

UNDERSTANDING JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND INDIRA GANDHI THROUGH THEIR PERSONALITY

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ABSTRACT

The behaviour and decision-making process of a person could be understood by the analysis of their personality. The development of an individual's personality is fostered during his early childhood, which is the most impressionable age. During this stage, the child develops his understanding of the world thereby forming reactions to various situations and perceptions about the reality. The humanistic perspective by Abraham Maslow theorised that our highest need is self-actualisation. This involves fulfilling our innate potentials which leads to different kinds of behaviour and is very high to achieve since it is easily overwhelmed by pathogenic learning. An individual who seeks to satisfy these needs is more likely to be a balanced individual with a healthy personality. Similarly, Adlerian psychology uses childhood as the reference point for the development of an individual with the parents and the relationship between the parents and the child playing an important role in the development of the personality. In the psychoanalytic theory by Alder, he highlights the treatment of parents towards the children affects the understanding of the child's world view. Lastly, using the Freudian concept of Oedipal complex, this paper tries to understand the relationship between individuals and the family. Politics plays a vital role in the family dynamics of the Nehru dynasty. This paper seeks to understand the occurrences in the life of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi during their early childhood and using psychoanalytic tools concludes their actions with respect to their political behaviour during their tenure as the Prime Ministers of India.

WHAT IS POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY?

“Political psychology is, at the most general level, an application of what is known about human psychology to the study of politics” (Huddy, Sears, & Levy, 2013) The field of political psychology is **interdisciplinary academic field which lays emphasis on the psychological dimension of political life** (“Political psychology (Social sciences),” n.d.). It is also known as the social psychology of politics, political behaviour or political psychology. Practitioners in this field use psychological constructs, such as personality, attitudes, needs, goals, beliefs, values and expectations, in order to rationalise political behaviour and examine the complex and reciprocal relationship between politics and psychology. The primary assumption in this field is that like other forms of human behaviour, political actions are a result of interplay between the individual and the environment. The scientific study of politics explores the relations and interactions between individuals as political actors; it is inevitably linked with psychology which deals with human thinking and behaviour. Political psychology emphasises on the vital

role of psychological factors in determining the individual's responses to various contextual or environmental stimuli.

The major breakthrough in this field was by the contribution of Max Horkheimer, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, and Theodor Adorno who developed the theory of authoritarian personality dealing with the causal relationship between political views and personality types. In 1950, Adorno published a seminal empirical study called The Authoritarian Personality, based on the F(acism) scale measurement linking right-winged authoritarianism to a family pattern of rigidity, discipline, strict rules and fearful subservience to the demands of the parents. It heavily relied on the psychoanalytical perspectives of the Freudian theory yet it revealed how aspects of the psyche led to fascist or authoritarian beliefs. The characteristics of F-scale personality type included ethnocentric nationalism, extreme in-group conformity, rigid adherence to conventional values, submissiveness to authority, a readiness to punish, opposition to the free-thinking and kind-hearted, arrogance toward those

considered inferior, and other authoritarian attitudes that explain major political outcomes ("Political psychology (Social sciences)," n.d.).

During the 1950s and 1960s, the political psychology received an impetus due to the "behavioural revolution" in the field of political science which focussed on issues like analysing the effect of personality characteristics on political participation and party preference. The establishment of the International Society of Political Psychology in 1978 consolidated the position of psychology within the domain of political science. Today, this field includes a robust field of research including the psychobiography of political leaders like Nixon (Volkan, Itzkowitz, & Dod, 1999). However, with the progress of political psychology in the west, the area of study is relatively underrepresented in India.

POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY IN INDIA

The field of political psychology as a whole is underdeveloped in India. Moreover, the study of the personality of a leader attributing to the decisions made for the welfare of the country has not been the focus with regards to Indian Prime Ministers. There exists a complicated link between national preferences and values on the one hand and actual policies are complicated (Mehta, 2009). Yet, there exists a knowledge gap within this domain.

The preliminary focus being centred on system, state and society-centred approaches causes an oversight at the individual level altogether. Emphasis on beliefs, personalities, emotions, perceptions and decision making processes of individual political leaders is often left out of focus while studying theories of political science. An individual's political, economic and social convictions often formulate a coherent and broad pattern by his spirit or mentality which is an expression of the trends in his personality. There exists space for potentialities to develop given the relationship between ideology and action which accommodates itself within the over-all study of an individual's ideology. It incorporates the kinds and intensities of beliefs, attitudes, and values that are likely to result into action, knowledge of one's inhibitions and forces leading to actions in matters of practical importance (Adorno et al, 1967)

Thus, the study of total personality is necessary and can be categorised as an organization of forces within the individual which help in determining responses in various situations, largely consisting of behaviour – physical or verbal. Personality is not the response but the

readiness to respond to a given situation (Adorno et al, 1967). The forces of personality primarily are needs such as drives, wishes and emotional impulses differing in their nature, quality, and intensity, mode of gratification and object of attachment from individual to individual and are at a deeper level than those which consistently express themselves in overt behaviour. They could occur in harmonious or conflicting patterns. Personality being dynamic in nature evolves under the influence of social environment and cannot be isolated from the social totality under which it occurs. The effects of the socio-environmental forces are instrumental in moulding the personality during the early childhood of an individual. Broad social conditions and changes have a direct effect upon the types of personalities that develop within a society.

