CHAPTER: V

CONCLUSION

The philosophical principles inherent in the doctrine of regionalism, to certain extent are analogous with those of nationalism and provincialism. For all of them are sentimental and political in their nature. Regionalism, an ideological concept that develops a sense of identity with a region, is important in many historical, political and sociological studies. It is a social reality woven with the threads of the psychological behaviours of the individuals and community in a region.

Regionalism comprises two inherent elements, viz. an ideology that makes the concept of the region and regional consciousness effective and secondly the institutionalization of that ideology into the autonomous devices for administrative purpose at the regional level. The doctrine of Regionalism to a great deal has apparently influenced the history of modern political theory. It can assume different forms in accordance with the prevailing situation in different regions of a country. It may operate as a cultural or political movement seeking to protect and foster indigenous culture and can promote autonomous political institutions in particular regions.

In the course of last five decades of Independence, regionalism has been the most significant and important phenomenon in Indian politics. Both centralization and regionalism have operated without much friction in view of the flexibility of power structures and the magnitude of their cultural content. Regionalism had initially manifested itself in the demand for territorial reorganization undoing
the princely States, which remained alienated from the total political process of India's freedom struggle. As the Congress Party was committed to respect the linguistic aspirations of the people in different regions of the country, linguistic reorganization of States was inevitable in 1956. Although linguistic reorganization was given effect in 1956 there have been demands for further bifurcation of the States due to economic imbalances among certain regions. The best illustration in this regard is the demand to bifurcate the state of Andhra Pradesh to create a separate Telangana state in 1969. No doubt, there were political motives for such a demand yet, the economic factors were significantly paramount for giving a fillip to political forces demanding a separate state of Telangana.

Although territorial, cultural, economic and ethnic dimensions of regionalism are quite significant, but political dimension supercedes all these objectives. The rise of regional parties in India's political process is a phenomenon worth mentioning. Political parties in India can be classified into different groups, namely, democratic secular parties, such as Congress, Janta Dal, Parties opting for Soviet or Chinese models: CPI, CPM, Forward Bloc, RSP, parties identifying themselves with *Swadeshi*, Indian tradition and culture, for example, BJP; and parties primarily concerned with provincial, regional, communal interests, such as, the DMK, National Conference, Akali Dal, the Telgu Desam Party, Jharkand Muktik Morcha, Gurkha Liberation Front, All Party Hill Leaders Conference, Assam Gana Parishad. Political scientists have commented that, as India happens to be a land of regions. With several diversities, regional formations are bound to take shape for meeting the
demands of regional sentiments. It is significant to mention that the regional parties could successfully rise to power in some States of India, and even stabilize them selves considerably as political force following the failure and decline of national parties to line up to the regional aspirations. In a way, the decline of national parities and the vacuum created had been occupied by the regional parities. A reference to the DMK making thrust on self-respect movement of Dravidians, the rise of Akali movement in North India on the thrust of religious fundamentalism, the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, while upholding India’s national territorial integrity and sovereignty and national unity laying thrust on some sort of autonomy to the State to satisfy the multi-ethnic unity of Indian Union may be made.

Similarly AGP in Assam for the promotion of regional interests to save the State from exodus of foreign nationals and even exploitation of natural resources by people of other parts of India have given credibility to its political legitimacy. In the course of last five decades several regional parities have surfaced India and spearheaded their activities in their respective states demanding for a kind of political and economic autonomy to the regions and sub-regions. The rise and fall of such regional parties is related to both political and non-political gains. These regional formations tend to work as a kind of pressure group to sub serve their limited objective. As is known, democracy is a kind of process of conflict and resolution, unity and diversity are in-built in such a system. Thus the rise of regional and sub-regional manifestations is a logical outcome of federal, multi-religious, multi-cultural, multi-caste and multi-regional and multi-ethnic factors. The strength of India
lies in the strength and viability of respective regions and sub-regions of India. As long as regional parties do not indulge in communalism, secession and disintegration, their presence sounds justified. However, if they tend to indulge in subverting national integration, their presence could pose a threat to integrated fabric of the country. As India possesses composite and plural set-up it is bound to face the rise of regional and sub-regional expressions for the fulfillment of various factors.

The birth of regional parities in India commenced since the middle of second decade of Independence. In this respect, the DMK in Tamilnadu occupies a significant place. The Telugu Desam Party had emerged by 1983 in the State of Andhra Pradesh under the leadership of N.T. Rama Rao, a matinee idol with a record of three long decades. In view of his background as a top Telugu silver screen actor in social, historical, mythological and folklore films, NTR was generally known to men, women, young children, and teen-agers in South India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular. The Party was baptized in the early days of 1982 and within a short span of time of nine months it rose to political power unseating the Congress party, which ruled the State ever since its formation in 1956. Similar to DMK, the TDP emphasized on cultural, social, economic issues to mobilize people politically. The formation of TDP is traced to the events that proceeded over a year before its birth. The political atmosphere within the State did provide a fertile ground for the Party to make valid and even pungent criticisms against Congress for its misrule during its ascendance to political power.
The TDP had mainly highlighted the negative postures criticizing the Congress for the ills as well as for All India Congress making the State leaders to prostrate to the leadership at Delhi. Besides, the contagious perennial dissident political activity within the Congress was a matter of abundance criticism by the TDP. Therefore, the Telgu Desam Party not only highlighted negative factors of Congress rule in the State, but also assured making Telgu as official language, assistance to farmers for agricultural development, rural electrification, overhauling the education system and more particularly the distribution of subsidized rice at the rate of Rs. 2/- per kilo to weaker sections. The Party President earned the laurels from the general public for his strategy of using electronic media, introduction of Cassette war, display of big cut-outs and doing campaign riding on Chaitanya Ratham, a chariot, and traveling by road to almost every nook and corner of the State. It was indeed a colourful election campaign for the first time in Indian politics in view of his silver screen background. Several factors contributed for a preponderant electoral victory of the TDP in 1983 and the Party could secure a great deal of support from Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and average support in Telangana region.

