

Chapter-III

THE LEADERSHIP CHARISMA OF NEHRU AND ITS APPEAL TO INDIAN WOMEN

Jawaharlal Nehru played a glorious part in the gigantic task in leading India's struggle for her destiny and emerge as a free nation. Nehru's wisdom, his patience, his sagacity, his farsightedness, his optimistic view of life and situation, personal courage as well as moral courage and his integrity and many other attributes embellished in the making of his character and charismatic personality which captured the imagination of millions of people and inspired them to fight for the country's cause. Nehru's charisma drew response from the women of all classes on an unprecedented scale. Nehru's charismatic attributes of his personality and his national leadership in the Indian freedom movement immensely appealed to the masses which made a deep impact on the minds of the people. He was able to mould the minds of his fellow- countrymen and women during his lifetime. Since Nehru himself came from a political background and his heart also yearned to do something for the cause of the nation, therefore it was natural and inevitable for Nehru to get involved in the political activities of the country.

Nehru popularly known as *Bharat Bhushan*- 'Jewel of India', or *Tyagamurti*- 'Embodiment of Sacrifice' during the freedom struggle, had a towering personality that crowds were always charmed and captivated by listening to Nehru and even by getting a mere darshan (appearance) of him. The charisma of Nehru was such that he was able to draw the hearts and minds of his countrymen and in fact, it was because of this unique

trait in him that he received spontaneous and unquestioned loyalty and devotion from the people of India and this in turn accentuated his greatness. People in their hundreds and thousands used to gather to see and hear him and they were stirred by his voice and presence even when they could not quite comprehend the message.¹ Nehru's strong exposition of freedom and his exceptional service to the cause of the country's liberation stirred and inspired the people including women to plunge into the freedom struggle and fight against the British rule. Bimla Luthra one of the women contemporaries of Nehru recording her experiences while she a student wrote:

“..... My first vivid memory of him goes back to the Christmas week of 1929 when he came to Lahore to preside over the historic session of the Congress on the banks of the river Ravi. We girls were completely bowled over by him, not only because he was so handsome, but also because he appeared to symbolize the spirit of rebellion against foreign domination and – equally important to us at that age- the stifling conservatism which made us feel continually that we were an inferior species, good only for the home and the kitchen. We looked up to him as one who understood the deep urges of youth, and saw justice in women's aspiration to be treated as individuals in their own right.”²

Nehru believed in Socialist philosophy and he often spoke on Socialist line and this strongly appealed to the students and youth. Sarojini Naidu once wittingly remarked on the youthful image which Nehru retained till late middle age: “Jawahar, don't think that all these young women who come to hear your speeches are converts to socialism. They only want to look at your handsome face.”³ So Nehru left a pervasive imprint of his personality and eloquence on the minds of women, who rose to the call of his leadership.

Along with country's freedom, Nehru was also a strong advocate of women's emancipation and women's rights. Nehru gave impetus for releasing the women from

an age-old bond and his dynamic leadership gave the Indian women their charter of freedom when they were called upon to join the anti-imperialist liberation movement.⁴ It could be seen that thousands of men and women from different strata of the society responded to his call of patriotism and social regeneration. Such was the charisma of Nehru that, they displayed qualities of courage, dedication and self-sacrifice of an order unsurpassed, in the history of national liberation movements.⁵ Large participation of women in the freedom movement, especially the involvement of his own women family members, in turn also served as an inspiration and motivation to Nehru to continue to fight for the country's cause and never to bow down till the goal was achieved.

NEHRU'S CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP APPEAL ON WOMEN FAMILY MEMBERS

Firstly it may be said that the impact of Nehru's charismatic appeal was felt by his family women members at home. His mother Swarup Rani, came from a conservative 'Kashmiri Brahmin family'. Unlike her husband and her children she did not have "Western influence" in her upbringing. As Vijayalakshmi Pandit writes: "Though she understood but spoke no English, yet this did not prevent her from doing her duties as a hostess at Western-style parties."⁶ Since Swarup Rani was happy to function within the traditional and conservative framework that she had been used to, her life was just confined within the limits of her family and completely devoted towards it. She was extremely proud and possessive of Nehru, her only son and showered her immense love, affection and care on him. Nehru also respected and loved

his mother equally. But soon marked changes overtook her world, which became difficult for her to adjust with it in the beginning. It was the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi and the beginning of the national movement that brought about drastic changes in the Nehru household, which Swarup Rani could not quite well comprehend with. Nehru's decision to join the Gandhian movement created a storm in the family as Motilal Nehru did not want his son to join it. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister describing the domestic strain that existed in the household then wrote:

“New thinking was necessary for new designs that would affect the national destiny that now began to take shape. Mother felt acutely miserable over all that was happening. The person she loved the most, her son, was deeply disturbed and unhappy. He was obviously on the verge of some action that she would have appreciated in a mythological figure but not in one on whom her hopes of happiness on earth and her place in heaven depended. Then there was the serious situation developing between her husband and her son. What was going to happen? How could she take sides or understand this new “Mahatma”, whose business, if anything, should have been to look after people's morals instead of meddling in family affairs.”⁷

Swarup Rani's most prized possession, her son Nehru was now getting diverted to different direction which both Swarup Rani and Motilal Nehru did not quite approve of and there was a strong resentment from Motilal and conflict between father and son. But ultimately both of them had to yield to their' son's advice and hence there was a emergence of a new role of Jawaharlal Nehru in the Nehru household and in India. However gradually, following the footsteps of Nehru, the women members of his family, including his old, frail mother also actively took part in the movement. During the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930, Swarup Rani took part in the manufacture of salt, gave speeches and mobilized the women to join and support the movement. In one of the meetings held in Allahabad 1930 which she presided she gave a fiery speech

where she said: “If you are true to the motherland, then you should start manufacturing salt in every home.”⁸ Describing the impact her revolutionary speeches created on the crowds Krishna Hutheesing wrote:

“That was one of the most extraordinary things. A tiny, fragile Hindu lady, born to the luxury and seclusion of strict orthodoxy, suddenly became a revolutionary orator. Her fiery speeches swayed and roused the vast crowd to a peak of high emotion voiced in their wild, shrill shouts of ‘Swaraj ji Jai! Nehru Ki Jai’”⁹

When Nehru was in prison, he was proud and happy to receive the news of the courageous part the women, including his family women members played in fighting against the British government. He wrote in his Autobiography: “When I heard that my aged mother and of course my sisters used to stand under the hot summer sun picketing before foreign clothes, I was greatly moved.”¹⁰ Therefore, it could be seen that ultimately Swarup Rani who was initially bound by her traditions and customs, and her world being just confined to her family, and who had also been an invalid was so drawn by the charismatic leadership of her son that she gathered strength and determination to become actively involved in the freedom struggle. However, on the other hand, seeing his old and weak mother Swarup Rani involving herself whole-heartedly for the cause of the nation, it is likely that Nehru must have certainly got more inspiration and encouragement to go ahead and pursue his cherished dream of helping India to emerge as a free nation.

For Nehru’ two younger sisters- Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Krishna their elder brother was an embodiment of grace and charm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit had great regard,

respect and affection for Nehru. She beautifully describes the position a brother occupied in the Indian family in her memoirs in these words:

“A brother occupies a very special position in India. He is the guardian and protector of his sister, whose attitude to him borders on adoration. Brother’s day- Bhaiya Duj- which follows the festival of Diwali, is an important occasion all over the country. The sister and brother renew the pledge of affection to each other and the brother gives his sister a gift. In all religious ceremonies the brother’s part is symbolic of this relationship. In a period where women had not rights, personal, civil or political, where there was no divorce for Hindu women and they were recognized through their relationship to a father, husband, brother, or son, the role of the brother was one of the greatest importance in the life of the sister, and his home practically the only protection she had in case of marital or other troubles.”¹¹

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandi, the younger sister of Nehru was an outgoing, charming woman and had been brought up under a totally Western environment. She was younger to Nehru by eleven years. Because of the huge age gap, Nehru and his sisters did not enjoy the companionship in their early years. Nonetheless, Vijaya Lakshmi had immense admiration and love for her brother and like many other women she also came under his charming influence. She wrote in her memoirs that she had a mind of her own and had always been able to use it whether in small matters or large decisions.¹² But describing her brother’s character she said that, a unique trait she saw in Nehru was that he deeply respected the minds of others and that he never showed any inclination to impose his views on anyone on any matter. She said that “His (Nehru) way was to lead you to the threshold of your own mind and let you do the rest”¹³ But drawn by the magnetic personality of her brother, gradually she started to accept Nehru’s views without any questioning.¹⁴ She remarked: “To me Bhai was a knight sans peur et sans reproche.”¹⁵

Nehru's active participation in the anti-imperialist struggle and his growing stature as a popular political leader led to the creation of a new image of him in the minds of womenfolk of his family and extended family.¹⁶ So it was within the framework of the national movement of the early twenties, Vijayalakshmi Pandit observed this new trait in her brother and came to know him more as a person.¹⁷ Before that she looked upon him as merely "Bhai", the beloved elder brother and still merely a part of the family.¹⁸ This marked changes in the home front and the emergence of Nehru as one of the leader of the freedom movement also brought a shift in the perception of Vijayalakshmi Pandit and also other women family members on Nehru. They now looked upon Nehru as their leader and their guide. Vijayalakshmi accepting and recognizing this new role of Nehru wrote: "not by argument, not by threats and anger, not by appeal to emotion but by the force of his own deep conviction that the path he was taking was the right one and the dedication... with which he sought to fit himself for the great task."¹⁹ Nehru had that knack to bind and keep the family healthy and intact and he possessed the mechanism whether by means of arguments or his activities or his dealings with people that helped him to maintain it and this led everybody in the family to look upon him as an ideal hero.