The explanations of many consequential historical events give considerable causal weight to the role of individual political leaders. However, the focus of understanding the decision-making process in the Indian context is absolutely limited. Hence this research paper attempts at addressing parts of this issue.

JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is an Indian to the core but, he being also an internationalist, has made us used to looking at everything in the international light, instead of the parochial ... and he is a humanitarian in the sense that he reacts to every wrong no matter where perpetrated ... when I am no more, he will know how to carry on the work".

CHILDHOOD

Jawaharlal Nehru was born on 14 November 1889 to Motilal Nehru and Swarup Rani, a Kashmiri Brahman couple that had recently migrated to Allahabad. Motilal was strong-willed and self-reliant, Westernized himself in many ways had a great influence on young Jawaharlal. Motilal had an untamed temper and used his sharp tongue to beat opponents into submission while practising as a barrister. He had a conflicting personality of being ostentatious, but efficient and meticulous; demonstrative, but passionately sincere. Rational and independent in his thinking, agnostic in his beliefs, he was at the same time deeply committed to his family, caste and community. Motilal grew up among the traditional aristocracy in Agra, in the United Provinces. He had ambitions to live like a prince in spite of being a shrewd businessman. Motilal wanted for his son was firstly the best English education money could buy, and then an entry into the Indian Civil Service, the core of the Establishment, the steel frame of

the Empire in India. Having failed to get a degree for himself, Motilal encouraged his son to collect as many academic distinctions and degrees as possible before sitting the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service (Pandey, 1976). Motilal rebelled against caste restrictions, thereby winning the battle for the younger Kashmiri Brahmins. His robust agnosticism inspired Jawaharlal especially with respect to the relegation of women citing religious reasons.

Jawaharlal during his childhood was homeschooled by an English governess and private tutors. Subsequently, in 1905 he was sent to attend public school in Harrow, England. While leaving 15 year-old Jawaharlal at Harrow, Motilal had already envisaged a future for his son. In a letter addressed to Jawaharlal, Motilal stated "I am going back to India with the firm conviction that I have sown the seed of your future greatness and I have not a shadow of a doubt that you have a great career before you" (Pandey, 1976).

Jawaharlal was to spend three years each at Harrow and Cambridge. With exemplary academic achievements to his credit, Motilal was assured Jawaharlal's acceptance in the Indian Civil Service. However, Jawaharlal was to be spared for a more challenging profession. Harrow and Cambridge were intended to turn the young Nehru into a faithful associate of the British Raj. They turned him into a loyal nationalist (Pandey, 1976).

As opposed to his domineering, rational and modern father, Jawahar's mother, Swarup Rani was delicate, sensitive, uneducated and traditional. Motilal was a figure of respect and fear for Jawaharlal unlike his mother whom he confided in and even dominated. His relationship with his mother began to dwindle with his departure to Harrow. Swarup Rani's possessiveness over Jawaharlal enhanced when she lost her baby son in November 1905 which fostered in her a feeling of inadequacy, insecurity and apprehension due to the distance between herself and Jawaharlal. Her illiteracy and Motilal's rebukes for her ignorance in English contributed to the resentment and isolation from the remaining members of the joint family and separation anxiety from Jawaharlal led her to a state of morbid depression. During this period, she poured out her grievances and fears to young Jawaharlal. She feared the loss of admiration and respect on Jawaharlal's part to his mother upon his return to India. She constantly instilled the values and traditions of the Indian culture which he did abandon undeterred by being influenced by the Western culture.

Motilal and Swarup Rani were responsible for fostering the feeling of being the centre of attention in the mind of young Jawaharlal for being the only son. They excessive love bestowed upon him and the overarching personality of his father aroused in a solitary child an urge of freedom and power. He could only satisfy this feeling during his childhood by setting his mind free from the bondage of love. He dreamed of flying in the air without any assistance and it remained his constant urge in life (Nehru, 1988).

During his early childhood, Jawaharlal was excluded from activities for being the youngest amongst his cousins. The age difference between him and his sisters was ten and eighteen years. Being isolated for most of his childhood, Nehru remembers his childhood memories as lonely (Fisher, 1967).

While growing up, there were parallels of traditional and westernized upbringing in the Nehru household. While being educated by English tutors, the influence of the mother, who was a quintessential Kashmiri woman greatly, impacted young Nehru. The male and female realm in the house was clearly bifurcated on the basis of Western and Indian worlds.

Before Nehru's return to India in 1912, Nehru was deeply influenced with the western attitudes of romantic love and marriage yet he did not protest against his father's arrangement of marriage with Kamala Kaul aged 12 then. The British upbringing in his formative years had led to a feeling of unhappiness upon Nehru's return to India combined with his marriage to a complete stranger, Nehru felt the isolation. However, it was upon his perusal of legal studies and interest in the Indian national struggle which led to a rejuvenated approach in his life.

PRIME MINISTERSHIP

Nehru formed the interim Government of India in 1946 and since August 15, 1947, he was sworn as the first Prime Minister of the Republic of India. He declared in his celebrated speech 'Tryst with Destiny' that the new India was a representation of life and freedom fighting for the larger cause of humanity. The Nehruvian government inherited its ethics and morality from the national movement; its structure, style and appearance of infallibility from the British Raj. The Gandhian legacy of non-violence caused Nehru immediate embarrassment when, compelled by the force of circumstance and much against his will, he was obliged to resort to military action in Kashmir and Hyderabad (Nehru, Parthasarathi, & G, 1987).