Political parties generally formulate an ideology and subscribe to it, so as to bring about a kind of transformation in socio-politico-economic matters concerning the country or the region. The Telgu Desam Party is no exception to it. The ideology is something like a doctrinaire approach followed without deviation from it. However, the TDP unlike other doctrinaire political parties has provided for a flexible approach in matters of political issues. By and large, it has concentrated
on most populist programmes a kind of a strategy that would be beneficial to it in the form of electoral gains.

The Party emphasized on the glorious heritage of Telugu people, Telugu Valla Niswartha Seva, (self-less service) Telgu Valla Atma Gouravam (Telgu's self-respect), Telgu Valla Goppatanam (Great heritage to Telgu people) Telgu Valla Tyagam (Sacrifice). The Party emphasized for providing clean and efficient administration, making Telgu as official language of the State upto Secretariat level, while encouraging protection to other languages and cultures in the State. The party stressed on the role of farmers and agricultural development. Rural electrification also formed part of the programme of the TDP and assured to take adequate steps in this regard. Further, touching upon Panchayat Raj Institutions, the Party suggested sufficient powers, enough funds, and decentralization of authority at grass-root level. The TDP devoted a great deal of attention on Education, educational advancement of the State, providing uniform vocational and technical education in all the Universities strict enforcement of measures in the condition of Universities played by nepotism, anarchy and indiscipline. Industrial development was also part of its programme envisaged as early as in 1983. More particularly it made reference to Vizag Steel Plant, Mangalagiri Tyre Factory, and in general laid emphasis on strengthening industrial base within the State.

Law and order was also an important aspect of State administration. The party assured reorganization of entire Police force, and ruthlessly curbing the activities of anti-social elements, which would enhance the image of police force too. As is known, Andhra
Pradesh has a name in terms of granary of South India. Agriculture has been mainstay of the State, and therefore the TDP laid great emphasis on irrigation projects. It was very critical of the lethargy shown in completion of irrigation projects, and thereby demanded quickening pace of development. It made a particular reference to the diversion of Krishna waters to the Rayalaseema for meeting the demands of drought-affected areas and undertaking the construction of Srisailam canals. Women’s welfare was another important dimension, which the Party emphasized greatly. The women constituting as much as 50% of the population had rendered a great deal of political support to the Telugu Desam supremo. In order to strengthen such a support base, the party guaranteed legitimate rights to women and assured them of their rightful place in the system by putting an end to archaic feudal culture. The Telugu Desam Party greatly subscribed to the populist scheme of subsidized rice at Rs. 2/- per Kg. to the weaker sections of the society. In fact this scheme has been regarded as the main plank of the Party and a vital instrument of garnering political support.

It would not be out of place to mention that the TDP always believed in inducting freshers to the leadership of the Assembly and the Parliament. Similar to the Congress Party, the TDP imbibed the culture of inducting leadership after having passed through different layers until district bodies. By and large it has emulated the pattern of recruitment of other national parties. Significant to mention that Gandhian or freedom fighters are not to be found among the legislators of the TDP. It is understandable that the Party has originated in the early 80s and therefore inducted to a great extent the youth and lower
middle class. Thus the TDP being nascent political party with a life span of one and half decade obviously does not contain leadership with the generation who had participated in the freedom struggle or political activities in the initial phase after Independence. The pattern of representation largely illustrates that it has encouraged youth, lower middle class, and upper middle class, which includes dominant agricultural propertied class and professionals. Although it had banked heavily on the support of women, it failed to provide substantial representation to women in the State Legislative Assembly till 1999. By and large, the TDP has been tapping the pattern of representation as provided by all India parties, more particularly the premier Congress Party.

With regard to political elitism and leadership, Andhra Pradesh politics is interpreted as caste based politics and such a sociological aspect continued for advancement of certain castes in the maintenance of political power. The political power has been shared in between Reddys, Kamas, Velamas and Kapus. The main tussle, however, confined to Reddys and Kamas. There are certain occasions when the scheduled caste and Brahmin leadership did occupy top political positions at the level of the state. It is a circulation of political elitism among them.

