CHAPTER V

ROLE OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

OUTSIDE THE LEGISLATURE: 1975 - 1985
CHAPTER V


The purpose of the Party in Parliament (or State) Legislature is to support the Government in carrying out the Party policy or if the Party is in Opposition criticise the Government in so far as it fails to carry out the policy of the Party in Opposition. The primary function of a Party is to canalize and crystallize opinion - to narrow the policy alternatives before the voters and to compromise diverse views of individuals, groups and sections. This is exceedingly important to the democratic process.

Sigmund Neumann defines Political Party, "as the articulate organization of Society's active Political agents, those who are concerned with the control of governmental power and who compete for popular support with another group or groups holding divergent views. As such, it is the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relates them to political action within the larger political community."

The primary duty of a Parliamentarian is to represent his constituency and serve to the best of his ability the interests of his Constituents. The relationship between a Parliamentarian and electorate does not stop immediately after the elections. He should be in close touch with the electorate throughout his term. He should have an intimate knowledge of the area, the people and their problems. He should articulate their needs and expectations, complaints and grievances of individuals would have to be looked into. The duties of the member are multifarious and include long hours of reading, participation in social functions, preparation of speeches and delivery both inside and outside the House, correspondence, drafting questions, amendments, motions etc. The function of the legislature is to provide a means ensuring that there are channels of communication between the people and the executive, as a result of which it is possible for demands to be injected into the decision-making machinery whenever they exist and for the executive decisions to be checked if they raise difficulties, problems and injustices. Particularly, the Opposition Parties

4. The key note address delivered on 29th December 1986 by Sri Ramakrishna Hegde, the then Chief Minister of Karnataka at the Fourth Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Regional Seminar held at Bangalore, on Parliamentary Practice and Procedure for the CPA Branches in Asia, South East Asia and Africa Regions, See. Third Concept, Vol.1, No.8, October 1987, p. 22.

5. Ibid., p. 23.

expose the Government’s omissions and oppose the measures contrary to the Public interest.

The Opposition Parties operate outside and inside the legislature. The effective functioning of a Parliamentary Opposition depends on strict adherence to certain basic Principles and the application of certain well-known techniques adopted to given situations as they arise from time to time. These basic Principles are - (i) Unity of Policy, (ii) Effective leadership, (iii) Proper selection of issues, (iv) Defence of fundamental values and (v) Initiative. The role of the Opposition Parties (Janata and Congress-I) in the Legislature of Andhra Pradesh, has already been discussed in the previous Chapter. Let us now examine its role, strategy and tactics in Andhra Pradesh outside the Legislature from 1975 to 1985.

Outside the Legislature, the Opposition Parties Ventilate grievances, through various methods such as Press Statements, Strikes, Bandhs, Processions, Railrokos (Stopping the trains), Rastharokos (Stopping the road traffic), Public meetings, Jailbaros (Filling the jails) and criticism of Governmental Policies and its act of Omission and Commission. Through these methods they seek to bring to the attention of the Government, the grievances of the people.

whether these related to rising prices or the deteriorating situation of law and order or unemployment or inadequate supply of consumer goods or corruption in public life and public services or they specific issues of like abolition of the legislative council of Andhra Pradesh or reduce the age of retirement from 58 to 55 or police firing and lathi charge or lock-up deaths or hunger deaths or delay of irrigation projects or inadequate supply of drinking water to rural areas or other related public issues. These methods also serve the purpose of educating and enlightening the public of the important issues at stake and the policy of the opposition parties towards them.

These techniques give ample scope to the opposition parties to embarrass the ruling party. The opposition members used these methods with great skill and persistence during all these years i.e., from 1975 to 1985. After 1978, the opposition became more active in highlighting the blunders of the government. From 1983 onwards, the opposition parties played a vital role in focussing the governmental failures in various occasions.

In recounting the opposition parties' views on governmental policies in Andhra Pradesh outside the legislature from 1975 to 1985, section-I of this chapter examines the non-Congress opposition parties' attitudes towards the ruling Congress in Andhra Pradesh during the Emergency. Section-II summarises the role of Janata
opposition in particular and other Non-Congress Opposition Parties in general. Section-III outlines the role of Congress(I) from 1983 to 1985 in particular and other Non-Telugu-Desam-Parties in general. Section-IV offers a few conclusions.

SECTION-I: ROLE OF THE NON-CONGRESS OPPOSITION PARTIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH OUTSIDE THE LEGISLATURE - THE EMERGENCY REGIME

In 1972 Legislative Assembly elections, the Congress won 219 of the 270 seats it contested, P.V. Narasimha Rao again became Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh\(^8\). Following the Separate Andhra agitation\(^9\), P.V. Narasimha Rao resigned his Chief Ministership on January 17, 1973. On January 18, 1973 the President of India, under Article 356 took over the administration of Andhra Pradesh. The State Legislature was suspended\(^10\) rather than dismissed, so its members continued to receive their salaries. During the two Separatist


agitations (1969 and 1973) the Communist Parties stood with iron will for the continuation of an integrated State.

On the broad basis of support within the Congress Party (Swatantra and the Jana Sangh continued to demand a Separate State), Mrs. Indira Gandhi chose Vengal Rao (a Velama) as Chief Minister on December 10, 1973 after 11 months of President's Rule. After the 1972 Assembly Elections, the Communist Party of India had emerged as a big Opposition Party with only 8 members. The other Opposition Parties like Andhra Pradesh Socialist Progressive Democrats, Socialist Democratic Front, Peoples Democrats, Majlis Ittihadul Musalmeen, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Republican Party of India had 8, 7, 6, 6, 3, 2, 1 and 1 members each respectively. There were also 11 Independent members. The Jana Sangh, Socialists and Congress(o) Parties had no representation in the Assembly.

Coming to the national level, on June 26, 1975, Mrs. Indira Gandhi struck against her critics within the Congress Party, the Opposition Parties, and the Press with her proclamation of the National Emergency. Thousands of members of the Opposition Parties, including some of the Country's most prominent Political leaders, and many members of her own Party were arrested, the writ of 'habeas corpus' was suspended and the press censored, twenty-six Political

Organizations of the left and right were banned, public meetings and strikes were declared illegal, and numerous foreign journalists were expelled\textsuperscript{12}. As a result, the Opposition Parties were deprived of their leadership and forced to suspend their activities; only a small number, such as the Socialist leader George Fernandes, chose the only alternative of going underground\textsuperscript{13}. The following two years, aptly characterized by Professor Morris - Jones as a period of "Constitutional authoritarianism," 'tarnished India's image and stained Indira Gandhi's reputation\textsuperscript{14}.

During the period of 1975-1976 The Hindu mentioned 4 Press Statements released by the Non-Congress Opposition Parties, namely Bharatiya Jana Sangh, People's Democrats and Communist Party of India respectively against the Governmental policies of Andhra Pradesh.

The following summary provides an account of the attitudes of the Non-Congress Opposition towards the Governmental Policies:


(A) **Bharatiya Jana Sangh:**

The Andhra Pradesh Unit of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has opposed the compulsory levy system which had resulted in "unremunerative price" to the paddy producers and "unprecedented high price", of rice to the consumer. In a statement on January 19, 1975, the State Jan Sangh Secretary Bangaru Lakshman said that,

"the price of rice was shooting up despite the new crop arrivals in the market as the State Government could neither remove checkposts to allow free movement of food grains within the State nor could it prevent smuggling to other States".15

(B) **People's Democrats:**

The formation of Several corporations by the State Government was considered by A. Sreeramulu, Leader of the People's Democrats Group in the State Assembly as

"practically transferring all development activity to those Corporations, this amounted to abdication of its responsibility".16

(C) **Communist Party of India:**

On April 17, 1975 - 10 persons were killed and 8 others injured in the Police firing at Muppala Village in Vinukonda taluk of Guntur District. Rajab Ali (CPI) along

with an Independent member, C.V.K. Rao, demanded a Judicial Enquiry on this matter. In a joint statement on April 19, 1975 they said, the incident exposed the "chaotic and irresponsible administration". It had occurred while the ruling party leaders were "indulging in amusement and entertainment at Hyderabad, in the name of the World Telugu Conference".  

SECTION-II: ROLE OF THE JANATA AND NON-Congress(I)

OPPOSITION PARTIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH OUT-SIDE THE LEGISLATURE - THE CONGRESS REGIME

Although Mrs. Indira Gandhi had got the life of the Lok Sabha extended by one more year on November 5, 1976, rumours were afloat in the Country that she was planning to hold elections. In an unscheduled broadcast to the Nation on January 18, 1977 she said, that she had recommended to the President dissolution of the Lok Sabha and the holding of election for a new Lok Sabha in March 1977, twelve months before the extended term of the House expired. The reason she gave for this decision was "to restore the political processes on which we were compelled to put some curbs". A number of factors are believed to have influenced Indira Gandhi's decision to hold elections. Robert L. Hardgrave writes:

18. See, "Reaffirming the Power of the People", Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi's Broadcast to the Nation, January 18, 1977, New Delhi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
1) Most important, she expected Congress to win. The economy was strong, and the benefits attributed to the Emergency were believed to have attracted wide support, especially in rural areas and among the poor.

2) In addition, "it seemed unlikely that the splintered Opposition Parties could organize themselves into an effective political force with a common platform and a set of candidates on such short notice".

3) Another factor may have been, Gandhi's desire to establish a case in Parliament for Sanjay so that he could succeed her as a Prime Minister.

4) Finally, Congress, victory would legitimize the Emergency and Vindicate Gandhis' actions.

