CHAPTER: III

IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAMMES OF TELGU DESHAM PARTY

Ideology, without going into the history of the usage of the term, can be defined as a pattern of beliefs and concepts which purport to explain complex social phenomenon with a view to directing and simplifying socio-political choice facing individuals and groups. As a set of abstract principles premeditated independently, it aims at providing a means of distinguishing those ideas which ought to be encouraged and those which ought to be suppressed or redirected. As such it is a system of ideas which helps the arrangements of society with a formulated end to be pursued. In other words, it can be said that the knowledge and notion, theories and concepts that ideology contains and employs in the service of a class or social group, are ideas which have to be implemented to attain the desired end. It can be described as a set of ideas--guiding principles in any practical political activity. To elaborate the term in a little more detail it can be said that every ideology has twin functions: a) of practical politics and b) theoretical and cognitive one. In reflecting social reality from the vantage point of interests and aspiration of a social group, ideology provides a practical guide to action. Thus, it is a guide to action as well as a totality of ideas. It means that ideology has to be perceived both by a class and by an individual as its own motivation and orientation to action.

The Telgu Desam, after its formation as a political party, was in need of some kind of ideology to motivate people for its political support the ideology that party ideologues worked out was essentially people – oriented. The policy and programme envisaged the well-being
of common masses. The main plank of party’s ideology was to adopt and implement the welfare measures for the people in general and poor in particular. It aimed at attracting attention of the deprived poor masses to political maneuvering of the party to control political power in the state.

In almost all modern liberal democracies the role of the state is not limited merely to maintain law and order. The state is considered as an instrument of affecting change in the life pattern-socio-economic, of the people. It is expected to play a role of facilitator to ensure minimum standard of life for its people. Modern democracies have to initiate such polices and programme, which contribute to well-being of the people. The welfare measures and schemes are a great source of appealing and attracting people politically. The ideology of the TDP was broadly in consonance with this kind of belief for mobilizing people to garner political support through their ballots.

No state government in the country had ever taken up so many welfare measures as the state of Andhra Pradesh under the rule of TDP spending Rs. 600 crores every year on welfare schemes for common masses. The schemes such as subsidized rice for low-income group of people, slab system in electricity tariff for agricultural purposes, rural housing for vulnerable sections of the society and introduction of Krashaka Parishad which assures marketing with remunerative prices for agricultural produce would go a long way in the all-round development of the state ensuring social justice.

With ideology aiming at the welfare of the people, the TDP was saddle into power to rule and govern the state of Andhra Pradesh. After having
assumed the power, the Chief Minister NTR began to implement those welfare measures and schemes as envisaged in party ideology.

**Mid-Day Meal Scheme:**

Launching of nutritious Mid-day-Meal consisting of *Rice/ Ragi/ Jawar, dal* and oil was a giant step in fulfilling the promise made during the election campaign. Andhra Pradesh was the second State in the country to implement the scheme followed by Tamilnadu. The mid-day meal scheme was first introduced in the State on November 14, 1982 when Mr. K. Vijayabhaskar Reddy was the Chief Minister. Accordingly, in the budget of 1982-83 an amount of Rs.50 crores was provided. The scheme was originally evolved to cover about 50 lakh students in 40,000 studying from classes I to V.

When the Telgu Desham Government came to power the scheme was reviewed and it was felt that many students were not taking the meals and as such it was decided that the mid-day meal scheme should be confined to the children of weaker sections alone, or to be more precise to the children of green card holders. Therefore, in the budget of 1983-84 only Rs. 33 crores was provided and the same amount was allocated for the year 1984-85, also.

N.T. Rama Rao made the mid-day meals scheme a cardinal point in his election campaign and even claimed that the Congress had hastily introduced the scheme forestalling him. But ever since the scheme was introduced, it had a mixed reception and many legislators had pointed to the various irregularities that were being committed and it became a source of corruption.
The teaching community opposed mid-day meal programme stating that they could not be made responsible for the scheme because it was taking lot of their time and was interfering with their legitimate duties. It was then accepted that the Mahila Mandalas in villages would voluntarily help in implementing it but these expectations proved futile. The government then entrusted the scheme to village Sarpanches. But even so there were a large number of public complaints that the scheme was not serving its purpose and was only becoming a source to indulge in malpractices.

On May 15, 1985 the Chief Minister met the legislators, many of them suggested that the mid-day meal scheme should be wound up because it was not being properly implemented and was giving scope for many malpractices and irregularities. In these circumstances it was finally decided that the scheme should be wound up.

These schemes were introduced by TDP Government to enroll all children of the age group of 6-11 years under the Universalisation of primary education programme. These schemes also aimed at ensuring regularity in attendance and preventions of dropouts of children in classes I to V.

Ready-made Food:

The Government thought alternative schemes in place of mid-day meal programme. Instead of providing cooked meal with rice, which proved quite cumbersome because of the absence of facilities in the schools, it was thought that snacks enriched with protein and other nutrients made by food factories and packed
hygienically could be served. But it was not merely difficulties involved in the implementation of the scheme but also the finances involved in the present difficult financial situation that were being given serious thought.

**Text Books instead of noon meal:**

In place of mid-day meal programme, it was proposed to supply free textbooks and provide free uniforms to the children from the weaker section. The Chief Minister in a ‘press conference’ on 25th May 1985 said that the alternative scheme for the mid-day meal programme would be implemented from the following academic year itself. These schemes were introduced by TDP Government to enroll all children of age 6 - 11 years under the Universalisation of primary education programme.

**Two Rupee a kilo rice scheme a success:**

Rice in Andhra Pradesh is the important staple food. Everyone knows about the ‘two rupees per kilogram rice scheme’ in Andhra Pradesh. A lot of people had been benefited from it. The rice provided was of a good quality and was made available in plenty and in time. It costs the State exchequer nearly Rs. 173 crores in subsidy, but it has been worth of it. Everyone knows that N.T. Rama Rao was responsible for it.

Before the advent of the Telgu Desam government, a division was not made between the different strata of society or between rural and urban areas. All sections of society were eligible for the same benefits or
for incentives of the public distribution system and other welfare measures. The Telgu Desam Government, under the leadership N.T. Rama Rao, for the first time brought about this kind differentiation by introducing two types of ration cards one 'green' and the other 'yellow'.

All those families whose income was less than Rs. 6000 per year had been provided with 'green' cards both in the urban and rural areas while those families whose annual income was more than Rs. 6000 per annum had been issued 'yellow' cards.

N.T. Rama Rao before coming to power promised rice at Rs. two a kilo for all. It was only as the Chief Minister that he could realize the impossibility of executing the promise. Monetary limitations forced him to restrict the scheme to those who earned less than Rs. 300/- a month. When it was pointed out that even a class-IV employee would not benefited from the scheme, he raised the eligibility level to encompass all those who earned bellow Rs. 500/-.