Ever since the formation of the state until 1983, the Congress was in political power. Dominant agricultural peasant-propertied class Reddy with an exception of 1960 to 1962 and 1971 to 1973 held the leadership of the state during this period. During the period 1983 to 1989, the leadership of the State was held by another peasant-propertied
class *Kama* under silver screen matinee idol N.T. Rama Rao (NTR). Again from 1994, NTR was in political power and subsequently form 1995, his son-in-law Chandrababu Naidu continued to hold political power of the state till 2004. It is thus evident that the leadership of the state was by and large held either by Reddy or by Kama cast in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Chandrababu Naidu, the son-in-law of NTR, originally belongs to Congress and held a ministerial berth from 1978 to 1983. Later, he joined Telgu Desam Party and served the party organization under his father-in-law, taking care of organizational work. He was instrumental to play a key role in the August 1984 crisis when NTR was unceremoniously dismissed from political power. Naidu in a very shrewd manner tackled the situation with the support of Left parties on one hand and the BJP on the other hand was successful in the reinstallation of his father-in-law in the seat of power in a month’s time. Since then his rise had been quite meteoric. Gradually, he ascended the position of party General Secretary, a member of politburo taking control of party training camps, selection of candidates for contesting elections, monitoring the biographical sketches of all the party candidates from top to village Panchayat levels and thereby stood as a right hand man to N.T. Rama Rao. So is the case with Dr. D. Venkateshwra Rao, the eldest son-in-law of NTR who was in-charge of the youth wing and held ministerial berth in the cabinet of NTR. Frequently, there were tussles in between the two sons-in-law, and NTR had to balance them and resolve such tussles. But Chandrababu Naidu has began to hold the political ground firmly as a leader. It is known fact, that the Telgu Desam Party was a family affair under the
absolute control of NTR with almost discipline. Owing to several
omission and commissions, the party was out of power in 1989 assembly
elections and once again the Congress Party returned to power. For
about 5 years the Telgu Desam Party was placed in opposition when
NTR put up either little interest or no interest as the leader of the
opposition in the state assembly. However, it was Naidu who stood by
him and made the party to play the role of an effective opposition along
with the BJP and the Left parities. By 1994, once again the party was
voted to power with a thumping majority owing to several lapses of the
Congress Party in its five-year rule.

NTR originally thought of making his son Bala Krishna, a film
actor as his successor in politics. Having found his son Bala Krishna
lacking political qualities required for leadership; he was indecisive to
fall back either on Dr. Venkateshwara Rao or Chandrababu Naidu. In
the meantime, Laxmi Parvati had entered his life as bio-grapher, which
ultimately led to their marriage. In the assembly elections of 1994, NTR
with his spouse Laxmi Parvati had campaigned vigorously all over the
state making promises and exposing the negative aspects of the
Congress rule. This campaign was chiefly instrumental for TDP again to
come to political power in the state.

Added to the above, it may be pointed out that Naidu was also
quite significant in the putting up proper the role of candidates, using
of electronic media, mobilization of party fund and so on. The credit for
the re-emergence of TDP to political power in a big way goes to all the
three persons, the party President NTR, his spouse Laxmi Parvati and
his son-in-law Chandrababu Naidu.

316
NTR having been septuagenarian had leaned heavily on his spouse Laxmi Parvati and the latter started playing a pivotal role from the palace in the matters of both Government and the party. Such an action was quite irksome to Chandrababu Naidu, as he had been hoping to succeed NTR. Having realized that Laxmi Parvati was the main bottleneck for his political ascendancy, Chandrababu Naidu planned for crippling her position and clips her wings totally. In this respect, he had mobilized all the support of the party cadre, members of Parliament, party legislators, Mandal presidents and so on. Chandrababu Naidu quite often pleaded with NTR for an independent approach in managing the affairs of the party and the Government. In this context, the role of Hari Krishna, the third son of NTR was more significant. The entire family members believed that the entry of Laxmi Parvati in the life of NTR was most unwelcome and they worked out a strategy to some how reduce the influence of Laxmi Parvati and stall her rise to political leadership as the successor to NTR. Thus the TDP was torn in between group supporting Laxmi Parvati on the one hand and the group led by the other family members on the other. At this juncture, Naidu decided to stage a political coup and mobilized the legislators successfully in his favour to get himself elected as the leader of the legislature party of the TDP as well as the party president. Thus he took the reins of political power on September 9th 1995. This is how Chandrababu Naidu ascended the seat of chief ministership of the state and gradually stabilized and consolidated the political support for him as a leader.

Telgu Desam Party was founded by NTR with the help of his two sons-in-law Dr. D. Venkateshwara Rao and Chandrababu Naidu. In
1995, Chandrababu Naidu has assumed political power with the help of his co-brother Dr. Rao and his brother-in-law Hari Krishna. Later, he eliminated politically both of them in successive stages and assumed all-powerful roles making the party and the Government revolve round him. While making the council of ministers, the Telgu Desam Party had always limited its strength of ministers to a small figure because it was under a dominant personality whether NTR or Naidu.

Chandrababu Naidu after assuming the power of government had formed council of ministers three times. The first ministry was constituted on September 1st 1995 with a limited strength of 8 cabinet ministers and two state ministers. Thus the council of ministers was of 11 including the Chief Minister himself. It was extended in October 1995 with the inclusion of another 13 ministers of which 10 were of Cabinet rank and 3 were state ministers. Thus, The ministry had altogether 24 members, which accounted for around 8 per cent of the total strength of the state assembly. It is, therefore, significant to mention that Telgu Desam Party invariably maintained a compact council of ministers and it was never unwieldy. In the case of Congress party, there are instances when the strength of council of ministers touched a jumbo figure of 62 members during the rule of T. Anjaiah as the State Chief Minister. Again in October 1999, Naidu had constituted second ministry with a total figure of 35, which included 28 Cabinet, ministers. Once again the ministry was reconstituted on November 27th 2001 with a total of 30 Cabinet ministers and 10 ministers of State (Independent charge) totaling 40 accounting for 13% of the total strength of state legislative assembly.
The ministry of October 1999 was thoroughly X-rayed. It is observed that Naidu had spent around two days in closed doors to give a shape to it with the combination of new and old faces. In the past whenever the ministry was constituted or expanded, the Chief Minister invariably used to have long deliberations with the senior party leaders to discuss about the additions or the deletions of the ministers. However, this time, the situation was altogether different. The Chief Minister had decided himself to form the ministry and included as many as four women in his team to make a record. The inclusion of a total of 19 new faces in the ministry was a daring event and could be seen as unique exercise. Significantly, among them 10 were elected for the first time to the state assembly. Chandrababu Naidu had taken a bold step and proved that he was the kingpin of the party and the Government and that it was his discretionary power in the matter of ministry making. The political maneuverability, organizing capability, mobilizing party legislators, his hold in the party organization were greatly instrumental for such a position. Though the exercise of ministry making had raised some eyebrows among a few leaders.