In January 1977, the Emergency was relaxed, a large number of detainees were released and the elections announced. The formation of the Janata Party was based on a response of the four Opposition Parties to the challenge posed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi to the survival of Party system in India. The experience of the Emergency phase had convinced the Opposition Parties that their very existence was in danger, and the Sixth Lok Sabha Elections of March 1977 might be a last opportunity for them to challenge the Congress Party's domination over Indian Politics. The first step in the formation of the Janata Party was dictated by the instinct of survival of the Opposition Parties. The

Janata combination which symbolised the "Second freedom struggle" won a massive electoral victory in March 1977. Free India saw, for the first time in history, the seats of power at the Centre being occupied by Non-Congress Ministers. Coming to Andhra Pradesh, the Janata Party was born on January 30, 1977, N. Sanjeeva Reddy formally announced the formation of the State Committee at a meeting and Tenneti Viswanatham, the first Chairman, described it as a "new movement" to bring freedom to the people. The Janata Party manifesto was based on the ideal of building up democratic socialism based on Gandhian values in India. The Party constituted Committees both in youth and trade unions. Ayyappa Reddy was elected as the Janata Legislature Party leader. After the 1978 Assembly Elections, the Janata Party emerged as a main Opposition in Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly with 60 members. G. Latchanna of Janata was elected the Opposition Leader in the Assembly. After the split in the Janata Party at Centre, the strength of


24. B. Ayyappa Reddy, a Congress leader opposed the selection of J. Vengal Rao as Chief Minister. He openly clashed with Vengal Rao regarding the diversion of the Krishna waters to Rayalaseema. As Vengal Rao was vindictive, he left the Congress to join the newly formed Janata Party. Later, he joined in Telugu Desam and become as an M.P.
Janata Party was reduced from 60 to 5 members in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. The CPI had 7 members and the CPI(M) had 6 members respectively in the Assembly. The old partners of the Janata Party - Lok Dal and BJP - had 7 and 3 members respectively in the Assembly.

During the period of 1977 - 1982, The Hindu mentioned 61 press statements released by the Non-Congress(I) Parties namely the Janata (14), the BJP (8), the CPI (7), the CPI(M) (9), the Lok Dal-B (1), the Congress (Socialist)(9), and the Republican Party(K) against the Governmental policies and programmes headed by the Congress Party. Out of sixty-one, 12 statements were released jointly by the different Opposition Parties on the different occasions.

The following summary provides an account of the views of the Non-Congress Opposition towards the Congress Government Policies and Programmes, during this period of the study.

(A) Janata Party:

The Janata Party in view of strength played a very strong critical role till 1980, but after the 1980 split in the party, its role was very nominal. The summary below illustrates the points made by it.

At a large public meeting on February 12, 1977 at Hyderabad, N. Sanjiva Reddy, the Janata Party leader,
condemned the arrest under MISA of great freedom fighters. He said, "Our Prime Minister put 1.5 lakh Persons in Jails and did not disclose where they were and it was a pity that Morarji Desai despite his oldage, was kept in isolation." 25. In the same meeting, Tennesi Viswanatham, State Janata Party Chairman said, "the Country's economic situation was pretty bad. The value of rupee during the British time was 95 paisa and when Mrs. Indira Gandhi took over in 1969, it was 69 paisa and by now it had deteriorated to 25 paisa. This clearly showed the high rise in prices. The 42nd Constitution Amendment gave Government more powers than Emergency and employees, students and labourers could not go to any court of law at this juncture to safeguard the common man's interests." 26.

The Janata Legislature Party in a resolution declared on August 4, 1977 that the "dismal performance of the Vengal Rao ministry and its failures prove the fact that it has become an unnecessary burden on the people. Viewed from any angle, either the charges of corruption or killing of naxalites or incompetence and inefficiency, the ministry has no justification to continue". Further, the resolution said, "Government stands fully exposed for all-pervasive rampant corruption and maladministration. Payment of

advances to contractors, favours to political supporters
and their rehabilitation to high positions, granting exemp-
tions from urban ceiling to the elite (including the former
chief secretary) are some of the issues we highlighted.\textsuperscript{27}

A three day meeting of the Executive of the Janata
Party adopted a resolution on October 1, 1977, which said
that "the people are growing restless on account of corrup-
tion, rising prices, conditions of drought and failure of
the law and order situation. The resentment is also increa-
sing against continuance of Vengal Rao's ministry inspite
of the large-scale killing of innocent people as naxalites".
The Janata Party asked the Governor of Andhra Pradesh to
remove the ministry from office. Further the resolution
said, "When charges of large scale corruption, abuse of
power and illegal acquisition of wealth against the Chief
Minister and some of his colleagues, are under enquiry by
the Vimalalal Commission, it is inappropriate and violative
of the spirit of Constitution for the present Government to
continue in office with capacity to tamper the evidence.\textsuperscript{28}

On April 3, 1978, Six Janata Party members of the
Assembly - those of K. Prabhakar Reddy, S. Jaipal Reddy,
B. Machinder Rao, M. Venkaiah Naidu, N. Narasimha Reddy

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{The Hindu}, 14-8-1977, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{The Hindu}, 2-10-1977, p. 13.
and Mrs. T. Lakshmi Kantamma - strongly condemned what they called the "unprovoked and unwarranted police firings on the innocent citizens in various localities of the twin cities". They demanded a Judicial Enquiry into police firings.

G. Latchanna, acting President of the State Janata Party and Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly charged the Government on May 17, 1978, "with duping the farmers" in regard to the purchase of the paddy damaged in the cyclone of November 1977.

The "Save India" day programmes organised by the Congress(I) for August 9, 1978 were criticised by the Janata Legislature Party which said, that "should there be any untoward incidents, the ministry shall forfeit its legal and moral right to rule the State. The people would be free to launch a campaign to save Andhra Pradesh from anarchical rule". In this context on August 3, 1978, S. Jaipal Reddy, Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly and a number of Janata legislators said, that the people of the Country had liberated themselves "from the dynastic depotism of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and thus saved India. What is left for the Congress(I) is to save Mrs. Indira Gandhi from the nemesis of her Emergency crimes.

29. The Hindu, 4-4-1978, p. 13.
It is therefore, more appropriate to call it "Save Indira" day rather than "Save India" day\textsuperscript{31}.

On August 6, 1978, G. Latchanna, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, demanded a Judicial Enquiry into arson of Kothuru Jaganathapuram Village, in which six persons were burnt\textsuperscript{32}.

G. Latchanna, along with three Janata members of the Assembly demanded on August 20, 1978 the immediate withdrawal of the notification for conducting auctions of arrack shops. He said, they should be allotted to tapper’s Co-operative Societies by waiving all existing conditions and the time limit for filling applications for allotment of shops extended to September 1, 1978. They urged steps to implement the minimum wages Act\textsuperscript{33}.

The Janata Party State Executive criticised the Governments’ move to hold elections to Panchayat bodies in two phases. It said, the election of Presidents of Panchayat Samithis alone on Party basis was "Politically motivated and does not stand any kind of reasons". On January 21, 1980, S. Jaipal Reddy, Leader of the Janata Group in the Assembly said, that his party "in the first Place is not certain that elections would be held on the

\textsuperscript{31} The Hindu, 4-8-1978, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{32} The Hindu, 7-8-1978, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{33} The Hindu, 21-8-1978, p. 13.
dates announced in view of the past performance of the Government.\textsuperscript{34}

The State Council of Janata Party in Andhra Pradesh demand a Judicial Enquiry into the charges of corruption leveled against the former Chief Minister Dr. M. Chenna Reddy and some of his Cabinet colleagues by the ruling party legislators. On January 28, 1981 the Party resolution said, "the allegations of corruption cannot be hushed up through political deals. The allegations against the former Chief Minister and allegations made against the then dissident Ministers by the then supporters of the Chief Minister should be enquired into through a judicial process."\textsuperscript{35}

The cancellation of Assembly Session in February 1981 was felt by S. Jaipal Reddy, Leader of the Janata Party in the Legislative Assembly as "a part and parcel of the process of systematic sabotage of democratic institutions and Constitutional procedures."\textsuperscript{36}

On January 15, 1982, S. Jaipal Reddy condemned "the indiscriminate arrests of hundreds of trade union leaders and political workers. The Chief Minister, T. Anjaiah's policy of ruthless repression against workers is doomed to be counter productive."\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{34} The Hindu, 22-1-1980, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{35} The Hindu, 29-1-1981, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{36} The Hindu, 5-2-1981, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{37} The Hindu, 16-1-1982, p. 1.
In an another Statement, S. Jaipal Reddy said, that it was ironical that the Chief Minister, T. Anjaiah "who takes pride in having been a professional trade unionist should have adopted such naked facist measures to suppress a token one-day protest of the working class"\(^{38}\).

(B) **Bharatiya Janata Party:**

During the period of 1980-1982, the Bharatiya Janata Party released 8 Statements over the Congress Governmental Policies in Andhra Pradesh. The Party's Performance as an Opposition was reflected through the Processions, Strikes, Bandhs, Rastharokos, Gheroas.

The Bharatiya Janata Party demanded a Judicial Enquiry into the charges by dissident Congress(I) of legislators against the Chief Minister and the Revenue Minister, N. Janardhan Reddy. On July 29, 1980, M. Venkaiah Naidu, Leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party in the Assembly said, the President should dismiss the Chief Minister Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, as the entire government machinery had come to a standstill for the previous three months (i.e., from May 1980 to July 1980) due to internal wrangles in the Congress(I) in the State. Further, he said, that files from the Chief Minister's office were not moving and he held the four major portfolios of Major Irrigation, Industries, Commercial Taxes and Power\(^{39}\). On October 13, 1980,

\(^{38}\) The Hindu, 19-1-1982, p. 12.

