CHAPTER FOUR

ELECTORAL POLITICS (1983 - 1994)
The State of Andhra Pradesh has witnessed a kind of metamorphosis. Political changes during the course of 1978-83. Several Chief Ministers of the State were replaced in a rapid pace. Such a change of Chief Ministers were not the result of their lack of majority in the Assembly or fall of Ministry by an adverse vote of confidence but precisely because of factional intensity and its overtones within the Congress. The intervention of A.I.C.C. and the Union Government led by Congress was instrumental for changes in the political leadership of the State. Incidentally there were as many as four Chief Ministers in the course of five year period.¹ Dr. M.Chenna Reddy, having led the newborn Congress (I) to electoral success in the State was sworn in as Chief Minister in

¹ For a detailed discussion, see : K.R. Acharya (ed.) Perspectives of Indian Government and Politics, (New Delhi, S.Chand & Co., 1991, p.p. 419-20
1978 but owing to acute factionalism and allegations of unbridled corruption he was replaced by T. Anjaiah in 1980. It is on record to point out that during the tenure of Dr. M. Chenna Reddy as Chief Minister as many as 16 Cabinet Ministers along with dissident legislators built up enormous pressure on the Congress High Command to change the leadership in the State.² Further for more than two months the Chief Minister had not even convened the Cabinet meeting for important policy decisions. Even he resorted to convening of State Assembly for a very short period to fulfil the constitutional requirement. All such factors cumulatively contributed to the failure of the functioning of the cabinet government in the State. Ultimately paving way for a deep crisis. Therefore he was made to resign in 1980.

The next Chief Minister T. Anjaiah was not even a member of the State Legislative Assembly. He was then Union Minister, but for political reasons, more

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² See: N. Innaiah, *State and government and Politics*
particularly being a devout loyalist of Nehru family he was gifted with the position of Chief Ministership of the State. His leadership was short-lived owing to continued factional politics. His decision to expand the State Cabinet making it an air-bus ministry and certain other decisions made the Party a laughing stock. Therefore the factional leaders made a representation to the Congress high command for his replacement during February, 1982. Later Bhavanam Venkatram a member of the State Legislative Council was made to take over the leadership of the State.

His performance as Chief Minister was also subjected to abundance of criticism from several quarters (both opposition and the ruling party) for his failure to control his ministerial colleagues on one hand and to contain increasing corruption and then issue of capitation fee in the Medical and Engineering colleges on the other. Therefore in a short span of time he too was replaced by Kotla Vijayabhaskar Reddy during 1982. All these changes

3. Ibid., pp.169-73
4. Ibid., pp.174-5
were the result of factionalism and manipulative politics a normal basic political culture of Congress functionaries in Andhra Pradesh. The installation of Vijayabhaskar Reddy as the Chief Minister of A.P. was intended to provide a strong leadership to the Party and the Government to check the Congress dissidence as well as to counter the rise of opposition forces including the new-born Telugu Desam party under N.T.R.\(^5\) Besides the strategy of change of political leadership and ultimately vesting it with Vijayabhaskar Reddy is viewed as an act of political expediency in order to ensure electoral victory to the congress party in 1983. These changes in State leadership several times

b) V.S. Sharma "A larger than a life hero" in *Indian Express*, Hyderabad, January 20, 1983
c) *Deccan Chronicle*, Hyderabad, March 30, 1982
d) *Indian Express*, Hyderabad, March 30, 1983
f) Bhageeratha, "NTR-Political Aspirations" in *Prasaritha*, Nov. 83 (Telugu Journal)
g) Ratna Naidu "Symbolic imagery used by the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh elections, 1983" In George Mathew (ed.) *Shift in Indian Politics* (New Delhi, Concept Publishing company, 1984)
in a short period had adversely affected the State and provided for a process of continuous destabilisation of political leadership. It was against this background the Assembly Elections of January, 1983 took place in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

h) Srikanth Vithal, "Growl tiger cut and the tiger roared." in Indian Express, Hyderabad, January 16, 1983
i) G.S. Bhargava, 'Secret of Telugu Desam Success' in Indian Express January 8, 1983
k) M. Shatrugna, "Emergence of regional parties in India: Case of Telugu Desam" In George Mathew (ed.) Shift in Indian Politics. Op. cit
l) Ramesh Thaper "Political games in Capital "Economic and Political Weekly, February 8, 1983
o) M. Shatrugna, "Policy and programmes of Telugu Desam" In Economic and Political Weekly, March 5, 1983
p) Indian Express, Hyderabad, February 9, 1983
q) K.R. Acharya "Left Democratic Front in A.P.-Ambitious claims" Siasat, urdu daily, Hyderabad
r) N. Innaiah Saffron star over Andhra Pradesh (Genesis growth and critical analysis of Telugu Desam Party (Vijayawada Usha Printers, 1984.
The total electorate was around 3,13,87,299 while the votes polled for 293 assembly segments were 2,15,60,642 the percentage of polling was 69%. Due to the death of a contesting candidate, the election was countermanded at Madanapalle Constituency in Chittoor.
District. There were altogether 1821 contestants in the election fray and the average worked out to six candidates per seat. The Telugu Desam party secured 201 seats out of 288 contested, polling on an average 46.3% valid votes. Significantly in 149 Constituencies it has obtained absolute majority of votes polled. Around 29 candidates have lost security deposit. The Congress party contested all the 293 seats but came out successful only in 60 places polling an average of 33.6% valid votes. It had secured absolute majority of votes in 20 Constituencies, while those losing security deposit were 13. The CPI and CPM contested 48 and 28 seats respectively and obtained four seats and five seats respectively. The average valid vote of the CPI was around 2.8% while that of CPI(M) was 2%. Though both the parties attempted for meagre number of seats, yet their loss of security deposit was also substantial. The CPI nominees lost security deposit in 29 places, while the CPI(M) in 14 places. The BJP made ambitious venture in 81 Constituencies but it had a miserable failure. Only three of its
nominees were successful in this election, while as many as 62 lost security deposit. The average poll percentage of the BJP was around 28%, while one of its nominees coming out victorious could obtain absolute majority of votes polled. The Janata Party had put up 44 candidates but only lone soul was victorious polling 1.0% valid votes. There were 13 casualties losing security deposit and a lone elected candidate secured absolute majority of votes polled. Lok Dal and I.C(S) drew blank. The former had put up its nominees in three places while the latter attempted in 10 places. The Lok Dal secured average valid vote of 0.9%, while I.C(S) 0.2%. Further 26 nominees of Lok Dal and eight nominees of I.C(S) lost security deposit. Majlis Ittehad Muslameen, a local Muslim party confining to the municipal precincts of Hyderabad made a venture in five Constituencies and bagged all the five seats. There were large number of Independents 904 of whom 18 have won, polling on an average 9.8% valid votes. A bulk of Independents constituting 752 have forfeited security deposit. The election results are interpreted
as a verdict against the misrule of Congress(I) and authoritarian, anti-people policies and all pervading corruption. The critics maintained that over-centralisation of power at Delhi and personalised policies of Indira Gandhi were instrumental for a change and hence the Telugu Desam was voted to political power.

The Congress party was the worst sufferer as is evident that more than 30 Congress(I) senior politicians including 15 Ministers, five Z.P Chairmen, Assembly Speaker, Government Chief Whip and three Chairman of Regional Planning and Development Committees were defeated by the sweep of Telugu Desam party. Though Vijayabhaskar Reddy, the then Chief Minister and T.Anjaiah, his predecessor were elected, prominent Congress men like N.Janardhazt Reddy, Kona PrabhakarRao Divi Kondaiah Chowdary and Shattam Sriram Murthy and others were made to face electoral debacle. It is significant to mention that Nara Chandrababu Naidu,

7. Ibid
the present Chief Minister of Telugu Desam (belonging to Congress then) and son-in-law of Founder President of Telugu Desam, N.T. Rama Rao, boasted that he would defeat even NTR in Chandragiri Constituency in Chittoor District. The electoral success of the Telugu Desam party and its rise to political power in 1983 may be attributed to charismatic influence of NTR and his celluloid background for over 30 years and his populist programmes of Rs.2/- per Kg rice and justice to poorer and weaker sections. Coupled with it he tried to invoke socio-culturalism of Andhra Pradesh and thereby rose to electoral victory. Added to the factors like rampant corruption among the Congress leaders, destabilisation by the A.I.C.C. in the State politics and leadership coupled with frequent interference of Union Government led by the Congress party in the affairs of the State were greatly responsible for the debacle of the Congress party in 1983. In a sense, Andhra Pradesh happened to be a citadel of Congress party ever since the formation of the State has been
shaken from the very roots with the rise of Telugu Desam party in 1983 and making a remarkable political history in Indian politics.