Vijayalakshmi Pandit also mentioned how her brother Jawaharlal had influenced her thinking, her political career and personal life and inspired her in many ways that she learnt a lot from him. Acknowledging this fact, Vijayalakshmi wrote, "What I value most of all is the lesson that life is not lived in little compartments- personal life and public life are both guided by the same principles and one is but the projection of the other. His actions flow from this belief as does his capacity to 'lead you to the

threshold of your own mind'- wisdom of his own."²⁰ Vijaya Lakshmi's orientation towards life was based on the values implanted in her by Nehru. This showed that Vijaya Lakshmi had great faith and confidence on Nehru and dependent on him and also vice versa. This mutual dependence on each other was reflected clearly especially after independence. Following independence, India was a new born nation and a huge task lay before her to make her mark at the international level. For that purpose Nehru needed a reliable and dependable person who would be able to build India's status at par with the other powerful nations of the then world and that personality he found in his sister Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, who could instill confidence in Nehru. Vijaya Lakshmi also under the excellent outstanding leadership of Nehru was able to steer the ship of India's foreign policy at the direction perceived by Nehru. In this way in building India's image abroad, both of them depended greatly on each other's personality. Vijaya Lakshmi served as ambassador in Moscow, Washington, London and also head of UN delegation and also represented India on various forums, and Nehru showed his confidence and dependence on her for handling many major issue as she was likely to have influenced Nehru's judgement on many issues. It is likely that Nehru represented himself outside India through Vijaya Lakshmi.

In this regard, we may cite one occasion to illustrate the interdependence of both Nehru and Vijaya Lakshmi on each other. After independence, Nehru strongly stood for the end of colonialism and racial equality and Vijaya Lakshmi upholding these principles as laid down by Nehru aptly dealt with the problem of South West Africa. She strongly condemned the high handed policy of South Africa in South West Africa where it was trying to alter the rights of the inhabitants of South West Africa. Through

the United Nations, Vijaya Lakshmi pointed out that India's interest in South West Africa was "based on the principle that freedom, like peace, is indivisible, it was a symbol of faith in fundamental human rights and dignity of human person."²¹ Back home Nehru supported the line of action taken by Vijaya Lakshmi and asked her to exercise her discretion if situation so arose. Later Nehru greatly appreciated her speeches and her handling of South West African question in the United Nations and also earned her admiration in India. He told her: "I am particularly glad that you kept the subject on a high level of principle and make it quite clear what India stands for"²²

Thus it can be seen that charmed by her brother's personality, she was drawn into politics and took an active part in freedom movement. After independence, it could be seen that Vijaya Lakshmi association with diplomatic missions abroad led her to influence Nehru's views on foreign affairs. Nehru was also in turn dependent on her on many national and international matters as she was also the most trustworthy aide and person on whom he could completely rely on. In this way Vijaya Lakshmi also had an important role to play in the Nehru's life. As Krishna Hutheesing has also pointed out that her sister Nan (Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit) helped Nehru in building India prestige in world diplomacy.²³

Krishna Nehru, the youngest sister of Nehru also shared a very close and loving bond with her brother. Nehru was eighteen years older to Krishna and infact she was born (1907) when Nehru was studying in England. So she saw her brother and became acquainted with him only once he returned from England for good, after having completed his studies. After that they spent a great deal of time together and she came

to learn about her brother more. Being his sister, Krishna had the opportunity to observe Nehru closely from different angles and came to understand his personality and many traits which in a way also influenced her. Nehru trained Krishna to be strong and fearless since her childhood as is evident from the various incidents recorded by Krishna in her Autobiography. She recalls one such incident: whenever she used to ride a pony, Nehru would often whip the pony from behind which got startled and either reared or tried to bolt with her. Then if she fell off or showed her fear being taken unaware, Nehru would force her to mount the pony again so that she learnt not to be timid. Again in another incident which Krishna vividly remembered was when Nehru threw her into the middle of the swimming pool, where she nearly drowned. In this way, Nehru was actually training his sister to be fearless that she may be able to face any situation boldly. What Krishna could observe from this facet of Nehru's character was that Nehru wanted "perfection in every sphere whether it be work or play" and this attitude of life of Nehru was reflected throughout his life. It is very likely that Krishna's mental make-up was also oriented towards that direction.

The beginning of the Non Co-operation movement in 1920s brought marked changes in Nehru family and it was during this time that Krishna got better acquainted with Nehru and his leadership. In fact during this period both of them were thrown more often into each other's company. She would often accompany him to nearby villages and there she observed her brother addressing people. She could notice the gradual changes taking place in Nehru and how he was emerging as a strong leader. As a leader he not only began to understand the mass psychology but was also able to exercise his influence over them. Krishna was touched by the humility of her brother which was

often reflected in his dealing with the masses. Krishna closely viewed the marked changes which crept in their household with the growing momentum of the political movement in the country. Motilal and Swarup Rani apart from giving up the luxurious living was constantly worried for Nehru's future and on the other hand Kamala's health was also deteriorating. In spite of many upheavals in the family, though Nehru, as Krishna observed:

“became thin and pale with tired lines around it but his eyes lost neither their luster nor twinkle, nor was he every too weary or engrossed to give a word of cheer to any who needed it. No matter how overburdened or harassed he might be, Bhai always had a smile for others which would warm many a heart in need of comfort. He always had time to listen to others, to give them his understanding, consolation and encouragement.”²⁴

Though the uncertainty of life had gripped the Nehru family with the ongoing freedom struggle, whenever Nehru was at home for brief periods Krishna saw how Nehru forgetting all his political worries would enliven the house by teasing, joking and being full of fun. Nehru's affection was not just confined within his family and immediate family but also to his extended family who also loved him equally. So Krishna who was in constant association with her brother and also a keen observer of her brother's attitude and his many activities, certainly must have been truly fascinated by his approach towards life and attracted towards his outstanding leadership that helped her not to lose courage and hope whatever the circumstances may be and also encouraged her to be a part of the freedom struggle.

When Nehru took Kamala to Europe for treatment in 1926, Krishna also joined them there later. Again a very strong bond developed between the brother and sister and

Nehru acting as a teacher to Krishna greatly widened her horizon of world affairs. In this way Krishna learnt many valuable things from Nehru and it was kind of a training to Krishna to develop her personality and become a strong woman. Nehru took her to some of the Italian cities of Rome, Florence, Milan and many other places. During the trip, Krishna was not only fascinated to see the cities, but was also enamoured by her brother's vast knowledge and the enthusiasm with which he guided her through the cities. She found him to be an ideal companion and Nehru also confided in his sister by sharing his thoughts with her and equally enjoyed the trip like Krishna. In order to make Krishna independent so that she could go out on her own in Europe, he gave her a French dictionary, a map of Geneva and some tram and bus tickets.²⁵ In this way, Krishna noticed the traits of broad mindedness in her brother as he wanted her to explore the new place on her own. In order to broaden her horizon and experience with people and the world, Nehru also arranged for her to go to the International Summer School. Many leading statesmen of Europe gave lectures in the School. In this way Krishna met many important personalities of the world and this helped her to gain wide experience of world affairs. Not only this while travelling with him, Nehru also initiated her into becoming 'the perfect secretary'.²⁶ Krishna observed and was very proud to see how people from all parts of the world whom they met in the conferences or at the homes of friends yielded to the charms of Nehru.²⁷ Therefore Krishna was able to internalize this quality of broad-mindedness of Nehru for herself in the days to come.

Krishna was not only judging and glorifying Nehru as a brother, but as any other individual Krishna was actually observing the various qualities and traits which a leader should possess. And Krishna while communicating with Nehru was also able to discern

the varied sides of Nehru's personality and she herself was struck by Nehru's "sincerity of purpose, his integrity, high sense of values, his code of honour, loyalty to friends and comrades, attachment to his family and his never-failing consideration towards others as well as his adherence to truth and fairplay."²⁸ Fickle mindedness and a capricious and whimsical character is not a good quality of any good leader. But Krishna observed that, what made Nehru unique was that he remained unchanged no matter what heights of glory he achieved and what honours and laurels he gained. She observed further that: "He would always remain the staunch upholder of what was right no matter what the cost and would never give in to anything which was unfair or unjust."²⁹ Therefore Nehru as a man of principle always maintained his integrity whatever be the circumstances. It was all these distinctive and outstanding qualities and attributes of Nehru which Krishna studied and understood so deeply that she was enthralled and captivated by her own brother's outstanding personality that she also followed the footsteps of Nehru.

Nehru gave many lessons of life to Krishna which she valued deep in her heart. When she got married with Raja Huthseeing in 1933, Nehru's advice to her expressed through letter from Alipore jail on 1 March, 1934 helped her in the process of adjustment with her new life. He wrote:

"In your new experience of married life you will also view life from another angle and gain wisdom thereby. But wisdom comes often at the cost of so much, so many years that slip by and do not return. Those who have had the advantage of prison experience know at least the value of patience, and if they have profited by their experience, they have learnt adaptability, and that is a great thing."³⁰

This certainly showed Nehru acted as a great teacher, guide and philosopher to Krishna, which certainly left a deep imprint in the mind of Krishna and she also looked upon Nehru as a ideal man, an ideal brother and an ideal leader who guided and showed her the many facets of life and helped her to face any situation of life bravely and fearlessly.

Being a rationalist, Nehru had a very humanist approach and attitude towards women. Being brought up by the love and affection of his mother and also being an elder brother of two younger sisters, and father to a daughter, Nehru had great respect and affection for women and always stood up for the noble cause of women. Throwing light on this humanistic appeal of Nehru towards women, his younger sister Krishna Nehru remarks, "Nehru believed in their autonomy and encouraged the women of his extended family to choose from a wide variety of roles and not be confined to the role of a wife, mother and home-maker."³¹ Nehru encouraged the women members of his family to actively involve themselves in the freedom movement, anti British agitation anti colonial rule. Women members of his family equally participated in the freedom struggle. Even his young daughter Indira also actively participated in the movement.