\(^{39}\) The Hindu, 30-7-1980, p. 12.
the Bharatiya Janata Party demanded a Judicial Probe on the corruption charges against the Ex. Chief Minister, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy and some of his Cabinet Ministers. M. Venkaiah Naidu said, "the public has a right to ask for a Judicial Enquiry and unless these charges are cleared how can the people expect a clean government from the new Chief Minister".40

On January 22, 1981, M. Venkaiah Naidu described as "most unfortunate the continuous internal bickerings in the ruling party", in the State. He said, that since May 1979, when the bickerings came to surface following the then Chief Minister Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, dropping Seven Ministers from his Cabinet, the State was passing through political uncertainty and Ministers had visited Delhi Eleven times in big groups in order to retain their position in the Cabinet. Further, M. Venkaiah Naidu said, "This is not an internal matter of the Congress(I) but it concerns the State".41

M. Venkaiah Naidu, demanded that the Assembly meet every alternative month and its proceedings be telecast and broadcast. On April 10, 1981 he said, that "though the Opposition members were numerically small, they had been able to make a good impact in the State Assembly and

Outside Legislature, and succeeded in getting from commit-
m ents on many important issues from the Government"42.

The delegation of BJP workers led by Mrs. Kumud B.
Naik, MLC and President of the city BJP, demanded a Judi-
cial Enquiry into the communal disturbances in Hyderabad in
the third week of July 1981 and also the release of BJP
leaders arrested under the National Security Act in that
connection. In this context, A. Narendra, Secretary of the
BJP State Unit, cautioned the Government on July 9, 1981
about "trouble brewing in the old city and how the Majlis
leaders were fanning communal frenzy by provocative spee-
ches at meetings". The move to implicate the BJP in the
disturbances, he said, was a "Shameless attempt to hide
the glaring incapacity of the Government to effectively
deal with the communal riots engineered by Majlis and Con-
gress(I) miscreants. It is the ruling Party that has shared
its platform with the Majlis and actively colluded with
them for their political ends.43.

On September 13, 1982 the Hyderabad Unit of the BJP
took out a procession to Raj Bhavan to express its protest
against the Bihar Press Bill. This procession was led by
V. Rama Rao, Mrs. Kumud B. Naik (both MLC's), A. Narendra,
Baddam Bal Reddy, Dr. Bhagwanth Rao, Mrs. A. Samanthaka
Reddy and other BJP leaders. They submitted to the

Governor's aide a memorandum criticising the ruling Party's attempts to "throttle press freedom" and demanding the withdrawal of anti-press laws and amendment of the Constitution to guarantee Press freedom.\(^{44}\)

The State Working Committee of the BJP held at Ongole on September 25 and 26, 1982 demanded the dissolution of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly, imposition of President's rule and the holding of elections as scheduled. So that the people could be relieved from the corrupt and inefficient misrule by the Congress(I) in the State. On the Political situation in the State, the Party's resolution said that "it was regrettable that the Congress(I) leadership at Delhi could not find even one among the 260 Congress(I) State MLA's fit enough to be the Chief Minister". The Committee asked the Government to form all-Party committee to supervise drought relief works.\(^{45}\)

(C) **Communist Party of India**

The CPI's attitudes towards the Congress(I) Government is described in the following pages:

The State Unit of the Communist Party of India demanded a Judicial Enquiry into the "killings of Naxalites and torture in police custody" and to punish all those responsible for these irrespective of their position. In a

Statement on May 21, 1977 the Party said, a large number of naxalites "have been killed in cold blood while in police custody".46

The State Council of the Communist Party of India held at Hyderabad on July 22-25, 1977, "strongly condemned the inordinate delay" of the State Government in implementing the Land Ceiling Act and in distributing the surplus lands to the land-less poor. The Party's resolution said, "the tribunals have declared 12, 54, 230 acres of dry land and 98, 445 acres of wet land as surplus. But the land taken over by the Government and distributed was only a lakh of acres of dry land and 7,000 acres of wet lands".47

Ch. Rajeswara Rao, Leader of the CPI group in the Legislative Assembly and N. Giriprasad, Assistant Secretary of the State Council of CPI, presented a memorandum to the Chief Minister, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, and urged the release of all naxalite "political prisoners" in the State. On May 12, 1978 the Party's Press release said, "even the Central Government's guidelines sent to States last year asking them to release all the naxalite convict prisoners who have completed more than five years of imprisonment, including the remand period, and those who wrote to the Government abjuring violence in future, have not so far been implemented in our State".48

47. The Hindu, 30-7-1977, p. 13.
On January 10, 1979 Ch. Rajeswara Rao, Leader of the CPI group in the State Legislative Assembly, demanded a Judicial Probe into the Police firing on Coal miners in Mandamarri in Adilabad District on January 6, 1979. In a Statement, he said, that four workers had died on the spot and that the Police fired on the demonstrators who had gathered to protest against an attack on V.T. Abraham, who had been organising the Coal loading labour.49.

The Andhra Pradesh State Council of the Communist Party of India, demanded a Judicial Enquiry into the Sashtipoorthi Celebrations of the Chief Minister, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy. N. Giriprasad, Secretary of the CPI, said in a Statement on 15 February, 1979 that the "entire administrative machinery was fully geared and all Government officials were forced to participate in the Sashtipoorthi functions"50.

Reacting to the Police firing at Indervalli Village in Adilabad District on April 20, 1981 in which 13 Gonda tribes were killed. The Communist Party of India demanded a Judicial Enquiry. In a statement on April 22, 1981, N. Giriprasad, Secretary of the State Council, said the peaceful atmosphere in Adilabad District had been vitiated by the naxalites and Congress(I). He appealed to the

naxalites and the Congress(I) to stop the "sectarian clashes between various sections of tribals and weaker sections and help settle the land disputes between them". Ch. Vittal Reddy, CPI member of the Assembly from Medak has demanded a Judicial Enquiry on April 22, 1981 in to the Police firing in Allipur Village in Narasapur taluk on April 19, 1981 following the death of three persons in a clash.

(D) Communist Party of India (Marxist):

The CPI(M)'s views over the Congress(I) Government are indicated in the following pages.

The Andhra Pradesh Committee of the CPI(M) demanded the scraping of MISA, DIR and other draconian laws. It wanted the Government to release all persons who had been jailed for participating in political and trade union and other mass movements. On April 8, 1977, the CPM demanded a public Judicial Enquiry into the "Killings by police of more than 300 naxalites in Andhra Pradesh before and during the Emergency".

On June 7, 1977, the Krishna District Unit of the CPM organised a procession and a public meeting to demand the dismissal of the Vengal Rao Ministry in Andhra Pradesh.

Moturi Hanumantha Rao, Secretary of the State Unit of the Party, demanded the Central Government to dismiss the Ministry and set up a Commission of Enquiry to go into the alleged killings of naxalites in the State both before and during the Emergency. He wanted that the findings of the Tarkunde Committee on the atrocities on naxalites would be followed up and the guilty punished.\textsuperscript{54}

The State Unit of the CPM condemned the State Government's attitude towards the enquiry by the Bhargava Commission into the alleged killing of naxalites by Policemen. On July 10, 1978 the Party's Committee resolution said, "the Government wanted to shield Police officers who had committed atrocities. The Government had further suppressed the Mukthadar Commission Report on the atrocities at Nallakunta Police Station, Hyderabad". Further the Committee said, "the Union Government, which had appointed the Shah Commission to go into excesses during the Emergency was adopting a double standard when it came to the question of enquiries into atrocities in Andhra Pradesh. It has enabled the State Government to bring the Bhargava Commission to a close. The Committee wanted the Centre to take steps for the continuance of the work initiated by the Bhargava Commission.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{The Hindu}, 8-6-1977, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{The Hindu}, 11-7-1978, p. 13.
The Andhra Pradesh Unit of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemned the attacks on Party members and leaders in Warangal, Khammam, and Nalgonda Districts by "certain Political groups and the police" and demanded that the State Government take stringent action against such groups. The meeting of the members of the State Committee and District Committees of the CPM held on January 12, 1979 demanded that "the Government order its purchasing agencies to buy all stocks at notified prices and postpone collection of dues until the peasants sold their stocks" 56.

The Secretariat of the Andhra Pradesh Unit of the CPM called upon all Opposition and left parties and forces to join hands in fighting the anti-people policies and the corrupt practices of the Andhra Pradesh Government. In a Statement on February 4, 1979 released by M. Hanumantha Rao, Secretary of the CPM, said the Chief Minister's "Sashtipoorthi Celebration had become a public affair instead of being a private function. Government machinery was abused and funds were collected from the public for the celebration" 57.

M. Hanumantha Rao, MLC and Secretary of the State Committee of the CPM described as unwarranted the decision of the State Government to promulgate an ordinance to provide

56. The Hindu, 13-1-1979, p. 11.
for the detention of anti-social elements. In a Statement on October 26, 1979, he said, "cutting the duration of the sessions of the Legislature to avoid discussion and making ordinances arbitrarily has become the order of the day. Particularly with this ordinance it is clear the Government which has already been using all repressive methods to suppress the people's voice is further drifting to an Emergency rule"\textsuperscript{58}.