The total quantity of rice required for the distribution through fair price shops was estimated at 22 lakh tonnes, of which the Centre would supply 10 lakh tonnes of rice from the Central pool. The remaining 12-lakh tonnes had to be procured by the State Government. The State government approached the Centre to allow it to produce this through the State Civil Supplies Corporation at levy prices but the Centre did not agree on the ground that if such large quantities were procured it might adversely affect the price structure not only in Andhra Pradesh but in other states too. The State Government had no other choice but to approach the millers for the supply of the rice. The millers pointed out that if they supplied rice to the State Government at

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Rs. 1.5 per kilo, which cost them RS. 2.24 per kilo, they would lose 74 paisa per kilo, which would amount to a total loss of Rs. 34.80 crore. It was, however, agreed that for every tonne of levy rice supplied to the State Government the miller would be permitted to sell half-a-tonne in the open market and export another half-tonne outside the state. This would not only make up for the loss of 74 paisa per kilo but would bring them handsome profits. Prices in the neighboring states of Maharashtra and Karnataka varied between Rs. 5 and Rs. 7 per kilo. It was estimated in the initial stages when the scheme was introduced that the profits that accrued to the rice millers in the state were as much as Rs. 80 crore.

**Political bickerings over subsidy rice scheme:**

The Rs. 190 crore subsidy rice scheme being implemented by the Telugu Desam Government became a political issue in Andhra Pradesh. The Congress-I’s stand on the subsidized rice scheme had been both confusing and dubious. When Rama Rao started talking about his determination to sell rice at two rupees a kilo, after founding Telugu Desam in March 1982, the then Congress- (I) government headed by Bhavanam Venkatram, denounced the promise as impossible to fulfill. In a statement the then government said: “The cost of rice to be distributed in a Fair price shop comes to Rs. 2.32 per kilo and the subsidy works out to 32 paisa per kilo and the subsidy on the scheme for the entire population comes to Rs. 133 crores.” Yet within three months, after his government was replaced by that of K. Vijayabhaskara Reddy’s party colleague, the government adopted the scheme as its
own. Vijayabhaskara Reddy had the scheme inaugurated in December 1982, selling rice at Rs. 1.90 a kilo in Hydrabad, Vijayawada and Vishakhapatnam, when 50 Kg. of rice was given to each family. But this did not help the Congress-(I) which lost the elections held on January 5, 1983. Central ministers then started denouncing the scheme as a “populist measure”. Interestingly, the Congress (I) leaders P. Shiva Shankar, and Jalagam Vengal Rao were taking divergent views in criticizing the government in implementing the scheme.

Shiva Shankar made a tirade against the government for concealing the aid given by the center for development and welfare schemes by giving them different names and painting them yellow. The Centre was giving a subsidy of Rs. 94 crores for public distribution of rice in Andhra Pradesh and Rs. 16.48 crores for the distribution of wheat. He accused the Andhra Pradesh government of preserving “a pro-rice miller policy” of permitting millers to export rice and make exorbitant profits at the expense of farmers, and the State Government was not giving due credit to the Centre in the implementation of the subsidy rice scheme. Jalagam Vengal Rao took an altogether different view by calling the scheme a populist measure draining the exchequer. He had earlier criticized the Telugu Desam Government for frittering away its meager resources on unproductive schemes at the cost of development projects. Had the government spent the amount on irrigation projects it would have increased the production of food grains and made rice available at Rs. 2 a kilo in the open market.
Besides, it would have created additional employment potential, he contended. He felt that the subsidy scheme made people beggars and hindered the development of the State and saw no reason in the Government spending Rs. 190 crores to supply rice on subsidy in a State like Andhra Pradesh, which was surplus in rice production. In raking up the controversy, the Congress leaders where unwillingly giving publicity to the subsidy rice scheme.

Apart from not publicizing the Centre's contribution, the Andhra Pradesh Government was not following the Centre's guideline to distribute rice to the tribals at Rs. 1.85. Instead they were supplied under the State Scheme of Rs. 2 a Kg. When Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was visiting the tribal areas in Khammam on April 11, 1986, the tribals complained about the higher prices and the quality of rice supplied to them. Thus it had been benefiting at the expense of the Centre.

The State Government officials sought to explain this discrepancy by stating that the tribals were not accustomed to coarse rice and as such they were being supplied with fine rice, which cost Rs. 2 per kilo. When this was disputed by the tribal leaders, the officials came out with another explanation that the coarse varieties were not available and therefore, the State Government had to supply finer varieties. The then Chief Minister N. T. Rama Rao, raised a strong objection to the statement of the Union Minister for Commerce regarding central subsidy for public distribution of rice and wheat in the State to the tune of Rs. 110 crores.
Rama Rao asked if Union Commerce Minister wanted to claim credit for the rice scheme in Andhra Pradesh what prevented him from extending the same to other States. He said the implied suggestion that the Centre was giving special treatment to Andhra Pradesh in terms of food subsidy was totally false and misleading.\textsuperscript{11} It was only because of the policy of the Telugu Desam Government, which was committed to supplying rice to the vulnerable sections at Rs. 2 a Kg that the difference between the issue price and the retail price was wholly subsidized by the State Government. The Centre had nothing to do with it. The claim that even in the issue price of rice there was a subsidy by the Centre was wholly irrelevant in as much as such subsidy was available to every State and not to Andhra Pradesh alone.\textsuperscript{12}

Rama Rao further criticised that in spite of the unpleasant controversy, "it is gratifying to note that the very sources which were at one time very critical of the Rs.2 a kilo rice scheme and called it unproductive, are now bending over backwards to steal the credit. Shiva Shankar should not forget that not withstanding his defeat at the Lok Sabha Poll from Andhra Pradesh, he is still the Union Minister for the whole country.\textsuperscript{13}

In distributing rice at Rs.2 a Kilo, the government had incurred a subsidy expenditure of Rs. 105 crores in 1983-84, Rs. 164 crores in 1985-86. In March 1986 the Central Government had raised issue of price of rice for the public distribution system. The government was committed to keep the Rs. 2 a kilo rice scheme going at any cost as it had become a matter of prestige. During the operation of the scheme however, it had the effect N.T. Rama Rao riding a tiger.
In the Indian situation the disproportionate poverty and deprivation experienced by the poor called for urgent attention on the part of the policy makers to look into the concept of basic needs. Notwithstanding the political mileage Telugu Desam Party got from two rupee a Kilo rice policy, the merits of the policy were in giving a meaningful life to the poorest of the poor. No doubt, a heavy price in terms of subsidies, but then looking at the overall economic scenario when culture of poverty abounded. Two rupee per Kilogram rice besides being populist definitely played an important role in at least assuring the concept of catering to the needs of the poorest of the poor.