**TABLE 4.2**

**VII GENERAL ELECTIONS 1983**

**GUNTUR DISTRICT**

**TOTAL SEATS : 19**

| Total voter | 21,83,913 |
| Votes polled | 14,90,917 |
| Invalid votes | 24,035 =1.61% |
| Valid votes polled | 14,66,852 |

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<tr>
<th>Party.</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won.</th>
<th>Votes polled</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>4,54,151</td>
<td>30.96</td>
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<tr>
<td>TDP</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8,55,450</td>
<td>58.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,820</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
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<td>CPM</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36,390</td>
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</tr>
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<td>BJP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21,140</td>
<td>1.44</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Indep.</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1SC</td>
<td>67,180</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Total No. of Constituences :19**

Chilakaluripet, Narasaraopet, Prathipadu, Guntur-I, Guntur-II, Mangalagiri, Tadikonds (SC), Sattenapalli, Pedddakurapadu, Gurazala, Macherla, Vinukonda, Kuchinapudi, Repalle, Vemur, Duggirala, Tenali, Ponnur, Bapatla.
The data in Table 4.2 illustrates the election results of 1983 in Guntur district. As is known, Guntur has 19 Constituencies of whom Tadikonda is a reserved Scheduled Caste Constituency. There were altogether 139 Constituencies for 19 seats working out to an average 7 candidates per seat. The Congress party contested all the 19 seats but failed to secure even a single seat although its average poll percentage was around 31%. The Telugu Desam party contested all the 19 seats and came out successful in 18 Constituencies, a phenomenal performance indeed, polling a high proportion of 58.32% valid votes. The CPI contested three seats, the CPM four seats, the BJP 11 seats Congress(J) 12 seats but all those national parties failed to secure political legitimacy at the hands of the electorate. Even the average valid vote of these national parties was quite dismal. The CPI secured 1.42% valid votes, CPI(M) 2.48%, BJP 1.44% and the Congress(J) 0.80% Valid votes, CPI(M) 2.48%, BJP 1.44% and the Congress(J) 0.80%. There were a large
number of Independents (73) of whom only one candidate from Vinukonda was successful with a narrow margin against the Congress party. Prominent Congress leaders of the district who were dominant in the State politics until 1978 were trounced in these elections. Among them, the notable were D. Indira, who was a member of the State Legislative Assembly for a long period, Kona Prabhakar Rao, former chief of PCC and finance minister, Lingamsetty Eswara Rao, Rayapati Srinivas, Chebrolu Hanumaiah, Kasu Venkata Krishna Reddy and few others. It is even noted that the electoral victory of Telugu Desam leaders among bulk of the segments is marked by a high margin of votes. In as many as 17 Assembly segments the Telugu Desam party polled absolute majority of votes, while its nominee from Mangalagiri Constituency won with a narrow margin. It is thus illustrative that Guntur District which happened to be a firm bastion of Congress party ever since formation of State of Andhra Pradesh and even when it was a Part of Andhra in 1953, provided for a phenomenal political change with the advent of Telugu Desam party led by
NTR. It is appropriate to point out that Guntur being predominantly inhabited by Caste Kammas, the entry of NTR to politics with his Telugu Desam party could provide a kind of caste consolidation and thereby provided for a sweep of Telugu Desam party. Thus came and of Congress dominance not only in the State in general but Guntur district in particular. It is not out of place to mention that the Congress had substantial Kamma leadership since long and in these elections it had fielded as many as seven prominent Kamma leaders, Namely, Y.Venkat Rao, VG.Rao, D.Indira, Rayapati Srinivas, Chebrolu Hanumayya and Somepally Sambaiah, yet the defeat of such Kamma leaders on Congress panel was a deliberate attempt of caste Kamma to exhibit their contempt against their kinsmen supporting the Congress while its caste founder member of the TDP ventured for the first time to stake political leadership of the State and thereby attempted to bring about Kamma domination over the State of Andhra Pradesh which they were longing ever since formation of the State. It is
pertinent to mention that since the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh the leadership of the State was held by either dominant caste Reddys of Brahmins or Harijans until 1978. 

**MID-TERM ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS OF 1985**

The state of Andhra Pradesh passed through mysterious political developments in the course of 1983 to 1985 after the advent of NTR and his Telugu Desam Party to political power riding an unprecedented political victory in 1983. It had brought about a phenomenal change in the political power structure and the trend pattern of the state politics from Congress domination to newborn TDP. As is known, the party was led by NTR, its founder member with a solid support of Nadendla Bhaskar Rao, a former Congress leader and a Minister in the Cabinet of Dr M.Chenna Reddy. He has earned the image of a

co-pilot of the TDP for he was the first Congress leader to severe connection and associate with NTR in the birth of TDP. N.Bhaska Rao being a seasoned political leader had provided the political strategies to NTR for his ascendancy to political power. However, similar to other political parties of India, TDP also was marked by dissdentce. In the course of a year and half, N.Bhaskar Rao, the former Congress leader held a pivotal position in the TDP as a co-pilot and a rank of NO.2 in the state Cabinet. He made strategies to bring about a fall of the founder leader NTR from political power with the support of Congress Party and the local communal muslim party, AIMIM.⁹ Significantly, the Congress having lost political power for the first time in the state made attempts for a game of toppling in the state of Andhra Pradesh and successfully attempted influencing N.Bhaskar Rao. The Congress Party engineered defections in the ministry of NTR when he left for a by-pass surgery to United

States in July '84 N.Bhaskar Rao became an easy pray to the Congress machinations and gathered considerable followers membering as many as 62 legislators of TDP to topple the ministry of NTR with the assistance of the Congress and the AIMIM. In this game plan, the Congress Party assured him the Chief Ministership of the state. However, when NTR came to know all such political strategies had immediately convened the State Cabinet meeting and got an endorsement of the dismissal of N.Bhaskar Rao from the Ministry. Thus a few ministers who were staunch loyalists of Bhaskar Rao namely S.Satyanarayana Rao, Jeevan Reddy as well as the Chief whip of TDP resigned and rebelled against the party. The dissident leader N.Bhaskar Rao made a representation to the then Governor Ramlal with a solid support of 91 TDP legislators, 57 Congress, 6 Independents, 5 AIMIM and 2 from Sanjay Vichar Manch totalling 161, in his favour a majority in the state assembly of 1994 in his favour. The Governor willingly
obliged N.Bhaskar Rao and proclaimed hurriedly that NTR had lost his majority and invited Bhaskar Rao to form the Government and even administered the oath of office while dismissing NTR from political power. However, the new Chief Minister was given a month's time to prove his majority on the floor of the state assembly. For over a month, N.Bhaskar rao made attempts to attract the followers of TDP but being unsuccessful ultimately lost the position while NTR was once again sworn in as the Chief Minister of the state in September'84. This unceremonious removal of NTR and installation of Bhaskar Rao as the Chief Minister was an unprecedented political crisis in the state of Andhra Pradesh for a period of one month. It had dissurpted the entire state administration and even escalation of communal trouble in the state. This was marked by a melo-dramatic incidents and situations in which Bhaskar Rao made all efforts and
attempts to lure the loyalist legislators of NTR to his side so as to put up a majority but he had thoroughly failed in his attempt. In this context, the entire non-Congress opposition solidly stood by NTR and made such dismissal as a kind of murder of democracy in India and even launched a movement titled 'Save Democracy' for a month. The political machinations of Congress and dissident TDP leader, Bhaskar Rao, as well as the then Governor Ramlal were thoroughly exposed and finally, NTR emerged successful in his re-installation as the chief minister of the state.\textsuperscript{10}

In the subsequent Lok Sabha elections of December 1984, following the sad assassination of Indira Gandhi, the Congress Party made a thunderous victory all over the country in the state of Andhra Pradesh, it had a miserable failure. The TDP secured a phenomenal success of 28 seats polling on an average 64.31% valid votes. The Congress on the other hand could scrape

\textsuperscript{10} For a through insight into the story behind the curtain See : G.S. Bhargava "Three down and what a way to go" in India Express, Hyd sept -2 1984
through with a meagre number of six seats at Nizamabad, Hyderabad, Guntur, Machilipatnam, Karimnagar and Khammam. On the whole, with Congress Party polled 40.96% valid votes, the lowest in the history of Lok Sabha elections in the past three decades. The victory of the TDP in the Lok Sabha elections of 1984 had greatly boosted the morale of NTR. It is because of people of Adhra Pradesh instead of rendering the sympathy vote towards the Congress falling in line with in other parts of India, stood solidly by NTR for his unceremonious dismissal in August'84 following a connivance in between the Congress and the dissident TDP leader N.Bhaskar Rao. The president of the TDP, NTR, having secured a substantial number of seats in the Lok Sabha elections and the encouragement provided by the allies of the TDP gathered enough courage to venture for the dissolution of the assembly of the state of Andhra Pradesh and to opt for mid-term Assembly elections in 1985. The basic reason for taking such a bold step was to weed out the dissident TDP legislators form his party and recruit the dedicated loyalists of the party.
cadre to the state assembly and thereby make the party a well cohesive unit. Thus it was a bold step to plunged into the Assembly elections in March, 1985.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>seats through absolute majority of votes</th>
<th>% of votes polled</th>
<th>Deposits lost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T.D.P</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I. (M)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.P</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lok Dal</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>1375</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>1337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is evident from the Table 4.3 that there were altogether 1972 candidates in the poll fray for 294 seats working out to average 7 candidates per seat. In these elections, the TDP made electoral alliance with BJP, CPI(M), CPI and Janata Party in view of the fact that such parties rendered commendable support and solidarity in the political crisis of August'84. Therefore, the TDP contested 294 seats and secured a phenomenal electoral victory of 202 seats polling on an average 46.2 valid votes. In a way, its poll average has also slightly enhanced. The CPI contested in 15 places under electoral seat adjustments with TDP and came out victorious in 11 places with an average of 2.7% valid votes. However, there was a slight decline in its average valid vote as compared to 1983. The CPI(M) made an attempt in 12 places and secured 11 seats altogether polling on an average 2.30% valid votes. Significant to mention that as many as 8 candidates of the party secured absolute majority of votes. Another plus point in its favour concerns with the defeated candidates. None of the Party candidates
lost security deposit. The BJP attempted in 10 seats and secured 8 seats of whom 6 candidates had absolute majority of votes. The party secured on an average 1.60% valid votes. As is known, the Janata Party has been quite feeble in the state. In view of such a weak position it secured just one seat with an average valid vote of 0.80%. The Lok Dal contested 14 seats and all the 14 candidates have lost security deposit. In these elections, the AIMIM attempted in 7 places and retained its strength of 5 seats. There were a large number of independents (1368) of whom 7 candidates were victorious. The average votes polled was around 8.08%. It is noted that a large number of 1337 candidates have lost security deposit in these elections. The Congress party contested 294 seats but presently managed to secure 50 seats only. As compared to 1983, the party got reduced by 10 seats in the present elections. Among them, 34 candidates secured absolute majority of votes and 19 candidates lost security deposit. The average valid vote was around 37.50%. It is not out of place to mention that the difference
of average valid votes in between Congress and the TDP was just 8.70%, which has brought out a phenomenal gap in terms of the strength of seats. Once again, the Congress party was routed in these elections and the result being its attempted sin in August'84 conniving with the dissident leader of the TDP, colluding with the then Governor and toppling the legitimate Government of NTR in August'84. The electorate appeared to be furious at such political machinations of Congress and dissident factional leader, N.Bhaskar Rao. Although, in the course of a year and half from Jan'83 to Aug'84, the TDP had undertaken a few policies which were distasteful to the general public such as, reducing the retirement age of the civil service personnel, alleged attempt of utilisation of TTD funds, attempt to abolish the legislative council and even take over of private professional colleges, bias towards Kamma caste, abolition of village officers and incurring the ire of the NGOS in the state as the Government
attempted to curb some of their privilege etc., yet, the Telugu people of Andhra Pradesh through a solid support to TDP in this election appeared to have forgiven the party president NTR. Besides, they seem to have considered that the injustice meted out to NTR through Congress and the dissident TDP leaders in unceremoniously removing him from political power are much tortuous and unwarranted. Therefore, the omissions and commissions of the TDP Government appeared to have been ignored by the electorate in these elections. The reiteration of political support to the TDP once again in 1985 is illustrative of the confidence reposed by the electorate of Andhra Pradesh in favour of NTR. The reduction in number of seats of the Congress Party in these elections in the result of acute factionalism in its party ranks.  