An unofficial ban was imposed on the CPM in Narasampet taluk of Warangal District and all legal rights were denied to the Party, according to M. Omkar, Deputy Leader of the CPM in the State Assembly. He said during the previous 16 months from January 1979, more than 1000 offences had been committed in the District and about 150 villages were raided in Narasampet taluk alone since November 1979. He said more than 2000 people were forced to leave their houses and about 1000 people were either beaten up or tortured. M. Omkar, demanded a Judicial Enquiry into these incidents. He appealed to all "democratic forces to raise their voice against this inhuman repression. I urge the Government to stop this repression and prove that it is really impartial and interested in maintaining Law and Order in the District"\textsuperscript{59}.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{The Hindu}, 27-10-1979, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{The Hindu}, 15-4-1980, p. 12.
On July 24, 1980, M. Hanumantha Rao, Secretary of the State CPM, demanded a Judicial Enquiry into the firing at Karamchedu in Prakasam District which resulted in the death of two students and bullet injuries to five other, including four students.

(E) Lok Dal (B):

The following passage provides Lok Dal (B)'s views over the Government Policies headed by the Congress(I) Party. Sunkara Satyanarayana, the State Lok Dal General Secretary and MLC in a statement on September 13, 1982 criticised the Ministers for rushing to Delhi as part of the struggle for a change in the leadership as the state was reeling under a drought unprecedented for 25 years. He demanded the resignation of the Ministry as its members had lost the right to rule the State. He said famine situation had overtaken 98 taluks in 13 Districts.

(F) Republican Party:

The summary below provides the Republican Party's attitude over the ruling Congress(I).

On February 15, 1979, Mrs. J. Eswari Bhai, former MLA and State Republican Party leader, demanded the constitution of a House Committee of the Legislature or a high level probe by the Government of India into various allegations about the Sashtipoorthi celebrations of the Chief Minister, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy.

60. The Hindu, 25-7-1980, p. 12.
(c) Congress(I):

The summary below indicates the Party's reactions towards the ruling Congress(I) during the period of 1978-1982.

After the 1978 State Assembly elections, Bhattam Sriramamurthy said, that the electorate had given its verdict in favour of the Congress(I) to rule the State and it was for the Congress Legislators to function as an Opposition Party. On March 5, 1978 he said, "there are some people who say that we should always be with the ruling party and be with people who are in power. I do not approve of this approach. The Congress was in power in the State till now but 123 candidates belonging to the party have lost deposit in the elections. Why should such a party think of merging with the ruling party? In a democracy there is need for Opposition Parties and people, who have enjoyed power, should also sit in the Opposition. If the Congress(I) governs the State well, it is to the good of the people. If it does not rule well, then we should oppose and tell the ruling party men that it was wrong." 63

The Congress Legislature Party meeting on March 16, 1978 under the leadership of Jalagam Vengal Rao expressed the view that the ruling Congress(I) Party in the State was encouraging defections which would in the long run be harmful to the traditions of party discipline and to the Congress(I) itself 64.

63. The Hindu, 6-3-1978, p. 13.
64. The Hindu, 17-3-1978, p. 11.
K. Rosaiah, leader of the Congress in the Council said in a Statement on April 14, 1978 that since the Janata Government assumed office at the Centre the procurement price of wheat had been increased for a second time recently, without any corresponding increase in paddy price. He said, "the Janata Government appears to be interested in the welfare of wheat producers but not paddy producers". Further he said, "The State Government has not finalised its policy of procurement in rabi crop though the crop had come into the market a month ago. The Government usually finalised its policy well before the harvest. The delay was adding to miserable staff of the paddy producer in the State".65

He criticised the Government for deciding to withdraw its case in the Supreme Court on the urban Land Ceiling Act Case without preparing an ordinance to replace the Act. In a Statement on July 26, 1978, Rosaiah said, "Though the Government calls itself progressive, it has started undermining the urban Land ceiling Act. Exemptions are being given freely and there is also palm-greasing going on in these cases".66

He demanded that the Government headed by Dr. M. Chenna Reddy should resign forthwith "since the Budget figures for 1978-1979 have been released to the press by a

Minister namely K.V.R.S. Padmanabha Raju (Minister for Social Welfare). In a Statement on August 8, 1978, he said that this was not a case where the Finance Minister only would have to resign but the entire Government should resign keeping the secrecy of the Budget, he said was the sacred and prime duty of every Minister. "But surprisingly and as if there is no need to get legislative sanction, Padmanabha Raju told the press on August 6, 1978 about the Budget provisions for the Social Welfare Department".  

On October 8, 1978, K. Rosaiah alleged that the State Government had failed in maintaining Law and Order and in managing the finances of the State. There was unrest in the campuses of Colleges and Universities. Extremists were active in Karim Nagar, Warangal and Khammam Districts.

K. Rosaiah was strongly opposed to the Government's decision to conduct Panchayat elections on party symbols. In a press conference on January 27, 1979, he said that the Balwant Rai Committee and the Ashoka Mehta Committee had observed that the Panchayat Raj Institutions should be free from Party politics. If elections to Panchayat Raj bodies were conducted on Party symbols it would lead to quarrels in villages. He felt that elections should not be conducted on Party symbols.

The Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee (U) has criticised the holding of Tourist festival and said the programmes were meant for the elite class. The festival "brings back to our minds the miserable times which people in this part of the country witnessed under a feudal set up". In a statement on January 27, 1980, the two General Secretaries of the Party, P. Ramabrahmam and C. Premanand said, while there was no power for vital industrial production, public illumination was being resorted to in a vulgar fashion in all hotels. While the doctors strike for the past two months had resulted in the poor going without medical aid. The teachers had also struck work in private degree colleges. Power shortage had, made matters worse. In these circumstances, "holding a tourist festival is like Nero fiddling while Rome was burning" they said.\footnote{The Hindu, 28-1-1980, p. 12.}

The large size of the Anjaiah Ministry was strongly criticised by the leader of the Congress(U) in the Legislative Council, R. Narapa Reddy on December 12, 1980. He expressed the view that this would bring to contempt the Parliamentary System and convince people that a change of the system would also solve their problems. He said that 15 Ministers in Ajnaiah's Cabinet had submitted a petition to the Prime Minister alleging serious charges against the former Chief Minister, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy. "If a Janata-type of enquiry was not good for the new Chief Minister,
then let him appoint at least a House Committee or a High Court Judge to enquire into those charges.\(^71\).

(H) **Combined Programmes led by the Non-Congress(I) Parties:**

During the Congress(I) regime the Non-Congress(I) Parties conducted some combined programmes like Bandhs, Strikes, Press Statements etc., to highlight the Congress(I) Government's failures. The following summary provides an account of the nature of the combined programmes of the Non-Congress(I) Opposition Parties over the Congress(I) Government.

Four Non-Congress(I) Opposition leaders criticised the State Government for involving the rice millers in the purchase of cyclone-affected paddy in the State. At a Press conference on May 4, 1978, G. Latchamma, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly (Janata), K. Rosaiah, Leader of the Opposition in the Council (Congress), Y.V. Krishna Rao, Leader of the CPI Legislature Party and V. Purushotham Reddy (Janata) said, "we had insisted that the Government alone should purchase the stocks through its agencies. We had opposed the induction of middlemen in the procurement scheme and the Chief Minister agreed with us on this point. It is therefore, curious that the Chief Minister should announce the Government decision and link it up with the all-party Steering Committee". Further, they said, "Other important questions have not at all been tackled by the Government."

We have demanded that the Government should purchase the damaged paddy. Nothing has been said about this demand. Several small ryots have made distress sales and incurred heavy losses. We demanded that reasonable relief should be given to those helpless victims of the situation and that fresh stocks of paddy in the market should be purchased by Government at Rs. 95 per quintal on the Tamil Nadu pattern. But the Government has not come to grips with the subject, except saying that an officer would be deputed to study the situation in Madras.\(^72\)

On May 6, 1978, G. Latchanna, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly (Janata); P. Sundarayya, Leader of the Marxist group in the Assembly and M. Balakrishnamma, MLC, suggested to the Ashoka Mehta Committee, enquiring into the Panchayat Raj Institutions, that there should be simultaneous direct elections to the Members of Panchayat, Presidents of Panchayats, Members of the Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Parishads. The elections to the Panchayat Samithi presidents and Zilla Parishad Chairman should be held the same day.\(^73\)

Leaders of Five Opposition Parties, called a State-wide 'bandh' on November 6, 1979 following the death of a 27-year old porter G. Anjaiah, who died due to Police beating

72. The Hindu, 5-5-1978, p. 11.
73. The Hindu, 7-5-1978, p. 11.
near the Gowliguda bus depot in Hyderabad. G. Latchanna, MLA and President of the Lok Dal, V. Purushotham Reddy, MLC and General Secretary of Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, N. Giri Prasad, Secretary of the State Unit of CPI, V. Rama Rao, MLC and Janata Party Secretary and Salahuddin Owaisi, MLA and Leader of the Majlis in a joint statement on November 4, 1979 wanted that the police officials responsible for the death of Anjaiah be arrested and tried for murder. They also demanded the resignation of the Chief Minister, Dr. N. Chenna Reddy whose “corrupt Government is encouraging the atrocious behaviour of the police”.

Leaders of Six Opposition Parties - the Congress, the Janata, the CPI, the CPI(M) and the Majlis have issued a statement on November 27, 1979, criticising the State Government for its "object failure to take effective steps to prevent disturbances in the old city of Hyderabad, despite the caution given by the Central Government in the wake of seizure of the Grand Mosque at Mecca". Further they said, "we are surprised that the Government failed to seek the co-operation of Political Parties, mass organisations and prominent citizens to restore peace".

74. The Hindu, 5-11-1979, p. 11.
75. The Hindu, 28-11-1979, p. 12.
Leaders of Seven Opposition Parties - P. Sundarayya (CPI-M), S. Jaipal Reddy (Janata), R. Narapa Reddy (Congress-U), K.L. Mahendra (CPI), Salahudddeen Owaisi (Majlis), Bangaru Laxman (BJP), and P. Janardhan Reddy (Lok Dal) - said in a Statement on July 23, 1980, that the "prices of essential commodities such as sugar, edible oils and fertilizer, had reached unapproachable levels while commodities like cement and diesel had disappeared from the open market. The Central Budget had only added to the misery of the common man."76.