Kamala Nehru, shy and unassuming wife of Jawaharlal played a significant role in the Indian national movement. Both Kamala and Jawaharlal influenced and served as an inspiration to each other. Nehru had plunged into politics immediately after his marriage which brought about lot of challenges in their married life but this was handled by Kamala very graciously and in a befitting manner. Though Kamala was very young then, she did not fear and faced all difficulties boldly. She had great faith and

confidence in her husband's ability and was very proud of his patriotism. From December 1921 to March 1923, during sixteen months Nehru spent three hundred and fifty days in jail. Not only this Nehru and Kamala was also financially dependent on Motilal Nehru. However inspite of all these difficulties, she valued the wonderful mission of her husband and never grumbled at her difficulties. These developments also worked on her mind and gave her a strong will power and determination to stand by her husband and also actively work shoulder to shoulder along with Nehru for the cause of the nation. In 1930 during the Civil Disobedience Movement, Jawaharlal Nehru was imprisoned. In Nehru's absence, following the footsteps of her husband, Kamala Nehru played a very brave and notable part in the movement and Krishna Nehru marveling at the spirit and energy of Kamala remarked: "Kamala whose fatal disease had returned was the most active of all. She became the best organizer, the most intrepid marcher and the leading spirit of the women of Allahabad."³² Kamala and Krishna donned male attire for the purpose. Forgetting about her ill-health, Kamala actively involved herself in various nationalist activities. She was involved in the breaking of the salt law at Handia, a tehsil in Allahabad.³³ A newspaper report added: "Over 10,000 people collected to witness the inauguration of the satyagraha campaign at Allahabad. Today's volunteers were Mrs Jawaharlal Nehru, Miss Krishna Nehru, Mrs Motilal Nehru and Babu Purushottam Das Tandon. While in preparation, Mrs K. Nehru picked up fuel, put it into the furnace and lighted a fire."³⁴ She also picketed foreign cloth shops and liquor shops. It was said: "48 volunteers were there including 15 from the first batch of volunteers. They kept walking in front of the cloth shops, looking for people buying. Mrs Kamala Nehru caught sight of a Muslim gentleman purchasing foreign cloth. He

was so impressed with her reasons that there and then he set fire to the cloth.”³⁵ With such a forceful spirit and courage Kamala Nehru organized the work left by her husband that Nehru also pointed out: “She made up for that inexperience by her fire and energy and, within a few months, she became the pride of Allahabad.”³⁶ In this way Kamala proved to be an inspiration for Nehru as her strength of mind, her moral support and her own political activities put courage into Nehru’s heart not to lose hope and continue with the struggle till the goal was achieved.

Nehru’s personality and leadership appealed to a great extent to his mother and sisters and his wife, that they were swayed by his charisma. But looking from another perspective, it is likely that it was because of the constant and immense support, guidance and inspiration from his own women family members that he had been able to face the challenges courageously and tread on the path of the freedom struggle which was full of challenges, with ease and satisfaction.

Indira’s personality seems to be a product of the mindset of Nehru indeed, as he had undoubtedly moulded and nurtured her to imbibe and inculcate in her, strength of character, sincerity of purpose and a sense of vision for the future, the traits of which could be clearly discerned from the time of her early growth till she reached the stage of glorious womanhood and leadership. The reflection of the intrepid training of Indira by Nehru was clearly revealed in her leadership when she presided over the destiny of India for sixteen years as Prime Minister.

Indira Gandhi’s early childhood was full of uncertainty and insecurity. She was born and brought up in the midst of political turmoil when India was fighting her battle

for independence which took away the childhood love, care and affection of her parents and family member on her, because of the participation of the whole family in the national struggle. Her childhood days were full of challenging experiences which was to leave a deep impact on her mind. The active participation of her grandfather and father in the national movement often led them to land up in prison for months and years, and Indira had to often stay away from her father at the prime of her growing age. Her mother Kamala Nehru too was either busy with national movement or her illness which took away most of her time, left Indira uncared for and neglected. Sensitive and an observant child Indira grew up in such an environment, but however fortunately “even in the midst of such happenings there was time for the tender written dialogue which so powerfully shaped her personality.”³⁷ Moreover having lost her mother at a young age, it left a void which was filled by Nehru. It is likely that Nehru had a greater hand in moulding the character of Indira.

Nehru was very well aware of the fact that one would suffer from depression because of the uncertainty of life on account of the separation from the family members due to frequent imprisonment. But in such adverse situations also, Nehru always kept his spirits high and positive for he strongly believed that it was during these difficult periods that individuals and nations could really find themselves and build up a strong and enduring foundation for straight thought and effective action.³⁸ For him the present was transitory and passing phase which he overlooked and looked forward for a new beginning everyday. So Nehru was concerned that Indira, who was then young would be most affected by such happenings. So in order to make sure that Indira was not affected by such disturbances, Nehru through his constant letters from prison would

often try to divert Indira from the depression mood and make her understand the value of life and help her to get out of the 'superficialities of existence'. He tried to instill in her young mind that in the "very present lie the seeds of that future change"³⁹ and that the promise of future spread out before her."⁴⁰

Nehru was in fact a great teacher for his daughter and her mental make-up, temperament, outlook was indeed influenced by Nehru, and Indira would also ask Nehru's advice "in the most trivial matters and hold on to even a suggestion as if it was the final and inescapable truth."⁴¹ Sonia Gandhi, daughter in law of Indira Gandhi highlighting Nehru's concern for his daughter's upbringing and growth stated:

"Jawaharlal Nehru strongly believed that his daughter should grow up in a milieu which would increase her critical faculties and widen the range of her intellectual interests. He held the view that a liberal education through formal and informal channels was the best possible basis for shaping young minds. It is this belief and his concern for his daughter which prompted him to write to her a series of letters on the history of the world. These were later published as a book entitled 'Glimpses of World History'."⁴²

Therefore Indira's formative years were moulded through a series of letters Nehru wrote to her from prison as he wanted to develop the mind and spirit of Indira. A letter written to Indira on the eve of her thirteenth birthday on October 26th, 1930 was indeed a classic since it epitomized lessons of character building, sense of history and also showed the path of destiny that Indira was to travel later in her eventful life.⁴³ Actually "it was meant to provoke thinking on a young mind for true nobility and leadership."⁴⁴ In order to make his daughter understand and realize the significance of historical events, in the letter he wrote, that the year and the very month she was born in 1917 was one of the most memorable years of the history which saw Lenin start the

great Revolution which changed the face of Russia and “ushered in a nation, reborn and kindled by the fire of sacrifices and ideas rarely seen before.”⁴⁵ He also reminded her about the great leader Gandhi who had been able to inspire millions of Indians, men and women, and even small children to fight for their freedom. His letters reflected lessons of practical life, which were in tune to the contemporary happenings of the contemporary period. Thus Nehru was actually trying to stir the young mind of Indira and also to build the leader in Indira so that she could serve to inspire the people to do great deeds for a better cause and make a stirring and epoch making history.

Nehru had a great love for books and an insatiable hunger for knowledge. He wanted to inculcate this same interest in books in Indira also which would make her “to understand life with its thousand facets and to learn how to live life.”⁴⁶ According to Nehru, one could not rely on individual experiences alone since it were so narrow and limited. Therefore in this kind of a situation, books would be of great help as it would give the “experiences and thoughts of innumerable others, often the wisest of their generation, and lift us out of our narrow ruts.”⁴⁷ In this way he wanted Indira to develop a larger vision of life so that she could play a brave part in life’s journey. Therefore while he was in prison, Nehru would order number of books for Indira.

This mental training of Indira through books was of great help in moulding the temperament of Indira as it motivated and developed in her the art and taste of reading which enriched her mind and greatly widened her horizon. Indira seemed to be particularly fascinated by the stories of Joan of Arc, that her aunt Krishna Huthseeing often saw her practicing being Joan of Arc. Indira aspired to be like of Joan of Arc and

she would often say that she would someday lead her people to freedom just as Joan of Arc had done. During the National Congress of Child Welfare held in 1956, Indira in her speech had acknowledged that her father had taught her to love books, not only the reading of them but looking at them and handling them.⁴⁸

Krishna Nehru who was with Nehru and his family in Europe in 1926 noted with amazement, the inquisitiveness and observational nature of Indira when she saw Indira listening with great interest and with the air of gravity the conversations and ideas exchanged between Nehru and Romain Rolland. Krishna felt that the talk was much too deep for a nine-year old girl.⁴⁹ “But Nehru believed that her being intimately associated with eminent men and women, it would do her good. He wanted to expand her outlook, in preparation for the kind of role in India’s national life which was assumed to be a patriotic duty. Indira seemed to hunger for knowledge and was always very attentive to the conversations.”⁵⁰ Indira also got the opportunity to meet German poet and dramatist Ernst Toller and many other Indian exiles who were old revolutionaries, who talked ardently for nationalism, and this contacts furthered her education.

Nehru did not want Indira to do anything secretly or hide anything since the desire to hide was the sign of being afraid which he considered it to be a bad thing and unworthy of her.⁵¹ Therefore he wanted her to be brave as he told her: ‘If you are brave, you will not fear and will not do anything of which you are ashamed.’⁵² Nehru was actually inspiring Indira to be a good soldier for the nation and it must have stirred the young mind of Indira and she in fact grew up into a brave soldier in India’s service and proved herself worthy to her father by her strong, dynamic leadership and

statesmanship later on. Nonetheless, the signs of leadership was already visible in Indira, when she showed her leadership ability at the age of twelve when she organized her Monkey Army and played a heroic and significant role in the national movement. Nehru had always taught his daughter to be courageous and self-reliant and to take all risks and dangers in life. So when Indira found Nehru and her family members taking an active part in the Salt Satyagraha in 1930, she too wanted to join the Congress Party and be a regular and active member of India as Nehru had motivated her to be. But since she was too young to join, she decided to do things on her own.

Indira was successful in mobilizing and rallying behind her, children of the neighborhood and addressing them heroically, proposed to set up a children volunteer organization to fight for the freedom of the country. They were to be of use to the Congress in mysterious ways that she had devised.⁵³ Her organization came to be known as Vanar Sena (Monkey Army). Emulating the example of how Hanuman had helped Rama and Lakshmana by forming the monkey army of building a bridge to go to Lanka by throwing huge rocks into the sea and defeat Ravana and rescue Sita, Indira also built a bridge which symbolized the bond of union between children and adults. Thousands of children joined her Monkey Army. She gave them rigorous training and was able to instill strong patriotic feelings in them. They performed a number of functions. They worked as auxiliary to the Congress. They made flags, addressed envelopes, served water to the volunteers in processions, nursed the injured and did many more work. The more daring youngsters went around sticking up notices of meetings and processions when it was dark. “They bravely carried messages, information from one group to another in a truly underground system.”⁵⁴ Looking

apparently innocent, they ran in and out of houses surrounded by police about to make arrest. The police ignored them, thinking they were just a bunch of inquisitive youngsters who merely wanted to see what was happening, but actually the children were delivering important instructions from the Congress that they had learned by heart.⁵⁵ Actually Indira had clearly understood the significance of complete independence and became committed towards it, when in January 1930, Nehru had made Indira to read out the draft resolution on Purna Swaraj (complete Independence) in the Lahore session where he was the Congress President. Nehru's leadership itself served as an example to Indira that she displayed such an organizing capability and leadership skill in mobilizing children for the cause of the nation. Indira also displayed here immense courage and patriotism during the Quit India Movement in 1942, when she received lathi blows from the police for holding the national flag aloft. Though she fell down bleeding to the ground holding on to the flag, and the police kept on striking on her, she continued clutching the flag. Such was the revolutionary zeal instilled in her by Nehru that she served as a good soldier for the cause of the nation's struggle.