Post independence the greatest threat to India's dignity and to her survival as a composite state was posed by the Hindu communal fury. India was born in the midst of a communal civil war which, in the Hindu mind, was inflicted on the sub-continent by the treacherous Muslim League gang whose leader seemed to have abandoned his long-cherished two-nation theory soon after he had succeeded in obtaining Pakistan. On the domestic front, the country seemed to be disintegrating in the heat and passion of communal frenzy; it had been nonetheless firmly set on the secular path. By 1950 the country had given itself a constitution and was territorially integrated. Congress leadership had given the local and central governments stability unmatched by those of any other newly independent country in Asia.

India had by the beginning of 1950 committed itself to planned development, and taken to the middle path that lay between the rival systems of capitalism and communism. In all these spheres- external and internal, political, social and economic- Nehru played the role of statesman. He made rapid decisions, as he had never done before, with courage and confidence. He derived his strength mainly from his global outlook, and excelled in putting even a minor domestic issue into an international context. He made his impact on almost all aspects of the country's life. His success was mainly due to the fact that his perception of international affairs and his diagnosis of national problems, and of the inner urges to which Indians were the most responsive, turned out to be accurate and real (Pandey, 1987).

Nehru played a dominant role in the formulation of the Constitution of India which guaranteed its citizens justice - social, political and economic; freedom of speech, expression, religion and thought, equal status and opportunity and promotion of fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation.

Nehru's belief in the development of the nation through the process of democratization led to encouragement of the growth of parliamentary democracy. Gandhi (1988) remarked that Nehru's belief in political dialogue resulted in his attempts to convince, pursue and cajole than impose, dominate or silence the opposition. The Nehruvian concept of democracy which has also been viewed as neoliberal (Singh, 1972) rested on the pillars of:

(1) Individual freedom, the free the individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and abilities, and

tolerance not merely of those who agree with us, but of also those who do not agree with us

(2) Representative government, based on popular sovereignty and elected representatives

(3) Economic and social equality, calling for a proper balance between freedom and equality and a 'socialist pattern of society'

(4) Social self-discipline

Nehru's advocacy for democratic processes laid on the basis that it promoted growth of human beings as society. Further, the Constitution associated greater value to individual freedom which fostered the growth of the spirit of man. It was this spirit which would be the driving force of the nation and hence could not be merely restricted to the elections.

The concept of non-alignment movement and maintaining a friendly relationship with all nations was the brainchild of Jawaharlal Nehru. With the end of the Second World War, the power struggle between capitalist United States of America and communist Union of Soviet Socialist Republics led to the emergence of the Cold War thereby creating a bipolar system. Countries began pledging allegiance to one another and suffered from severance of economic ties from countries supporting the other ideology. Military alliances were also built based on common ideology (for example, NATO) to prevent the spread of the conflicting ideology.

Amidst the fierce competitiveness between the superpowers, Nehru advocated non-alignment as the guiding factor of India's foreign policy, thereby not entering into any military alliances with any countries especially with the Western or Communist blocs (Seth, 1983). While making his case for the non-alignment policy, Nehru (Avinashilingam, n.d.) said,

Having attained political freedom, we are earnestly desirous of removing the many ills that our country suffers from, of eliminating poverty, and raising the standards of our people, and giving them full and equal opportunities of growth and advancement. I speak of India, because it is my Country. But many other countries in Asia tell the same story, for Asia today is resurgent and these Countries, which long lay under foreign yoke have won back their independence and are fired by a new Spirit to strive towards new ideals. To them, as to us, independence is as vital as the breath they take to sustain life and colonialism many in any form, or anywhere is abhorrent. The vast strides that technology has made have brought a

new age, of which the United States of America is the leader.

Today, the whole World is our neighbour and the old divisions of continents and countries matter less. Peace and freedom have become indivisible. The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy. It is in the pursuit of this policy that we have chosen the path of non-alignment in any military or like pact of alliance

Non-alignment does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. It does not mean, submission to what we consider evil. It is not positive and dynamic approach to such problems that confront us. We believe that each country has not only the right to freedom but also to decide its own policy and way of life. Only this can true freedom flourish and a people grow according to their own genius. We believe, therefore, in non-aggression and non-interference by any country in the affairs of another, and the growth of tolerance between the nations and the capacity for peaceful coexistence. We think that, by the free exchange of ideas and trade and other, and truth will prevail. We, therefore, endeavour to maintain friendly relations with all countries, even though we may disagree with them in their policies, or structure of government. We think that, by this approach, we can sense not only our country, but also the larger causes of peace and good fellowship in the world

Till his death on 27th May 1964, Nehru was a symbol of supreme courage and dedication to the country by consolidating its freedom and laying down the foundations of strength and democracy.

INDIRA GANDHI

Indira Gandhi through her life was a product as well as an architect in a new phase in the history of India. Though blamed for her actions for concentration of power, her psychological composition explained that she was "lonely, insecure, suspicious, self-centered and ambitious" which fit the description posited by T.W Adorno of an authoritarian personality. In fact, Gandhi herself described her childhood as abnormal, filled with loneliness and insecurities. This in the future haunted her marriage and her later years in power (Puri, 1985).