The United Opposition Parties Action Committee Members- P. Sundarayya (CPI-M), S. Jaipal Reddy (Janata), P. Janardhan Reddy (Lok Dal), J.D. Suryaprakasa Reddy (BJP), R. Narapa Reddy (Congress-U) and N. Girirasad (CPI) - said on September 27, 1980 that the "Government has chosen to ignore the universal expression of people's support to its demands", as demonstrated during the Vijayawada rally and September 24, 1980, bandh. The panel had called upon the people to refuse to pay taxes and cesses on land, electricity bills of agricultural services and loan instalments77.

The State All Party Action Committee has given a call for bus bandh on December 20, 1980 and mass picketing of taluk offices from January 5, 1981 in a bid to step up the agitation on behalf of the farmers and other sections

of people. Earlier this Committee, consisting of representatives of Eight Opposition Parties, had organised a mass rally, a State-wise bandh and dharna and gave a no-tax payment call in pursuance of its charter of demands. The demands include remunerative prices for agricultural produce, writing off of farmers dues to various Institutions and house sites and house assistance to the poor, drought relief measures was added as the 12th demand in the charter by the Committee which held a marathon session at Vijayawada on 13 December, 1980. P. Sundarayya of the CPI(M), G. Latchanna of the Lok Dal, S. Jaipal Reddy of the Janata, N. Giriprasad of the CPI, M. Venkaiyah Naidu of the BJP and R. Narapa Reddy of the Congress(U) attended the above session. The Committee called upon the people in the drought-hit areas to organise themselves vigorously to put pressure on the Government for relief measures on a massive scale 78.

In a joint Statement on July 3, 1981, Leaders of Six Opposition Parties in the State—G. Latchanna (Lok Dal), S. Jaipal Reddy (Janata), R. Narapa Reddy (Congress-U), Ch. Rajeswara Rao (CPI), M. Omkar (CPI-M) and M. Bangaru Lakshman (BJP) —demanded direct election of the Zilla Parishad Chairmen or an expanded electoral college, with Sarpanches also as voters. The Opposition leaders said that the ruling parties "attempt to capture Zilla Parishads

by hook or crook is demonstrated by the tactics adopted in Khammam District. Fourteen legislators and members of Parliament including two Ministers are being sent to Khammam Zilla Parishad to prevent the Opposition from winning the election. They said, "this not only outrages electoral justice but also militates against the philosophy of local self government." 79.

In a joint statement on July 16, 1981, Leaders of the Opposition Parties - V.B. Raju (Congress-Urs), G. Latchanna (Lok Dal), P. Babul Reddy, S. Jaipal Reddy, and G.C. Kondaiah (all are Janata) - requested the State Government to consider relaxation of curfew in areas in Hyderabad where they have found the situation returning to normal after communal incidents (July 13-15, 1981). The joint statement said, "we have gone round the affected areas of the city where round-the-clock curfew has been imposed. In more than three hours of our going round the various localities and meeting the people and the police officials, we have found the city returning to normal." 80.

The convention of Opposition leaders - Lok Dal, Congress (Socialist), Janata, Bharatiya Janata, Majlis and the Republic Party - held at Hyderabad on November 5, 1981 decided to hold state-wide demonstrations on December 24, 1981 to protest against the "failure of the Central and

State Governments in arresting the price rise, fixing remunerative price for agricultural produce and the State Governments' failure to honour the commitments made to the All-Opposition Action Committee last 1980\textsuperscript{81}.

\textbf{SECTION-III: ROLE OF THE CONGRESS(I) AND NON-TELUGU DESAM OPPOSITION PARTIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH OUTSIDE THE LEGISLATURE - THE TELUGU DESAM REGIME}

In 1983 Assembly Elections, the Telugu Desam won 202 (including 4 seats of its ally Sanjay Vichar Manch) seats of the 294 member House. For the first time, the Congress(I) lost the power in Andhra Pradesh and emerged as the main Opposition Party in the Assembly with 60 seats. The other Non-TeluguDesam Parties - the CPI(M), won the 5 seats, CPI-4, BJP-3, Janata-1, Congress(J)-1, and Majlis-5 respectively. The Lok Dal and Congress(S) had no representation in the Assembly.

During the period of 1983-1985, \textit{The Hindu} referred to 72 Press Statements released by the Congress(I) as well as the Non-Telugu Desam Parties. Party-wise break-up is the Congress(I) Party-43, the BJP-16, the CPI-8, the Republican-2, the Janata-1. The CPI(M) did not release any statement against the Telugu Desam Government, because it was

\textsuperscript{81} \textit{The Hindu}, 6-11-1981, p. 12.
the friendly Opposition Party to the ruling Telugu Desam Party. The remaining of 2 statements were released jointly by the different Non-Telugu Desam Opposition Parties at the time of the State-wide bandh on December 23, 1985 called by those Parties.

The following summary provides an account of the reactions of the Congress(I) Party and the Non-Telugu Desam Parties towards the Telugu Desam Government decisions and administration during this period of the study:

(A) Congress(I) Party:

The Andhra Pradesh Congress(I) Committee condemned the atrocities against Harijans in Nagari Constituency and other places of Chittoor District on January 5, 1983, the polling day of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. In a resolution on January 10, 1983 the APCC(I) said, Telugu Desam workers "have mercilessly burnt the huts of Harijans as a result of which four persons were burnt alive, and many others injured". It demanded a Judicial Enquiry into the incidents. On January 17, 1983, A. Madan Mohan, Leader of the Opposition in the Seventh Legislative Assembly, said that "Congress(I) would support the Government in all good things and function as a responsible Opposition". K. Rosaiah, Leader of the Opposition in the Council,

on February 3, 1983, criticised ordinance amending the Panchayat Raj Act as politically motivated because all the Zilla Parishads were in the hands of the Congress(I) and the Telugu Desam was "sore" at this aspect.\(^{84}\)

In a press Statement on February 4, 1983, A. Madan Mohan, criticised the ordinance promulgated by the Government, fixing "simple majority" only for moving a "Non-Confidence Motion" for changing the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Zilla Parishads and Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Panchayat Samithis. He said, "Government seemed to be more concerned and keen about grabbing power than in the welfare of the people at large".\(^{85}\) On the issue of the abolition of Legislative Council, A. Madan Mohan, asked the Government to reconsider its plan to abolish the Upper House. In a statement on February 6, 1983, he said, "the Council was intended to provide functional representation to different groups like teachers, graduates and local authorities. The object of the founders of the Constitution was to see that these sections were given a say in legislation-making. In the Upper House, much light was thrown on various matters without the heat generally noticed in the Lower House. A democratic system could not afford to dispense with the Council".\(^{86}\)

K. Rosaiah and A. Madan Mohan, Leaders of the Opposition in the Legislative Council and Assembly respectively, questioned the propriety of the Andhra Pradesh Government in creating the Post of "Dharma Mahamatra" while seeking to abolish the post of Vigilance Commission. In a Press Statement on February 7, 1983, the two Congress(I) leaders pointed out that the functions of the two officials were similar. The Vigilance Commission was set up in the State in 1964 in pursuance of the recommendations of the Santhanam Committee, a Committee which had earlier submitted its report to the Central Government. While a Vigilance Commission was appointed by the Governor, he was liable to be removed or suspended only in the manner provided for the removal or suspension of a member of the Public Service Commission. The President of India would have to make a reference to the Supreme Court and only then orders his removal or suspension. They pointed out that the Government's argument that the Vigilance Commission had become superfluous because of the legislation to set up Lok Ayukta was not convincing as the functions of the Lok Ayukta was different. In some States like Uttar Pradesh both the Lok Ayukta and Vigilance Commission existed. They characterised the act of the Government as a "fraud on the construction and an attempt to usher in autocratic and despotic regime".

K. Rosaiah criticised the Government for reducing the retirement age from 58 to 55. He told Newsmen on February 10, 1983, that the Congress(I) Government had increased the retirement age in pursuance of the recommendation of the A. Krishna Swami Pay Commission and after a discussion on the pros and cons of the move. "It is not my argument that the State Government has no right to change the retirement age. But it should have been done after consultations with employees organisations" he said. About the Council, K. Kesava Rao, Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Council, also criticised the move of the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao, to abolish the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council. In a press statement on February 13, 1983, he said the bicameral system was the essence of Parliamentary democracy. The Upper House played a significant role in checking hastily legislation. Referring to the Chief Minister's statement the abolishing the Council would save Government funds, Keshava Rao said that this was nothing sort of a "scandal". A day may come when the Chief Minister, N.T. Rama Rao might feel the 294-member Assembly was too large and expensive for the State. Rama Rao might then think of a 23 to 25 members Assembly representing the State and Districts.

K. Rosaiah has said that the Opposition will not defeat any Money Bill, though it would oppose other bills on merits, such as the one reducing the required majority from two-thirds to a simple one for moving No-Confidence motions against Zilla Parishad Chairman. In a Statement on March 3, 1983 he said, "our intention will not be to create any hurdles to the Government. It does not mean that I am making any request to the Chief Minister to continue the Legislative Council. It is left to the party in power to take any decision. The Legislative Council is called a House of Elders and we will behave like Elders". 

In a Statement on April 18, 1983, Rosaiah criticised the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao, for his "vituperative and unwarranted" attack on the Central Government and said it was only "to cover up his failures".