11. Concerning these issues, See:
   a) P.Eswaraiah "Abolition of village officers" in Economics and political weekly, Vol 20, no.10, March 9, 1985
   12. V. Hanumantha Rao Opcit. pp 38-9
### TABLE 4.4

**GENERAL ELECTIONS 1985**

**GUNTUR DISTRICT**

**TOTAL SEATS : 19**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7,03,656</td>
<td>44.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDP</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7,01,316</td>
<td>43.89</td>
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<td>+1SC</td>
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<td>CPI</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>46,994</td>
<td>2.94</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPM</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Lok Dal</td>
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<td>408</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indep</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>95,154</td>
<td>6.01</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Total No. of Constituencies : 19

Chilakaluripet, Narasaraopet, Prathipadu, Guntur-I, Guntur-II, Mangalagiri, Tadikonda (SC), Sattenapalli, Peddakurapadu, Gurazala, Macherla, Vinukonda, Kuchinapudi, Repalle, Vemur, Duggirala, Tenali, Ponnur, Baptla.
The Congress Party which was totally routed in the 1983 Assembly elections in Guntur has improved its position this time for it had secured a total of 5 seats at Duggirala, Guntur-I, Guntur-II, Macherla and Chirala. Its nominees are Alapati Dharama Rao (Duggirala), Mohd Jani (Guntur-I), Ch.Jayarambabu (Guntur-II), N.KrishnaMurthy (Macherla) and Somepalli Sambaiah (Chpet). Among them, two candidates belong to Kamma Caste while 2 belong to Backward Classes and one minorities. It is observed that the success of the Congress nominees in Guntur-I, Guntur-II, Macherla, and Chilakaluripet segments is marked by a narrow victory against the TDP. As regards, the Duggirala constituency is concerned, the Congress candidate had considerable popularity and following as against the TDP nominee coming from Christian minority. Despite the fact that the TDP nominee secured 47% of valid votes, he could not stand against the Congress nominee. It is held by observers that such a substantial support of votes polled by TDP, in this Assembly segment is the result of the image of party president...
rather than that of the candidate in the poll fray. Further, it may be pointed out that the 12 constituencies where the TDP had won, as many as 10 constituencies provided absolute majority of support to the party. Only Bapatla and Repalle provided less than absolute majority, yet the margin of victory of the TDP against the Congress at Repalle, and the TDP as against the runner-up, an independent, at Bapatla has been phenomenal. It was an ignominious defeat of the Congress nominee at Bapatla Assembly segment for the party has been pushed to fourth place. Although there was some improvement in the position of the Congress in the District, the overall trend was in tune with other parts of the state. The electorate of the District appeared to have forgiven NTR for the lapses committed in a span of two years while sympathising him for the torture imposed through unceremonious removal in Aug 1984.

**ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS OF 1989**

Following renewed political mandate in the Assembly
Elections of March, 1985, the TDP once again assumed the position of ruling party in the State. During the course of its rule from 1985 till 1989 Assembly elections, the Party President secured a total grip not only on the party functionaries but also the State administration. He successfully weeded out the dissident legislators and replaced the suspected bureaucrats within the administration. However there seems to have been several omissions and commissions besides a few important developments in the course of four year duration which had greatly weakened the State administration and also caused phenomenal decline in the image of the Party President, NTR.

Promulgation of Andhra Pradesh (university arts Ordinance of June 85) Act thoroughly exposed, not only creating bureaucratic control over the University bodies by the State Government but also undermining the academic community in the State and checking the University autonomy. The Ordinance put an end to

the system of composition of University executive and thoroughly restructured the functioning of Universities within the State. It evoked a great deal of criticism from the academic community for the unilateral decision by the State Government restricting the University bodies without due consultation with the academic community or other Associations connected with the University teaching.

Karamchedu incident of July, 1985 is another important stigma which greatly eroded the image of the party. In this episode the upper Caste landlords mostly coming from Kamma Caste of Karamchedu village in Guntur District made a rampage on the Harijans, not sparing even the women and children, and in this ghastly and gruesome incident five persons were massacred. This incident had tarnished the personal image of NTR and his Government in view of the fact that the alleged culprits in the above episode were none other than his own relatives. The Opposition

14. Ibid., p.45
parties aptly utilised the said episode and made a hue and cry for the atrocities of Kammas on the Harijans in the States.

Even in regard to approach of the Government towards Naxalites in the State was quite ambivalent. At times NTR publicly extolled their heroic struggles and even gave them a red salute for their heroic battles and sacrifices against the feudal and vested interests. At some other times he made a vehement attack against their heinous crimes perpetrating violence. Ever since 1985 there were encounters in which as many as 32 Naxalites were reported to have been killed. The votaries of Civil Liberties Organisations have vehemently criticised NTR for such actions. The General Secretary of the APCLC observed that "Police are harassing our fact finding teams so that they do not reach the spit of so-called encounters and further they are foisting false cases on APCLC

members to deter them from their civil rights activities". After the TDP came to power in 1983 there was considerable rapport in between the party and the P.W.G. and with the passage of time the said rapport has been greatly affected and the P.W.G. was placed at logger-heads with the State Government.

The Government contemplated amending controversial press Bill amending Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code making stringent curbs on the Press freedom and its activities in the State of Andhra Pradesh was another important dimension which had greatly eroded the image of NTR.16. As a sequel to the observations made by a Telugu fortnightly titled "Encounter" focusing greatly the activities of the TDP Leaders and TDP activists, by and large, all the Telugu journals - dailies and weeklies as well as fortnightlies, regularly published and brought out series of sensational activities of people in public life in general and more particularly of the TDP

leaders and activists. The editor of the fortnightly "Encounter" Dasarathram was allegedly assassinated at the hands of TDP party activists for his sensational coverage in the fortnightly "Encounter" and also curbs on the press Bill contemplated.

The Supreme court Judgment in regard to lowering of retirement age of the State Government employees was yet another set back to the party President. This policy measure that was taken up by the TDP Government soon after it came to power in 1983 was carried by the Government to supreme court in a Civil Revision Petition and the Supreme court dismissed the said Civil Revision Petition and gave the judgment in favour of retired employees. As a result, the State Government had to incur additional expenditure of Rs. 86 crores towards back wages and compensation to the retired employees. This hasty decision on the party of the TDP Government not only caused additional burden to the State exchequer but also damaged greatly the reputation of the Government and came to be described as a policy against the civil services personnel.
NTR with a trust on strengthening the party from grass roots levels had a programme of training the party cadre through periodic training camps. He desired to make his party cadre-based on par with BJP and Left parties. The party supremo founded an Institution known as "Institute for Political Consciousness" at Gandipet to train different wings of party functionaries, viz., Telugu Yuvatha, trade union leaders at village, Panchayat, Mandal and Zilla Parishad, etc. The training programme was spread over two weeks to party functionaries with a stipulation that they should observe party disciplinary measures such as wearing of yellow shirts, which is the party colour, as advised by his second son-in-law Chandrababu Naidu.  

17.a) The Institute was headed by Professor of Economics from Andhra University, Waltair, Prof. Prasada Rao, assisted by Dy. Director, Prof. F.D. Vakil, Department of Political Science, Osmania University, Hyderabad.  
17.b) Chandrababu Naidu was the chief architect of strengthening the Telugu Desam party eversince August, 1984 crisis. His importance within the Party had
enhanced considerably in view of strategies evolved by him to overcome the crisis of August, 1984. In view of imposition of such rigid observations of wearing yellow shirts, etc., by the party functionaries irrespective of their position within the Party, as ordained by the Party President, it was criticised and disliked by several leaders. Even in private circle they have criticised the Party supreme and the second son-in-law Naidu comparing the Party President to that of Adolf Hitler.
As is known the TDP is a family political party of NTR and attempted to make it a monolith as well as impregnable fort. However, the rift in between the elder son-in-law Dr. D. Venkateswara Rao and the younger son-in-law Chandrababu Naidu was a perennial headache to the party President. The former headed the Telugu Yuvatha, a frontal organisation, while the latter was made to adorn the State Karshak Parishad (farmers organisation) and even the party General Secretaryship. It is a fact that the elder son-in-law remained with the Party President since ever its inception, while Chandrababu Naidu joined the party later after it came to power. In view of the schism in between the two leaders, the rank and file also got vertically divided rallying round the respective leaders. The constant friction between them had greatly eroded the image of the TDP as a well-knit organisation. Further on the eve of Third Telugu Mahanadu (party annual conference) held in January, 1986, there was an open tussle between them.
The issue of Elections to Hyderabad Municipal Corporation was another dimension which was responsible to lower the image of the party. It is appropriate to mention here that the elections were held to Hyderabad Municipal Corporation during 1965 and since then on some plea or the other the Corporation elections were kept pending for a long period for more than two decades. The party President and the General Secretary Naidu desired to conduct the elections so as to consolidate the party position within the twin cities of Hyderabad. However, in the elections, a communal Party-Majlis-Ittefad-Muslameen came out victorious with largest number of seats (38), while the TDP and Congress parties came close with 24 seats each. The BJP secured 12 seats, while the position of CPI (M) despite alliance with the TDP was quite dismal with one seat. This dimension was also a set back to the party President. Following the Municipal Corporation

elections in the State Vijayawada came under the control of communist party, while Visakhapatnam had gone to the control of BJP.