In 1934 after visiting Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan along with Kamala, Nehru and Kamala decided to send Indira to Santiniketan. Nehru thought that the atmosphere there would be good for Indira and also on account of their uncertainty of life due to frequent imprisonment and engagement with political activities and problem of future education had been troubling him. He found the atmosphere in Santiniketan delightful and thought Indira would enjoy there, learn a great deal and would develop rightly there. By studying there Nehru actually wanted Indira:

“to learn from the sufferings, discomforts and misery which surround and wrap up the great majority of people; to see the drama of real life; to become akin to a small extent at least with the masses; to understand their viewpoint; and to get to know how to work so as to raise them and get them out of their misery.”⁵⁶

Santiniketan was a center for the study of Indian arts and culture and Nehru told Indira that: “Art and culture are very necessary to make a complete man or woman. They not only add to the graces of life but give us a view of life as a whole and prevent us from becoming narrow one-sided persons.”⁵⁷ So in this way Nehru wanted Indira to learn and understand the many facets of life and in Santiniketan he felt Indira would truly develop her personality on that line. Indira too, who initially thought wouldn’t like the place was mesmerized by the beauty of the place, but Indira had an eventful stay there and she got involved herself in many things which changed her attitude towards life and enriched her personality.

After Kamala’s death in 1936, Nehru had decided to leave his daughter Indira in Europe since he believed that only the discipline of an European education would give her the strength and the independence of mind which were necessary in order to play a role in public life in India.⁵⁸ Nehru expressed this desire from his daughter in a letter written in December 1938:

“Many years ago I used to dream that when you grew up, you would play a brave part in what is called public life in India, to shoulder this heavy burden, to help in putting brick upon brick in the building of the India of our dreams. And I wanted you to train and fit yourself in body and mind for this engrossing task.....”⁵⁹

Nehru also took Indira along with him to various countries like Czechoslovakia, Munich, Geneva, Paris where she came across many diplomats and statesmen which

helped her to gain wide experience of men and their affairs and the world at large, which in turn helped Indira to cope up and deal with situations tactfully and wisely later on when she became the Prime Minister of India. Indira also displayed and exerted her stern leadership outside India when she was a student as she ‘was always on the forefront to fight oppression wherever she found it’. When she was studying in Oxford in London, she actively campaigned for Spain against combined German and Italian forces who were kindling a civil war. Early 1941 when Indira was returning home from Switzerland after recovering from an illness and travelled by sea, her ship halted in Durban for a week. During her stay, she visited the city and she saw how the Negroes lived under the apartheid policy. At first, when Indira was invited to give a speech there she refused, but when she saw the wretched condition of the Negroes she was moved by it and delivered a speech, in which she strongly condemned white South Africa’s oppression of the black population which she compared to the Nazi racial persecution of the Jews. “She also condemned the servile attitude of the Indians towards white South Africans and their indifference to the plight of the black majority.”⁶⁰ She told the local Indians, “You must come to an understanding with the Africans because it may not be today, it may be ten or twenty years, but it is they who will rule the country. And then what will your descendants do?”⁶¹ This again undoubtedly reflected the courageous and fearful spirit instilled in Indira by her father Nehru, in fighting for a cause.

By and large, it can be seen that after Nehru became Prime Minister of independent India in 1947, the impact he left of his leadership on India and the world and contributions to the various fields of his activity again made Indira to learn another aspect of her father’s personality which served as an inspiration to her and also helped

her to gain exposure and wide experience of the affairs of the country and the world that led her to the path of dynamic leadership and statesmanship. During his Prime Ministership period (1947-1964), Nehru moved into the Teen Murti House which was ably managed by Indira. The Nehru household was managed with thrift and discipline under her efficient direction and supervision. Since now Teen Murti became a centre of politics and government Indira gradually gained knowledge in the working of the Indian Parliamentary system. In a short period of time, Indira developed a keen political insight and gained an uncanny ability to judge people and situations. By the early fifties she emerged to be a strong and powerful woman and she became someone to be reckoned with in the political structure. This clearly showed that Nehru was able to exercise his influence on her political thinking and was able to train her politically for the future political role of the country. Indira occupied important positions in the office. In 1955 she became a member of the Congress Working Committee. In 1958 she was elevated to her father's place as a member of the Congress Parliamentary Board. She also became the President of the Allahabad Congress Committee and All India Youth Congress. In 1958 she also became the President of the Congress Women's Convention. In 1959 she was made the President of the Indian National Congress.

Apart from acting as a hostess to Nehru at home, from 1948 onwards Indira started to accompany her father abroad and in this way the great world opened up to her. As she used her role at home as hostess to sharpen her political awareness she use her role abroad to observe the unfolding and strengthening of Nehru's foreign policy which in the 1950s earned him the stature of a world figure and made India the voice of resurgent Asia.⁶² In this way, under Nehru's leadership, Indira came to understand the

world affairs deeply which also trained her in her future role when she herself became the First Woman Prime Minister of the country.

Under Nehru's able guidance and leadership, Indira's mind, temperament, leadership traits was moulded and built in such a way that Indira came to reflect her father in various ways on many occasions. During the freedom struggle period Nehru had recognized the important part the youths could play in freeing the country of the British rule and establish a better and happier society. Indira during her association with the Youth Congress which had been formed in 1952, had come to realize the role youth could play in the nation-building and formulated her socio-political philosophy. During an address at the Youth Congress at Baroda on November 21, 1958, Indira "coalesced her beliefs, compounded at that mixture of revolutionary fervor and restraint that was to mark her politically like her father, as an implacable democrat, and personally, again like her father, as an unconventional and imaginative human being."⁶³ Acting as Nehru's hostess, confidante, Indira had gained wide experience in the political affairs of the country and foreign affairs, that she was able to built a niche for herself in the Congress politics which ultimately led her to guide the destiny of the country when she became the Prime Minister of India. One British man remarked that, "The penumbra of a celebrated father has upheld her, stimulated her, perhaps inspired her; in the end it has not overshadowed her."⁶⁴

Again, under Nehru's Premiership the Five Year Plan was initiated which saw the beginning of industrial and agricultural projects in India. Nehru himself personally visited the sites for the new projects and also took part at corner-laying ceremonies. It is

said that Indira also visited the projects and was able to observe how they were transforming the country. Krishna Hutheesing seeing the influence of Nehru on Indira stated: “The continuing planning process and the expansion in agriculture and industry were a token of her father’s faith in India’s destiny- and they inspired her to strive for the ideals her father worked for.”⁶⁵

Therefore it could be seen that Indira’s personality was indeed shaped by Nehru’s charismatic leadership, guidance and training as a result of which Indira was transformed into a strong personality and a great leader and statesman. Nehru became the shaping force in her personal and political life in her future. Indira also lived out to her father’s dream and she was again in turn able to exercise a great deal of influence over her father as is evident from various occasions. In fact, she proved to be a great confidante, advisor to Nehru at the time when he was guiding the destiny of the country.

NEHRU’S CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP APPEAL ON OTHER WOMEN

The way Nehru inspired large number of women and drew them to his side was almost miraculous. Therefore Nehru’s charismatic leadership appeal was felt by other women too, some of whom were his political comrades who worked shoulder to shoulder with him. Here the study of some of the leading women personalities of his time who had come under his impact have been taken.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya, a freedom fighter, a Socialist and a strong political comrade of Nehru also came under the powerful influence of Nehru. According to

Kamaladevi: “Pandit Nehru was a many-sided personality of myriad facets, with a versatile and penetrating mind ranging over many fields of knowledge, and intimately attracted to a variety of things.”⁶⁶ Her first close association with Nehru was during her visit to Anand Bhawan. There she observed the heated arguments between Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal at the dinner table which was “very penetrating and politically most revealing”⁶⁷ to her. Motilal Nehru was a towering personality, but she was struck by the way how Nehru used to hold up in the discussion in a very befitting and dignified manner without affecting his father’s ego. Moreover Motilal also did not try to impose his will and overshadow his son’s personality. This was one important aspect of Nehru’s character which appealed to her very much. She was also impressed by the home environment of Nehru which was instrumental in moulding his personality. Though he was a son of a leading stalwart of the time, yet Kamaladevi observed that in course of time Nehru was able to carve out a “marked place for himself with his own individual stamp.”⁶⁸ Another trait of Nehru which impressed Kamaladevi when they used to go out on tours was his “simple habits, with a minimum of needs.”⁶⁹ He did not try to be big burden on anyone. Therefore Kamaladevi came to learn from her experience with Nehru that he attained the position he did was due to hard work and a severely disciplined routine.⁷⁰ Therefore Kamaladevi had the opportunity to work at close quarters with Nehru, as a result of which she understood the various traits of his personality and she also came under his charismatic influence.

Nehru had great leadership qualities and the zeal to work towards the achievement of set objective. In fact the several tours which he undertook and the speeches which he delivered were inspiring and educative. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya

described how Nehru's organizing capability and the zeal to work hard had left a deep impression on her mind. She writes,

"I had occasion to accompany Pandit Nehru on a few tours largely to popularize the activities of the Seva Dal. I had found these tours both stimulating as also educative. He was well organized as a person, could concentrate to write a memo, draft a resolution, anything serious that needed urgent attention even in the midst of the hurricane travels he could for instance sit down no matter how late the hour before he retired for the night to accomplish whatever he felt had to be done. I marveled at this capacity of his to concentrate."⁷¹

Working in close association with Nehru especially during election tours, Kamaladevi was able to observe the various facets of his leadership which impressed her deeply. She especially liked the dramatic scenes which Nehru often used to display during his speech as this added zest and spice that drew the crowd towards him. Another unique thing she observed in Nehru and was attracted towards it was the natural trait in his leadership. She did not find Nehru to be as flamboyant orator like other political leaders.⁷² Kamaladevi found Nehru's demeanour to be unpredictable and often misleading which often confused people. Sometimes he would remain aloof and sometimes he would act haughty and petulant which would make people uncomfortable and resentful. But Kamaladevi remarked: "before long however, these unpalatable reactions would melt away. A brilliant smile suffusing his whole face would disarm you. He could speak in soft caressing voice, and fill the air with an unexpected touch of gentleness."⁷³ So therefore Kamaladevi was fascinated by this multi-faceted personality of Nehru and this was likely to have left a deep impress on her mind.

