religious conflict. Thousands of Sikhs were killed or injured, while their

homes and temples were also destroyed. The divide between Hindus and Sikhs grew further to the point where they distrusted one another. It also sparked a period of anti-Sikh hatred that lasted for a decade as the people who had loved Gandhi were not going to allow an extremist group or group like the Sikhs to live on for killing their prime minister.

Third, nationalism is an important global force. Gandhi loved her country and wanted India to be developed, prosperous, and self-sufficient. She also felt this way about other nations or groups who were suffering under strict rule just like the East Pakistanis. However, she was unwilling to support self-determination and a separate nation for Indian Sikhs. Nationalism can drive people to do both great and terrible things. In Gandhi's case, nationalism motivated her to build a developed and unified India and to support East Pakistani independence, but nationalism led her to reject self-determination for Sikhs. For some Sikhs, intense nationalism drove them to murder the person who, in their eyes, was responsible for denying a Sikh nation.

¹ For the defenses of Operation Blue Star, see Katherine Frank, Indira: The Life of Indira Nehru Gandhi (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2001), pp. 470-483; Pranay Gupte, Mother India: A Political Biography of Indira Gandhi (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992), pp. 289-291; Pupul, Jayakar, Indira Gandhi: An Intimate Biography (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), pp. 358-359.

² For the criticism of Operation Blue Star, see Apurba Kundu, "The Indian Armed Forces' Sikh and Non-Sikh Officers' Opinions of Operation Blue Star," Pacific Affairs 67, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 57-60; Gurharpal Singh, "Understanding the 'Punjab Problem'," Asian Survey 27, no. 12 (Dec. 1987): 1273-1277; Pav Singh, 1984: India's Guilty Secret (London: Allison & Busby, 2019), pp. 30-115.

³ For Gandhi and her father's relationship see, Frank, Indira, pp. 13-33; Gupte, Mother India, pp. 144-170; Inder Malhorta, Indira Gandhi: A Personal and Political Biography (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), pp. 33-45.

⁴ Jad Adams & Philip Whitehead, The Dynasty: The Nehru- Gandhi Story (London: Penguin Books, 1997), p. 202.

⁵ Jayakar, Indira Gandhi: An Intimate Biography, p. 365.

⁶ Frank, Indira, pp. 295-324.

⁷ Surjit Mansingh, "Bangladesh," Historical Dictionary of India (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006), pp. 56-57.

⁸ Indira Gandhi, Of People and Problems (London: Hodder, 1983), p. 44.

⁹ Indira Gandhi, Speeches and Writings (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 51-54; Gandhi, Of People and Problems, pp. 50-55.

¹⁰ Mahesh, Rangarajan, "Striving for a Balance: Nature, Power, Science, and India's Indira Gandhi, 1917-1984," Conservation and Society 7, no. 4 (2009): 304-305.

¹¹ Frank, Indira, pp. 352-385; Jayakar, Indira Gandhi: An Intimate Biography, pp. 192-218.

¹² For Indira's decline and eventual emergency see, Gupte, Mother India, pp. 433-441; P.N. Dhar Indira Gandhi, the "Emergency" and Indian Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 223-260; Malhorta, Indira Gandhi, pp. 165-181; Frank, Indira, pp. 311-369.

¹³ Malhorta, Indira Gandhi, pp. 201-214.

¹⁴ Nigel West, "Indira Gandhi," Encyclopedia of Political Assassinations (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), pp. 80-81; William K. Stevens, "Indira Gandhi Assassinated By Gunmen; Police Seal Off Two Areas as Crowds Gather," New York Times, October 31, 1984, p. 1.

¹⁵ William K. Stevens, "Gandhi, Slain, is Succeeded by Son, Killing Laid to 2 Sikh Bodyguards; Army Alerted to Ban Sect Violence," New York Times, November 1, 1984, p. 1.

¹⁶ R.K. Dhawan, "Assassination of Indira Gandhi," interview by Lucy Burns, BBC News, October 31, 2013, at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01k7vpm>.