‘Two rupee a kilo rice scheme’ provided the Telugu Desam Party the necessary tool of state crafts to be in power as long as the culture of poverty abounded. Two rupees a kilo rice policy had a great impact on the political behaviour of the people. The policy shaped the political attitudes and also voting intentions of the Voters, resulting in the creation of a wide support structure to Telugu Desam Party. Interestingly the support structure consisted of a wide spectrum of a social life. ‘The two rupees a Kilo rice scheme’ would be the main strategy and also the life giving sustenance to Telugu Desam Party to hold on to power and acquire the legitimacy from the masses.14

Vakil defined the ‘Two rupees a kilo rice scheme’ as a political strategy leading towards creation of a strong rural support base for Telugu Desam Party’. He further emphasized that ‘Two rupees a Kilo rice scheme’ was one of the most important popular measures on which the Telugu Desam Party mobilized its votes, in the 1984 Lok Sabha elections, 1985 Assembly Elections and the 1987 Mandal Elections.15
The rice policy is critically evaluated from the agreements that heavy subsidies go in and thus developmental projects were neglected and in the process it was a dangerous populist measure. Many studies do confirm that in the ultimate analysis the policy was populist, obviously one has to take into account priorities of a political party more when one comes to power for the first time.

**Janta Sari and Dhoti:**

Along with the scheme of Rice at Rs. 2/- a kilo, Janta Sari and Dhotis was sold at the price having fifty per cent subsidy from the Government, which means that they get a dhoti for about Rs. 58/- and a sari for about Rs. 74/-. The distributions of these things are made through the fair price shops on the basis of the green cards. The subsidy on the subsidised Janta Sari and Dhotis scheme was estimated at Rs.30 crores. Though the subsidy on Janta Saris and Dhotis was met by the Centre, the Centre had limited the supply to about 3 lakh pairs while the State Government was committed to supply them to all green card holders.

**Telugu Desam and Women’s Welfare:**

The Telugu Desam in its manifesto promised many things for the people. Welfare of women folk was one of the many slogans. It said that Women’s welfare does not remain a mere slogan. It will guarantee their legitimate right. It condemned the feudal culture, which only views women as objects of pleasure. While N.T. Rama Rao was canvassing for Telugu Desam candidates during elections, large numbers of women were attracted
towards Telgu Desam and undoubtedly a large chunk of votes from the women went to the party. These votes cut across caste, region and religion.

Telgu Desam after coming to power nominated a Committee under the Chairmanship of Avula Sambasiva Rao to go into the feasibility of establishing a women’s University in the State. The Committee submitted its report in the shortest possible time favouring of the establishment of the women’s university at Tirupati. The University started functioning from the academic year 1983-84, named after the Goddess Padmavati.

If a society has to move smoothly along with time women should have equal share in all opportunities and facilities along with men: Realizing this a bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly by the government proposing equal rights for daughters in the parent’s property. This was considered as a major amendment in the Hindu Code. The Assembly reflected it to a Select Committee consisting of legislators from all parties. As soon as the bill was introduced in the Legislature. P. Shiva Shankar, Union Minister criticized it saying that the bill was meant to avoid implementation of land ceiling acts. This statement coming from a Union Minister was recently by women throughout the country and several Women’s Organizations attacked Shiva Shankar for his allegation. The minister was compelled to make amends perhaps at the order of the Congress- (I) High Command, which feared that it would loss the sizable support of Women voters.¹⁶

In order to provide accommodation to Working Women and those residing in towns and cities for higher education, Working Women’s Hostels were setup in all important towns and cities.
Women agricultural laborers belong to the financially weaker sections of the society, during pregnancy, they not only lose their wages, but also have to bear medical expenses. A scheme was launched to provide financial assistance to them. Women were encouraged to form co-operatives and they are given necessary training for the purpose.

In all government departments 30% of jobs were reserved for women. Besides, certain jobs have been recognized as suitable for women only and these were exclusively reserved for women. Government also increased the number of seats reserved for women in Public Transport buses from the existing 6 to 12.17

Women welfare centers called "Telgu Bala Mahila Pragati Pranganams" were established with the cost of 50 lakhs each in all districts of the State to provide training in different crafts to 100 widows and poor women to make them financially independent. The articles manufactured by them were provided marketing facilities by the government. Women who have passed Secondary School Examination were given training in typewriting, shorthand, Radio and T.V. repairing and servicing. A special department for women and child welfare has been created to ensure speedy and efficient implementation of these schemes. A separate court also has been established in Hyderabad to try cases involving atrocities on women. This is the first of its kind in the entire country. Women in Andhra Pradesh were thus ensured just role in society due to the various welfare schemes being implemented by the Telgu Desam Government.
In spite of all these efforts, women in general continue to remain very much behind the times in several spheres. Even Telgu Desam has no rational approach to the problems of women.

**Widow Pension Scheme:**

Raja Ram Mohan Roy did fight against the evil practice of ‘Sati’, which was prevalent in Hindu society in the 19th century. Another social reformer in South, Veeresalingam Panthulu, born at Rajahmundry fifteen years after the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, advocated widow re-marriages. He also established a home for the rehabilitation of widows at Madras. The Telgu Desam Government went one step ahead by sanctioning a monthly pension of Rupees Fifty to the widows, on compassionate grounds.

A gesture of generosity of this kind was made by the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao on January 9, 1984 on the occasion of his completing one year in the office. In fact, the ground for payment of the pension to the indigent widows was prepared by the social welfare department on January 7, 1984. Under this Scheme 48,130 widows benefited during 1985-1986.18

**Youth:**

The Telgu Desam Party made an emphasis on youth welfare and extended benefits to the youth in various walks of life during its administration from 1983-89. It attacked the Congress for several anarchic actions on the properties of political leaders other than Congress Party.19 It made a reference particularly to the destruction of
theatres held by non-Congress leaders following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Reminding the people that the Congress had assured one crore employment avenues to the youth during the Eight Plan period, the party criticized for its failure in this context. It found fault with the State Congress Government for the poor allocation and for its failure in this context. The party maintained that there were around 4 crores unemployed youths throughout the country which include as many as 35,000 in the State of Andhra Pradesh. The TDP criticized the Congress for non-recruitment of personnel through Service Commissions, Universities and other Institutions. Besides it criticized for the failure of such organizations in the recruitment of women, backward class and Dalits.

Minorities:

Telgu Desam Party too made attempts to woo the minorities in its favour. It made a particular reference to the ignominious demolition of Babri Masjid and the failure of the Union Government in protecting it. It maintained that this shameless Government has virtually presided over the liquidation of age-old place of worship. Muttering the Mantra of Secularism, the Prime Minister allowed this sacrilege to happen which left an unwashable blot on the history of Democratic India. The TDP assured that the Masjid would be re-constructed at its original site. NTR, the President of TDP had reminded through the manifesto that he had suggested a three-point formula before the demolition of Babri Masjid mosque. They were:

(1) The President of India to request the Chief Justice of India to constitute a separate bench to decide the dispute within 30-45 days.
(2) All parties should accept the verdict of the Court without any reservation; and

(3) Till that time, the Masjid should be in the custody of the Government of India.