Asia Week, a popular weekly published from Hong Kong had identified 22 personalities from all over the globe as the upcoming charismatic figures in the new millennium. It included Chandrababu Naidu and Mrs. Priyanka Gandhi from India. The weekly indicated a bright political future for both of them. Projecting Chandrababu Naidu, the weekly observed that he had established himself as the leader with remarkable political capabilities coupled with vision, strategies and firm dedication to the all-round development of the state.
Chandrababu Naidu as a politician and a leader adopted the strategies as advocated by Kautilya in his Book ‘Arthashastra’ viz. ‘Saam, Daam, Dand and Bhedh’ (by hook or by crook) in not only in ministry making but even in the distribution of portfolios. It is indeed the prerogative of Naidu. He maintained that the party leaders must accept whatever the party supremo offers. On the other hand, the Congress party is quite contrary in this aspect. The bogie of revolt is always a common feature in Congress. The TDP had imposed such a discipline in the party that expression of dissatisfaction in public was viewed as a serious issue. Naidu, while making the ministry or allotting portfolios, had the total control over the party and legislators. He had a direct rapport with the senior bureaucrats of the respective ministries.

Naidu had a total control on the party Members of parliament in both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha too. He had the total discretion to nominate the leader of the Parliamentary party as well as his deputy in both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. Although there were certain murmurings now and then, when certain senior members; were ignored for such positions, yet they could not put up their displeasure publicly. After the Lok Sabha elections of 1996 in the formation of United Front Government, being a King maker, Naidu had influenced the Prime Minister, for the inclusion of as many as four TDP parliamentarians in the council of ministers. After 1998 elections as well as 1999 Lok Sabha elections, Naidu, however, could extend support to the BJP led coalition Government from outside. He had not even considered the inclusion of his party members in the Union council of Ministers despite open offers from the NDA. On this account, several senior Members of Parliament
of Telgu Desam Party were disappointed for not having secured ministerial berths at the center. Yet, they did not show their displeasure against Naidu for such policy decision because he had openly proclaimed that extending support to NDA from inside would tantamount to embracing communal ideology and a policy of deviation from the principle of secularism which may adversely affect the support of minorities to TDP Government in the state. On this alibi, he had deliberately kept the party away.

Even in matters of nomination to chairmen of various Corporations within the state as well as the party positions, Naidu had a total control over the party cadre. This was because he had built up a powerful image for himself in the state as well as at the Center and was instrumental in regaining political power in the state of Andhra Pradesh in 1999 assembly elections as well as parliament with a comfortable strength. As a Chief Minister and also as the party president he had complete overall control in all matters of ministry making and even allocation of respective portfolios.

After legitimizing and stabilizing his position as state chief minister in September-1995, Naidu had to face the Lok Sabha elections of 1996. They were quite crucial for they were to decide not only the political future of NDA and the prospects of Congress Versus BJP but also at the level of the state. It was something like a referendum for the position of Chandrababu Naidu having staged a political coup against NTR his father-in-law. In view of the fact that there was considerable rapport in between the Left parties and the Telgu Desam Party both at the national and state levels, the elections to the Lok Sabha in the state
were fought mainly between the Congress on one hand and TDP-Left combine on the other. Besides, Naidu had also to face NTR-TDP; a fraction of the Telgu Desam Party led by Laxmi Parvati. It was indeed quite prestigious to him to secure substantial political support in the state. Further, he was also to establish that his party is the legitimate heir of NTR founder of Telgu Desam Party.

The Telgu Desam Party led by Naidu had a spectacular success in the elections, which made him to focus his eyes of national politics. Since then, he rose to the position of the convener of the regional parties of India in bringing about unity among them. Chandrababu Naidu played a tacit role in the Union politics making a search of top political leaders of non-congress secular parties for the position of Prime Minister. Initially, he tried V.P. Singh and late Jyoti Basu of CPI (M) but both of them have declined to lead the third party combine and therefore his choice fell on H.D. Deve Gowda of Karnataka state who had earned an exclusive reputation of getting large number of Janta Dal members elected from Karnataka state. The Congress party also expressed its willingness to render outside support to the leadership of H.D. Deve Gowda. Thus Naidu's efforts born the fruits and thus a non-Congress secular Government made by Deve Gowda had come to power although the BJP was a single largest party in the Lok Sabha elections. Customarily, the President of India had invited Atal Bihari Vajpayee to form the Government, which lasted for 13 days, and having failed to mobilize support from regional parties more particularly the Telgu Desam Party, the BJP could not succeed in obtaining vote of confidence of the Lok Sabha. Thus Deve Gowda’s Government came
into office and Naidu was quite successful in his wish in getting four of his party Parliamentarians included in the Cabinet of the Union Government. In a short span of time, the Congress Party as well as Telgu Desam Party did not like the pattern of managing the affairs of the Union Government by Deve Gowda. It is because Deve Gowda was alleged to have put up a partisan attitude towards Karnataka in the case of Almatti dam, which was the major bone of contention.