- ¹⁷ N.a., “Assessing Indira Gandhi,” Economic and Political Weekly, March 23, 1985, pp. 478-479.
- ¹⁸ Louis E. Fenech, and W.H. McLeod, Historical Dictionary of Sikhism (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), p. 1.
- ¹⁹ Patwant Singh, The Sikhs, (New York: Knopf, 2000), pp. 199-213.
- ²⁰ Gurharpal Singh, “Understanding the ‘Punjab Problem’,” pp. 1273-1274; Robert L. Hardgrave, “India in 1984: Confrontation, Assassination, and Succession,” Asian Survey 25, no. 2 (February 1985): 131-132.
- ²¹ Singh, The Sikhs, pp. 211-215.
- ²² Hardgrave, “India in 1984,” pp. 130-133.
- ²³ Apurba Kundu, “Opinions of Operation Blue Star,” pp. 50-62.
- ²⁴ William K. Stevens, “Punjab Solution Now Seen as Far Off,” New York Times, June 20, 1984, p. A8.
- ²⁵ Frank, Indira, pp. 478-483; Jayakar, Indira Gandhi: An Intimate Biography, pp. 356-372; Gupte, Mother India, pp. 364-371.
- ²⁶ N.a., “India Holds Security Aide to Indira Gandhi in Conspiracy Inquiry,” New York Times, November 15, 1984, p. A4.
- ²⁷ Sanjoy Hazarika, “India is Holding Fifth Sikh in Indira Gandhi Killing,” New York Times, December 28, 1984, p. A8.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. A8.
- ²⁹ Dhawan, “Assassination of Indira Gandhi,” October 31, 2013.
- ³⁰ K.K. Birla, Indira Gandhi: Reminiscences, (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1987), p.154.
- ³¹ Ronald Reagan, “Statement on the Assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India,” October 31, 1984, at <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/103184a>.
- ³² V.S. Naipaul, “India After Indira Gandhi,” New York Times, November 3, 1984, p. 23; William K. Stevens, “1,000 Feared Dead as India Prepares for Gandhi Rites,” New York Times, November 3, 1984, p. 1; Warren Unna, “Indian Update: Vengeance India After the Assassination of Indira Gandhi,” New York Times, October 6, 1985, p. BR16; Carl Sifakis, Encyclopedia of Assassinations: More Than 400 Infamous Attacks that Changed the Course of History (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2013), p. 115.
- ³³ Singh, India’s Guilty Secret, p. 21-30.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76; Singh, The Sikhs, pp. 119-142.
- ³⁵ Singh, India’s Guilty Secret, pp. 121-160.

- ³⁶ James M. Markham, "Rajiv Gandhi, In Speech to Nation, Pledges a Continuity of Policies," New York Times, November 13, 1984, p. 10.
- ³⁷ Barbara Crosette, "India Hangs Two Sikhs Convicted in Assassination of Indira Gandhi," New York Times, January 6, 1989, p. A8.
- ³⁸ Balraj Puri, "Era of Indira Gandhi," Economic and Political Weekly 20, no. 4 (Jan. 1985): 148-150; Sudipta Kaviraj, "Indira Gandhi and Indian Politics," Economic and Political Weekly 21, no.38/39 (September 1986): 1697-1708.
- ³⁹ Frank, Indira, pp. 497-499.
- ⁴⁰ Gupte, Mother India, pp. 107-110.
- ⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 111-113.
- ⁴² Ibid, p. 113.
- ⁴³ Gupte, Mother India, pp. 537-569.
- ⁴⁴ Malhorta, Indira Gandhi, p. 308.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Newspapers & Periodicals

- Crosette, Barbara. "India Hangs Two Sikhs Convicted in Assassination of Indira Gandhi." New York Times, January 6, 1989, p. A8.
- Hazarika, Sanjoy. "India is Holding Fifth Sikh in Indira Gandhi Killing." New York Times, December 28, 1984, p. A8.
- Kaviraj, Sudipta. "Indira Gandhi and Indian Politics." Economic and Political Weekly 21, no.38/39 (September 1986): 1697-1708.
- Markham, James M. "Rajiv Gandhi, In Speech to Nation, Pledges a Continuity of Policies." New York Times, November 13, 1984, p.10.
- N.a. "Assessing Indira Gandhi." Economic and Political Weekly 20, no. 12 (March 1985): 478-479.