A. Madan Mohan charged the Telugu Desam Government with demoralising the police set-up and not allowing it to discharge fearlessly its duties in maintaining Law and Order. In a Statement on May 20, 1983 he said, dacoities, thefts and rapes had become a regular feature in the State. This was brought to the Government's attention in the Assembly with suggestions to strengthen the Police. Instead, the Government choose to destroy whatever confidence is left in them (Police officers) by frequent transfers at the top

90. The Hindu, 4-3-1983, p. 12.
level as for instance S. Anandaram, Director-General who was asked to go on leave recently. Reduction in age of retirement had affected the functioning of the department. K. Rosaiah demanded an immediate session of the legislature to discuss the continuing N.G.O's strike and other related issues. Addressing a press conference on July 19, 1983, Rosaiah said that the distinction between Telugu Desam and the Government was being erased and "the secretariat appears to have become the headquarters of the Telugu Desam Party."

The Congress(I) Legislature Party resolution criticised the Government for creating a crisis by an ordinance enhancing Sales tax on so many commodities, increasing Motor Vehicles tax and increasing the burden on the common man by increasing Road Transport Corporation bus fares in the name of rationalism. The Party resolutions were released on July 21, 1983 by A. Madan Mohan and K. Rosaiah, Opposition leaders in the Assembly and the Council respectively and G.Venkataswamy, APCC(I) President at a press conference.

K. Rosaiah and K. Kesava Rao, Leader and Deputy Leaders of the Council, were not "fully convinced" about Governments' explanation of Sales Tax on arrack. They told pressmen on September 30, 1983 that "the working of the

Sales Tax ordinance has given room for suspicion. Government has tried to convince us that there is only a technical mistake. A Perusal of the file has not left us fully convinced" 95.

The Executive Committee of the APCC(I) held on October 29, 1983 under the Presidentship of Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy, was urged to the State Government to extend all facilities to agriculturists of the affected areas like supply of water to the second crop, postponement of taxes till the end of June 1984, supply of fertilizers and seeds at subsidised rates and advance interest-free loans for agricultural operations 96.

The Congress(I) Party has requested the Election Commission to depute a team immediately to Peddapalli Constituency "to see the misuse of Government machinery for the benefit of the ruling Telugu Desam candidate in the by-election". On behalf of the Congress(I) Election Committee, V. Jagapathi Rao, MLC issued a Statement on November, 9, 1983 that "the entire Telugu Desam Cabinet is camping at Peddapalli for the past several days, touring every village along with their respective departmental officers, showering doles on villages and individuals violating accepted norms". Jagapathi Rao said, "our approach in this election is simple. The Telugu Desam Government has failed to provide a clean

and efficient administration. The Congress has no faith in the cheap gimmicks of any glamour kind, past or present and we are conducting our campaign only on the basis of our own policies and programmes" 97.

Reviewing the performance of the 10 month old Telugu Desam Government, K. Rosaiah told Newsmen on November 11, 1983 and observed that "Not a day passes without a dacoity, robbery or theft, except making speeches, the Government has not taken any serious steps to meet this situation". He said the Law and Order situation, particularly in the capital city of Hyderabad, was "concrete proof of the Government's failure" 98.

On August 9, 1984 the APCC(I) President, Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy has said that "Telugu Desam, the BJP and the Majlis Parties are involved in the communal incidents in the old city of Hyderabad during July 1984". He said, his party would prove the involvement of Telugu Desam in the incidents if there was a Judicial enquiry by a Supreme Court Judge 99.

On January 19, 1985, K. Rosaiah, has urged the Chief Minister, N.T. Rama Rao, to constitute a Committee with Non-Congress(I) Opposition leaders to investigate complaints of harassment of Harijans and other weaker sections in the wake

of the elections to the Lok Sabha. He suggested that a Committee with leaders of the CPI, CPI(M), Janata, BJP and Congress(S) be deputed to investigate poll violence, here Congress(I) or Telugu Desam sympathisers were victims of such violence100.

M. Baga Reddy, Leader of the Opposition in the Eighth Legislative Assembly, demanded a Judicial Enquiry into the death of Kamal Peera, Upa-Sarpanch of Yellanur (Anantapur District) in Police custody on May 24, 1985. Addressing a Press Conference on May 29, 1985, Baga Reddy alleged that the Upa-Sarpanch was tortured by the police resulting in his death. He said, mere suspension of police personnel was not enough but the guilty police personnel should be prosecuted on charge of murder101.

The delegation of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee(I), submitted its memorandum to the Sarkaria Commission on June 14, 1985 at Hyderabad. About the role of the Governor and more financial powers to the States, the memorandum said, "It is a debatable point whether the Governor should have absolute discretion to dismiss the Chief Minister. A Governor, when he doubts the Chief Minister was not enjoying the majority support in the Assembly should direct him to prove it on its floor. The powers to impose President's rule are very essential. The

provisions regarding all-India services are absolutely necessary. The regional imbalances can be reduced by a strong Centre having elastic sources of revenue with more discretionary powers".

Further it said, "Giving more financial powers to the States only aids to further tilt the balance in favour of richer States. The Finance Commission is very reasonable in apportioning taxes among the States and no amendment to existing provisions is warranted".

"While States are clamouring for more resources from the Centre, most conveniently forget that local authorities have to carry out many schemes without finance. There should be Constitutional provision for devolution of resources to local authorities. The Indian Constitution has to be moulded for the good of the country and cannot be changed into a document to meet the caprice of regional chauvinism".\textsuperscript{102}

M. Baga Reddy urged a Judicial probe into deaths in police custody. Addressing a Press Conference on June 19, 1985, he said, deaths in police custody were on the increase and mere magisterial enquiry would not suffice, as invariably such an enquiry was nothing but "an eye wash".\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{102} The Hindu, 15-6-1985, P. 12.
\textsuperscript{103} The Hindu, 20-6-1985, P. 12.
At a press conference on June 28, 1985, M. Baga Reddy said, that the Telugu Desam Government had belied the expectations of the people by the way it was functioning. Referring to the scrapping of the mid-day meals scheme, abolition of elections to Syndicates of Universities, abolition of the State Sangita Nataka Academy, Sahitya Academy and Nruthya Academy and removal from the purview of the State Public Service Commission recruitment to Group-IV services, he said that these measures could not justified.

The Executive meeting of Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee(I) on July 5, 1985 under the Presidentship of J.Vengal Rao, urged the State Government to amend the Land Ceiling Act in the light of the Supreme Court judgement and implement effectively land reforms in the State. The executive urged the Government to enquire into benami transactions which had taken place in the former Zamindari areas, cancel such benami transactions and distribute the land to the landless poor. The executive opposed the action of the State Government in removing the Selection of Group-IV Services, Doctors and Sub-Inspectors of Police from the purview of the State Public Service Commission. It criticised the Government for levying taxes through ordinances.

J. Vengal Rao, M.P. and the President of the APCC(I) said in a statement on July 12, 1985 that the Andhra Pradesh

104. The Hindu, 29-6-1985, p. 12.
105. The Hindu, 6-7-1985, p. 12.
Chief Minister, N.T. Rama Rao has "unnecessarily landed the Telugu Ganga project in a controversy, by taking credit for the project and giving it a political colour, due to his inexperience and lack of political acumen". He said that the controversy raised by the Karnataka Government would seriously dislocate work on the project, causing hardship and disappointment to the people in the Rayalaseema region. About the Telugu Ganga Project, K. Rosaiah, wanted the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao, to publish a white paper on the Telugu Ganga Project on July 13, 1985.

In a Statement on July 21, 1985 over the Karamchedu issue, M. Baga Reddy said, that the State Government had "failed to create the proper atmosphere" for Harijans to return to their homes at Karamchedu village in Prakasam District, where four Harijans were killed and 22 others, injured, during clashes on July 17, 1985.

Talking to Pressmen on August 9, 1985, K.Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh observed that "the securing Krishna Water for irrigating seven lakh acres of arid land in Rayalaseema is a life and death problem for the region, as this water is vital for the survival of the people of the drought-stricken areas".

He alleged that the Telugu Desam Government was trying to utilise the Srisailam project and proposed Pulichintala project, as balancing reservoirs to safeguard the interests of the Krishna District and was paying half hearted attention to the needs of Rayalaseema. Further the former Chief Minister said, "the Rayalaseema people would not take this lying down because they feared that if the present opportunity was not utilised, Rayalaseema would languish as a drought-stricken area for all time. It will be good if the Telugu Desam Government took this warning of the Rayalaseema people seriously".109

In a Statement on August 30, 1985 K. Rosaiah took cudgels against the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao, and the Government for failure to make a Statement on the Supreme Court judgement on prematurely retired Government employees on the floor of the Assembly since the verdict. He said, the Telugu Desam Government created an "all-time" record in issuing ordinances. During the Congress(I) rule from 1978-1983, "only 88" ordinances were promulgated but in the short span of two years and five months, (i.e., from January 1983 to May 1985) the TDP Government had promulgated "96 ordinances".110

Jalagam Vengal Rao, President of the APCC(I), charged on October 11, 1985 that the TDP Government with spending huge amounts on "populist" schemes and hampering developing works like irrigation and power projects. Addressing party workers, Vengal Rao observed that "the Congress(I) will honour the verdict of the people and wait patiently till they get disillusioned with the wrong policies pursued by N.T. Rama Rao and realised their mistake of forsaking the Congress(I)."\textsuperscript{111}

In a statement on November 21, 1985, M. Baga Reddy, opposed the Police Bill for raising the status of Vijayawada and Visakhapatnam urban district Police set-up to Commissionerate level\textsuperscript{112}.

(B) \textbf{Bharatiya Janata Party:}

During the period of 1983-1985, the BJP released 16 Statements over the Telugu Desam Governmental policies and programmes headed by N.T. Rama Rao. The following summary presents the party's activities outside the Legislature during this period of the study.