NTR felt, that if these proposals were accepted by all the concerned, the monument would have been preserved for all of us and for the posterity. NTR felt that the spineless Union Government had not made any tangible attempt to deal with the situation and to heal the wounds, and to infuse the confidence in the minds of the people, whose faith in secularism is taken to the hilt.

The party reminded the people of the State that the TDP has dealt with conviction and devotion to Muslim brothers during its 7 years tenure. It had recalled the measures initiated in the past which include:

(1) Establishment of Quli Qutub Shah Development Authority undertaking widening of roads to improve transport facilities, the construction of a fly-over in the old city of Hyderabad, in addition to the playgrounds, a Stadium etc.

(2) Established four residential schools in Urdu medium at Nizamabad, Guntoor, Kurnool and the old city of Hyderabad.

(3) Providing 100 Urdu elementary schools in selected centers all over the state;

(4) Commencement of parallel Urdu classes in 12 Junior College for boys and girls separately within the State;

(5) Filling up of 1100 teachers posts lying vacant in Urdu medium Schools.

(6) Erection of Iqbal Minar near the Secretariat;

(7) Establishment of a separate Financial Corporation for
minorities to provide margin money to help them secure Bank loan.

(8) Provision of Wakf Board and extending block grants of Rs. 20 lakhs for repairs and maintenance of Wakf properties and for documentation and Gazette notification of such Wakf properties, etc.

(9) Socio-economic survey of Minorities at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs to build up the basic data to enable the Government to plan its strategy for minorities welfare;

(10) Setting up the high level Cabinet sub-committee to study the problem of minorities and to come out with recommendations to ameliorate their conditions.24

In this way, the TDP claimed credit for special emphasis on minorities in general and Muslims in particular for their all-round development within the State.

Grameena Kranti Padham:

A new scheme for rural development through voluntary effort called 'Telgu Grameena Kranti Padham' was started all over the state by the Telgu Desam Government. This scheme was part of the programme for decentralization of power and a means to promote rural development through voluntary efforts of the people. For this programmes the Government would provide the necessary material and facilities for undertaking these works costing upto Rs. 5 lakhs each, while the people had to provide voluntary labor (Telgu Srama Dalam).

Under the scheme, works such as laying of village roads, forestation programmes, public buildings in rural areas like primary
school buildings, primary health centers, culverts, desalting tanks, planting of saplings, playgrounds, canals, channels and other distributaries costing Rs. 5 lakhs and below were taken up.

The Telgu Srama Dalam including the youth clubs, association or any other voluntary body and Pachayats could participate in the scheme, provided they satisfied the Dalam’s capabilities to implement the schemes, both plan and non-plan.

Provision of Funds:

For these works the funds under the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) should not be utilized, since they are meant for providing wages to the poor.

Under this scheme, priority will be given to building works, which involve rural labor and conform to certain yardsticks fixed by the government for the execution of works.

Weaker Sections Housing:

A roof over one’s head is a sign of security as well as property. The population explosion in the Third World has made housing for the teeming millions an almost impossible task. Governments are forced to divert precious resources to create a roof for every family. The worst hit are those below the poverty line. With the ever-increasing costs of materials a way had to be found to provide house to vast segments of the population demanding ingenuity and a search for new ways to meet the challenge.

Andhra Pradesh too faces this formidable problem of housing the millions of those without a home. The Telgu Desam Government
has given top priority to housing as a socially urgent need. Social housing is an enormous task requiring vast resources of money, materials and manpower. This massive, unparalleled scheme in the history of the country was conceived and launched by the Telgu Desam government in January 1983 as soon as it assumed office.

The gigantic Weaker Sections Housing Programme under the 15-Point *Pragati Padham* was taken up to build 2,20,000 permanent houses in a phased manner in all the districts. Each district will have 10,000 house built. In the first phase, 1.40 lakh houses have been taken up at a cost of Rs. 88.20 crores.

A new approach was made to tackle the problems of cost by involving the beneficiaries in the decision-making. To ensure their involvement, the beneficiaries were encouraged to participate physically in bringing up the foundations of the houses. In fact, they were being constructed by the beneficiaries themselves with the technical and financial support of the government. This not only develops a sense of participation and belongingness but also brings down the cost of the house, making the scheme viable.

Three types of housing schemes were evolved. Permanent houses in the urban areas costing Rs. 9000/- and in rural areas Rs. 6000/- each. Semi permanent houses in the rural were of Rs. 3000 each.

**Urban Housing:**

An Urban housing programme was also taken up in classified urban areas. These houses have higher specifications then those in the rural permanent houses with a water closet provided in each house otherwise, they are similar to the houses in the rural areas.
Rural Housing:

The scheme provided 7,000 permanent and 1,000 semi-permanent houses in rural areas and 2,000 permanent houses in urban areas in each district. The massive scheme involves an outlay of Rs. 85.10 crores in 1983-84. The State Government provided Rs. 35.60 crores as subsidy besides Rs. 49.50 crores by HUDCO, LIC, GIC and Commercial Banks.

Rural Electrification:

In the modern technological world it is needless to emphasis that the electrification programme paves new avenues for real progress and energetic advancement of rural areas would only be possible by the implementation of rural electrification programmes. The Pragati Padam Programme of the state government accorded a high place to rural development. Village electrification, besides improving the quality of life in rural areas and contributing to agricultural production, also helps the growth of rural industries, which consequently improve the economic conditions of the people.

Priority given to this programmes by the Telgu Desam government resulted in achieving 95.93 percent electrification of normal villages (excluding tribal/hill desert villages). The largest number in the country after Tamilnadu and Maharashtra.

Drinking Water For All:

Water, basic need for survival of human beings, has been given the priority in the Pragati Padham Programme. Special emphasis was
laid on rural water supply to cover all the villages during the Sixth plan. Steps were taken to provide at least one drinking water source to a population of 100. The Telgu Desam government firmly and irrevocably committed to provide drinking water to all villages.

Abolition of the village officers:

The institution of the village officers was not a creation of the British Government. It had its roots in the administrative system of the Hindu Kings of ancient India. The Muslim rulers found it very practical and useful and made it permanent by issuing of Inams in the shape of lands to the villager officers, servants and artisans. The British who succeeded the Muslim rulers examined the principles, practices and working of this system and found it very cheap and effective in the administration of the village and made it perfect by eliminating some of its defects and made it hereditary and permanent by making statutes.

N.T. Rama Rao took the decision for the abolition of the part-time village officers following the Tamilnadu Pattern even against the advice of his senior colleagues in the cabinet. In place of the part-time village officers whole time village assistants were appointed for one or more revenue villages. The Andhra Pradesh Village Officers Association strongly opposed the decision of the government by holding meetings, demonstrations and processions. A writ petition was filed in the Supreme Court on behalf of village officers challenging the State Government orders in 1984 abolishing the post of Karanam, Patel and other villager officers who totaled more than 45,000.
The Government had been not able to establish before the Court the reason for abolishing the post. The Supreme Court ordered that all those village officers who had the necessary educational and age qualifications should be first taken back as village assistants. With the result of the judgment about 12,000 erstwhile village officers would have to be absorbed in services as they had the necessary age and educational qualifications.