Besides, the Union Government’s lukewarm approach in providing relief measures to the state of Andhra Pradesh when unprecedented floods and damages affected by cyclones. These factors led to a kind of gulf between Deve Gowda and Chandrababu Naidu. Even the Left parties were largely dissatisfied with the style of functioning of the United Front Government led by Deve Gowda. Janta Dal chief Laloo Prasad Yadav was equally unhappy with the attitude of Central Government on the alleged fodder scam. Thus followed quick political debacle and voted out of power. The Congress Party was very much eager to somehow come back to power not through a mandate in the elections but through a political maneuverability. The then party chief Sitaram Kesari made best efforts for political defections with the Janta Dal by various kinds of lures but he had miserably failed in his attempts. Thus another third party Government was thought of by the regional groupings with the Congress and others. The mantle finally felt on Inder Kumar Gujral who had succeeded as the next Prime Minister of India.

The nomenclature of Gujral’s Government was radically different from his earlier counter parts. Naidu played yet again a tactful role in
lost vote of confidence on the floor of the Lok Sabha by a single vote in a short span of 13 months. Once again the midterm Lok Sabha elections were held in 1999 in which the TDP and the BJP together made poll alliance and put up a spectacular success in the state of Andhra Pradesh. At the All India plane, the BJP and its allies made an impressive performance and one again NDA Government came into office after the polls. Chandrababu Naidu played a tactful role in the formation of NDA government at the Centre and continued to maintain the party stand of extending outside support to the NDA government with the sole objective of seeking more and more financial assistance from the Centre for the development of the State and also to get several pending project cleared.

The Telgu Desam Party once again could get one of its Parliamentarians re-election as the Speaker of the Lok Sabha but refrained from inclusion of the party Members of Parliament in the union council of ministers despite an open offer from the NDA Government. It is thus evident that Naidu played somersaults in the course of the previous three years from 1996 to 1999; initially standing firm on secular non-congress front and later extending support to NDA Government while severing negotiations with the Janta Dal and Left parties at the center.

In this process, Naidu played a truly politicians emulating Machiavellian tactics devoid of ethics in politics and exhibited the qualities of a shrewd politician concentrating almost all the powers in his hands for personal political gains.

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opposition parties from making a possible attack on the Government for its failure on various accounts such as power cuts, meager developmental activities and other public amenities. Besides it was also a strategic move to keep his own party rank and file engaged in some activity or other so as to make them refrain from planning to stage a political coup, and also prevent them to rally round his arch-enemy Laxmi Parvati leading NTR-TDP faction of TDP in the state. Similarly the youth welfare policy, which was initiated in the beginning of the 1996, was just an eyewash. It was initiated to provide a kind of lip sympathy to the unemployed youth in the state and expenditure on this account was a minimal of Rs. 150 crores. The scheme was initiated to lure the skilled and unemployed youth and make them feel that the Government was doing something to provide employment avenues to them. It is true that right from 1969 onwards, the employment opportunities have been dwindling day by day and the number of unemployed youth registered in employment exchanges was increasing in leaps and bounds. Owing to it, several frustrated youth, got attracted to extremist philosophy and even joined the cadre of PWG. Though the policy was intended for the welfare of the youth, yet it did not bear much fruits in view of the fact that the mounting unemployment had considerably enhanced day-by-day with the closure of many Public Sector Undertakings under the plea of their sick performance and imposition of ban on recruitment of posts in public service sectors etc.

The ‘Adarana’ scheme was basically intended to extend a helping hand to the backward classes in the state in strengthening their self employment avenues giving them the tools, instruments etc. The
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eve of the 1999 assembly elections with an additional outlay of rupees 100 crores. It is estimated that the state has altogether 25 lakh scheduled caste households. Among them, 10 lakh households were to be accorded a helping hand through the contemplated programme. About 1.50 lakh households were to be provide weaker section houses, 75,000 scheduled caste households with minor irrigation facilities, a lakh households to be extended with self help projects, 25,000 households cleanliness programmes, 50,000 households each under IRDP and maternity benefit. 75,000 under the old age and widow pension schemes and 20,000 households with financial assistance. A total of 11.50 lakh households were thus estimated to be accorded a kind of assistance with the estimated additional financial outlay of rupees 100 crores. It may be pointed out that although the amount of allocations was quite large, it is quite large, yet when taken for totality of development of Scheduled Caste households it is quite meager. However it is pointed out that large scale misappropriations were taking place in a few districts in matters of monetary relief to people and money was flowing in the name of provision of relief measures in view of the nexus between the middlemen, politicians and the lower level bureaucracy operation in hand and glove.