The yearning for concentration of power led Gandhi to convince herself that she was the only natural choice to assume the role of the Prime minister. She was convinced that the interests of her family and country were synonymous. Gandhi did not succeed solely on the basis of her ambitious personality but also due to the correlation between her qualities as a leader, attitudes and beliefs

on one hand and socio-economic conditions and urges of the public at large on the other. The significance of her role is exemplified by the direction she was able to give to the forces that had been released in her time by a combination of factors. (Puri, 1985).

CHILDHOOD

Indira was born on the 19th of November, 1917 in the ancestral home of Anand Bhawan. The expectation of her grandfather, Motilal was for a grandson. However, her grandmother used a neutral term because she could not be vocal about the birth of a female child. As Indira later claimed that though her family was not orthodox, the birth of a girl child was not regarded as a misfortune but the birth of a male child as in any Indian family would be regarded as a privilege and necessity.

Indira derived her name from her great grandmother, Indrani which was tailored to a modern name, Indira. An addition of the Buddhist Priyadarshini which means "dear to sight" and also "one who reveals the good" was annexed by her father, Jawaharlal. Jawaharlal in a letter viewed Indira through her cloud of myth. The year of her birth became significant to Nehru, since he believed that she was born to a world of storm and trouble.

At the age of three, as a part of the Indian nationalist non-co-operation movement, all British and foreign goods were shunned in favor of Indian products, especially home spun khadi. Almost all the exports from foreign lands were thrown into the thrown into a pit of fire. Indira recollected the disposal of her French frock and doll which was a foreign product. Three year old Indira, did not comprehend the concept of her doll being an inanimate object. She was torn between the love for her doll and her duty towards the country. Indira after emerging from her infancy did not exclude herself from the political activities in the household. She was always in the midst of things, at the first underfoot and then in the general view.

Describing the inactivity in her house, Indira complained about leading an isolated life since she did not see enough of her family members during her childhood since they were engaged in political activities. The whole house being in a state of tension, due to the differences between Motilal and Jawaharlal resulted in the absence of a normal life within the household. The political unrest also called for police raids, arrests and so on.

However, as a child, most of the games Indira played were always solitary. Being the only child in the Nehru household compounded by the fact that she was not sent to school till the age of eight. While studying at St Cecilia's

she was shy and tongue tied and conscious about her skinniness. She also felt awkward about dressing in *khadi* clothes at school. In order not to stand out amongst her peers, Indira's aunt, Betty would conspire to solely wear her petticoat which appeared as a sleeveless A shaped dress. At school, the British sergeant major who taught drill and cracked a whip to keep the girls in line terrified young Indira. The admission of Indira in a private British school also resulted in a fierce row between her father and grandfather which added to the pre-existing complicated situation in the house. Moreover, Indira was forced to drop out of the school and was home tutored thereafter.

Indira's childhood was spent in the company of her ill mother, Kamala, who suffered from headaches, loss of appetite and weight, palpitations. The household treatment to Kamala was hostile since she could not speak in English and was relatively unsophisticated. In view of her deteriorating health, she migrated to the hills with the female members of the family. Yet her health did not improve. A few years later, Indira also began to develop similar signs as Kamala, which worried Jawaharlal that his daughter might suffer from hypochondria. His fears and disapproval of illness caused her to use it as a lever against him in the future. But the villain of Indira's childhood was Bibi Amma, her grandmother's older widowed sister. She has been described as a joyless trouble maker who could never see anyone happy. The great aunt's behaviour frightened Indira as a child. Bibi Amma was particularly critical about Jawaharlal and Kamala for embracing the idea of giving up things and leading a frugal way of life. This hostility was extended to Indira. Another member who added to Indira's troubles was her aunt, Nan who resented Kamala. This created an atmosphere of extreme jealousy and yearning for Jawaharlal's attention at the Anand Bhawan household. It only led to aggravating the suffering of an already ill Kamala who faced insults and discrimination. When Jawaharlal was serving in the prison, Kamala's health deteriorated and Indira became the victim of Nan's hostility. As opposed to this hostility, Indira spent most of her happier days of her childhood at her maternal grandparents' house in Delhi.

PRIME MINISTERSHIP

India in 1966 had assumed the worst shape since independence. Large parts of the country faced problems such as severe droughts leading to food shortages and famines thereby creating political unrest. The economy on the other hand encountered rampant inflation and shortage of foreign exchange. There agitation within Punjab for the creation of the state of Khalistan. Similarly, the Nagas in

the north-east were threatening secession. Internationally, India's relations with the United States of America was strained due to the military equipment aid provided to Pakistan during the 1965 war which only grew more hostile with America's involvement in Vietnam. The electoral setback faced by Congress in 1967 reflected the disillusionment of the Indian people with the system.

Indira emerged as a national leader following the death of her father. Being bilingual, she spoke Hindi and English and did not identify herself with any caste, religion, region or faction. Infact, she enjoyed popular support amongst Hindus, harijans and other minorities including the vast section of the poor. Most importantly, she belonged to the Nehru lineage. As a result, she emerged as the perceived choice of the Syndicate who had anointed Shastri and now turned to her, while she competed with Morarji Desai, Guzarilal Nanda, Defence Minister Y.B. Chavan, S.K. Patil, Sanjiva Reddy and Kamaraj. Indira's political indistinctness and ambiguity made her the choice of Prime Ministership. In fact, Kamaraj persuaded his followers that they would enjoy the rarest form of political power like a remote control without having to assume responsibilities for their actions by bidding for Indira.