In 1930, when the Congress, the nation and Kamaladevi too were awaiting for the line of action which Gandhi was to take for Civil Disobedience, everybody was

bewildered to hear the plan of Salt Satyagraha. Kamaladevi could not well comprehend with Gandhi's plan of action and was "unable to equate a national struggle with common salt."⁷⁴ Nehru trying to instill confidence in Kamaladevi's mind about the mission of Gandhi told her, "You have to yet to learn his ways. We cannot always grasp his ideas in their entirety. But rest assured there is a method in what people think is madness."⁷⁵ In this way, when uncertainty and confusion had engulfed Kamaladevi's mind, Nehru played a vital role in raising her spirits and made her understand the Gandhian way.

Kamaladevi was again inspired by the fearless and humanitarian spirit of Nehru's personality which also encouraged Kamaladevi in her political and social activities. She recollects in her Memoirs that how after independence, when Delhi was engulfed in serious communal riots, "Pandit Nehru was often seen dashing into these turmoils, which provided the greatest moral boost."⁷⁶ During this turbulent period, Nehru worked tirelessly and tried to keep the concept of secularism intact, and the spirit with which he fought with desperation towards it reflected his strong leadership acumen and capability. This boosted the morale of Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya to also follow the footsteps of Nehru to combat communalism and work towards the rehabilitation of the uprooted families of partition, obviously from Pakistan.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, another political comrade of Nehru was also very much attracted to the personality and leadership of Nehru. They had been acquainted with each other when they were young, which developed into strong friendship as time passed by and became partners in the freedom struggle and again worked together in

Nehru's Cabinet after independence. Amrit Kaur's admiration for Nehru can be described in her writings where she wrote:

“I have therefore known him as an attractive youth with the marked impress on him of Harrow and Cambridge, later as an ardent fighter for India's political freedom, imbued with all the enthusiasm and vigour and idealism which have not deserted him even today, and then as Prime Minister of free India with the additional relationship of a colleague of his Cabinet for ten years.”⁷⁷

In spite of her association with Nehru, Amrit Kaur found Nehru to be a difficult person to understand. She perceived him more as an artist and thinker, than a politician. But again seeing Nehru's dedication for the cause of the nation and a different version of his personality as she herself describes:

“His integrity of purpose, his unfailing devotion to duty, his ability to work for an ideal without counting the cost, his complete freedom from any racial or religious prejudice, his sensitive nature which appreciates beauty, whether of the arts, his loyalty to friends, his facile and enchanting pen, his love of women and children, his courageous, adventurous and ever youthful spirit, his love of truth, his freedom from malice, and his tender-hearted and very affectionate nature.”⁷⁸

Moreover she found Nehru not only good looking, but also highly intelligent and he channelized his intelligent mind in a purposeful way which helped him to gain wider knowledge, and this was absolutely necessary for a leader of not only India but also of the world. Though Nehru was born in a wealthy and aristocratic family, yet this did not make him blind towards the plight of millions of poor in this country. He was fully concerned for the welfare of the people irrespective of caste, community and identity. This multi-faceted personality of Nehru attracted Amrit Kaur and this drew her closer to Nehru and she worked in close association and dedication in Nehru's Cabinet.

Getting to work with Nehru very closely, she was again able to observe and understand both the inner and outer exposition of Nehru's overall personality that she wrote:

“I can truly say that during my ten years of work with him as minister in his Cabinet, I found these qualities of head and heart help him rise again and again above party politics and narrow prejudices. Speaking of help in my own difficult task, I had the utmost sympathy, understanding and strong support from him.”⁷⁹

Therefore the aura of Nehru's innovative and charismatic leadership and personality was a great motivating factor for Amrit Kaur who was able to perform the task of nation building along with Nehru with zest and confidence. She was greatly inspired by Nehru's, “quick and favourable reaction to new ideas provided these were likely to serve the poor and needy.”⁸⁰

Nehru's love to serve others has been a natural trait of his character. Amrit Kaur acknowledged that it was because of Nehru's liberal support that the Contributory Health Service Scheme could be passed. She was greatly touched and impressed by Nehru's cause for the suffering humanity, which she said was, ‘genuine and not merely a political slogan’.⁸¹ Moreover since Nehru had the deep urge to do right, so it was because of his efforts that most of the social reforms were passed and it got a place in the Statute Book. Amrit Kaur therefore remarked, “I therefore loved working for and with him.” These remarkable and dynamic qualities of Nehru's leadership and humanist outlook, no doubt had made a deep imprint in the minds of Amrit Kaur who chose to work hand in hand with Nehru during the freedom struggle and after independence in his Cabinet.

Aruna Asaf Ali, another great woman freedom fighter was endowed with indomitable courage, a transcendent love for the motherland, total devotion to the cause of equality, justice and freedom, willingness to suffer and make every sacrifice. Such a courageous and a devout freedom fighter had also come under the captivating influence and charm of Nehru's leadership and the glorious part he played in the freedom struggle. She admired his courage and idealism, his crusade against every form of social reaction and injustice which had given meaning in everyone's life. From Jawaharlal Nehru, she had gained sense of history and acquired the scientific spirit, above all, the scientific socialism.⁸² She had got the first glimpse of Nehru at the Lahore session of the Congress on January 1929. Recording her experience with Nehru, she wrote,

“Whether he reacted angrily or tenderly, whether irritated or sympathetic, my meetings with Jawaharlalji used to be the most rewarding experience of a day usually full of hindrances and difficulties. I wonder if anyone else anywhere in the world who was as great and important as he undoubtedly was, could be so easily accessible to ordinary people.”⁸³

Since she had the opportunity to work at close quarters with Nehru, she was very well aware of Nehru's many attributes. She had seen how Nehru used to get annoyed beyond measure and would rebuke men and women of little faith and courage in not being able to face the world fearlessly. Nehru was likely to have instilled the spirit of courage and fearlessness in Aruna Asaf Ali. Aruna herself acknowledged that she agreed more with Nehru's approach than also of Gandhi's and though the heart led her towards Gandhi, her head led her towards Nehru.⁸⁴ During the thirties onwards Aruna Asaf Ali along with many other groups of men and women came under the “Nehru spell” and they were eager to think and act along lines indicated by Nehru, echoing his thoughts, identifying themselves with him than any other individual.⁸⁵ In

this way Aruna Asaf Ali was drawn by the magnetic personality and charisma of Nehru and followed his path of continuous struggle against imperialism.

Aruna Asaf Ali gave a good account of herself during the Quit India Movement. In its Quit India Resolution passed on 8th August 1942 at the Bombay session of the Congress, Gandhi had given the slogan of “Do or Die” in its fight against the British rule. However with the arrest of the prominent Congress leaders, including Gandhi, the movement before it could start at a large scale, crisis arose. Thereupon Aruna Asaf Ali, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalini, Ram Manohar Lohia took upon the responsibility of organizing and directing the masses. Aruna Asaf Ali herself recorded the underground activities undertaken during the Quit India Movement against the British rule and the active role she played in it. Though the underground activities undertaken by the revolutionaries went against the Gandhian principles, yet Aruna Asaf Ali along with her comrades felt that mere going to jail was not a befitting reply to the reign of terror to which the British had resorted to, and went on underground to organize the people’s resistance to the British rulers and to dislocate the war efforts. In a pamphlet entitled ‘ABC of Dislocation,’ they said: “Sabotage is not the only programme....nor is it an end itself. We should always bear in mind that our object is to bring about a mass uprising.”⁸⁶ They also came up with a Congress Radio in Bombay with the help of some young entrepreneurs and technologists and with it defied and countered the British ruler’s propaganda disseminated by British-controlled All India Radio.

Inspite of Gandhi's repeated advice to Aruna Asaf Ali to surrender, she continued to lead a life of a fugitive revolutionary. Since she felt that it was under these circumstances that they had taken a resolve that as long as they were alive, they would not shut up in the prisons of the enemy. So she remained underground evading arrest, which also had an impact on her health. Though some Gandhians kept themselves away from the underground activists during and after the Quit India Movement, yet as Aruna Asaf Ali remarked 'neither Gandhi nor Jawaharlal Nehru disowned us'. In fact Nehru, following the year after he was released from jail on 15 June 1945 and while Aruna Asaf Ali was still underground, Nehru openly expressed his support to her activities and termed her as one of India's brave woman. He had full faith in her activities and he felt that whatever she was doing would not be wasted and would bear fruit. It would leave its impression on her countrymen."⁸⁷ This confidence of Nehru on Aruna Asaf Ali must have certainly boosted her and encouraged and motivated her to carry on with the struggle with greater enthusiasm since she was convinced that Nehru had not really disapproved of their acts of revolt against imperialist Britain.⁸⁸

Nehru's personality and leadership was such that Aruna Asaf Ali pointed out that inspite of her differences of opinion and arguments with him, it did not affect their cordial relationship. On one occasion when Aruna Asaf Ali being outraged at the Congress acceptance of the partition of the country, expressed her anguish in a series of articles in Janata, which was later published in book form in 1947 by Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali wrote: "Jawaharlal contributed a foreword which was not only generous to me personally but showed his extraordinary capacity for sympathetic understanding of those who different from him."⁸⁹ Even after independence, inspite of

her Socialist orientation, she met Nehru invariably in connection with incidents and events relating to social and political developments. Writing about Nehru's warm and appealing personality she states, "Even though Nehru did not play a direct part in providing day-to-day guidance to her activities, she always got the impression that not only did he hear her patiently and indulgently, but she sensed sometimes in his silences and by the way he looked that he approved of her actions."⁹⁰ Such a warm and appealing personality of Nehru did leave a deep impress in the minds of Aruna Asaf Ali.