The Bharatiya Janata Party criticised the rice policy of the State Government and demanded that the State Trading Corporation buy paddy from the farmer at Rs. 150 a quintal and sell such paddy to other State Governments, eliminating middlemen. On March 27, 1983 the Working Committee of the

\textsuperscript{111} The Hindu, 12-10-1985, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{112} The Hindu, 22-11-1985, p. 12.
BJP said in a resolution that "the rice policy of the Andhra Pradesh Government was advantageous only to the millers because they could buy paddy at low price and export it to other States for higher profits\textsuperscript{113}.

The State Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party which met at Anakapalle on November 26-27, 1983 noted that "the people of the State have not appreciated the actions of the Chief Minister in making public life in the State a family concern, while he himself expressed against Mrs. Indira Gandhi doing so". It criticised the ordinance extending the time for moving No-Confidence motions against Zilla Parishad Chiefs as a "vulgar display of political nepotism\textsuperscript{114}.

Speaking to Newsmen on December 12, 1983, M.Venkaiah Naidu, Leader of the BJP group in the Assembly, demanded that the Government publish a white paper on the financial position of the State and justify the cut it had imposed to a tune of Rs.87 crores in the budgetary allocations approved by the Legislature. He asked the Government to convene the Assembly immediately to discuss the cut and to review flood relief operations\textsuperscript{115}. In an another Statement on December 27, 1983 he appealed to the Chief Minister, N.T. Rama Rao to state clearly the Government policy in regard to the formation of mandals for every 20,000 population ostensibly to decentralise administration. He said, the Statements

\textsuperscript{113} The Hindu, 28-3-1983, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{114} The Hindu, 29-11-1983, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{115} The Hindu, 13-12-1983, p. 12.
made by Ministers and the Chief Minister regarding the creation of mandals caused confusion in the minds of the people and made Samithi Chiefs feel insecure. Taking to Pressmen on January 10, 1984, M. Venkaiah Naidu said that "the one year rule of N.T. Rama Rao and the Telugu Desam Government has been disappointing and not up to the expectations of the people". M. Venkaiah Naidu criticised the Telugu Desam Government for diluting the Rs.2/- a kilo rice and mid-day meals programmes. The impression was that the mid-day meals scheme was a waste under the circumstances and the children, were not being benefited. "Instead of wasting Rs. 102 crores on the Rs.2/- a k.g. rice scheme, if N.T. Rama Rao removed the restrictions on the movement of rice, the price was bound to came down". On the Law and Order side, too, the situation was not satisfactory. There were as many as 103 dowry deaths in the State. It was regrettable that offending policemen involved in rape cases had to be suspended only after a reference was made in the State Assembly.

The State Executive Committee meeting of the BJP adopted a resolution urging the State Government to retain the age of Superannuation of Government employees at 58 and dispel the feeling of apprehension among the employees in the wake of the Supreme Court verdict upholding the Government step in reducing the retirement age from 58 to 55.

In a Statement on June 11, 1985, Bandaru Dattatreya, State BJP General Secretary, demanded the convening of the State Assembly to discuss the move to levy new taxes. Further, he demanded a Judicial Enquiry into the police firing at Marikal in Mahboobnagar District on June 4, 1985. He wanted the Government to withdraw the false cases registered by the Police and pay compensation to the family of the deceased and the injured persons. On June 19, 1985, B. Dattatreya criticised the wrong moves of the Telugu Desam Government. He said, the move to delink the recruitment to Group-IV services from the State Public Service Commission and appoint District Selection Committees was "politically motivated" decisions of the Telugu Desam Government. He felt that the presence of Politicians in the Selection Committees would lead to corruption.

In a Press Conference on June 21, 1985, M. Venkaiah Naidu, Vice-President of the A.P. State Bharatiya Janata Party, said that the BJP has been feeling unhappy over some recent decisions of the TDP Government and the people also felt that "things are not moving in the proper direction" since the Telugu Desam was reinducted to power after the mid-term Assembly Elections in March 1985. He demanded, that the State Government should withdraw its anti-democratic ordinance for reconstituting Syndicates of Universities through nomination and appealed to the ruling Telugu Desam

120. The Hindu, 20-6-1985, p. 12.
Party to set right a number of "wrong actions its administration has taken in recent months, including taxation through ordinance" in the interests of Non-Congress unity. There was no jurisdiction for the "black ordinance" to reconstitute the Syndicate. He said, the ordinance takes away democratic freedom from Universities, and makes Universities a department of the Government.\textsuperscript{121}

Talking to Pressmen on June 25, 1985, M. Venkaiah Naidu, criticising the policies of the Telugu Desam Government warned "If N.T. Rama Rao continues his autocratic way, our party (BJP) may have to review its understanding with it". He said "If there is any need to increase tax immediately, the Government should postpone the convening of the Assembly and discuss the policy before levying further tax. I feel it is immoral and undemocratic to levy tax through ordinance."\textsuperscript{122}

Ch. Vidyasagar Rao, Leader of the BJP group in the State Assembly, urged N.T. Rama Rao to convene a meeting of all parties immediately to "discuss the serious matter" relating to the Telugu Ganga Project. In a Press Statement on July 13, 1985, he expressed surprise that the people of Andhra Pradesh had been "kept in the dark about objections raised by Karnataka Government."\textsuperscript{123}

B. Dattatreya, condemned the "attack on the Harijans of Karamchedu" in Prakasam District on July 17, 1985 resulting

in four deaths and serious injuries to several persons. In a Statement on July 21, 1985, he said, "while there is a nation wide effort to reduce caste-consciousness and bring report and foster love among the various sections of society, this gruesome attack on Harijans by the caste diehards presents a frightening phenomenon and gives a rude shock to those who aim at national consolidation".

P.V. Chaoapathi Rao, President of the State Unit of the BJP told Pressmen on August 5, 1985, that his Party (BJP) had decided to demand the amendment of the Constitution to prohibit Government from levying taxes through ordinances. He said, "we are not against the imposition of taxes, but only against the manner in which they were being levied". Further he demanded, the re-introduction of the mid-day meals scheme, which had figured prominently in the Telugu Desam Party's election manifesto, pension to all widows and aged persons, free electricity supply to small and marginal farmers and speedy implementation of various irrigation schemes.

(c) Communist Party of India:

During the period of 1983-1985, the CPI released 8 Statements on the Telugu Desam Government's Omissions and Commissions. The summary below indicates the Party's attitudes towards the Telugu Desam Government policies and programmes.

125. The Hindu, 6-8-1985, p. 12.
Ch. Rajeswara Rao, Secretariat Member of the A.P. State Council of the Communist Party of India, demanded a Judicial Enquiry over the Padirikuppam incidents. In a Statement on January 16, 1983, he said, an immediate enquiry was necessary as Political Parties were reportedly trying to tutor witnesses. Further he added, "the whole thing is becoming very complicated."

The Communist Party of India opposed the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao's proposal that the Government of India should take over some major irrigation and power projects to relieve the burden on the States' exchequer so that more funds could be allotted for the social services sector. Reacting to this, N. Giri Prasad, Secretary of the State Council of the CPI told Pressmen on February 1, 1983, that this proposal was both meaningless and harmful. On February 2, 1983, the CPI criticised the Ordinance as it was promulgated to facilitate Telugu Desam Party to capture the Panchayat Samithis and the Zilla Parishads. In this regard, N. Giri Prasad pointed out that some members of the Assembly became Chairmen of Zilla Parishad but they were not re-elected to the Assembly in the recent elections (1983). They should logically cease to hold office as they cannot continue as ex-officio members of the Zilla Parishads. He urged the Government to remove such Zilla Parishad Chairmen.

The State Executive of the Andhra Pradesh Council of the Communist Party of India, demanded that the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao should take steps for amending the Land Ceiling Act in accordance with Supreme Court judgement and reopen all such surplus land cases and take over and distribute the surplus land to the landless poor. In a Statement on June 24, 1985, N. Ciri Prasad, felt that there had been a lot of delay and neglect in the implementation of the land reforms in the State. Out of 20 lakh acres of surplus which was expected in 1970, only 4 lakh acres had been declared so far. The CPI's executive condemned the increase in milk price, and increase in bus fares. It demanded that the State Government should keep the recruitment of Group-IV Service under the purview of the State Public Service Commission.129.

In a Statement on July 15, 1985, CH. Rajeswara Rao, Leader of the CPI Legislature Party in the State Assembly, said that "controversy" about the Telugu Ganga project "ranked up by the Karnataka leaders, is most unfortunate". He said, the Statement of Ramakrishna Hegde, the then Chief Minister of Karnataka, merely created confusion and did not approach the real issue in correct perspective. He said, the Andhra Pradesh Government "has rightly framed the Telugu Ganga Project integrating the agreed proposal to

provide 15 tmc of drinking water to Madras with the age old
demand of the famine-stricken people of Rayalaseema to
utilise Krishna water". The utilisation of surplus water
in Krishna river at Sresailam by Andhra Pradesh, Rajeswara
Rao said, "is completely in consonance with the letter and
spirit of the Bachawat Award on Krishna waters". He pointed
out that "the utilisation of available surplus water at
Sresailam will in no way create any right to Andhra Pradesh
to question the utilisation of waters in Karnataka, region
up to the ceiling fixed by the Bachawat Award". Finally,
he concludes that "a lot of water in Krishna river is being
wasted, unutilised and the need of the hour is to make the
best use of every drop of water allotted to each State with-
out entertaining any doubts. It is highly improper and
against the national interest to politicise such rational
issues. The people of Andhra Pradesh should, with one
voice, reiterate their inalienable right to fully utilise
the surplus waters".¹³⁰

(D) Republican Party (Khobragade):

During the period of 1983-1985, the Republican Party
(K) had released 2 Statements on the Telugu Desam Government
decisions. The following summary presents the Party's
attitude towards the Telugu Desam Administration.