Much deeply rooted patriarchal notions within the party coupled with Indira's inexperience with administrative control led Kamaraj and the Syndicate to assume that Indira was like a lump of clay that could be moulded and remoulded as per their needs. Indira on the other hand was neither a moral giant like Gandhi nor an intellectual giant like Nehru. Unlike during the freedom movement, there was no more a single objective before the nation. The movement itself had exhausted its momentum.

Just after assuming office, Indira's debacle while addressing the public regarding the food issues in the country caused Kamaraj to intervene and restore the order. Indira did not do fairly well as a public speaker. Her apprehensions rose from early childhood where her aunt would call her ugly and stupid thereby giving rise to a series of insecurities in Indira's mind. This caused her to be withdrawn and tongue-tied despite the preparedness. She proved to be a weak parliamentary speaker, unable to think on her feet. She kept faltering despite her colleagues coming to her rescue while being attacked by the opposition. In fact, well-known socialist Ram Manohar Lohia, named her *goongi gudiya* which stuck to her even when she began voicing herself.

But in 1967, Indira proved to be the most charismatic leader since Gandhi. She displayed her intangible yet dynamic connection with the Indian population. During the first two months of 1967, she attracted enormous crowds, larger than even those who came to see Nehru. She had begun to voice the frustrations of the dispossessed and downtrodden in order to dent the dominant structure of authority and privileged. She permeated her aristocratic heritage along with being a part of us (the people) while addressing rallies using homely metaphors. Her language was populist and regional, dressed in a sari as the local women while eating food with her fingers.

In early 1967, Indira articulated her identity more than Nehru's daughter and Feroze Gandhi's wife in an emotional speech in Rae Bareilly. "My family is not confined to a few individuals. It consists of crores of people. Your burdens are comparatively light, because your families are limited and viable. But my burden is manifold because crores of my family members are poverty-stricken and I have to look after them. Since they belong to different castes and creeds, they sometimes fight among themselves, and I have to intervene, especially to look after the weaker members of my family, so that the stronger ones do not take advantage of them".

Till now the public had regarded her gender as her weakness. President Lyndon Johnson wanted to protect "this girl", she was regarded as the "dumb doll" in the parliament. Morarji Desai even mentioned about her as "this mere *chokri*" while journalists called her "little woman". Invoking her womanhood as the source of strength and compassion, Indira fiercely dismissed these remarks. She presented herself as a provider and reconciler and that her relationship with the people of India was intimate and unconnected to political issues. Just as children do not choose their parents, Indira assumed a parental role and justified a natural authority over the people without fully comprehending its subversive and undemocratic undertones.

During her Prime Minister ship, Indira also took the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs, as her father. Her elegance and charm made her one of the most cognizable and famous political figures. She was well verse with her communication with leaders and crowds including journalists and intellectuals. She was proficient in English and French which made her appear as exotic yet modern and progressive. She covered an exhaustive travel visiting and establishing relationships with states of Ceylon, the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria,

Romania and the United Arab Republic from September to November 1967, Singapore, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand in May 1968, September 1968 through Latin America, visiting Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Uruguay, Colombia, Trinidad and Guyana. She addressed the United Nations General Assembly and on her way back made a stop at Soviet Union. In 1969, she visited Burma, Afghanistan, Japan and Indonesia.

Indira visited the United States of America in her role as the Prime Minister of India in 1966. Publicly, she claimed her trip was as a gesture of goodwill however, she has said to have admitted privately that her main mission was to acquire food and foreign exchange without appearing desperate. The United States had suspended aid to India in 1965 and now stipulated conditions before aid would be provided. On the other hand, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, supported by the United States demanded that the rupee be devalued in lieu of the crisis at hand.

During her visit, Indira agreed to key American demands including devaluation of the Indian rupee and establishment of Indo-American educational foundation. Research and education could be funded using the large rupee funds America had accumulated in India in exchange of the colossal amount of wheat that India needed. At the end of her trip, Indira was promise three million tons of food and \$9 million in aid by the United States. However, Indira was heavily criticised back home for conceding to the Americans. The devaluation of the rupee in order to secure money from the IMF made her the more unpopular than Lal Bahadur Shastri. The shift in the economic policy released Gandhi and the same time posed her opposite the bosses at the Syndicate.

Indira's criticism to the American involvement in Vietnam caused her the cosy relationship which she enjoyed with the former President of the United States, Lydon Johnson. This was aggravated even further in the light of the American bombing at Hanoi and Haipong followed by the issuance of a joint statement with Alexei Kosygin condemning imperialist aggression in Vietnam. This delayed the American shipment of food to India.

During the Indo-Pak war (1971) which led to the creation of the state of Bangladesh, the government in Islamabad received active support from the Nixon-Kissinger administration. China while leaning towards the United States was being used as a leverage against Soviet Union. This isolation towards India led to the inception of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship in August

1971. While the treaty placed appreciation for India's non-alignment policy, it was a departure from India's precedential policies.