Abolition of Council:

Bicameralism has been one of the most vexed questions of political science. Much had been spoken in favour of second chamber as well had against it, but, ultimately, its utility depends upon its performance. The need for a second chamber has been felt practically all over the world where there are federations of any importance. The most that we expect the second chamber is perhaps to hold dignified on important issues and to delay legislation, which might be the outcome of the passions of the moment.

The legislative council was abolished by the Telugu Desam rulers for political reasons. The upper house is intended to act as a check on hasty legislation on many occasions, the Andhra Pradesh legislative council enabled the government to look at controversial provisions in legislative proposal from a fresh angle. The debates in both the House did contribute to the quality of state legislation. But the Telugu Desam leaders decided, very shortsightedly, to windup the council because it was dominated by the opposition Congress (I). The decision was made within a few days of the leaders coming to power.
When the constitution came into force on January 26, 1950 a provision was made in Article 168 for having two houses of legislatures in the States, eight states opted for bicameral legislatures. They were States of Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Mysore, Jammu and Kashmir. The State of Andhra Pradesh also adopted bicameral legislature in 1958. However, after the abolition of the Legislative councils in West Bengal in 1969 and Punjab in 1970 after brief periods of Unsuccessful experiments, the number declined to seven out of the twenty three states in India.

Strong opinions persist against the retention of the second chamber even in those states where they still exist. A resolution was passed in Bihar Legislative Assemble in 1970 for the abolition of the Legislative Council in the State although it was subsequently rescinded for obvious political reasons. In the State of Karnataka a resolution was moved in the Legislative Council but it was not passed.

The legislative council has been in existence in the Andhra Pradesh Legislature since July 1, 1958. It is composed of ninety members. Thirty one members (one third) are elected by the local authorities within the State; eight members (one twelfth) are elected by the voters of the Graduates' Constituencies within the State; eight members (one twelfth) members are elected by the voters of the Teachers' Constituencies within the State, and remaining twelve members are nominated by the governor from among persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of matters such as literature, science, art, co-operative movement and social service. The proposal for abolition of Council came first from the Telgu Desam
When the constitution came into force on January 26, 1950 a provision was made in Article 168 for having two houses of legislatures in the States, eight states opted for bicameral legislatures. They were States of Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Mysore, Jammu and Kashmir. The State of Andhra Pradesh also adopted bicameral legislature in 1958. However, after the abolition of the Legislative councils in West Bengal in 1969 and Punjab in 1970 after brief periods of Unsuccessful experiments, the number declined to seven out of the twenty three states in India.

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leader N. Shrinivasulu Reddy on January 7, 1983 when Telgu Desam assumed power.

The Telgu Desam government did not have a single member in the Council. Thus the Council became a stumbling block to the Telgu Desam government. The Congress-I, which had majority in the Upper House managed to stop several bills, which were passed in the Assembly. But this was not the main reason for which the Telgu Desam government decided to recommend the abolition of this body. The party promised to abolish the Council in its election promises. They reasoned that the body was proving to be rather expensive to the government and as it did not serve much of a purpose, further it would save Rs. 60 lakhs per annum and also avoid the misuse of the council as a political asylum for defeated politicians of various parties.

On 24\textsuperscript{th} March 1983 the Legislative Assembly of the State of Andhra Pradesh passed a resolution in terms of Article 169 of the Constitution for the abolition of the legislative council and this was accepted by the house with an overwhelming majority the Congress-I members staged a walk out protesting against the resolution while the other opposition parties supported the resolution. But the Central Government has rejected the proposal made by the Andhra Pradesh Assembly for the abolition of the State’s Legislative Council. It mentioned that parliament is not bound to accept the recommendation of a State Assembly for abolition of the Council. The ‘word’ may in Article 169(1) shows that parliament is not bound to make such a law even if a resolution is passed by the Assembly of the State Concerned. Further, Courts shall have no power to compel
parliament in this regard. Moreover the act of the Telgu Desam was politically motivated.

Reacting sharply to the Center’s decision the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao said “it is unfortunate the Center should have refused to respect the popular will as expressed by the Assembly”.27 He further said taking shelter under constitutional and administrative provisions to stall the popular will can never be justified as democratic. It is an affront to the self-respect of six crores of Telgu people. There was no reason why the Union Government should depart from the precedents set earlier in the case of abolition of Legislative Councils in Punjab and West Bengal.28

On 24 January 1984 the Chief Minister said that he will take the issue to the people. I am not responsible for the repercussions of the Center’s action, which is despotic, undemocratic, unreasonable, and an insult to the self respect of the six crores people of Andhra Pradesh.29

It was also argued that it was not proper to say that only the upper House had the prerogative to having intellectuals or matured persons and that many in the Assembly had same academic attainments as those of the Upper House besides maturity and experience. Often the bills passed in the Assembly are stalled in the Council. Ministers who are not in a position to attend to both the Houses during the sessions are faced with severe criticism from both sides. When the Assembly passed a bill for the reduction of retirement age of government employees from 58 to 55 the Council referred it to a select committee and thus delayed the process the Government forced to adjourn the Assembly session and issue an ordinance for the second time to avoid a constitutional lapse.30
A like resolution was again passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State on 30th April 1985. It is accordingly proposed to abolish the legislative council of the State of Andhra Pradesh. This resolution passed because the earlier decision was passed by the Seventh Assembly and that it had expired.

At last on 15th May 1985 the Central Government agreed to abolish the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council. This was followed by an assurance given by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the Chief Minister, N.T. Rama Rao that the democratic process would be allowed to be gone through following the second resolution of the State Assembly seeking to do away with the second chamber. Finally the Telugu Desam had succeeded in toppling the Council. A prolonged controversy has ended. The 27-year-old Upper House ceased to exist from 1st June 1985. For over two years, the ruling party leadership had been at logger heads with the Center over the abolition move.

The composition of the 90 members Council when it was abolished was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress (I)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu Desam</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive Democratic Front</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>04</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
If one recalls how the abolition move started, one will have to admit that there was more party politics than economy in it. On many occasions, the Council members enriched the debates on legislative proposals with the expression of fresh viewpoints. What is more, it has acted as a check on hasty legislation. And this is exactly what the upper house is meant for. That apart, Andhra Pradesh, which is one of the big states in the country, can afford the upper house. There was more party politics than economy in the abolition move.

University of Health Sciences:

The Telgu Desam Government established a Medical University in Vijaywada on 9th April 1986. It is the first of its kind in the country. The Chief Minister of A.P. became the Chancellor of this University.

The main features of this University are that it will not confine its activities to awarding degrees but to promote meaningful research and ensure that the poor people in remote villages got proper medical care. The number of Medical Colleges in A.P. were affiliated to this was of 22 -- nine Allopathic, four Ayurvedic, three Homeopathic, one Dental, one Unani and three nursing colleges besides the Nizamia Tibbia College in Hydrabad.