Another occasion when Aruna Asaf Ali looked upon Nehru's leadership for guidance was at the time of the outbreak of the famous Royal Indian Navy mutiny in February 1946. The Indian naval ratings went on a strike in protest against the discriminatory treatment relating to inequality in the scale of pay, allowances, food and racial discrimination to that of the English seamen. Regarding their demand as legitimate, Aruna Asaf Ali advised them to conduct their strike in a co-ordinated, disciplined and dignified manner and display solidarity in order to ensure that the strike would conclude successfully. But unfortunately the strike situation worsened as the mutineers hoisted the Indian tricolor flags on their ships and marched through the Bombay streets in open revolt. The mill hands in Bombay also struck work in order to show their sympathy and support with the naval ratings. The British troops resorted to firing to disperse the violent mob. Realizing that the situation was out of control, "Aruna Asaf Ali sent a telegram to Nehru asking him to visit Bombay and thus save the naval strike from heading towards the climax." Nehru as soon as he learnt about the serious mutiny in Bombay, cancelled his election engagement and rushed straight away

to Bombay. This again showed that since Aruna Asaf Ali had faith and confidence in the leadership of Nehru, she approached him at the time of crisis. Sardar Patel charged Socialist, notably Aruna Asaf Ali for inciting the revolt and wanted to restrain them from taking such course of action in future. But Nehru prevented him from using, “the stick against the socialist. In Nehru’s eyes they were first-rate nationalists, no matter how irresponsible and misguided.”⁹¹ Aruna’s Socialist principles and her activities might have also appealed to Nehru as he showed his support and sympathy towards her actions. He was also attracted by her challenging personality and admired her courageous fight for India’s freedom, and moreover since she was a woman and daughter of India fighting for a cause, this struck him even more.

The effect of the amazing personality of Nehru’s leadership was also felt by V Samanth, who was one of the great admirers and followers of the former. She worked under the guidance of Nehru as Medical Superintendent in Kamala Nehru Hospital for twenty years which provided her the opportunity to work in close association with Nehru. She writes that when Nehru addressed the youth leaguers at Blavatsky Hall in Bombay, how she had been captivated by his personality and his slogan: “Who lives if India dies and who dies if India lives?”⁹² She stated further that: “He was our idol-political as well as personal-and we teenagers adored him.” While she was studying in G.S. Medical College, she wrote, Nehru addressed them and she writes that “his fiery oratory swept us off our feet.”⁹³ Nehru’s impact on V. Samant was so great that though she was out of politics for few years the ‘Nehru glamour’ continued to enchant her and it was due to Nehru’s charisma that she joined the Kamala Nehru Hospital, though her family, friends did not want her to join the post. Glorifying the outstanding personality

of Nehru, V.Samant wrote, “During the twenty years I came into close contact with Panditji, I gradually discovered the multi-faceted and multi-dimensional personality of a rare and remarkable human being.” This shows the powerful impact of Nehru’s charisma on a woman, who was inspired to work for the cause of the country and contribute towards the building of a society and a nation.

Ramdulari Sinha, a young freedom fighter during the time of the national movement, also came under the impact of the powerful personality of Nehru. Paying tribute for the commemoration of the Jawaharlal Nehru Centenary in 1989, Ramdulari Sinha while highlighting the resplendent personality of Nehru, also narrated how she admired him and also came under his influence. She first saw Nehru when she was only seven years old when Nehru had come to her hometown in Goplaganj in Bihar. During the meeting held with Nehru, the Congress leaders insisted her to sing a song. But she felt extremely shy and was awed by the presence of the distinguished guest and large audience. However due to the encouragement of Kamala Nehru, who had accompanied Nehru in the meeting, she was able to sing a popular patriotic song of those days in praise of Nehru. When the crowd again insisted on a second song, she remained undecided. It was during that time that Nehru leaned forward and patted her on her shoulders as a gesture of encouragement and she sang another song. After the song, there was a huge thundering applause from the audience and Ramdulari could see how Nehru and Kamala were the loudest in their clapping. Nehru’s gesture of encouragement changed her perception towards him completely and from that moment onwards she shed her awe for the great leader Nehru, and began to admire, adore and respect him profoundly. Ramdulari remembers another occasion when Nehru again

supported her which left a deep impress on her mind. It was during the AICC meeting in Bombay in 1946 when she and Aruna Asaf Ali outspoke on some aspects of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, many members of the Congress Working Committee expressed their disappointment at the severity of their attack. When Nehru rose up to speak, Ramdulari feared that Nehru would reprimand them heavily. But to her surprise Nehru expressed his satisfaction by remarking: "I am very impressed by the very brave speeches delivered by two ladies. Although I do not agree with whatever they have said, still I appreciate the courage and bravery with which they have spoken."⁹⁴ Later Nehru again wrote in a similar vein to a colleague about the speech, "I was very favourably impressed by the very brave speech which Mrs. Ram Dulari Sinha delivered at the AICC session. I did not agree with all she said; but that makes little difference. I am sure she will make good if she persists and will be an acquisition to our national movement."⁹⁵ It can be seen that apart from just being a statesman, Nehru also served to inspire and encourage people in their endeavour and in Ram Dulari's life, it is very likely that he proved to be the greatest source of moral inspiration and encouragement as she shined brilliantly in her career later on. She became the Member of first Bihar Assembly in 1953, Member of Parliament in 1962, held Cabinet portfolio and also served as Governor of Kerala. Later on Ramdulari's achievements, Nehru remarked, "I always had great expectations about women like Ram Dulari Sinha and Aruna Asaf Ali as valuable assets to our country. I am gratified that my hopes have been justified."

Another woman, who maintained close relation and deeply linked up and worked in close association with Nehru and was also drawn to his attractive personality

and admired his eventful years as Prime Minister, was Renuka Ray. She had also taken part in the Indian freedom struggle and had been committed to the women's cause. She was the first Indian woman to be appointed a member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1943. She was Minister in charge of Refugee and Rehabilitation in Bidhan Roy's Cabinet in West Bengal between 1952-1957.

Renuka Ray came to know Nehru closely when she was member of the Constituent Assembly. As she said: "In my contact with Panditji during those years I was able to get a true picture of the man behind the leader."⁹⁶ She was struck by his sincerity and deep devotion to the country's cause. Not only this, she admired his truly democratic nature as he could not go against the majority opinion. Justifying the democrat in Nehru, Renuka Ray reminisces the major incident, that was the Chinese aggression which took place in September 1962 where India lost a part of her territory to China. Krishna Menon, who was the Minister of Defence then, was held responsible for the defeat of India. Some of the members of the Congress Parliamentary Committee and Parliament wanted Krishna Menon to resign. Renuka Ray, then a member of the Congress Parliamentary Party executive committee, who had always supported Nehru's forward looking policies, joined hands with those in the executive committee who voted against the dismissal of Krishna Menon, whose actions had led to the humiliation of India.⁹⁷ Here Nehru showed his true spirit as a democrat since he accepted the verdict of the large majority and asked Krishna Menon to resign. Renuka Ray appreciated and was fascinated by this democratic spirit of Nehru and how he functioned as a true democrat in a democratic country. The charismatic flavour of Nehru again appealed to Renuka Ray when she was struck to see how Nehru had been able to raise the stature of India

“in the international world by zealously carrying out an independent ‘non-aligned’ foreign policy.” Again seeing Nehru’s staunch support for the cause of equal legal rights for women, Renuka Ray was vocal on the issue of the Hindu Code Bill and strongly supported Nehru in passing the Hindu Code Bill. Therefore as Renuka Ray acknowledging Panditji for his contribution remarked:

“I personally owe him a deep debt of gratitude, as do many others, for the guidance and inspiration he gave us during the formative stage after Independence, particularly in the Constituent Assembly days and in Parliament during the two decades when India strode forward at a rapid pace, to overcome the ills of generations of foreign rule. He...was also a singularly perceptive man and many of us owe a debt of gratitude to Panditji for his gentle kindness during times of affliction and grief.”⁹⁸

Mrinalini Sarabhai, famous Indian dancer and wife of the Indian scientist Vikram Sarabhai also recollects how she admired Nehru profoundly. The first time she met Nehru was during dinner at Nehru’s house and reminiscing the first visit she stated: “It was the totality of his personality that struck me that night, a feeling of extraordinarily fine man, who had a luminous quality about him that was both gentle and powerful.”⁹⁹ Jawaharlal Nehru also appreciated deeply her dancing talents. When she first presented a Kathakali dance for Nehru, Nehru praising her work remarked: “You have given new life to our ancient traditions. That’s what we need.”¹⁰⁰ Mrinalini was greatly touched by Nehru’s kindness and consideration, the warmth that emanated from him and his respect and appreciation for the Indian culture. To Mrinalini Sarabhai he was a hero-figure whom she admired immensely. This again reflects the impact of the magnetic influence of Nehru’s personality on woman.

The magnetism of Nehru's leadership was not only felt by the women at home, but also beyond the country. One such leading personality of the world who was attracted to the warm and appealing personality of Nehru was Madame Sun Yat-sen whose original name was Soong Ching Ling. Soong Ching Ling was wife of Sun Yat-sen, leader of the 1911 Revolution that had established the Republic of China. She was also sister of Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Nehru had met Ching Ling in the 1920s in Moscow, and he had described her as "that gracious lady who had been the flame and soul of the Chinese Revolution ever since the Father of the Revolution passed away."¹⁰¹ During that time he had met her only for a "brief half-hour", but he was struck by her personality that he cherished the wish to meet her again and "in letters to his sister too, he wrote of how much he had been strike by Soong Ching Ling"¹⁰² In a letter dated 27 December, 1938, Nehru expressing his innermost satisfaction on meeting Madame Sun Yat-sen, he wrote: "It is over 11 years ago that I had the privilege of meeting you for a shortwhile in Moscow, but I have carried ever since a vivid and delightful memory of that meeting."¹⁰³

However it was only in the middle of the 1950s that they could meet again, when "Nehru as India's Prime Minister visited Beijing and Soong Ching Ling as Vice Chairperson of the People's Republic of China visited India."¹⁰⁴ During that interim period they had corresponded with each other through letters, which sought to motivate each other. In one of the letters written by Nehru to Soong Ching Ling, he had acknowledged that the photograph of herself and Dr. Sun Yat-sen which she had sent had been his treasured possession.¹⁰⁵

During the war years (Second world war) when China had been resisting Japanese aggression, Nehru always showed his sympathy and solidarity towards China's cause. He would closely follow with great interest the situation in China. Expressing to Madame Sun Yat-sen his deepest desire to be of real help for China's cause, he wrote: "..... we have had innumerable great demonstrations in favour of the Chinese people, and the whole of India has felt at one with them in their hour of trial."¹⁰⁶ Nehru showed his fullest faith in China's future and he was confident that China would triumph over her difficulties. Nehru's concern and positive approach towards China's problems reflected in his correspondence with Madame Sun Yat-sen was likely to have boosted her morale as she also expressed her gratitude and comradeship to Nehru. In fact both Nehru and Madame Sun Yat-sen had the greatest sympathy for the cause of each other's country.