India continued the efforts at rapprochement with the United States by meeting with American President Ronald Reagan in October, 1981 and succeeded in convincing that India was not a client follower of Moscow. By affirming India's neutral stand towards the two superpowers, she also tried to mend relations with China to make her neighbourhood stable and peaceful. Her initiation of the so-called Look East Policy was later on carried on by subsequent Prime Ministers. She also emphasised on the development of economic relations with the ASEAN countries.

PERSONALITY

Within the theories of personality, development during the childhood plays the most important role in the development of the personality of an individual. The occurrences of events during childhood have an everlasting impact on the psyche of an individual. Thus, in order to rationalise the actions of these leaders, we must first rationalise the instances in their childhood which led to the development of their personality.

A. JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

The significant contribution of Freud with respect to Oedipal complex can be applied in the case of Jawaharlal Nehru. According to Freud, during childhood, the male child has a powerful effect on the cathexis of the mother. This causes the child to enter an illusion of becoming the mother's lover. The early awakened masculinity of the child creates an urge to replace the father in order to possess the mother. The father becomes the source of envy for the child as physical strength becomes the sign of authority, which the boy does not possess. The boy fears that his illicit wishes of getting rid of the father would cost the child the father's love and protection which is his strongest need. The fear of loss of the father and castration as a result of indulgence in illicit wishes compels the boy to abandon his illicit wishes. The boy rejects replacing the father for wishing to be like the father thereby reducing the castration anxiety.

On the second fold, the boy begins to show affection towards the father in order to be like him and jealousy towards the mother. The double set of attitudes towards the parents causes illicit complex. If the complex persists, the boy may end up marrying a girl who resembles his mother in order to compensate for not being able to possess his mother (Freud, 1899).

In the case of Nehru, as a child he developed a stronger bond with his mother than his father. As Pandey (1987) stated, that Nehru confined and even dominated his mother thereby showing authority and possession over her. Swarup Rani's submissive relationship with her husband led her to seek comfort and affirmation from Jawaharlal. This in turn led to strengthening the complex since Jawaharlal now became the protector of his mother. The separation from the mother affected young Jawaharlal but he became the source of strength for Swarup Rani which heightened his emasculation.

On the other hand, his overpowering father's authoritarianism caused Jawaharlal to seldom rebel against him. The most obvious manifestation of this during adulthood became the deviation from Motilal's struggle for independence. Motilal tried to fulfil his ambitions through Jawaharlal. Seeing the dexterity of his father, Motilal became a source of inspiration for young Jawaharlal. Thus, the resentment or envy towards the father was replaced by respect. This respect caused Jawaharlal to spend his time during his education in England in order to become better than Motilal by pursuing the goals his father could not achieve.

His inability to possess his mother also led to discontent in his married life. In order to satisfy the sexual libido, Jawaharlal resorted to affairs with Edwina Mountbatten, Padmaja Naidu and so on. In fact, the Nehru also displayed a picture of Padmaja in his bedroom which led to frequent confrontations between himself and his daughter, Indira. His affair with Edwina on the other hand was public and Pamela Mountbatten, the daughter of Edwina, admitted that Nehru and her mother were lovers. The unconscious decision of favouring the Westerners was evident in his choice of love affair which had played a great role during his initial childhood.

Another reading of the Oedipal complex could be understood by identifying the Indian state also associated as a motherland to be the maternal figure for Nehru. While being under the clutches of the authoritarian British authority similar to his father, at the cost of whom his mother suffered. The familial conflict and Jawaharlal's inability of resolving the internal conflict might have led to the identification of the country as his mother and Jawaharlal was the saviour. His ultimate goal was achieved with the liberation of India from the Indian Independence movement which was successful in 1947 which was spearheaded by him.

In order to understand the development of Nehru's personality, the humanistic approach of self-actualisation by Maslow is employed. According to Maslow, the

highest need of an individual that can be satisfied is that of self-actualization, that is, to realise his true potential and fulfilling one's own potentials. Self-actualisation being idiosyncratic in nature differs from person to person. Self-actualisation can be attained only when physiological, safety, belongingness and loving and esteem needs are satisfied.

The inborn humanistic conscious represents the introjected parental standards which may clash with an individual's orgasmic needs and values. According to Maslow, the ideal development of a child is to heed to his own inner guidelines or the pathological (probably inevitable) alternative of sacrificing true potentials in order to conform the standards of the parents (Maslow, 1968). According to the few characteristics of the self-actualising (fully human) person are:

a. More Accurate Perception of Reality

Self-actualizing people are freer of unwarranted optimism, pessimism, and other defensive distortions of reality. They are able to evaluate people and events with considerable accuracy.

In the case of Nehru, the rational and reasonable analysis of the crisis, pre-independence and post independence reinstates his position of being a self-actualised person. He did not create an illusion of the situation and tackled the problems that the country faced with logic and reasoning without being disillusioned by the situation.

b. Greater Acceptance of Self and Others

Self-actualizers are more tolerant of human weaknesses. They avoid judging other people or themselves, although they may experience some guilt about any personal deficiencies that they have been unable to overcome.

Nehru was more accommodating to his counterparts even when he disagreed with them. For example, he tactfully steered away from Gandhi in the case of resorting to violence while fighting wars in Kashmir and Hyderabad. Nehru's rational application of the problem during such crisis though he initially accepted non-violence to resist the British also demonstrates his ability to adapt to the changes in the environment.

c. Greater Problem Centring

Self-actualizers tend to have a consuming mission in life that occupies much of their time and energy. They are keenly interested in external problems and do not care much about introspection. They have a devotion to excellence, combined with a lack of worry about minor details that makes life easier for themselves and their associates.