Split in TDP and Emergence of TDP Chandrababu Naidu:

NTR, who came to power again in 1994, could not modify his mode of administration. He became more egoistic than before. He continued his populist programmes, which had become a great burden on State’s exchequer. There was discontentment and disapproval
among his legislators who were carefully nursed by Chandrababu Naidu, the younger son-in-law of NTR.

Meanwhile, the influence of Lakshmi Parvathi, NTR’s second wife, gradually increased. She started interfering the administration. At one stage, she had become the ‘Centre of Power’. This was not accepted and approved by many in the Telugu Desman party. All those discontented were under the leadership of Nara Chandrababu Naidu rebelled against NTR and dethroned him from power, which was popularly called as ‘Palace Coup’.

Chandrababu Naidu was sworn in as the Chief Minister of A. P. on September 1, 1995. After overthrowing NTR, Naidu was quick to recognize that he needed an antidote to NTR’s charisma, so, he worked almost “18 hours a day, 30 days a month and 365 days a year” right from the time he assumed the office of Chief Minister. “He knew that he did not have the charisma, so performance and pragmatism became his words” says C. Satyanarayana, a TDP Secretary.

Naidu launched innovative schemes to benefit a cross section of society. He started the Janma Bhoomi programme, in which a village could come up with development proposal part of the money for it and be granted the rest of what they needed by the State Government. He also started ‘Rythu Bazaars’ (Markets for farmers) in which they could bring their produce directly to consumers in government buses, thereby eliminating middlemen.

Naidu initiated programmes for the B.Cs, Dalits (SCs), Girijans (STs) and Minorities. He gave a big room (scope) for women and youth. Some of his innovative programmes are Prajala vaddaku Palana (bringing
people closer to administration), Shramadaanam (rediscovery and
dignity of labour), C.M.E.Y.(Chief Minister Employment Scheme for
Youth), Empowerment of women and youth, Mundadugu (a step
forward for scheduled castes), Chaitanyam (enlightenment for scheduled
tribes), Aadarana (encouragement to crafts persons in traditional
occupations in backward classes), Roshni (the nurturing of minorities),
Cheyutha (a helping hand for the handicapped), clean and Green (a
clarion call to people concerned about the environment) and Pratibha
(for bright and promising students).

Naidu with his political foresight realized the strength of
women. He patronized the central scheme DWCRA (Development of
Women and Children in Rural Areas) and there are about 2.5 lakh
DWCRA groups, which pooled savings to the tune of Rs. 5.00 crores,
the highest number in India. Naidu promoted the DWCRA concept
vigorously and covered the group members in the Deepam (free cooking
gas to rural poor women) scheme. Chandrababu Naidu, a Post-graduate
in Economics from Shri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, came up
with several innovative schemes directed at the rural poor particularly
women.

Naidu introduced healthy practices in the system of
governance. He introduced a practice of democratic consultation to
elicit public opinion as some of the most contentious steps of the
government. Naidu’s public relation programme called ‘Dial your Chief
Minister’ – the programme aimed at bringing the government close to
the people and was the vehicle for communicating the government
programmes and policies from time to time. This programme to elicit
public opinions and reviews on various schemes, programmes and departments of the State Government.

Naidu came up in life thought hard work and pragmatism. He knew that a political party could only achieve its targets through the Governmental agencies. "He wanted to make the government accountable, transparent clean and corruption free". So he started telephone conferences with his collectors at 6 A.M. every day checking with them that what was going on in that district and what needed to be done. Thus keeping a keen and close watch on them accelerated the implementation of government programmes.

The constructive role he played during 1996 and 1998 and the political crisis in the Centre gave him national and international fame. He is still called the 'King Maker'. The vision to look for into the future and patience to achieve his goals are two other assets. "At 49, Naidu is not really a man in hurry. He has often spoken publicly, of his plans to stick to state politics for at least 20 years before he will even looks Delhi wards. That was why he was content playing the king-maker in 1996, resisting the temptation to become the king himself".

He has been patron of high-tech and information technology. During his period, the information-technology section was well-developed and he introduced computers in primary sectors like land registration. Naidu wanted to keep Andhra Pradesh in the world map of international technology.

His Praja Deevana (People's blessings), call to intellectuals, professors and non-commited voters to evince interest in the elections
was a good response. Vijaya Rama Rao, from CBI Chief, Women’s College lecturers and functionaries have joined in the party.

In the light of the above, a phenomenal victory of Telugu Desman Party in the 1999 Assembly and Parliament elections was significant in many ways. In the Assembly TDP secured 180, BJP 12, Congress (I) 90, AIMIM 4, CPI (M) 2, Independents 4. Election at Sirpur countermanded. In the Lok Sabha TDP secured 29 seats, BJP 7, Congress (I) 5, and MIM 1.

First Naidu was often criticized by the opposition parties what the brute majority he had enjoyed in the last Assembly went to the credit of NTR and that he had grabbed it by stabbing his own father-in-law. But now the Andhra Pradesh electorate gave their verdict that it was Naidu’s image and not NTR’s charisma that won the power to the TDP.

Secondly, there is a generally accepted belief, which is known as ‘the ruling-opposition cycle’ or anti-establishment sentiment or incumbency which means no matter how well they performed their duties in power, would be overthrown by political parties reconciled over themselves to this psychology over the years and therefore preferred simply bide time during the 5 years tenure is shattered. In contrast, good governance and leadership that was credible, accessible and responsive could easily overcome the incumbency factor.

Thirdly, the TDP’s victory revealed the state electorates maturity in not succumbing to populism. They preferred a man who came to them with the slogan “I am tireless worker, so vote for me and I
will work even more”.36 Hence, Chandrababu Naidu considered the result “a positive vote for development”.37

Fourthly, the election results were a proof of NTR’s fading influence over the TDP. N. Harikrishna, NTR’s son and founder Ann-TDP and NTR’s second wife and President of NTR-TDP, Lakshmi Parvathi suffer humiliatory defeats. Both these parties did not even have a token presence in the new Assembly.

Fifthly, Naidu’s constant harping on empowering women and the encouragement offered by his government to encourage women welfare schemes like (DWCRA) in the state also made the TDP more attractive to female voters. “I have always said that there was an undercurrent of support for me from women and I have proved right38 exclaimed Naidu when he heard the results.

In the sixth place, the victory appeared to also indicate that contrary to expectations, the minorities did not turn away totally from the T.D.P., despite its seat adjustment with B. J. P.

**Election Manifesto of TDP (CN):**

The TDP Chandrababu Naidu group has also issued its election manifesto, which runs into around 15 pages, in glittering yellow colour with a photo of NTR on the top and Chandrababu Naidu below on the cover page. Chandrababu Naidu aptly believes “I see God in poor people and dedicate my life for their services. The domination of the State is possible only when poverty is completely eradicated. Let us proceed in that direction.”39
The party offers a concrete programme and sincere efforts to implement its policies and programmes to resurrect the nation out of the present state of morass and despondency. The TDP (CN) assures of a commitment in building new India – India dreamt by Gandhiji and for which millions of countrymen were greatly looking forward.