One more important incident related to August-September, 1986 when NTR desired to enhance the quantum of reservation to the Backward Class is the State in matters of admission to the educational Institutions and Government service. This policy measure was contemplated with a thrust to attract the support of Backward Classes and preempt the move of the then Union Minister who was making efforts to mobilise Backward Classes is in favour of the Congress. NTR strategically desired to make use of the said policy decision on two counts in the first instance to garner the support of backward classes and secondly to capture backward class votes in the Mandal Panchayat elections in 1987. Consequently there was a revolt leading to a tussle between the pro-reservationists and anti-reservationists in the state, and ultimately the matter was set aside by the judiciary. However, during the
course of over three months the entire State administration was paralysed, educational Institutions were closed, law and order was disturbed and it has caused a great damage to the personal popularity of NTR and the same accounted for a major set back to the party image.19

Eversince the TDP came to power in 1983, there developed a rift in between the office of the Governor and the Chief Minister of the State. As is evident that Ramlal as Governor of Andhra Pradesh was responsible for the political crisis in August-September, 1984. Subsequently he resigned the Post, and he was succeeded by Dr. Sankar Dayal Sarma. After elevation to the post of Vice Presidency of India, Ms. Kumud Ben Joshi had succeeded as Governor of Andhra Pradesh. The Governor being pro-Congress is reported to have taken decisions against the TDP and made attempts for a better rapport with the people of Andhra Pradesh through her frequent visits to the districts meeting cross sections of the people.19. Ibid.
people and listening to their grievances. Even in two cases she reported to have taken certain decisions much against the recommendations of the State Chief Minister.  

Another important dimension concerned with the production of political satires of films by his adversaries more particularly by film star Krishna and Dr. Prabhakar Reddy and others who have produced satires making abundance of caricature about the functioning of the Chief Minister as well as the involvement of his family members, sons-in-law and others, from acting behind taking to a recourse of back-seat driving and ultimately mis-using the political power. Although there were demands by the Film Fans Association of NTR to stall screening of the said 20. In the selection of Vice Chancellors, and more particularly Kakatiya university she had deviated from the recommendations made by the State Chief Minister. Therefore, the Chief Minister had time and again deamnding for scrapping the position of office of Governor altogether and made a call on this count with other non-congress parties of India. Even now the office of the Governor is a Controversial institution and divergent opinions are put forth by different political parties of India.
films, yet their efforts became futile. The said satirical films have greatly damaged the image of NTR and thoroughly exposed the involvement of his family members in the mis-use of political power from behind.\textsuperscript{21}

Andhra Pradesh had experienced a severe drought for three successive years since 1984. Besides, the State also experienced devastating floods from 1985 and consequently, both the extreme situations have affected the lives of several small farmers, marginal farmers and people coming from lower segments of the society. It had an effect on the state Government to meet the problems of poverty striken people who were affected by the natural disasters to a great extent. In addition to it, the civil service personnel paralysing the state administration through their prolonged strike for 58 days following the deadlock in between the Government and the NGOs was a serious issue. Despite the natural disasters on one hand and the state

administration paralysed on the other, the Chief Minister bogged down with fascination for films and production of 'Brahmarshi viswamithra', a political satire for political benefits, which had greatly lowered the image of the party.\textsuperscript{22}

The blatant misuse of Telugu Samacharam—a Government Publication of TDP Government for enhancing the image of NTR was reported to have been involved in a scandal. The information Commissioner was alleged to have flouted norms and rules with impunity and even the journal with its publication of 20,000 copies in 1987 had enhanced to 11 lakhs dramatically, later getting reduced 23,000 in February, 1989 and later for its total closure are ample evidences of the state Government dept. Functioning exclusively for the image building activity of the party president. It had considerably exposed the credentials of the party

wherein the senior Government officials took up the partisan role towards ruling party.  

One of the significant aspect concerned with parting of ways in between the TDP and other non-Congress friendly parties. The BJP and the CPI have maintain a friendly relation in the past, but changed their stand and even attempted to expose the failures of the ruling party particularly at a time when the Mandal Panchayat elections to 1104 mandals, consequent to its reorganisation were due. The BJP and the CPI had an alliances with the ruling party in the state assembly elections and had decided to go alone in the elections to local bodies, and even the BJP came out with a charge sheet listing 100 instances of failures. It included the issue such as the exclusion of the Chief Minister from the purview of Lok Ayukta and frequent transfer of the officials of state Government. The CPI made a scathing attack on NTR of his undemocratic moves and authoritarian style. The Mandal panchayat

23. ibid.
elections indicated that a total of 48.4% electorate favoured TDP, while 42.38% supported the Congress. The trend pattern provided for a fall in the popular electoral support to TDP in the elections to local bodies which was held within a span of 2 years of the Assembly polls of 1985.

The High Court of Andhra Pradesh in an interim judgement concerning a case of public interest petition filled by Dronamraju Satyanarayana of Visakhapatnam, alleging as many as 156 allegations, found primafacie evidence against NTR and held that he had abused his position on 5 charges, action of the state Government on 2 other charges as arbitrary and illegal. The judgement of High Court is a matter of deep concern which considerably lowered the image of the party in general publi.24 The episode relating to N. Srinivasulu Reddy, Revenue minister, and his unceremonious removal from the ministry as well as the party was found to be

a setback in the party circles.\textsuperscript{25} The caste rivalry between kammas and kapus in circar district was also another factor, which added considerable dis-reputation to prominent legislators of the party viz. M. Padmanabham and Hariramajogaiah. They were annoyed with the Party president of his excessive bias towards Kammas undermining the Kapu caste leaders who were chiefly instrumental for a sweep of the TDP in Godavari districts in both the elections of 1983 and 1985. Another noticeable high-handed behaviour of NTR was chiefly criticised by all the opposition parties and the articulate sections of the society which concerned with the unceremonious dismissal of the entire cabinet of all the ministers on the simple pretext of the leakage of budget figures and their appearance in local Telugu dailies.\textsuperscript{26} The episode prompted him to obtain the resignations of all the ministers owning the responsibility. This action of the chief minister was vehemently criticised by all the parties including

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} "Sweeping clout, NTR revamps his entire ministry." \textit{India Today}, 15 March, 1989 pp.71-73
Telugu Desam for his autocratic and dictatorial attitude as well as the reckless behaviour. Subsequently, he had constituted a team of 23 ministers (all new faces) in February, 1989 retaining not even a single member from his earlier ministry. Such an act was never heard of in the past political history of Andhra Pradesh. Two important reasons are mentioned for such a bold step, one was the desire of the Chief Minister for long for the shuffling of the Cabinet and the second was the strong criticism of the Kamma bias in view of the fact that a large number of caste Kamma leaders were provided a place in the cabinet. Thus NTR could get an alibi of the budget leakage for reconstitution of his ministry with all the new faces. This act was a great set back to the party and led to the resignation of three ministers, viz., K.E. Krishna Murty, Vasantha Nageswara Rao and K. Jana Reddy from the state assembly and even withdrawing from the Party. Besides, the two legislators, viz., D. Ramachandra Reddy and B. Jeevan Reddy also resigned from the assembly membership. Although, it was pointed out that there were 100
rebels against the party president, yet only 5 legislators came out publicly and withdrew from the party. This episode also greatly illustrated the high-handed and authoritarian style of chief minister. One of the ministers in private circles is reported to have angrily stated "we came to power accusing Indira Gandhi on changing chief ministers like sarees, he is treating the ministers like lungis". Such a comment was quite damaging to the party president.

Coupled with various issues, the rift between the chief minister and the speaker, unwarranted behaviour of NTR as against the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, dynamic role of Dr M.Chenna Reddy, the then president of AICC vigorously campaigning against NTR for various lapses were chiefly instrumental lowering the image of the party as well as the Profile of the chief minister. All these factors were primarily responsible to play a significant role in the assembly elections of 1989.
As the last Assembly elections were held in March, 1985, in the normal course elections were to be held only by March 1990. However, consequent to the Lok Sabha elections taking place in 1989, NTR once again took a bold step to recommend for the dissolution of the State Assembly, though it had four months to go. Such a step he considered expedient because the entire country was marked by a kind of anti-Congress wave. Significant to mention that the non-Congress opposition made a scathing attack on Rajiv Gandhi and his Government at Centre for indulging in corrupt practices on Bofors and sub marine deals during 1989. Further the BJP made the Ayodhya issue as a focal point on which the entire opposition concentrated and made a bitter attack on the Government and forced the Government at Centre for preponement of Elections by a month in 1989. In this context over 100 members of Lok Sabha have resigned and precipitated the issue which affected the image of the Congress party and even made the Government at Centre to order for early elections in November, 1989. NTR, in view of such an anti-Congress wind all
over the country desired to utilise the opportunity and simultaneously hold the Assembly elections and secure a renewed mandate.

As a continuum of non-Congress unity since 1985, the TDP entered into alliance with CPI, CPI(M), BJP, Janata Dal and Congress (S) by way of allocation of seats. The CPI was provided two Lok Sabha seats (Bhadarachalam and Nalgonda). And 19 Assembly segments (Seven in Coastal Andhra, One in Rayalaseema and 11 in Telangana), the CPI (M) by way of seat adjustments allocated two Lok Sabha seats (Miryalaguda and Khammam), and 15 Assembly Segments (8 in Telangana, one in Rayalaseema and six in Coastal Andhra), the BJP was provided with two Lok Sabha seats (Hanamkonda and Baptla) and 12 Assembly segments, While the Janata Dal had a share of two Lok Sabha seats (Secunderabad and Mahaboobngar) and four Assembly segments (namely Musheerabad, Nerella, atmakur and Kadri), one lok Sabha seat was offered to Congress (S). In this process an understanding was arrived between the Non-
Congress Parties and the TDP. Thus all the parties having entered an alliance with the TDP made a hectic bid in 1989 Lok Sabha and Assembly polls for greater electoral fortunes.