¹³⁰ The Hindu, 16-7-1985, p. 12.
In a Statement on February 4, 1983 Mrs. J. Eswari Bai, General Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Unit of the Republican Party of India (K), has urged the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao, to take action against those who practised untouchability and ensure that incidents like the attacks on Harijans at Padiri Kuppam did not recur. She wanted the Chief Minister to provide clothes and cooking vessels to the affected Harijans\textsuperscript{131}. In another Press Statement on February 6, 1983, Mrs. J. Eswari Bai, hailed the announcement by the Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao, about the abolition of the Legislative Council. She said the Legislative Council was Superfluous as it was not serving the purpose for which it was meant \textsuperscript{132}.

\textbf{(E) Janata Party:}

During this period of study the Janata Party released only 1 Statement and it related to the New Mandal System, introduced by the Telugu Desam Government.

Talking to Newsmen on January 2, 1984, S. Jaipal Reddy, MLA and the prominent Janata leader said that on a vital issue like the Constitution of Mandalas, the Chief Minister should take all Opposition Parties into confidence and try to develop a broad political consensus. He said the virtues of the mandal system, if any, had been buried under the debris of a political controversy. The manner in

\textsuperscript{131} The Hindu, 5-2-1983, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{132} The Hindu, 7-2-1983, p. 12.
which the system was sought to be introduced lent itself to the charge of political malafide. There was no justification for cutting short the term of the directly elected Samithi Presidents and replacing them with nominated mandals.

(F) Combined Programmes led by the Non-Telugu Desam Parties

During the period of 1983-1985, the Non-Telugu Desam Parties - CPI, CPI(M), BJP, Janata, Congress(S) and Republican Party - conducted 2 combined programmes against the Telugu Desam Governmental decisions.

Leaders of Non-Telugu Desam Parties gave a call for a state-wide bandh on December 23, 1985 protesting against the Government's decision to introduce the Urban Areas Police Bill and the notification increasing the water cess. The CPI, CPI(M), BJP, Janata and Congress(S) Parties had electoral adjustments with the Telugu Desam for the Assembly Elections during March 1985 and the 1984 Lok Sabha Elections. In a joint statement on December 16, 1985 the leaders of the CPI, the CPI(M), the BJP, the Janata, the Congress(S) and the Republican Party (K), said, "we, who lent our whole hearted support for the restoration of democracy when the majority Telugu Desam Government was dismissed last August (1984), cannot wink at the Telugu Desam Government acting in an undemocratic manner, contrary

133. The Hindu, 3-1-1984, p. 12.
to their own election promises". About the Urban Area Police Bill, they said, that the "Bill seeks to give the police extraordinary powers in addition to the vast powers they already have. It makes the police the complaint as well as the judge. It empowers the Police Commissioner to declare emergency in any area of the city and to intervene in labour disputes. It makes the major and the Municipal Corporation inferior to the Police Commissioner"\textsuperscript{134}.

On December 21, 1985, about the TDP Government's functioning, the Non-Telugu Desam leaders jointly stated that the "ruling party is acting in a manner contrary to the promises made in its election manifesto, in levying additional burden on farmers by increasing the water cess, hiking milk price and bus fares, stifling democratic processes in university education, superseding elected municipalities, taking away recruitment to Group-IV Services from the purview of the Public Service Commission and entrusting recruitment to district Selection Committees loaded with Telugu Desam people, rehabilitating Telugu Desam leaders by appointing them as Chairmen of undertakings, failing to plug loadholes in land ceiling laws and creating apprehensions among Government servants regarding their service conditions"\textsuperscript{135}.

\textsuperscript{134} The Hindu, 17-12-1985, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{135} The Hindu, 22-12-1985, p. 4.
SECTION-IV : CONCLUSION

Political Parties play a vital role outside the Legislature, educating the people about their own policies and programmes as well as the omissions and commissions of the Government. During the Emergency, the role of the Opposition Parties outside the legislature was weak and ineffective because of the imprisonment of prominent Opposition leaders. As Opposition in Andhra Pradesh Outside the Legislature at different periods, the Janata, the Bharatiya Janata, the CPI, the CPM, Lok Dal, Congress(U) and the Congress(I) members were very critical and had raised a large number of issues. Some times, combinedly they drew attention of the Government to the problems concerning their Constituencies in particular and the State in general. On some occasions, the Congress(I), the main Opposition Party in Andhra Pradesh from 1983 onwards, conducted bandhs, strikes, hartals, gheraos and relay hunger strikes in protest against the decisions of the Telugu Desam Government which was against the peoples interest.

During the period of 1975 to 1985, many important political events were witnessed in Andhra Pradesh. Particularly from 1978 to 1985, the performance of the Opposition outside the Legislature was very effective, and occupied a very pivotal place in Andhra Pradesh State Politics. During this period, the Opposition Parties had raised many
significant issues through Press Statements, Public Meetings, Processions, Printed Pamphlets, Party Executive Committee Resolutions etc. In the field of Law and Order, issues, raised include: Police firing at Muppala Village in Guntur District on April 17, 1975, in which 10 persons were killed and 8 others injured, killing of over 300 naxalites in the State both before and during Emergency, Police firing on coal miners in Mandamarri in Adilabad District on January 6, 1979, the incidents of Rameeza Bee and Shakila, firing at Karamchedu in Prakasam District, Police firing at Indervalli Village in Adilabad District on April 20, 1981 in which 13 Gonda tribals were killed, atrocities against Harijans at Padiri Kuppam Village of Chittoor District on January 5, 1983, attack on the Harijans of Karamchedu in Prakasam District on July 17, 1985 and Opposition to the Urban Area Police Bill, introduced by the Telugu Desam Government.

Coming to the field of Irrigation, they had reservations on the Telugu Ganga project. They were critical about the formation of the "Dharma Mahamatra" and "Lokayuktha". On the issue of the reduction of the retirement age from 58 to 55, the abolition of the Legislative Council of Andhra Pradesh, the Opposition Parties differed with the ruling Telugu Desam Party. All most all the Opposition Parties in Andhra Pradesh strongly criticised the Telugu Desam Government for not implementing the Muralidhara Rao Commission
Report on Backward Classes even two years after it was submitted. Congress(I) and friendly Opposition Parties of Telugu Desam Party, where highly disappointed and were critical of Telugu Desam Government actions such as the reduction of retirement age, abolition of village officers posts, Engineering college admissions, ban on private medical practice and reservation of jobs for women.

In the field of Education, the Opposition Parties strongly opposed the anti-democratic ordinance for reconstituting Syndicates of Universities through nomination, the action of the State Government in removing the selection of Group-IV services, docotrs and sub-inspectors of police from the purview of the State Public Service Commission. They also referred to the non-availability of text books, non-payment of tuition fee to the Scheduled Caste students. The Opposition Parties also criticised the establishment of the Andhra Pradesh Commissionerate for Higher Education.

The Opposition Parties conducted processions and bandhs on issues such as the atrocities on Harijans and other weaker sections at various places like in Padiri Kuppam, Karamchedu and Neerukonda. They made many suggestions relating to the welfare programmes for Harijans and slum dwellers and other backward peoples in the society.

A hundred of such examples of unredeemed promises
and "undemocratic attitudes" were listed by BJP an Opposition Party, a friendly terms with the ruling TDP in Andhra Pradesh, in its "Telugu Desam Palanapai Charge sheet" (1987). These charges relate to corruption, transfers of officers, interference by the party in administration, misuse of the ordinance making powers, etc.\textsuperscript{136}

As many as 15 policy decisions of the Government of Andhra Pradesh during the first three months of the Second tenure of Telugu Desam Party in power were the subject of strong criticism in 1985 by the Andhra Pradesh State Council of the Communist Party of India\textsuperscript{137}. Two years later it came out with a list of sixty commissions and omissions of the Telugu Desam Government in Andhra Pradesh. N. Giri Prasad, its Secretary, considers that corruption and bribery prevalent now make one forget the corruption during the time when Chenna Reddy was Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh\textsuperscript{138}.

As a powerful and main Opposition, the Congress(I) Party played a very vital role in focussing on the Telugu


\textsuperscript{138} For more details, See. "Rendunara Samvatsarala Telugu Desam Palanapai Balance Sheet", Published by the A.P. State Council of the Communist Party of India, Hyderabad, Publication No. 19, September 1987.
Desam Government's Commissions and Omissions. After 1985 mid-term Assembly poll, the Congress(I) improved its position in Andhra Pradesh. In 1987, Mandal, Zilla Praja Parishad and Municipal elections, the Congress(I) captured the majority of the seats and challenging force to the ruling Telugu Desam Party. On the other hand, the Opposition Parties friendly towards the TDP like BJP, Janata and Communists have divergent opinions, on nepotism of NTR, land reforms, labour policies, various administrative decisions including strikes by different employee organisations, they accused NTR of being in the same mould as Congress(I). In the Mandal, Zilla Praja Parishad and Municipal elections of March 1987, the BJP, Janata, and the CPI criticised the "ordinance Raj" and "the anti-democratic moves" of NTR. They contested elections independently.

To sum up, the performance in general of the Opposition Parties in Andhra Pradesh and particularly of the Congress(I) and the CPI after 1983 outside the Legislature was very critical and focussed on the mistakes on every undemocratic decision taken by the Telugu Desam Government headed by N.T. Rama Rao.

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