Nehru had dedicated his life to the development of the nation. He maintained a close and tight group of associates. His significant contributions to the freedom struggle, dealing with the domestic crisis post independence and contributions to international movements such as the Non-alignment amidst the Cold War speaks for itself consuming major part of his life.

d. Greater Autonomy and Resistance to Enculturation.

Self-actualizers are motivated by the need to fulfil their own inner potentials, rather than by a desire for external rewards or possessions. Since their needs for love and esteem are largely satisfied, they are less likely to manipulate others for selfish purposes. Self-actualizers are less indoctrinated by the prevailing standards of the imperfect society in which they live, and they avoid popular styles of dress or forms of entertainment that run counter to their personal criteria.

Motilal was keen to see Jawaharlal as a Indian Civil Servant however, Jawaharlal realised his true potential of being a monumental force in the liberation of the Indians from the British rather than enjoying a position of power by being admitted in the Establishment. Nehru also spent a great deal of time away from his family while fighting for independence. Even during the civil disobedience movement, Nehru, who had tremendous Western influences while growing up, gave up his Western attire and other luxuries which ran contrary to the cause of Indian independence.

He also believed in individual freedom, the free the individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and abilities, and tolerance not merely of those who agree with us, but of also those who do not agree with us.

e. Greater Social Interest

Maslow regards *Gemeinschaftsgefühl*¹ as quintessential of a mature individual. Self-actualizers strongly identify with the human species, and have a genuine sympathy for and desire to help others. If they do express hostility or anger, it is usually both well deserved and for the good of some third party.

Nehru was in this sense a peoples' person. He dedicated much of his time in understanding the problems and aspirations of the Indian peasantry during his extensive journey throughout the country. In his speeches, he laid emphasis on the fact that it would be the contribution of every Indian individual which would be instrumental in gaining independence from the British Raj.

He also played a dominant role in the conceptualisation of the Constitution of India which guaranteed the citizens social, economical and political

justice, freedom of speech and expression, religion and thought, equal status and opportunity and promotion of fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation without discriminating on the grounds of sex, race, religion, caste and so on.

Nehru was also an advocate of the Indian state being separated from religion thereby providing the choice of religious freedom and protection of all communities by being a secular state. This also ensured the accommodation of various minority religions which had emerged in the subcontinent.

f. Deeper, More Loving Interpersonal Relationships

Self-actualizing people prefer intimate relationships with a few close friends, rather than superficial contacts with many people. Their love is non-possessive (B-love), and they are proud of rather than threatened by a loved one's achievements. Self-actualizers regard sex as meaningless without love, and may temporarily opt for chastity rather than accept opportunities that are devoid of genuine affection. And they are more attracted by such qualities as decency and considerateness than by physical characteristics.

This is evident in the affair of Nehru and Edwina where they enjoyed a healthy relationship despite social norms because of their love for each other. In the love between the two of them was inexplicable and something that Nehru did not share with his wife, Kamala. In a farewell speech to Edwina, Nehru stated (Von Tunzelmann, 2006):

The gods or some good fairy gave you beauty and high intelligence, and grace and charm and vitality—great gifts—and she who possesses them is a great lady wherever she goes. But unto those who have, even more shall be given: and they gave you something that was even rarer than those gifts—the human touch, the love of humanity, the urge to serve those who suffer and who are in distress. And this amazing mixture of qualities results in a radiant personality and in the healer's touch. Wherever you have gone you have brought solace, and you have brought hope and encouragement. Is it surprising, therefore, that the people of India should love you and look up to you as one of themselves and should grieve that you are going? Hundreds of thousands have seen you personally in various camps and other places and in hospitals, and hundreds of thousands will be sorrowful at the news that you have gone.

His relationship with his daughter especially during her childhood when he wrote letters to her from jail emphasised on his sense of moral duty and obligation

while fighting for the nation and neglecting her only child.

g. More Democratic Character Structure

Self-actualizers befriend people of all classes, races, and ethnic groups, and often seem virtually unaware of such differences. They strongly and effectively oppose injustice, cruelty, and the exploitation of others.

Nehru advocated for equality and a democratised India where an individual could be a part of the political process. The authoritarian regime of the British gave an impetus for liberal ideas such as democracy by eliminating barriers of class, caste, gender, race, religion, ethnicity and so on which would hinder the development of the nation. The consolidation of all these ideals in the Constitution of India under his watch as the Prime Minister highlights his endorsement for democratic values and ideals.

B. INDIRA GANDHI

In order to understand the complex personality of Indira Gandhi, Adler's theory on individual psychology is applied. According to Adler, the innate goal of all human beings is self-perfection. The major part of the development of the personality is during the childhood of an individual. Parents play a great role in the development of the child's personality.

As per Adler's theory, there is an inferiority complex which operates within an individual. A weak and helpless child possesses innate drive to overcome inferiority by mastering formidable environment. While healthy striving for superiority (perfection or significance) is guided by social interest and gives consideration to the welfare of others, selfish striving for dominance and personal glory is distorted and pathological. The inferiority becomes pathological condition only when sense of inadequacy overwhelms the individual making him depressed and incapable of development. This inferiority complex can occur as early as the second year of life. A child who renounces to an inferiority complex sees possibilities of evading difficulties instead of attempting to overcome them.