**TABLE 4.5**

**ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS OF ANDHRA PRADESH -1989**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>% of votes</th>
<th>% of votes polled</th>
<th>Deposits forfeited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>47.15</td>
<td>1,35,17,178</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.D.P</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>1,04,93,306</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>7,58,810</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.M.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>7,07,691</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>5,12,298</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>1,07,398</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majlis</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCPI</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.S.P.</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parties</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1644</td>
<td>294</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of Rayalaseema region, the TDP contested 48 seats out of 53 seats, and secured just 12 seats. Its performance was not commensurate with its efforts
in the Rayalaseema region. Its average poll was around 42%. In regard to Telangana region, the Party put up 73 candidates in a total of 107, and secured only 18 seats polling on an average 39.94% valid votes. It is significant to mention that the Party rose to power on popularity wave in 1983 and also in 1985 to the State Assembly but the party had to reconcile to the miserable poll debacle as its strength had come down to 74 from 202 in the president elections.\textsuperscript{27}. In Nellore, Mahaboobnagar, Hyderabad and Khammam districts, the party drew blank. Its performance in East and West Godavari districts, Krishna, Guntur and Prakasam districts had been far from satisfactory. Similar trend is also noticed in four districts of Rayalaseema region. The Party had offered its party symbol to 127 out going members in a total of 243 it contested which accounts for 52.3%. Among 14 elected members, 11 were former legislators while the rest three were freshers.

\textsuperscript{27} T. Lakshmipathi, "80's: Tumultuous decade" \textit{Indian Express} December 20, 1989.
The Congress Party contested 287 seats and secured 182 with 47.15% average valid vote. A total of six candidates have lost security deposit.

The CPI secured seven seats polling 2.65% valid votes, while its fraternity CPI (M) secured six seats with an aggregate of 2.47% valid votes. The CPI forfeited deposits in two paces. The BJP was successful in five constituencies with average valid vote of 1.79%. The Janata party secured just one seat only. The Majlis party could get four seats with an average valid vote of 2.15%. All the four elected candidates belong to old city of Hyderabad Metropolis. As many as 22 candidates of Majlis forfeited security deposit. The MCPI nominee, M.Omkar, had won the seat, while 10 party members out of 12 contestants have forfeited the security deposit. The BSP of Kanshiram was quite ambitious to put up 77 candidates, significantly as many as 76 candidates forfeited security deposit. It could not secure a single seat in the State Assembly. There were 909 Independents in the poll fray of whom
14 candidates have come out successful polling 6.11% valid vote.

From the aforesaid account, the elections were centred mostly in between the Congress and Telugu Desam and its allies. It was miserable blow to the ruling Party. It is maintained by observers that the failure of the TDP was the result of several factors. The party failed in almost all the areas of State. It had alienated party workers, middle class people, lower middle class people, weaker sections and even the civil service personnel. As the employment avenues were becoming bleak day by day, youth got frustrated and distanced with the party. Although the Union Government was responsible for financial and fiscal policies, yet the common masses found fault with the TDP for such price rise quite periodically. The issue concerning Rs.2/- per kilo rice programme, subsidised clothing and weaker section housing programme are reported to have lost their influence. The P.W.G. and activities of extremists had been quite vigorous in
the State besides increasing corruption nepotism, had become a part of public life. Even the bias towards caste being rampant, the general public were quite annoyed with the functioning of the TDP for over six years. All the aforesaid factors coupled with the dismissal of entire Cabinet in the last phase of 1989 was interpreted as most authoritarian.\textsuperscript{28}. approach of the TDP Supremo. Besides, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy as Pradesh Congress President had a commandable role for the Congress party coming back to power.

The pattern of electoral success of the Congress and the overthrow of the TDP in 1989 had a similar effect in Guntur District of South Coastal Andhra. In a sense the District fell in line with several parts of Andhra Area too.

\textsuperscript{28}. K.R. Acharya, "Wrong steps replaced the TDP", \textit{Udayam}. (Telugu) Nov. 29, 1989
**TABLE NO.4.6**

**GENERAL ELECTIONS 1989**

**GUNTUR DISTRICT**

**TOTAL SEATS :19**

| Total voter. | 28,37,281 |
| Votes polled. | 19,86,680 | =70.02% |
| Invalid votes | 53,960 | =2.72% |
| Valid votes polled | 19,32,720 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won.</th>
<th>Votes polled</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13+</td>
<td>10,18,595</td>
<td>52.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Sc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDP</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7,35,801</td>
<td>38.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12,674</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>91,653</td>
<td>4.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,476</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPI (K)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indep.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>69,554</td>
<td>3.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total No. of Constituences :19

Chilakaluripet, Narasaraopet, Prathipadu, Guntur -I Guntur-II, Mangalagiri, Tadikonds (SC), Sattenapall, Pedddakurapadu, GuraZala, Macherla, Vinukonda, Kuchinapudi, Repalle, Vemur, Duggirala, Tenali, Ponnur, Baptla.
It is evident from the table 4.6 that there were altogether 123 contestants for a total of 19 Assembly segments (18 General and one S.C. Reserved Constituency). Thus it worked out to eight candidates on an average per seat. The Congress Party contested all the 19 seats, while the TDP put up 16 candidates and allocated one seat to CPI and two to CPI (M) by way of alliance. The BSP ventured in nine places, the RPI (Khobragud) in two places and these were as many as 74 Independent candidates. The congress party came out victorious in a total of 14 seats, 13 seats General and one Reserved Constituency polling 52.71% valid votes. The Telugu Desam Party which had a predominant sway from 1983 onwards had a miserable poll debacle for it could secure five seats, on an average 38.07% valid votes. The friendly parties-CPI and CPI (M)-despite the support of TDP could not prove their political legitimacy.

Similar was the fate of BSP, RPI (Khobragud) and all the Independence. The Telugu Desam party managed to get five seats at Narasaraopet, Kuchinapudi,
Prathipadu, Chilakaluripet and Macherla. The re-election of K. Siva Prasada Rao of TDP at Narasaraopet was marked by his service to this Constituency and his immense clout as the Home Minister of the State. The Congress party is reported to have made an inappropriate choice of its nominee, a fresher, who had less political popularity and being an un-known entity. These factors rendered help for the re-election of TDP nominee. Similarly the re-election of E. Seetharavamma of The TDP at Kuchinapudi may be attributed to the prominent support of Gouda caste to the candidate. Incidentally she was related to popular former Minister Anagani Bhagavantha Rao, she had a good image in view of her long social work in the constituency. Her continued accessibility to the electorate coupled with a good deal of social service were a shield for her re-election with a very very narrow margin of 56 votes.

In the case of Prathipadu segment, Dr. M. Peda Rathaiah's re-election on the banner of the TDP was taken for granted, before nominations were
filed. It is because he held a profile of an honest politician, a leading Medical Practitioner with a clean image rendering service to the poor and weaker sections of the society. His family maintains considerable reputation among Kamma caste. As a militant party organiser and a leading surgeon, he maintained immense following not only within the TDP circles, but also bulk of the have-nots. All such factors have greatly contributed for his re-election despite the Congress wave in the district.

Another candidate Dr.K.Jayamma of the TDP was a successful nominee of the party. She too was a Medical practitioner and having family background of politicians. She held the reputation of an accessible leader lending services to the deserving sections of the people. Her personal image and popularity were chiefly responsible. Besides her caste background and the support particularly from the women had viewed as potent factors for her electoral victory. Similarly the election of N.Sivaramprasad of the Telugu Desam Party from Macherla constituency was marked by his constant service to the Constituency.
For a long time, he represented local bodies and held an image of honest politician. Besides, he had the support of bulk of the Constituency, and therefore enjoyed both manpower and affluence, which stood by him in good stead for his victory. Thus all the five candidates of the TDP could get elected in this district, although there was considerable opposition to the party President, NTR, for several acts of omissions and commissions apart from his authoritarian style. It may be noted that there was a considerable mobilisation of electorate as is evident from a poll of 70% in the district. Increased political consciousness, awareness, and the mobilisation made by the parties is a factor in 1989 which accentuated a high spirit of electioneering and consequent greater involvement of voter population. The Congress would have bagged another two seats at Kuchinapudi and Chilakaluripet, which were marked by a little majority in favour of the Telugu Desam Party. Thus the district, by and large, maintained a posture similar to other Parts of Andhra area.
ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS OF 1994:

In the preceding pages it has been pointed out that 1989 Assembly elections provided for a change of political leadership in the State from regional Telugu Desam party to the Congress Party. In the course of five year duration - from 1989 to 1994 there were notable political developments when the Congress Party was in political power. Soon after the Congress Party came to power in 1989, the political leadership was headed by Dr.M.Chenna Reddy who was instrumental to lead the Congress to electoral victory. During October-December, 1990 communal riots broke out all over the country following the detention of L.K.Advani, the President of BJP, in Bihar while he was leading Rath Yatra. It resulted in wide spread attacks, violent agitations, break down of law and order in several parts of the country including Hyderabad Metropolis wherein the Muslims were the target. The State Police had imposed a curfew at Hyderabad on 23rd October, 1990 initially for 24 hours which was continued for a
fortnight. The communal trouble sparked off in Hyderabad from 7th December in which several Muslims were a target and as a retaliation communal flare-up continued for over 10 days and more than 134 people became victims. Over 300 people were injured and 100 shops were looted and some were set ablaze. The loss of life, public and private property ran into several crores of rupees. It was held by observers that several factors and the nuances of State politics were instrumental for riots and the communal carnage. The politicians, land grabbers, anti-social elements and communal prejudices were the notable factors contributing in their own way for communal trouble. However, it is maintained that Congress factionalism was in a way responsible and the dissident Congressmen were instrumental for the intensity and ferocity December riots and the same was engineered to oust Dr.M.Chenna Reddy from political leadership.29

29. a) "Violet Vendatta -politically Motivated, Gangwar, Continue*, India Today, December 15, 1990
b) "Riot ravaged ;Reddy's position is tenuous" India Today, December 31,1990.
then prevailing political situation was aptly utilised by the dissident Congress leaders for the replacement of Dr. M. Chenna Reddy from the leadership of the State and incidentally they were successful in replacing him by N. Janardhan Reddy in December, 1990.