During July 1999, the state Government of Andhra Pradesh conceived two more innovative programmes: one titled ‘Deepam’ relating to 10 lakh gas connections to rural women, more particularly from the DWCRA groups all over the State and the other titled ‘Roshni’, a kind of enlightenment for Muslim minorities.
It may be pointed out that concerning the Deepam scheme, the non-availability of stoves and the selection of beneficiaries and other practical problems were the constraints. Similarly, concerning the Roshni scheme, the MIM party was quite critical which maintained that there is an attempt to hoodwink the minorities just before the elections. It was even critical of empty promises of making Urdu as the second official language in eight districts. Despite critical comments from several quarters including Congress Party, MIM and others, Naidu went ahead with such programmes on the eve of elections so as to attract such segments of people in favour of Telgu Desam Party in then coming Assembly elections of 1999.

The objective of Janma Bhoomi was involving the people and the Government for development activity. The unique feature of ‘Janma Bhoomi’ programme was to make the state of Andhra Pradesh enrich in social and economic sectors like per capita income, literacy, health care, employment generation, rural development, building infrastructure in rural parts etc, by successfully utilizing the human as well as natural resources abundantly available in the state. The concept of Janma Bhoomi underlined the people’s direct involvement in developmental works with the objective of rebuilding the villages/towns in the process of attaining an ideal society. It also embodied and cherished the concept of hard work, honesty, teamwork, cooperation, accountability and transparency making the people to achieve positive results in all walks of life. Through the implementation of the Janma Bhoomi programmes free health camps were organized in the rural areas and effective measures were also undertaken for the treatment of patients. AIDS
awareness camps were conducted where people were made to have know-how on AIDS and its prevention. Similarly, dental checks up camps were conducted and TB patients were identified for treatment. Consequent to a great development in ophthalmology field, the state Government through its Janma Bhoomi programmes had been able to conduct cataract operations. Even in matters of environment conservation, Janma Bhoomi programme paid considerable attention for the development of greenery and tree plantation and prevention of pollution hazards. Similarly, repairs to soak pits and platforms of drinking water sources were undertaken to a tune of 62,130 households and 89,390 drinking water sources were cleaned and chlorinated so as to make the people get unpolluted drinking water. Mahila Janma Bhoomi programmes which were exclusively undertaken and women were examined under reproductive health care besides immunization of children.

It may be pointed out that bulks of the schemes were to be undertaken by the rural and urban local bodies for which union Government provided substantial grants. Therefore in the name of Janma Bhoomi the state Government had provided such amount and implemental under the label of Janma Bhoomi thereby preventing the local bodies to perform their own functions. However, as many as 29 functions were to be allocated to local bodies in accordance with Panchayat Raj Act. The state Government had delegated just 16functions despite frequent representations from all the opposition parties as well as the functionaries of local bodies. The Panchayat Raj functionaries have time and again demanding for devolution of powers as mentioned in Eleventh Schedule.
of Constitution of India. The State Government was quite silent and postponed the issue from time to time.

Another major criticism concerned with assignment of contract works under Janma Bhoomi Programme. A few critics pointed out that the State Government had assigned the said contract works of road laying, canal digging, cleaning of tanks, plantation of trees and other works to Telgu Desam Party cadre exhibiting a kind of partisan behaviour. It is even pointed out by critics that bulk of the grants provided for developmental schemes under IRDP, JRY and other schemes were said to have been diverted to implement the programmes taken up under Janma Bhoomi. However, these programmes have been quite positive in creating awareness among the rural citizens for effective participation in administrative process at the rural level and also taking up measures for rural development. It may be pointed out that though considerable development activity had been undertaken in different areas, yet there were pitfalls in the application of the same.

The Vision-2020 was formulated on 26th of January 1999 and its main thrust was on good governance. It included on the developmental activity in every area such as, eradication of poverty enabling people to lead healthful and productive lives, promoting small families, providing opportunities for children to achieve their full potential, empowerment and support to women and girls, creation of resources like capital and infrastructure, enabling farmers, entrepreneurs, and professionals to make agriculture flourish and build thriving industries services and businesses, embracing innovation and the latest know-how to grow its crops, and provide high quality services safeguarding
environment and prevent pollution, making Government simple, transparent, accountable and responsive. Thereby attain all-round development and ultimately securing Swarnandhra Pradesh in the course of two decades.

In a way it touched every aspect of development activity in a planned manner. In order to bring about a rapid transformation in the development area an investment of Rs.16,00,000 crores was reportedly required in building infrastructure in the state. The financial situation of the State had been quite alarming owning to lopsided policies and wasteful expenditure on non-productive schemes and cumulative effect on the decisions of the union Government. The Chairman of Eleventh Finance Commission Dr. A.M. Khusro was quite skeptical on the financial aspect of Vision-2020 document and even the then State Governor, C. Ranga Ranjan while releasing the document reminded the then Chief Minister of the State on the financing aspect and called for short term sacrifices for long term gains. Naidu was motivated by all-round development and his efforts for such a vision were worthy of appreciation. But the constraints were not less.

In the last decade, the IT sector has grown at a great speed in India as well as in Andhra Pradesh and made significant impact on setting priorities and organizational development in different sectors. Ever since 1990, the state of Andhra Pradesh has accorded a great thrust to the growth of software industry, particularly in the state capital-Hyderabad. The state accounts for about 23 per cent of software professionals from India in the US. The Ex-Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Chandrababu Naidu had accorded a great thrust on the field of IT ever-since 1995 onwards. A Hi-Tec City (Hyderabad Information
Technology and Engineering Consultancy City) had come up in an area of about 158 acres of land at Madhapur. Many software companies have come forward to establish their network at the computer network city known as Cyberabad. By the end of March 2002, software-exporting industry is estimated to provide employment opportunities to about 64,000 persons. The number of professionals was 12,000 in March-1999 and there are 287 registered cyber cafes in Hyderabad.