A child's potential for social interests is brought to fruition by the mother. The first lesson is cooperation by nursing the baby at her breast which serves as the child's bridge to social life. According to Adler, maternal sense of contact is the largest part of human social feeling and along with the essential continuance of human civilisation. Thus, a clumsy, uncooperative or untrustworthy mother will cause the child to develop resistance to social interests instead of development. Father's role is to encourage feeling of self-reliance and stress the need for choosing a satisfying and worthwhile occupation. There exists a

necessity of cooperation amongst the parents for the development of the child.

In order to compensate for the problems within the family, parents make a mistake by pampering the child by showing excessive attention, protection and assistance to the child. This according to Adler, robs the children of their independence and initiative and shatters their self-confidence and creates the impression that the world owes them a living. The misguided belief that they suffer from the lack of ability than the lack of training, develops intense inferiority complex. The children never learn self reliance. They learn to receive and not give, try to solve their problems by making unrealistic demands to people. They employ manipulative (unconscious) devices such as use of enuresis, nightmares or temper tantrums as for obtaining sympathy and attention. They expect to be admired and honoured without having to put any effort and insist that everyone treat their wishes as laws. Their approach work and marriage is with selfish orientation than the spirit of cooperation. This thereby provokes criticism and rejections which intensifies inferiority complex and strengthening the need for more pampering. Adler also stated that grown-up pampered children are perhaps the most dangerous class in our community”

On the other end of the spectrum, parents often times fail to provide sufficient care and nurturing. This creates an impression in the mind of the child that world is cold and unsympathetic. As a result, the child alien to love and cooperation. The child thereby makes up interpretation of life which does not include friendly forces and overrates difficulties of life and underrates his own capacities to meet them. The child expresses inferiority complex through suspiciousness, stubbornness and maliciousness.

Lastly, according to Adler, a child's position in the family is important. the Only child in the family has unrealistic expectations of always being the centre of attention. This results in the formation of exaggerated opinions of their own importance. Children often tend to be timid and dependent since parents who refuse to have more than one child are typically anxious or neurotic and cannot help communicating their fears to the child.

In the case of Indira, she was the only child in the household then. Being the girl child, she was disregarded and despised by her grandmother. The contextualisation of the importance of the family in the Indian case becomes different especially with respect to joint families. Thus in the case of Indira Gandhi, she enjoyed being pampered and neglected by members of the family. Her grandfather and father showered her with pampering. This led to the feeling of the world is obliged to her once she entered the

political front while assuming the role of the Prime Minister during the latter part of her tenure. The behaviour of a pampered child is strong in the case of Indira since she was the only child and thereby became the centre of attention in Anand Bhuvan. Pampered child may select goal of constantly receiving attention and Gandhi ensured the same when she entered into the forefront of politics. Following the death of her father, she became the prime candidate to contest the elections and won the ticket which provided her the sense of entitlement. The height of being a pampered single child is evident when she declared the Emergency (1977) causing an absolute disdain for human rights, suspending the basic rights guaranteed under the Constitution of India just in order to ensure retention of power. The inner conflict of Indira was of constant inferiority-superiority complex due to the turning of events in her life.

At the same time, Indira Gandhi was also a victim of neglect at the hands of her family member and especially the female members who actively despised her and made her life miserable. This furthered her inferiority complex causing her to develop a low self-esteem.

CONCLUSION

Nehru himself was at the forefront during the Indian freedom struggle. During his time in jail, he had envisioned his ideal life and the freedoms and liberty Indian post independence must enjoy. The entire journey of Nehru has had a psychological effect on his decision making process which has resulted in his holding the values of democracy, equality and justice at the highest pedestal. This is due to Nehru's self actualisation which helped him achieve his true potential.

Indira Gandhi on the other hand emerged as a strong leader due to her policies and representation of assertive nationalism, not in the sense of patriotism but as an ideology to contain emerging masses. Indira Gandhi contrasted opposition concern over the threat to democracy with her concern over the threat to national unity, clearly implying that the latter was more important than the former. More explicitly, her son is reported to have said that national unity was more important than drinking water Indian nationalism excluding the alienated minorities-characterised by monolithic and populist tendencies is the most outstanding legacy of the era of Indira Gandhi. It was the crucial link between her urge for power and the power of the undifferentiated, unchannelized and uninstitutionalised impulses. (Puri, 1985).

This is due to the chaotic childhood of Gandhi which led to the development of certain sets of beliefs and

values which she deemed appropriate given her upbringing. Unfortunately, this led to a chaos when she began implementing these beliefs while leading the nation.

The field of political psychology thereby devices tools which helps in understanding and speculating human behaviour much more intimately than just historical contextualisation. It is necessary to have a psychological evaluation of an individual in order to understand if he is truly capable of leading the nation and it would be easier then to predict his policies which affect the entire country.

The need for political psychology in this dynamic, conflict driven world that we live in is necessary for emerging nationalism, understanding leadership and understanding of the public voting system and its politics. The field has a huge potential and being relatively underexplored provides endless possibilities for the future.

NOTE

¹community feeling" or "social interest," this term is used by Adlerian psychologists to describe the state of social connectedness and interest in the well-being of others that characterizes psychological health.

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