During April, 1991, almost all the opposition parties including the TDP led a successful campaign against the State Government in regard to a World Bank funded Irrigation projects in Coastal region and alleged under-hand dealings in tenders. Subsequently the lease of 15 acres of land with red granite deposits to N. Ram Kumar Reddy, son of N. Janardhan Reddy, was the focal point. Consequently it resulted in cancellation of Government order on September 11, 1991 when the Opposition forced the Government to agree for an enquiry by a House Committee into the alleged violation of established procedures. The frequent decisions of the State Government to enhance the RTC bus fares and the Cost of Dairy milk was another aspect which had greatly eroded the image of Congress Government. Added
to the above, the State Government was under fire from the opposition for its failure in maintenance of law and order and increasing Naxalite activities causing abundance of loss to public and private property apart from the brutal assassination of sacred lives. Besides the continued rift in between the Party President V. Hanumantha Rao and the State Chief Minister N. Janardhan Reddy affected greatly the welfare activities within the State and damaged the image of the Congress party. Further owing to financial stringency, the State Government had annulled the earlier cheap rice policy introduced by the TDP and enhanced the sale price of rice to Rs. 3.50 per Kg. to weaker sections. In October, 1992 the entire Opposition in the State made a bitter attack on the then Chief Minister N. Janardhan Reddy who had sanctioned 20 Medical and Dental Colleges allegedly after a shady deal.\textsuperscript{30} It was the focal issue on which there was large scale criticism from all quarters and mounting considerable

public opinion against the Chief Minister of the State. It had culminating effect making the Chief Minister to relinquish his position.

The replacement of N. Janardhan Reddy by Kotla Vijayabhaskar Reddy in November, 1992 was a matter of great jubilance within the State for the people felt that a corrupt leadership has ultimately been replaced. During November, 1992 anti-arrack agitation got sparked off by women and certain progressive sections of people at Dubakunta Village in Nellore district. The agitation effectively spread to several parts of the State. The Congress led State Government having sensed the public opinion in favour of implementation of Prohibition in the State had promised to introduce the said Policy measure from October, 1993, despite the venture involved abundance of loss of revenue to the State exchequer. The TDP, the major opposition party, greatly supported the policy of Prohibiting for utilising the God-dent anti-arrack agitation to its advantage, although the
TDP was once a strong supporter of 'Varuna Vahini' Scheme in the State.31

Another important issue damaging the reputation of the Congress Party concerned with insinuations on Kanumuri Bapi Raju, Minister for Excise, sanctioning licences to a few breweries in the State. This episode was strongly criticised by all the opposition parties, and he was made to resign from the Cabinet. Even in regard to power projects in the State being assigned to private parties like GVK Industries and a few others was also a subject of abundance of criticism by the Opposition. They made allegations of several underhand dealings by the State Chief Minister, Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy. The matter was taken to the State High Court which pronounced that there were no under-hand dealings. However, the High Court made some adverse comments against the then Chief Secretary, Jayabharat Redddy.32

TABLE NO.4.7
STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, 1994
TOTAL SEATS : 294

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI NO.</th>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>% Votes polled</th>
<th>Deposits Forefisted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>TDP</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>44.05</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33.81</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>J.D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>J.P</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.84</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Indep.</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3282</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source : Report on General Elections for AP legislative Assembly, 1994 Govt of A.P. Hyd)

Note: The TDP had won 2 seats subsequently making the total to 216

The State Assembly Elections of 1994 have come as a great surprise to both the Congress and the TDP Circles. It was a colossal sweep of the TDP giving a bitter defeat to the Congress Party. The election results indicated that the TDP has secured altogether 13636242 valid votes accounting for 44.05% while its
friendly opposition parties CPI secured 1056789 votes (3.91%) and CPM 923204 votes (2.98%), Janatha Dal 65661 (0.21%) totaling 51.15% valid votes. Whereas the Congress party secured 10464604 votes (33.81%). In other words, the difference between the TDP and its allies vis-a-vis the Congress Party accounted for 17.34% valid votes. Further if comparison is made between the TDP and the Congress we find a difference of 10.24% valid votes which has brought a phenomenal difference of seats as is evident that the TDP secured 216 seats while the Congress had a dismal picture of just 26 seats in the entire State.\(^\text{32A}\) Such a poll debacle to the Congress is unheard of in the past 38 years and throughout several periodic elections to the State Assembly. The elections were held in 292 constituencies in which the TDP exceeded the Congress party by 3.060 lakh votes. In the 1989 State Assembly elections the Congress party polled 3.023 lakh more votes when compared to TDP. In this election the trend

\(^{32A}\) See: Andhra Jyothi Telugu Daily, Hyd, Dec 16, 1994. The daily compiled statistics and reported that the difference is 9.79 % only.
pattern appeared to be totally reversed. It is a sad commentary that the Congress party has even failed to secure the position of recognised opposition in the State Legislative Assembly. In the last Assembly elections the Congress party had 10.55% additional votes, but now the TDP not only attempted to fill the gap but even secured overall additional 10.24% votes.

In the 1989 Assembly elections, the BJP was a friendly party of the TDP, but in this election, it has contested on its own without making an alliance with the BJP or entering into seat adjustments. Added to the above the TDP and its allies such as CPI, CPM, and Janata Dal have secured additional 51.05 lakh votes as compared to Congress, and the TDP has been able to put up quite an impressive performance in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, East Godavari, Nellore, Chittoor, Anantapur, Mahabubnagar, Medak and Nizamabad as is evident that the poll average has been more than absolute proportion of votes. Besides the TDF and its allies have also put up such a pattern of more than
absolute majority in the districts, such as Visakhapatnam, West Godavari, Guntur, Ranga Reddy, Adilablad and Khammam districts. The Congress party which had 47.15% valid votes in 1989 was able to get 182 seats but now its proportion has come down to 33.81% and number of seats has been quite dismal (26). The Congress Party's votes have considerably declined to 13.34%. The Party could not poll more than 40% of votes in the districts of A.P. excepting Medak and Kurnool. In nine Coastal Districts and Chittoor in Rayalaseema, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam in Telangana districts, the Congress Party obtained more than 30% valid votes, while its average vote was slightly above 20% in Anantapur, Mahaboobnagar, Ranga reddy, Hederabad, Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad, and Nalgonda. The TDP had obtained 23.69% valid votes in Hyderabad and bagged four seats, 12.82% votes in Khamam and secured two seats, 18.56% in Nalgonda and obtained five seats. It is certainly a phenomenal achievement for the Party. In the case of Coastal Andhra, the TDP contested alone and obtained 46%
valid votes, while the aggregate vote of the party along with its allies accounts for 50.14%. Similarly in the case of Rayalaseema, the aggregate vote of the TDP was around 50.48% and in the case of Telangana it was 38.09%. Taking together the valid votes of the TDP and its allies it was around 51.15%. The Congress party in Coastal Andhra obtained 35.47%, 38.50% in Rayalaseema and 27.92% in Telangana region. It is a reality that the Congress Party has considerably weakened in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. The CPM contested in all 21 seats and obtained 10.55 lakh votes aggregating 3.41%. The CPM contested 16 seats altogether and secured 15 seats, even such a performance by the two Left parties is commendable. When compared to 1989 to 19 in these elections. Similarly the Marxists have also improved their vote percentage by 0.48 and bagged considerable number of seats, from that of six in 1989 to 15 presently. Such a kind of performance by CPI and CPM is credit worthy. The BJP which has slightly improved its position in terms of vote percentage by 3.91, but it has lost two seats as
compared to 1989. In the last Assembly elections, the BJP had 5.12 lakh votes, while it has touched 12.37 lakh votes in the present Assembly elections. However, number of seats on the contrary have come down considerably.

NTR has earned a great reputation of a clean sweep and trounced the Congress Party totally. The Congress has been washed away in the whirlpool of the Telugu Desam Party. It had lost 35 out of 39 Ministers and several other stalwarts in the elections. Even the margin of victory in as many as 127 places had been quite large. The Party which expected a working majority has scraped through mere 26 seats. It is a tragedy that the Congress party could not even secure the position of a leading recognised opposition. The TDP publicly spoke of securing 229 seats. Such a version was repeatedly made by the party supremo. No words are enough to speak about the electoral victory of the TDP. It is significant to point out that during the hectic days of campaign, the trend did not project a
wave or tempest. The newspapers observed that the pre-election scene indicated no such wave. Many political observers expected that the Congress would fail to secure a mandate but did not expect such a state of affairs to the party. Even the observers expected a "Hung Assembly" but all such predictions and presumptions have been set at naught by the TDP through the present peaceful and silent sweep, in the state of Andhra Pradesh.33

The unprecedented victory of the TDP established the fact that it is indeed a force to be reckoned through the mandate obtained in these elections. The observers held the opinion that the credit for such a victory in the State Assembly poll mainly goes to NTR. A few others have pointed out that Madam Lakshimi Parvathi, the better half of NTR, was partly instrumental for the spectacular victory in view of her active participation in the election campaign as

33. a) Frontline (ed.) December 30, 1994
   b) "Historic Defeat", Frontline, December 30, 1994
   c) "Thunderous" Frontline, December 30, 1994
well as the selection of party nominees. A few others in the party maintained that it was Chandra Babu Naidu who with his political and electoral strategies had also significantly contributed for such a massive mandate in favour of the TDP.\textsuperscript{34}