It maintains that Andhra Pradesh, which is richly endowed with abundance of natural and human resources, is utterly neglected. The development of the State was severely affected and people of Andhra Pradesh were subjected to step motherly treatment in every field by the Congress Government at the Centre and in the State during the previous years. The party had sought mandate of the people in the Lok Sabha elections as a logical corollary to their pledge that the people to provide efficient and clean Government. Such a Government, according to them, is possible only if TDP has its own strength in the Parliament to effectively represent, focus and pressurize and if necessary to participate in the Union Government to safeguard the interests of the people of the State.

Centre State Relations:

The manifesto made a frontal attack on Congress party’s rule at the Centre for its unsympathetic attitude to the aspirations of the people of the State and creating innumerable impediments in the way of the State Government in redeeming the pledges given to the people. Denial of funds, delay of sanctions, withholding of clearances of projects, negative responses to the proposals of the State and scant regard for the wishes of the people, etc., had thwarted the intended moves of the State
Government. It criticized the Congress for its attitude of checkmating the State Government and TDP it felt that the Congress at the Centre had resorted to diabolical designs to de-stabilize it and create all kinds of hurdles throwing to the winds the very accepted norm of political decency and constitutional propriety. The manifesto felt “to ignore the regional interests is to repudiate the very concepts of federalism and thus endanger the unity, integrity and security of the country”.

It emphasized on cordial Union-State relations. A fair and just relationship between the Centre and the State in evolving federal polity has been emphasized and the TDP Chandrababu Naidu group felt that coalition of effective regional representatives and some national parties would alone provide such unity of the country and protections of interest of the State. It reiterated that the TDP was not born out of urge for confrontation with the Centre but only to struggle for a fair and just relationship between the Centre and the States as envisaged in the constitution of India. In this context, it has maintained that the regional parties are nationally relevant.

The party expressed its deep concern about the centralization of administrative, legislative and financial powers in the Union Government. It had assured its commitment to the establishment of Inter-State Council and to activate National Development Council to adjust national consensus on major issues. It demanded a comprehensive review of Union-State relations having regard to the recommendations of Sarkaria Commission and other committees on the subject.

The Manifesto makes a mention in regard to financial relations. It felt that adequate resources should have been placed at the disposal
of the State to enable them to pursue the development programmes instead of making them depend upon the munificence of the Union Government. It felt that the Congress party leading the Union Government had failed miserably to rectify these imbalances in financial allocations between the State and the Centre. Elaborating further, the Manifesto said the Union Government retained as much as 70% of the resources in public domain and allocated only 30% resources to the State Government. A more elastic source of tax and revenue are reserved for the Centre, and the States are denied their due share in them. Thus it had demanded a total review of the financial relations. Adding further, it maintained Union Government’s monopoly on external funds required to be ceased. The State should have full power to borrow funds outside the country, which are expressing keen interest in funding major development projects in the State.

Planning:

Planning has also been mentioned as one of the aspects in the Manifesto. It felt that the Planning process as institutionalized during the Congress regime had failed miserably to achieve vital objectives. It felt that the Planning Commission though maintains an extra-constitutional position; its root runs in the country through the agency of Union Government. It criticized the Planning Commission for its role and operation through the will of the Centre. The Manifesto demanded to transform the commission into an expert body serving the purpose of the Centre and State, answerable to the State as much as to the Centre. In this context, it desired considerable status and powers by a private constitutional management.
Freedom of Expression:

The TDP believed strongly in the freedom of expression as an article of faith. The electronic media, radio and television have continued to play a vital role. Democratic polity is said to have been greatly corroborated by the ruling party using them as vehicles of the partisan interests. The Party assured to restore the dignity of such electronic media and make them instruments of development and modernization. It had reiterated its total and un-wavering commitment upholding the freedom of expression.

Independence of Judiciary

Even in regard to the independence of Judiciary the party expressed its full commitment. The TDP explained that it will stand for the establishment of Commission for judicial appointments consisting of Chief Justice of India as Chairman and specified number of High Court Judges as members for all appointments to the judiciary in consultations with the Union Government in regard to the appointments in Supreme Court and consultation with the Judges of the High Court and the concerned State Government in the appointment to the State High Court.

Agricultural Reforms:

The Party in its manifesto has also touched upon the Agricultural Policy in which the welfare of the farmer and farm worker had a paramount importance. It is a State subject under the Constitution. However, in practice the State had limited policy options
as the Center subtly had woven a strong hold on the economics of agricultural operations. For instance, the prices of agricultural commodities are controlled through the Agricultural Prices Commission where the State has no representatives. Consequently the prices of various agricultural commodities are fixed without reference to and without consulting States, which have greater stakes in the increased agricultural production, which is greatly depending upon the availability of major inputs on time and inadequate quantities. The party reiterated its commitment for effective implementation of land reforms and bring about equitable distribution of land. The Manifesto strongly criticized the Union Government for its callous approach in the clearance of major projects for quite a long time.

**Women Welfare:**

The party reiterated its stand on the empowerment of women. It assured to strive for equality, social justice and dignity of women through economic development. In this context, it has assured one-third jobs in all State Government departments and public undertakings, one-third investments from all State financial institutions, and one-third seats in all educational Institutions for women. Further, it proposed to reserve one-third seats in Assembly and Parliament for women, also, in All India services and other Central Government jobs. Besides, it has assured that all the Government benefits like house sites, houses, agricultural land, ration cards, etc. would be given in the name of women. It promised special attention towards the development of girl child.
Youth Advancement:

The subject concerning Youth Advancement has also found place in the Manifesto. It added that self-employment would be provided to youth and that they would be involved in village development activities. Individuals will be given various facilities and concessions like pre-examination coaching centers, youth hostels, travel concession for appearing for interview for Government jobs etc.

Welfare of Backward Classes:

The development of Backward Classes had been given an important thrust. Financial assistance to professional groups is assured. The State Backward Class Commission was to be empowered to supervise the implementation of rule of reservation and the principle of carrying forward of vacancies. The manifesto added that economic activity of land based Backward Classes will be supported by irrigation, bore-wells and other support schemes.

Welfare of Minorities:

Welfare of minorities have been another notable dimension found in the manifesto. The party assured integrated development of minorities through adequate opportunities like earmarking at least 10% of house, house sites, development of the minority concentration areas, setting up of residential schools and colleges, for minority children through substantial job allocation. Minority institutions educational, cultural, and religious, etc., would be given all support for their development. Economic advancement through Minority Financial
Corporation, representation on recruitment bodies, increased educational and employment opportunities are also mentioned. The party has expressed its commitment to the reconstruction of Babri Masjid on the original site.