When Japan occupied Shanghai in 1937 Madame Sun Yat-sen shifted her activities to Hong Kong where she established the Chinese Defence League whose main work was to supply medical and other relief aid to the fighting fronts in China. The League had both Chinese and foreign members and the League served as a base for her extensive activity.¹⁰⁷ Since Madame Sun Yat-sen confided on Nehru on her country's problems as is evident from the letters she wrote to Nehru, she also asked Nehru for sending medical reliefs to China from India and she also suggested the establishment of the China Defence League in India too. Not only this, she also invited Nehru to be sponsor of the League. Nehru acknowledged and "gladly accepted honorary membership as a symbol of India's solidarity with the Chinese people in their heroic struggle for freedom."¹⁰⁸ Thus, such was the exceptional character and leadership of

Nehru which appealed to Madame Sun Yat-sen that she confided on him on matters pertaining to her country.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek, one of the most skilled diplomat and statesmen of the world, and a political comrade of her husband Chiang Kai-shek who guided his political activities, was also greatly struck by the personality of Nehru and Nehru was equally charmed by her pleasing and intelligent personality. Nehru's visit with the Chiangs in 1939 had led to the development of a special friendship with Chinese leaders and especially with Madame Chiang Kai-shek "whose subsequent bubbly letters to the India leader had the air of a schoolgirl crush."¹⁰⁹ She looked upon Nehru as a strong confidante and she also played an important role in keeping the spirits of Nehru high in his fight against the British Government by her encouraging letters to him. Madame Chiang Kai-shek began to hold Nehru in high esteem deeply and began to admire him even more after she read his autobiography, which she could do because of her enforced stay in bed due to illness, as is evident from the letter which she wrote to him on August 20, 1940 where she said:

"Now I really feel that I know you because I have had the opportunity to listen quietly and thoughtfully to the promptings of your heart throughout your heroic struggle for the liberation of your country. It is a great document-your book..... so humanly moving that it well deserved to be ranked amongst the great documents of all ages."¹¹⁰

Apart from the towering personalities of both Nehru and Madame Chiang Kai-shek and their attraction for each other, the common cause of both China and India also made both of them to rely on each other more as can be discerned from the letter she wrote to Nehru on 16 January, 1941 where she wrote: "The Generalissimo and I both

felt that our spirits and yours met in perfect harmony, and because of our common purpose and aspirations, you are a real comrade.”¹¹¹

She constantly assured Nehru that inspite of her pressing engagements, problems and illness, he and India were constantly in her thoughts. Nehru is likely to have felt at ease from the way Madame Chiang Kai-shek soothed his spirits when he was going through turbulent times on account of his frequent incarceration and fight against British Government. A letter written by her to Nehru on January 16, 1941 again shows her concern and moral support for Nehru when he was in prison. She wrote: “Since then I have thought of you constantly and wished.... I could do something for you and India. As you wrote, time cannot be judged by days. I feel as though you were- and you are- a dear old friend.”¹¹² Therefore Madame Chiang Kai-shek served as a continuous source of inspiration not only to Nehru but also to the Indian nation.

Edwina Mountbatten, the wife of Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, was another foreign lady who came under the strong and powerful impact of the charismatic and many-splendoured personality of Jawaharlal Nehru. She was struck by his highly dignified appearance and ways, fine character and active temperament, sagacity and high sense of honour in Nehru. They shared a ‘natural and uninhibited affinity with each other.’ Since Partition of the country, they had worked together on relief and welfare policy and they had become good friends and this friendship remained so for fourteen years. Apart from this Edwina in the course of working with Nehru amongst the refugees got inspiration from him as she remarked, “He has been an inspiration to the doctors and nurses, to the welfare workers, and to the refugees

themselves. I shall always remember the help and courage and the wise counsel he gave to me and to my colleagues at all times.”¹¹³

It is said that a fortnight after Independence day, Edwina had suddenly come to realize that she had become very fond of Nehru.¹¹⁴ She saw his many unique traits which strongly fascinated her towards Nehru and led to the development of strong friendship, adoration and fondness for him. Edwina was an intelligent and wise woman, but since Nehru’s charisma attracted her so much that “her analysis was skewed by her unshakeable belief that all Nehru said and did must be right.” Such was the charisma of Nehru.”¹¹⁵

Edwina deeply observed and understood the many facets of Nehru’s personality. She saw how sensitive and concerned Nehru was for the welfare of the people. In one of the occasions in September 1947, Edwina and Amrit Kaur heard late night that Nehru had gone out in the night in the riot stricken place in Delhi. They searched for him in the dark streets and saw him standing by a roadside calming a crowd of angry men armed with knives.¹¹⁶ The duty which Nehru was seen performing as a ‘man’ reflected his courageous and reckless spirit and this greatly attracted Edwina. This manly and daring spirit of Nehru was certainly a point of attraction for Edwina.

The relationship between Nehru and Edwina deepened by May 1948 when Nehru had gone to the retreat in Mashobra with the Mountbatten family. As they spent their time climbing through the orchards along the terraced hillside, walking among ‘the old wooden houses of Shimla’, admiring the beautiful snow capped mountains and clear, bright sky¹¹⁷, both of them discovered each other¹¹⁷ during this short period of time.

As Edwina wrote in her diary: “.... A fascinating heart to heart with J.N.”¹¹⁸ While spending time together, she could observe Nehru’s sensitive and sympathetic mind, his melancholy, his many fine traits that she was pulled by his charm and grace. She felt comfortable in his company and she talked about herself freely to Nehru. Edwina could feel that while conversing with Nehru, he understood everything about her. Edwina deeply admired this attention and thoughtfulness which Nehru showed to her and she started to trust Nehru more and confide in him and rely on him for the rest of her life. After parting from the blissful retreat, Edwina wrote to Nehru saying: “....you have left me with a strange sense of peace and happiness.”¹¹⁹ It seems likely that, Nehru had exercised his hypnotic influence over Edwina so profoundly that she started to express her innermost feelings to Nehru.

A true friendship cannot be built and also cannot endure without understanding between each other. But Nehru and Edwina understood each other so well, so deeply that each other felt solace and happiness in each other’s company. Edwina would often forget her fatigue and illness whenever she met Nehru and a sense of exhilaration crept into her whenever she was with him. To substantiate this feeling of Edwina, it may be worthwhile to mention her reminiscences while on a drive with Nehru through the hills to the airfield she wrote: “the long and fascinating talk we had....including our views on religion and spiritual values.... I felt a little sick after coming fast along part of the road where it was twisty but I rose above it, so enchanted....”¹²⁰

Eighteen months in India had taught Edwina a lot of the country and most of all Nehru. There were many other great leaders in India, but it was Nehru’s personality that

drew her to him. Nehru left an indelible mark on Edwina which she could never erase or forget throughout her life. She felt immensely sad to leave Nehru and go back to England for she had become so deeply attached towards him. The feeling of attachment and adoration towards him was so deep, that when Nehru presented her an ancient coin as a farewell gift, she attached it to her bracelet. The gifts which Nehru and Edwina gave to each other symbolized their love and devotion towards each other. Moreover only a good and a true friend would understand one's feelings and help him or her to express her or his suppressed feelings so that it could bring relief to him or her. So Edwina learnt from Nehru how to speak about her feelings and she thanked him for this with all her heart.¹²¹

After she left India she remained homesick for India. Nehru's letters were all that she desired since it brought solace and a sense of peace and happiness to her. But here again Nehru trying to restrain her emotion, making her realize about one's duty and how to live peacefully in each other's absence wrote: "I am convinced that we have to function in our respective orbits, or else either or both of us will lose our roots and feel terribly unhappy."¹²² This again reflects how Nehru guided and controlled Edwina's emotions so that distance between them did not disturb her mentally and psychologically and that she could be in full control of herself. Only a person who is very closely attached with somebody can understand and have control over the other person's feelings and sentiments. Nehru perfectly fitted in Edwina's life as her friend, philosopher and guide and Nehru occupied a very special place in her life that her life revolved around him. Not only this, Edwina must also have been impressed to see how Nehru was concerned for her and took extra care of her in spite of staying far away

from each other. As Edwina's biographer informs that Nehru used to bring Edwina sugar from America (when it was rationed in Britain), mangoes from India, cigarettes from Egypt and chocolates that had been given to him by the Arab League.¹²³ Their friendship and adoration for each other was a manifestation of their inner attraction

For Edwina "India and Nehru, Nehru and India: in her mind and her heart they were intertwined."¹²⁴ Edwina's fascination and love for India, and above all for Nehru made her to arrange her life so that she could visit India and see Nehru frequently.¹²⁵ She considered India as much her home in Broadlands. Therefore she continued with her charities in India and she often landed in Delhi owing to her overseas inspection on behalf of the St. John and Red Cross. Nehru also confessed to Edwina that "her visits were the pivot upon which everything else revolved." In fact in both ways Nehru and Edwina felt a sense of happiness and satisfaction getting to see each other at regular intervals. Such was the depth and charm of their relationship that the spark remained as it was before till the end and they had become indispensable for each other.