It is maintained by commentators that the total rout of the Congress and the electoral victory of the TDP in these elections is caused by several factors. As is known, the Congress Party has been faction-ridden ever since the formation of the State. The factional warfare in the congress in the past prior to 1980s had greatly weakened the party in several respects. During the period 1978-83, factionalism within the party and quick succession of several Chief Ministers nominated by the All India Congress Committee in general and Ms. Indira Gandhi as president of AICC and Prime Minister of India in particular, were chiefly attributed to have the main causation for the fall of

\textsuperscript{34} M.Nagendra Reddy "Film and Politics in South India with particular reference to A.P. "Op.cit., ChapterV.
congress in 1983 and the ascendency of the regional Telugu Desam Party. The authoritarian and dictatorial tendency and of concentrating power in the hands of the X president of AICC were chiefly responsible for the weakening of Congress and destabilisation of State administration and lowering the image of Congress political elite of Andhra Pradesh to a great extent such a destabilisation had made the party devoid of any position, power and influence. It appears that the Party big-wigs failed to learn the past lessons and continued to indulge in factional strifes and back-biting and making strategies of weakening the top leadership in the state. Even during the period 1989-1994, the incidence of factionalism was quite rampant. It was a focal factor for the escalation of communal violence in the 1990 and the replacement of Dr. M. Chenna Reddy by another aspirant N. Janardhan Reddy. The latter was a contender for the leadership of State Congress legislature party in 1989, when the
Congress emerged successful, after a long gap of six years from 1983 to 1989. However, the choice of leadership fell on the shoulders of Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, while pacifying N. Janardhan Reddy. The latter was inducted in the State Cabinet headed by Dr. M. Chenna Reddy. The communal carnage of 1990 was so vigorous that it took a toll of 300 lives and finally Dr. M. Chenna Reddy was a political victim. The most compelling reason for the ouster of Dr. Chenna Reddy, a seputagenarian and a stalwart who led the Congress to power in 1978 and 1989, was the fear that his performance as Chief Minister was paving the way for NTR's return in A.P. NTR resembled the Ogre that the British saw in Nepolean. The Congressmen were dismayed that it was their Chief Minister functioning to restore the aura around the screen of Demi-God NTR.35

Even N. Janardhan Reddy had to relinquish the office of the Chief Minister in 1992 on the alleged

underhand dealings and nepotism exhibited towards his son Ram Kumar Reddy in sanctioning Bauxite mining lease. He was succeeded by Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy.

It was pointed out in political circles that initially Janardhan Reddy played the role of back-seat driving for some time and rendered considerable assistance to Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy. Subsequently the later had acted independently which had caused considerable annoyance to the former. Thus there developed a gap in between them and several followers of Janardhan Reddy attempted frequently to create an embarrassing situation to Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy in managing the party and maintenance of leadership of the State. Thus there was once again succession of Chief Ministers from Dr. Chenna Reddy to Janardhan Reddy and sub sequently to Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy. Such a factor became quite handy to the TDP for raising the issue of humiliation to Telugu pride at the instance of Central high command weakening the State Governments while nominating the State Chief Ministers. In a way, it was a repetition of past history of 1983. Only difference
that in the past there was a succession of four Chief Ministers of Congress Party in the course of five years, but presently it was confined to just three. Besides the open rift between Vijayabhaskar Reddy and Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy has been a matter of public which thoroughly exhibited the disunity and rampant factionalism among the leaders.\textsuperscript{36}. Besides the open warfare between Dr. Mysoora Reddy and others in Cuddapah, K.E.Krishna Moorthy and K.Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy (former adversary in Kurnool) was a matter of great concern damaging the reputation of the State Congress Party. Another aspect concerned with corruption in high places. Eversince 1978, allegations of corruption were levelled against Dr. M. Chenna Reddy. Since 1992, N.Janardhan Reddy the State Chief Minister was also alleged to have indulged in corruption while sanctioning fresh

\textsuperscript{36} A.Kesava Rao "Andhra Pradesh Quirks" \textit{Frontline,} September 23, 1994  
\textbf{c)} "Wounds are healed but scars are left over" (Incident of Cuddapah), \textit{Siasat,} September 8, 1994
breweries and distilleries. However, the then excise Minister Mr. Kanumuri Bapiraju was made a victim and completed to resign on this account. Added to it, N. Janardhan Reddy was also criticised for his allegedly collecting huge amounts for granting 12 Medical Colleges and Engineering Colleges. With the which was enquired into by Justice M. Sivaraman of Andhra Pradesh High Court passing certain strictures. The political circles criticised that in a of his leadership "Jet Sat Reddy is making huge amounts through Licences". NTR utilised such allegations levelled against the Congress leaders and commented that Janardhan Reddy deserved to be included in the Guiness Book for creating a record in matters like Corruption and under-hand dealings. There were allegations of corruption on Koneru Ranga Rao, a Congress Minister in 1993. It became a great concern in political circles and he was made to resign. All such factors cumulatively damaged the reputation of the Congress party. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy was also no exception. There were allegations of corruption against him for sanctioning 500 MW. Thermal Project to
different private companies. Although the High Court of A.P. had struck down all such allegations of nepotism, such charges had considerably damaged the image of the Congress party in general and leadership of Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy in particular.

The Kapus of East Godavari district under the leadership of Mudragada Padmanabham had been agitating for quite some time ever since 1988 for their inclusion in the Backward class list. The Congress leaders took up the cause of Kapus once again in 1992-93 and went on hunger strike. Consequently the State Chief Minister had taken the decision to include Kapus and Muslims besides others 12 castes under the List of Backward Class. It was a political decision taken by the State Congress leadership to attract Kapus in its favour, although a specific Commission was appointed under Justice Puttuswamy to submit a report in course of time. However, making such a crucial decision even before submission of the Report by the Commission was

strongly criticised from several quarters and teamed it as 'Political'. The decision instead of pacifying the Kapus had evoked lot of criticism and grievance from a few more Backward castes. A part from the above, heavy incidence of rebellion resulting from allotment of party banner to certain aspirants in the elections was also a matter of serious concern which had effected the poll prospects of official candidates in large number of Constituencies.

The TDP reiterated its well tested earlier populist slogans like Rs. 2/- a Kg. rice scheme, Weaker Section Housing, Sub-sidised power Supply to farmers and few other schemes in these elections besides with its rherotic couplets with inducting silver screen idols for campaigning and utilising the services of film actors. Another dimension concerned with tactical strategy of NTR and his better half, Lakshmi Parvathi making a joint campaign all over the State exchanging garlands and in a way projecting like "Road side romance" was a matter of great fete to the general
public. Thus all the negative factors of the Congress and the positive assurances of the TDP were mainly responsible for the miserable rout of the Congress Party in these elections.

**TABLE NO. 4.8**

**X GENERAL ELECTIONS 1994**

**GUNTUR DISTRICT**

**TOTAL SEATS : 19**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won.</th>
<th>Votes polled</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TDP</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>841025</td>
<td>42.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>758390</td>
<td>38.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53069</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>95912</td>
<td>4.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.J.P</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25977</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>74170</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.J.P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.p</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.D.P. (Renuka)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1346</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indep.</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>175402</td>
<td>8.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>238</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,72,416</strong></td>
<td><strong>68.98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data presented in Table No.4.8 is self-explanatory. The district has a total electorate of 29,07,573 of whom 20,05,711 aggregating 68.98% had participated in elections which is illustrative of increasing political mobilisation by the parties as well as candidates. There were altogether 238 contestants for 19 constituencies which include 18 General seats and one seat reserved for Scheduled Caste (Tatikonda, Constituency). The TDP contested 16 seats and made poll alliance with CPI (M) allotting Sattenapalli and Mangaagiri, and one seat (Tatikonoda) to CPI. The Congress contested all the 19 seats. BJP has put up significantly 19 candidates for all the 19 constituencies, while the BSP headed by Kanshiram had ventured in 2 places. The SJP contested in one place and Samata Party in six places. The TDP led by Renuyka Choudary had put up its nominations in five places. Besides, there were 167 independents in the poll fray. It is found that the TDP had captured altogether 12 seats polling on an average 39.72% of valid votes. The Congress party which was then in
political power could miserably scrape through with 3 seats aggregating 38.49% valid votes. The difference of votes in between Congress and the TDP is quite narrow, and the latter had a lead by 1.27% votes. The CPM has bagged two seats polling 4.86% valid votes and similarly the CPI came out victorious in one seat with 2.69% valid votes. Therefore, it is evident that the TDP and its allies had 47.27% valid votes securing 15 seats altogether. The Congress party had 38.45%, the difference being 8.82% as compared for 1989 which accounted a loss of 12 seats altogether. The BJP, BSP and other parties had a miserable failure for they could not get a single seat. Among the independents, one nominee secured poll victory and average vote turn out in their favour was around 8.89%. The victorious TDP candidates E.Seetaravamma from Kuchinapudi, M.Venkata Subbaiah, from Repalle, Alapati Rajendra Prasad from Vemuru, Ravindranath from Tenali, D.Narendra Kumar from Ponnuru, M.Seshagiri Rao from Baptla, M.Pedarataiah from Prathipadu, S.M.Ziauddin from Guntur-I Ch.Venkata Krishna Reddy from Guntur -II,Y.Srinivasa Rac
from Gurajala, K. Punna Reddy from Macherla and K. Siva Prasada Rao from Narasaraopet. On the other hand, the CPM candidates were N. Ram Mohan Rao from Mangalagir, P. Bharati from Sattenapalli and CPI nominee G. M. N. V. Prasad from Tadikonda (SC) Constituency. The Congress nominees included G. Venkat Reddy from Dugirala, K. Laxminarayana from Pedakurapadu, S. Sambaiah from Chilakaluripeta constituency. The Vinukonda seat has been bagged by V. Yelamanda Rao, an Independent candidate.

It is found that in bulk of the constituencies, there was a wide range of margin between the TDP and its allies as against the Congress nominees.

Kuchinapudi presented a margin of nearly 2500 votes by the TDP against the Congress nominee E. Seetaravamma, who bagged this seat is related to a former Minister Bhagvanta Rao. Her late husband was also a legislator in the past. Coming from the Gowda backward caste and having a good name as a social worker, she relentlessly strove for the cause of the
women in particular and other weaker sections in general. She had bagged Kuchinapudi seat against the Congress opponent a fisherman from this constituency.