The State Government of Andhra Pradesh also initiated e-Governance as apart of it, Andhra Pradesh State Wide Area Network (APSWAN), Computer Aided Administration Registration Department (CARD) system, Integrated Citizen Service Centers (ICSCs), Secretariat Knowledge Information System (SKIMS) etc, have been introduced. Hyderabad software exports have worked out Rs. 600 crores. It however commendable to point out that in short span of time i.e. in just one decade, the state has moved quite ahead in IT sector.

Another thrust area on which the state government has bestowed many efforts concerned with transfer of management of all irrigation systems to farmers organization in January 1996 known as formation of water users associations and also watershed programme. The state government had constituted as many as 10,000 water users associations covering 4.8 million hectares and conducted elections to such bodies. In order to rehabilitate and modernize the existing irrigation systems, Government of Andhra Pradesh obtained financial assistance from the World Bank under the APERP with a project cost of Rs. 1298.56 crores which was later revised to rupees 1481.58 crores for accomplishing certain objectives in the form of irrigation and development.
The Watershed programme was formulated on the recommendations of Hanumantha Rao’s committee report. The programme was initiated to develop the degraded lands in Andhra Pradesh in a 10-year period and touches upon development of wasteland and degraded reserve forests. Substantial progress has been achieved in the dry land development through Watershed programmes in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The development of women and children in rural areas is known as DWCRA, which is a sub-scheme of IRDP implemented from 1983-84. It was mainly intended to uplift the economically poor women who are living below poverty line and to improve the standard of living, to educate the poor rural women in the spheres of life and culture, to uplift the socio-economic status of the rural folk into a better standards, to create awareness among the poor and illiterate women and to provide them employment opportunities under self employment programme in a group of 10 to 20 women. The economic support to women Self Help Groups covered DWCRA/SGSY, SGSY Group Loaning, State Revolving Fund, SHG bank linkage, SHG-Convergence of other Schemes, Deepam, scheme, Gruhini, income generating activities, Capacity Building Marketing, Institution building etc. During the year 1998-1999, the Union Government had sponsored Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojna (SGSY) scheme in which the funding combination of Government of India and the state Government was in the ratio of 75:25. All the then existing schemes were merged in the new scheme called Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojna (SGSY) in which substantial progress has been achieved in the process of strengthening the rural women to earn their livelihood.
Further, the backward castes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes constituted significant proportion of the beneficiaries covered. The participation of widows, who constitute the poorest of the poor, is around 9 per cent. It is also pointed out that the coverage of the poorest of the poor was low on one hand and on the other the coverage of non-poor was considerable. The dependency on moneylenders among the members was reported to have been declining due to the access to the access to credit from self-help groups of DWCRA programme. Most of the enterprises (activities), which were facilitated through DWCRA groups, helped to utilize the existing skills by using credit societies provided. The attempts of the Government to impart new skills and upgrade skills did not reach many areas of the state. As a result many of the women groups were reportedly failed to derive the benefits from the Government facilitated DWCRA bazaars as marketing outlets.

There are comments from different quarters that the state has been greatly dependent on external funding through 'aid' as well as loans. The latter is marked by strings adopted, conditions laid down and interest collected. Indeed, it is a tied loan and the recipients are bull-dosed into tying equipment and services without systematic tendering. Grants are normally based on per capita equipment and consultancy and are tied to the conditions that they should be bought from the donor country. The World Bank and its sister concern International Development Association (IDA) together are the biggest donors to India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular. They account for about 70% of the total external funding to the state of Andhra Pradesh. The total debt burden of the state stood at 15.98 crores
in 1980 which increased to 5868.44 crores in 1990 and is estimated to Rs. 10,962.11 crores for 1994. Until 1985, the external loan was drawn towards irrigation, flood control, energy and agricultural sectors and during 1986-90, it included education, roads, water supply, ports, fisheries and other and during 1991-95, it further included social welfare. After 1995, the same subjects were covered and loan amount stood at 592 million dollars from all sources.

The fiscal profile of Andhra Pradesh shows a sharp increase in debt burdens from various sources since 1990. More development activity in the state, especially in the infrastructure depended on borrowings from international agencies both multilateral and bi-lateral. The money lenders invariably have a say on the nature of the projects, selection of regions and the pattern of utilization of the loan. The agenda for economic reforms report prepared by the World Bank for Andhra Pradesh during 1997 is a concrete proof of the above observation that the lenders have a say. The state Government had implemented some of the reforms, which was an illustrative of the conditionalities imposed by the World Bank on the state of Andhra Pradesh. It is commented that since 1998-1999, there has been a consistent deterioration the fiscal plans from 2.6% to 5.4%, which is worse than all state average on 4.9%. Even the stock of debt at 30 per cent is considered to be high as the all-state average is just about 22%.

The debt burden further aggravated by proliferation of welfare schemes being implemented by the state. Several new schemes were initiated which include programmes under Janna Bhoomi, empowerment of youth programmes, CMEY, Adarana, Girl child
protection, *Deepam*, Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Cooperative Finance Corporation, *Roshni* and so on. Besides, the state had incurred abundance of expenditure on publicity of various schemes launched as well as to protect the image of the then Chief Minister through mass media. All the aforesaid aspects have cumulatively affected the economic position of the state.