Nehru became an ideal man, soul mate for Edwina and she gave her full devotion to him. "In Nehru Edwina had found a man she could love, respect and trust."¹²⁶ She found him to be "wise, subtle and clever."¹²⁷ Nehru always looked upon her with respect and treated her as an equal. Edwina was no wonder an intelligent and experienced lady actively involved in many activities and affairs, and she wanted people to feel her presence in any discussion and give importance and accept her opinions and views.¹²⁸ Nehru was that person with a mind to respect and appreciate her

opinions and she felt comfortable discussing with Nehru about everything whether-
“Berlin, Malaya, Korea, China, the Cold War, the likely outcome of an election.”¹²⁹

Perhaps Edwina had the premonition that she would die soon. In February 1952 before she was taken to the operation theatre she handed Mountbatten an envelope telling him about her love letters to Nehru and where it was kept. She wrote,

“You will realize that they are a mixture of typical Jawahar letters, full of interest and facts and really historic documents. Some of them have no “personal” remarks at all. Others are love letters in a sense, though you yourself will realize the strange relationship-most of it spiritual-which exists between us. J. has obviously meant a very great deal in my life in these last years and I think I in his. Our meetings have been rare and always fleeting but I think I understand him, and perhaps he me, as well as any human beings can ever understand each other.”¹³⁰

Therefore it could be seen that Edwina found all the great qualities integral to the personality of Nehru which made her to look upon him with awe and confidence. Nehru fitted within the framework of an ideal man conceived by her and his presence gave a fuller meaning to her life. She could trust him, confide in him and depend on him. Nehru had played a vital role in changing and shaping her outlook of life that he remained her dependable and trustworthy friend until her death in 1960. Edwina’s deep admiration and adoration for Nehru was immortalized by her visit to India in February 1960 even before her last breath at the most crucial and difficult moment of her health. Yet she left no stone unturned to see Nehru before her last days. The delight of meeting Nehru illuminated on her face. On 26 January, she attended the Indian Republic Day parade with Nehru and after that a reception in the Mughal garden. The radiant Edwina chatted with the guest of honour, the Russian President, Marshal Voroshilov. Marie Seton while observing Edwina and Jawahar together noted, “Some people believed that

she exerted a great influence on Jawaharlal, but at least one of his friends was of the opinion that it was she who hung on every word he said.”¹³¹ Such was the charisma of Nehru that Edwina remained attracted towards him till her last days and “the happy few days in India with her beloved friend, whose touch and looks, whose wit and incisive mind, meant everything to her.”¹³²

By and large it can be seen that the driving and many-splendoured personality of Jawaharlal Nehru evoked the admiration and abiding affection of many women of India and beyond and his vibrant and charismatic leadership also played a great role in drawing women to participate in the national movement and also in various other spheres of life. Through the reflection of his powerful personality and also his work, he shined as a luminous star upon women and gave them a glimpse of the India of their dreams. Since women were drawn to his magnetic leadership, they were indulgent in him and they gave their whole-hearted devotion and commitment to him in the task of building a new future for India. The courage, moral support, encouragement and guidance which Nehru received from the womenfolk including his women family members was also instrumental in shaping his personality which helped him leave his impact on all facets of life in modern India which was all-pervasive and far-reaching.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ 'Obsession with Socialism', an article by Homi Mody in Rafiq Zakaria (ed.). *A Study of Nehru*, A Times of India Publication, Bombay, 1960, pp 211.

² 'Nehru and the Place of Women in Indian Society', an article by Bimla Luthra in B.R. Nanda (ed.), *Indian Women: From Purdah to Modernity*, Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, p.1.

³ Aruna Asaf Ali, *The Resurgence of Indian Women*, Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, p. 95.

⁴ Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora (eds.), *Aruna Asaf Ali: A Biography of Her Visions and Ideas*, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1998, p. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95

⁶ Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, *The Scope of Happiness: A Personal Memoir*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1979, p.38.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁸ *The Leader*, April 20, 1930.

⁹ Krishna Nehru Huthseeing and Alden Hutch, *We Nehrus*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1967, pp. 102-103.

¹⁰ Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2004, p. 225.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55

¹⁶ Kamlesh Mohan, *Towards Gender History: Images, Identities and Roles of North Indian Women*, Aakar Books, New Delhi, 2007, p.201

¹⁷ 'The Family Bond', an article by Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in Rafiq Zakaria, *op.cit*, p.125.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

-
- ²¹ S.Gopal, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (Henceforth *SWJN*), Second Series Vol. 8, Orient Longman, New Delhi, p.415.
- ²² *Ibid.* Cable from Jawaharlal Nehru to Vijayalakshmi Pandit 28 Novemeber,1948 from New Delhi.
- ²³ Krishna Hutheesing, *op.cit.*, p. 230.
- ²⁴ ‘My Brother-Then and Now’ an article by Krishna Hutheesing in Rafiq Zakaria, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-131.
- ²⁵ Krishna Nehru Hutheesing and Alden Hutch, *op.cit.*, p. 68.
- ²⁶ ‘My Brother-Then and Now’ an article by Krishna Hutheesing in Rafiq Zakaria , *op.cit.*, p.131.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.132.
- ³⁰ Krishna Nehru Hutheesing, *Nehru’s Letters to His Sister*, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1963, pp. 41-42.
- ³¹ Krishna Hutheesing, *With No Regrets*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1952, p. 42.
- ³² Krishna Nehru Huthseeing and Alden Hatch, *op.cit.*, p.86.
- ³³ *The Leader*, April 9, 1930, p.10.
- ³⁴ *The Leader*, April 12, 1930, p 10.
- ³⁵ *The Leader* , May 1, 1930, p11.
- ³⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2004, p. 32.
- ³⁷ Sonia Gandhi (ed.), *Two Alone Two Together: Letters between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru 1922-1964*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2005, p.x.
- ³⁸ *SWJN*, Vol.13, pp. 219-220.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 220.
- ⁴¹ *SWJN*, Vol.6, p.309. Prison Diary.

-
- ⁴² Sonia Gandhi, *op.cit.*, p.10
- ⁴³ P.R. Kyndiah, *Jawaharlal Nehru: The Thinking Dynamo*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1989, p.35
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- ⁴⁶ *SWJN*, Vol. 6, pp.323-324. Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Indira Gandhi, 22 Feb 1935.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ Uma Vasudev, *Indira Gandhi: Revolution in Restraint*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1974, p. 233.
- ⁴⁹ Krishna Huthseeing, *Dear to Behold*, Macmillan Company, London, 1969, p.48.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2004, p. 3.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ Krishna Huthseeing, *op.cit.*, p.56.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 57.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- ⁵⁶ *SWJN*, Vol.6, p.257. Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Indira Gandhi, 15 June, 1934.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 263.
- ⁵⁸ Pupul Jayakar, *Indira Gandhi: An Biography*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2014 (Reprint), p.83
- ⁵⁹ Sonia Gandhi, *op.cit.*, p.216. Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Indira Gandhi, 22 December, 1938.
- ⁶⁰ Katherine Franks, Indira, *The Life of Indira Nehru Gandhi*, Harper Collins, Noida, 2012 (Fourth Impression), p.164.
- ⁶¹ Indira Gandhi, *My Truth*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1981, p.45.
- ⁶² Uma Vasudev, *op.cit.*, p.226.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 233-234.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁶⁵ Krishna Hutheesing, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

⁶⁶ National Herald, March 9, 1967.

⁶⁷ Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya, *Inner Recesses Outer Spaces: Memoirs*, Niyogi Books, New Delhi, 2014, p. 119.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.192.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

⁷⁷ ‘A Friend Without Friends’, an article by Amrit Kaur in Raiq Zakaria *op.cit.*, pp 153.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.154.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² ‘Aruna Asaf Ali: A Unique Personality’, an article by V.D. Chopra in Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora, *op.cit.*,8, p.406

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.192.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Aruna Asaf Ali, *Resurgence of Indian Women*, Radiant Publishers, 1991, p. 141.

⁸⁷ *SWJN*, Vol.14 pp. 1-2.

-
- ⁸⁸ Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora, *op.cit.*, p. 262-263
- ⁸⁹ Cited in Shiv Gajrani & S. Ram., *Aruna Asaf Ali: The Dynamic Secular Leader*, Commonwealth Publisher, New Delhi, 2102, p.219.
- ⁹⁰ Verinder Grover and Ranjana Grover, *op.cit.*, p. 262.
- ⁹¹ B.N. Pandey, *Nehru*, Rupa Publications, New Delhi, 2011 (Third Impression), p.253.
- ⁹² *Nehru The Nation Remembers*, New Delhi, 1989.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁶ Renuka Ray, *My Reminiscences: Social Development during the Gandhian Era and After*, Allied Publishers, Delhi, 2005, p. 196.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 201
- ⁹⁸ *Nehru: The Nation Remembers, op.cit.*
- ⁹⁹ Sheila Dikshit et.al (eds.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Centenary Volume*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1989, p.566.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 567.
- ¹⁰¹ Israel Epstein, *Woman in World History: Life and Times of Soong Chig Ling (Mme. Sun Yatsen)*, New World Press, China, 1993, p. 216.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰³ *SWJN*, Vol. 9, p. 630.
- ¹⁰⁴ Israel Epstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 216-217.
- ¹⁰⁵ *SWJN*, Vol. 9. *op.cit.*, p. 632.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁷ For details see Israel Epstein, *op.cit.*, p.324f.
- ¹⁰⁸ Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 355.
- ¹⁰⁹ Li, Laura Tyson, *Madame Chiang Kai- Shekh: China's Eternal First Lady*, Grove Press, New York, 2006, p.170.

-
- ¹¹⁰ *A Bunch of Old Letters*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1988 (Reprint), p.450.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 455.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp-454-455.
- ¹¹³ Cited in Alex Von Tunzelmann, *Indian Summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2007, pp.288-289.
- ¹¹⁴ Janet Morgan, *Edwina Mountbatten: A Life of Her Own*, Harper Collins, London, 1991, p. 427.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 471.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.428.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 430.
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.432.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 435
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 447.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 471.
- ¹²⁵ Richard Hough, *Edwina: Countess Mountbatten of Burma*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Great Britain, 1983, p.207
- ¹²⁶ Janet Morgan, *op.cit.*, p. 448.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 475-476. Letter from Edwina to Mountbatten.
- ¹³¹ Marie Seton, *Panditji: A Potrait of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Dobson Books Ltd, London, 1967, p.281.

¹³² Richard Hough, *op.cit.*, p.214.