Vemuru, constituency had attracted considerable attention of the electorate for the sitting candidate Alapati Dharma Rao was a Minister and even functioned as Deputy Speaker of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. He had to face a defeat at the hands of the TDP nominee Alapati Rajendra Prasad by a margin of 10.194 votes.

It is pointed out that Alapati Dharma Rao was a popular Kamma leader hailing from Guntur district as a practicing advocate. The dominant Kulak caste was reported to have indulged in several atrocities against the Harizans and other weaker sections in Tsundur riots in the past. Incidentally, Dharma Rao was a victim of the said atrocities and lost the seat.

Duggirala constituency was bagged by the Congress leader G.Venkat Reddy by a margin of 2234 votes. The
sitting congress legislator is regarded as a sincere and honest political leader exhibiting leadership qualities. He has a great reputation as a thorough gentlemen among all the sections of the society. The constituency is predominately composed of Kapu and Reddy among whom Venkat Reddy, a victorious candidate has considerable influence. Personal popularity of the candidate from this segment worked quite effectively despite the wave of NTR sweeping in the entire Circar region including Guntur district.

Baptna constituency has a historic importance right from the beginning for it was represented by several stalwarts including Kona Prabhakar Rao, the former Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee president and former Governor of Maharastra and Lieutenant Governor of Pondichery. It was in reality, a pro-Congress constituency for quite long. However, in the present elections, the Congress candidate had a miserable defeat for it is placed on third position. The TDP candidate M.Seshagiri Rao was victorious with a big
margin of around 42,000 as against the BSP candidate, a popular figure Katti Padma Rao who took up the cause of Tsundurur riots and atrocities on weaker sections. Katti Padma Rao has been a staunch follower of BSP supremo Kanshi Ram and organised the BSP to some extent in the state of Andhra Pradesh. However, he had to face the election debacle in this assembly segment. The TDP nominee, M.Seshagiri Rao had considerable popularity in this assembly segment. He happened to be a trade union leader and managed a film distribution company apart from producing a film 'Bali Petham in the past. He is reported to have maintained considerable following in the constituency among the agricultural labour, working class population and made efforts to resolve their problems using his linkage with higher ups at the state level. All these factors cumulatively contributed for his preponderent success in this assembly segment.

The election victory of P.Bharati of CPM from Sattenapalli constituency is also marked by a very
narrow margin of 2337 votes against the Congress nominee Rayapati Srinivas. It is significant to mention that the Congress candidate held the position ZP chairman in the past. However, he was defeated at the hands of CPM aligning with TDP. It is pointed out that the CPM candidate P.Bharati rendered innumerable services through voluntary organisations. She represented peasant organisations and unmindful of all travails and tribulations, she had vigorously worked for the poor, needy and deserving sections of the society. Incidentally, she was the wife of late P.Venkatapathi, a Communist leader of the district who was also a member of the state assembly in the past. He was also a member of the CPI eversince 1945 and rendered services as the secretary of CPM district committee of Guntur in 1981 and member of the state committee for long. The election of his wife on CPM banner is marked by a kind of sympathy to the departed leader who had rendered great services for the cause of the working class in the district.
Pedakurupadu constituency is another segment in the district which returned K. Laxminarayana, a sitting member of assembly on Congress banner in these elections. He had won the seat with a margin of around 8000 votes over his nearest rival TDP nominee, V. Sambasiva Reddy. The Congress candidate even held the position of a minister in the state Cabinet. Personal popularity, innumerable services rendered by the sitting Congress legislator apart from the nursing of constituency ever since his election in 1989 were regarded as the principal factors for his re-election despite the tidal wave of the TDP in 1994. Another important factor of the constituency is that of lack of linkage of this assembly segment with other parts of the district. It lacked local worth -while leaders and all those elected in the past invariably belonged to other parts of the district. However, K. Laxminarayana despite being a non-local hailing from Guntur is reported to have made a constant linkage and connections with this constituency rendering voluntary services to different sections of the people who approached him
irrespective of party label. All these factors effectively contributed for his success.

The election of V. Yelamanda Rao, an independent candidate from Vinukonda constituency is appropriate to be described. He belonged to TDP and a nominee of the TDP in these elections, but owing to the late receipt of the 'B' Form from the party office, Hyderabad, he could not get TDP symbol. Therefore, he put up his candidature as an independent and with the support of TDP and other left parties, he made a victory with a margin of over 3000 votes against his nearest rival of Congress Party Nannapaneni Raja Kumari, a sitting member and popular leader, presently holding the post of the President of the Women's wing of the state congress. Incidentally, she was elected on TDP banner during 1983 assembly elections, later defected to Congress and made a good-bye to the TDP once and for all. Her image as a defector had considerable impact in the constituency. Besides, it is on record to point out that as an elected member of the TDP, she
adored NTR and even created news of washing the feet of NTR, the party supremo, with coconut waters. It illustrates amply the pattern of political exhibit their proforespect and later dump them when they are out of power.

The Chilakaluripeta segment was bagged by S.Sambaiah of the Congress party is worthy of making a mention. A setting member of the Congress party and his electoral victory during 1978, 1985 and 1994 is marked by his services to this segment. It was an exception in 1989 that he lost the seat at the hands of K.Jayamma from this assembly segment through Congress came to power is the state. S.Sambaiah, representing Congress party had a good reputation and rendered services to the weaker sections. Personal popularity and the social services were together considered significant factors for his election victory in this assembly segment.

By and large, in these elections, the noted figures like, M.Venkataratnam Rao, Ambati Rambabu, Alapati Dharama Rao and Nadendla Dhaskar Rao,
a former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh were trounced. Besides, the popular Congress nominee, C. Peterpaul, Chebrolu Hanumaiah, a tobacco magnet, Mohd. Jani, a former Minister and a trade union leader, Ch. Jayarambabu, D. Umamaheswar Rao T. Venkaiah and a few others had to face electoral defeat. Significant to mention that there was a keen election battle centring in between the TDP and its allies as against the Congress party. In reality, it resulted in the form of a straight fight between TDP and Congress, in which the former could make an impressive victory along with its allies over the Congress party. The electoral success of the Congress in just three seats was indeed a notable feature during 1994 assembly elections. It is appropriate to mention that unlike other districts, Guntur had the credit of returning three Congress candidates, a significant number in the entire circar region of Andhra Pradesh. If this region had returned 10 members, Guntur had a share of three which speaks of the hold of the Congress Party despite its total defeat in the state of Andhra Pradesh.
From the foregoing exhaustive discussion of dynamics of General Elections and the rise and fall of different political parties, such as Congress, TDP, and left parties, it is evident that the Congress party had a total monopoly over the entire State of Andhra Pradesh in general and Guntur district in particular until 1983. Significant to mention that the introduction of Panchayat Raj system in 1958-59 was quite instrumental for the Party to percolate to the grass-root level, distribute political spoils to a large number of Congress functionaries and thereby the system could greatly contribute for strengthening the Congress base in the entire State.38 However, the position of the Congress got weakened from 1972 onwards with the centralisation of authority in the hands of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, and

38. Myron Weiner analyses the power pattern of Congress party as early as 1960 and indicated that panchayati raj network concerning the local Government greatly rendered help to Congress party for its local dominance, cited by Atul Kohli Democracy and Discontent, (India's growing crisis of governability (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, I Indian edition, 1992, p.91
the A.I.C.C. President. Although her charisma was chiefly instrumental for the return of Congress to power in the State, yet subsequent Chief Ministers lacked power and authority and the bulk of the Congress elite had a direct rapport with the Congress high command. With the passage of time such a growing centralisation had ultimately been a major point of shortcoming for large scale criticism on the State administration. More particularly the Telugu Desam party soon after its birth in 1982 highlighted on this most sensitive aspect of Telugu Pride, Telugu heritage and Telugu language and replacement of four Congress Chief Ministers in a span of four years during the period 1978-83. Coupled with the above a few populist programmes were chiefly instrumental for the new born Telugu Desam party to come to power in a most spectacular manner. Added to the above, the dominant Kamma leadership had until then played a second fiddle to Congress headed by other agriculturist Caste Reddys
consequently they were sore because they were not accorded sufficient recognition to lead the State. Therefore, having sensed their kinsman NTR with his celluloid background was in a position to provide requisite film glamour and charisma, the caste Kamma solidly stood by him and rendered great political support for the rise of TDP to political power in 1983.\(^{39}\) As is known, the Telugu Desam party was mainly a party of NTR and the Chief functionaries of the party belonged to his family. In terms of Party structure, though NTR is provided a its network from the State to the district and other levels besides the frontal organisations, yet decision-making was highly centralised in the hands of the Party President. It is not correct to point out that the local TDP was not much of a political party. It provided characteristic features of a Party. Owing to a great deal of centralisation at the Party headquarters and within

\(^{39}\) Ibid., pp.61-92
the President, the party at the local level was quite insignificant. It is quite interesting to point out that once upon a time, the Left parties were regarded as an alternative to Congress party, but owing to their gradual eclipse from the State political scene, their position remained not only weak but insignificant. Since 1983 the regional party, following decline of Congress, could fill the vacuum and in a vigorous way and dominate the State political scene for an uninterrupted rule of over 6 years. The people of Andhra Pradesh were carried away by the populist policies and socio-cultural dimensions espoused by the TDP in the initial phase, but having been thoroughly exposed such hallow issues and following several lapses of the TDP, they withdrew political support in 1989. Although the Congress party was in power since 1989-94, the leadership could not mend their behaviour and once again a situation as obtained prior to 1983 was repeated in the context of central intervention in the State Politics. Besides the masses being quite aware of the
on-going politics had come to know of the alleged corrupt political behaviour of several party leaders including the Chief Ministers. All such factors coupled with perennial factionalism within the Congress was once again chiefly responsible for the fall of Congress in 1994 and return of TDP in a more spectacular manner in 1994 Elections.

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