Welfare of Weaker Sections:

Welfare of weaker sections is yet another important aspect found in the manifesto. It is indicated that the Scheduled Tribes in the forest areas would be given *Pattas* for the lands possessed by them before 1960. The backlog of SC and ST vacancies will be filled up by taking up special drive. Further a comprehensive tribal development through single line administration has been also indicated. The Party emphasized educational and economic advancement of S.Cs in this context; it has proposed the conversion of hostels, into residential schools for providing college education. Significantly it also promised the construction of Ambedkar Bhawan at each district headquarters.

Eight-Point Programme for Development of All:

In matters of development of all Sections of people, the TDP had outlined Eight-point programme, which is as below: 42

- The joint Forest Management concept will be popularized for development of the degraded forests and for conserving the existing forest, which will result in provision of gainful wage employment and in improving the environment.

- Special care for the drivers in private sector by providing accident insurance scheme without collecting any premium from them.
Minimum wages will be prescribed for workers in all activities in the unorganized sector by introducing suitable legislation.

Comprehensive programmes will be formulated and implemented for the development of artisans and professional groups like fisherman, weavers, washermen, toddy tapers, shepherds, sheep breeders, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, rock cutters, etc.

Provision of safe drinking water in both urban and rural areas will be taken up on war footing and in five years everyone will be provided with potable water.

Telugu Desam will endeavor to develop Housing on a large scale to meet the growing needs of urban and rural population, particularly the poorer sections.

Telugu Desam will work for the welfare of the workers organized and unorganized. A comprehensive labour policy will be formulated ensuring the welfare of the workers, increased production and productivity and lasting industrial peace and harmony.

Telugu Desam will similarly strive for the well being of the old, the handicapped. Welfare of the ex-servicemen will receive adequate attention.

The rural development is also another aspect, which has been emphasized. The Manifesto while assuring continuation of different programmes, promised building up necessary infrastructure for the successful implementation of the programmes.
The industrial policy is another notable dimension, which was mentioned as a broad note. It highlighted that the Party would follow Gandhian philosophy and brings about development of small and cottage industries in achieving the twin objectives of growth and employment.

It has also indicated its sincere desire to work for rapid development of infrastructure facilities like highways and other road network, railway lines, communication facilities, ports, etc. It had outlined to create a proper to promote substantial investment in power sector and other infrastructural facilities.

Corruption is also mentioned as a factor demoralizing the people. The party reiterated its firm conviction in ending corruption in the State. It assured creation of Lok Pal at the Centre and strengthening Lok Ayukta at the States.

Adding further the Manifesto revitalize the P.V.P. - ‘Prajala Vaddaku Patana’ (Taking Administration to the door steps of the people) and ‘Shramdan’ (Contributing voluntary service for development) programmes in the State. Even a few lines are added on Foreign policy, which outlines its firm commitment to the concept of non-alignment.

The Party dedicates itself to all-round progresses and balanced development of all sectors and all sections of people. From the above-mentioned discussion it is obvious that the TDP projected anti-Congress stand from the beginning. It has regional clout with a sense of national responsibility.
Naidu’s Dream of ‘Swarajandhra Pradesh’:

Naidu has an ambitious dream of ‘Swarajandhra Pradesh’ (Golden Andhra State) with the following objectives:

1) Where the poverty is eradicated and old and infirm and genuinely needy people are taken care.
2) Where people are enabled to learn, earn and lead healthful productive life.
3) Where society has small, healthy and wealthy family.
4) Where children are given a happy childhood and every opportunity to achieve full potential.
5) Where women and girls are empowered to fulfill their roles as equal partners in economic development.
6) Where creation of the resources, which people need, is a continuous process transforming their future.
7) Where farmers, entrepreneurs and professionals are enabled to perform a better role in their respective fields.
8) Where society embraces innovative and latest know-how to grow its crops, make its by-products and provide higher quality service.
9) Where the environment is safeguarded and cities and villages are clean, green and safe to live in.
10) Where the government is simple, transparent, accountable and responsive, and
11) Where system ensure people’s role in the governance of the State and that they have a strong voice.

To conclude, “the dream may be ambitious, even unrealizable. But it is the effort that deserves the attention of one and all”. 43

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The State under the dynamic leadership of Chandrababu Naidu, who is named as ‘India’s Politician 2000’, aims to make the state worthy model of emulation by combining agricultural prosperity with high-tech culture. Vision 2020 has been formulated with the great ideal of identifying the key sectors for the development of the state, optimal utilization of human resources and to raise economic resources so that the state of Andhra Pradesh will be remodeled into a modern and strong state. The document has been formulated with ideal that every citizen should be able to provide for his family, food, clothing, and shelter.

For the success of Vision 2020, 19 development indicators (growth engines) have been identified in agriculture, industry and services sectors. Six in agriculture (food grains, poultry, dairy farming, horticulture, agro-based industries, fisheries), six in industrial (construction, mining activities, expert oriented industries like tannery and apparels, medicine, small scale industry, industrial infrastructure) and seven in the service sectors have been identified (information technology oriented services, geographical tenability, tourism, small scale services, health protection, education).

Unveiling the futuristic document- Vision 2020, on January 20, 1999 at Lalita Kala Thoranam, the call made by the state Governor Dr. C. Rangarajan is very significant. He called upon the government and the people to exhibit the same dedication and spirit in implementing the Vision 2020, which they have exhibited in formulating the document, so that the State of Andhra Pradesh can be developed to be on par with international standards. He emphasized that in the coming two decades,
the development targets, banishment of poverty, social justice to people should be the important facets of this Vision. He mentioned that finding resources to implement Vision 2020 is a great challenge. He called upon people to make short-term sacrifices in order to achieve long-term benefits. He indicated that the priorities in expenditure should undergo a change, the lacuna in tax system should be addressed and tax collections should be improved, expenditure on non-productive items should be dropped, and reforms should be espoused for all-round development. The government has concentrated its vision on eradicating poverty, promoting social welfare, education for all, and health. He called upon people and people’s organizations to became partners in formulating these schemes, implementing and supervising the same.

Chandrababu Government spent a huge amount on government subsidies. Chandrababu’s vision is future oriented and development centered. Achieving a balance between welfare and development is his aim. He believed that the future of every citizen in the state is in achieving development, for which reforms are the only solution. Vision 2020 is based on this belief. It is aimed at taking the State into an overdrive mode.44

Chandrababu Naidu as Party President declared, “Development is my mandate, Reform is my road ahead, Good Governance is my motto, Performance is my message, Vision 2020 is my guide, Janmabhoomi is my spirit, Swarnandhra Pradesh is my goal. I strive to sustain them...”45

Many of the policies and programmes of TDP government have been appreciated and adopted by others. Chandrababu Naidu said,
"Imitation is the best compliment when many states initiated similar programmes". If NTR had given the people of Andhra Pradesh a great sense of pride and collective esteem, Naidu had sown the seeds of ambition, dreams and confidence. He had brought the state on global scene in many ways.

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