- N.a. "India Holds Security Aide to Indira Gandhi in Conspiracy Inquiry." New York Times, November 15, 1984, p. A4.
- Naipaul, V.S. "India After Indira Gandhi." New York Times, November 3, 1984, p. 23.
- Puri, Balraj. "Era of Indira Gandhi." Economic and Political Weekly 20, no. 4 (January 1985): 148-150.
- Smith, William E. "Indira Gandhi: Death in the Garden." Time Magazine, November 12, 1984, p. 2.
- Stevens, William K. "1,000 Feared Dead as India Prepares for Gandhi Rites." New York Times, November 3, 1984, p. 1.
- Stevens, William K. "Gandhi, Slain, is Succeeded by Son, Killing Laid to 2 Sikh Bodyguards; Army Alerted to Ban Sect Violence." New York Times, November 1, 1984, p. 1.
- Stevens, William K. "Indira Gandhi Assassinated By Gunmen; Police Seal Off Two Areas as Crowds Gather." New York Times, October 31, 1984, p. 1.
- Stevens, William K. "Punjab Solution Now Seen as Far Off." New York Times, June 20, 1984, p. A8.
- Unna, Warren. "Indian Update: Vengeance India After the Assassination of Indira Gandhi." New York Times, October 6, 1985, p. BR16.

B. Books

- Birla, K.K. Indira Gandhi: Reminiscences. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1987.
- Gandhi, Indira. Indira Gandhi, Speeches and Writings. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.
- Gandhi, Indira. Of People and Problems. London: Hodder, 1983.

C. Interviews & Personal Communications

- R.K. Dhawan. "Assassination of Indira Gandhi," interview by Lucy Burns, BBC News, October 31, 2013, at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01k7vpm>.
- Reagan, Ronald. "Statement on the Assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India," October 31, 1984, at <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/103184a>.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Books

- Adams, Jad & Philip Whitehead. The Dynasty: The Nehru-Gandhi Story. London: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Dhar, P. N. Indira Gandhi, the "Emergency" and Indian Democracy. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Frank, Katherine. Indira: The Life of Indira Nehru Gandhi. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2001.
- Gupte, Pranay. Mother India: A Political Biography of Indira Gandhi. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992.
- Jayakar, Pupul. Indira Gandhi: An Intimate Biography. New York: Pantheon Books, 1992.
- Malhorta, Inder. Indira Gandhi: A Personal and Political Biography. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991.
- Singh, Patwant. The Sikhs. New York: Knopf, 2000.
- Singh, Pav. 1984: India's Guilty Secret. London: Allison & Busby, 2019.

B. Journal Articles

- Hardgrave Jr., Robert L. "India in 1984: Confrontation, Assassination, and Succession." Asian Survey 25, no. 2 (February 1985): 131-144.

- Kundu, Apurba. "The Indian Armed Forces' Sikh and Non-Sikh Officers' Opinions of Operation Blue Star." Pacific Affairs 67, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 46-69.
- Rangarajan, Mahesh. "Striving for a Balance: Nature, Power, Science, and India's Indira Gandhi, 1917-1984." Conservation & Society 7, no. 4 (2009): 299-312.
- Singh, Gurharpal. "Understanding the 'Punjab Problem'." Asian Survey 27, no. 12 (December 1987): 1268-1277.

C. Historical Dictionaries, Encyclopedias, or Handbooks

- Fenech, Louis E., and W.H. McLeod, Historical Dictionary of Sikhism (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).
- Mansingh, Surjit., Historical Dictionary of India (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006).
- Sifakis, Carl., Encyclopedia of Assassinations: More Than 400 Infamous Attacks that Changed the Course of History (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2013).
- West, Nigel., "Indira Gandhi," Encyclopedia of Political Assassinations (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).