The center for Economic and Social Studies has brought out a work released by the Governor of Reserve Bank of India. The study has been quite critical in regard to the development syndrome intensity. It is pointed out that the employment growth in Andhra Pradesh has declined from 2.30 per cent in the pre-reforms period to 0.31 after economic reforms were started in the mid-1990s. Further, it observed that despite doing well in fiscal management, IT industry, demographic indicators and people’s participatory schemes, the state has much catching up to do with regard to employment generation, agricultural and industrial investments, health care and devolution of powers to local bodies. The Gross state Domestic Product growth rates have fallen in the state from 5.50 per cent in the 1980s to 5.31 percent in the 1990s. The rate of industry Gross State Domestic Product has come down from 7.36 per cent in the 1980s to 6.2 percent in the 1990s. On the health indicators, Andhra Pradesh is below of all its Southern neighbours with a preponderance of private sector health care functioning without proper regulation. By and large the study presented a kind of depressing note. Therefore, the state is required to lay greater emphasis on agriculture and industrial sector, bio-technology etc.
The state fiscal deficit has increased from 3 per cent in 1999-2000 to 4.5 percent in 2001-02. Consequent to the steady rise in fiscal deficit, there has been a big rise in public debt after the crisis year of 1995-96. High drop out rates in schools continued due to poverty. Thus it is illustrative that though the state has given a go-by to the populist schemes such as Rupees two, kilo rice and others but still, the expenditure on non-productive accounts had been quite high and the state is trapped by a massive debt. Despite the aforesaid limitations, the state in certain sectors seemed to have attained substantial progress.

Chandrababu Naidu, as a shrewd politician exhibited abundance of marketing technologies as a professional by the use of different forms of media. He has commendable organizational capabilities in the management of party, Government, Cabinet, council of ministers and mass media. He is considered as an architect of the party right from 1995-1996 and Chief Organizer for winning the successive elections to Parliament in 1996, 1998, and 1999 both parliament and assembly elections with substantial electoral support. His innovative programmes were quite imaginative and marked by some developmental activity but super-imposed by the rhetoric of populism. He is considered a blue-eyed boy of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank and also the front man of International Development Association (IDA) because; had projected Andhra Pradesh leaping forward in development syndrome regardless of certain inherent limitations.

Chandrababu Naidu, already the state’s longest serving Chief Minister believed that he would be re-elected in Andhra Pradesh become a referendum on Chandrababu Naidu’s nine-year rule. While he saw an “anti-
opposition wind" blowing in state, the verdict delivered a double blow to the TDP-BJP alliance. Everything seems to have gone against him. The women did not vote in large numbers for him as he expected; farmers, backward classes and the youth sided with the Congress more than the TDP. The reason for this was he shaped Andhra Pradesh in to a haven of industrialists and capitalists at the cost of the village poor and their welfare.

The survey data shows that about one-fifth of voters who had voted for the TDP-BJP alliance in the 1999 elections had switched over to the Congress–led alliance in 2004. Dissatisfaction with the NDA Government, and a feeling that their financial condition has worsened, contributed to this vote change. The image the TDP acquired during N.T. Rama Rao's rule as pro-women, pro-farmer, pro-backward classes and poor party has undergone a change in recent years. The change in image has been reflected in the change in social profile of the party, as the TDP-BJP combine fared badly among these social groups.

A significant proportion of the poor have supported the Congress in 2004 Assembly Elections. Despite the fact that Naidu's Government pursued neo-liberal economic policies since 1996, a major portion of the poorer classes voted for the TDP in the 1999 elections. The allegation leveled by the Congress and left parties that Naidu was acting at the dictates of the World Bank, and that the loans from abroad were used to enrich party leaders at the local level, seems to have stuck. His claim of trying to balance development (economic reforms) and well fare did not impress many. Unlike in 1999, he could not reel out welfare schemes on the eve of elections, which were thought to have fetched him votes then. In the implementation of welfare programmes, Naidu only sounded
apologetic. The discontent among farmers that agriculture had been neglected was widespread. This was due to poor irrigation facilities, lack of remunerative prices, inadequate market facilities, and the like, coupled with the persistent efforts of the Congress leaders to highlight them. People blamed the government for all these problems, although the TDP tried to make the point that it was due to factors beyond its control. The suicides of farmers mocked the TDP leaders in its face. On the other hand the Congress’ promise of free power for cultivation attracted the farmers towards it.

The TDP leadership banked too much on the women’s vote+. It hoped that women who are involved in the large number of women self-help groups (estimated to be about one 4.5 lakh) would vote in their favour. About one fifth of the TDP candidates in the Vidhan Sabha elections were women in self-help groups for electoral support. Even when the exit polls predicted a rout of the TDP-BJP, Naidu was asserting that the alliance would win; because it had a lead of 10 percentage points among women voters. Votes, the TDP received among the backward classes has also declined considerably. The youth also voted against TDP in large numbers than in the 1999 elections.

To conclude the contribution of Chandrababu Naidu to political governance in Andhra Pradesh one is reminded of a comment from a political commentator : What Went Wrong with Chandrababu Naidu, one could find the answer that lies in World Wide Web which made him “forget the real world of common people in favour of the real world of common people in favour of the virtual world on his Laptop.”

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341