CHAPTER THREE

THE DECLINE OF NATIONAL PARTY, CONGRESS (I)

IN ANDHRA PRADESH—EVALUATION
Ever since its inception Andhra Pradesh has witnessed the dominance of a single political party, the congress party which has ruled the state for nearly twenty six years uninterruptedly. As the single party dominance continued and the opposition parties failed to evolve a distinct ideological orientation, the politics in Andhra Pradesh was dominated by intra-party conflicts in the ruling party, the congress and the opposition parties were reduced to a second fiddle. The role of the opposition parties in the state politics was minimal as compared to the all pervading role played by the congress. The factional politics of the congress dominated the political scene of the state. All the political activity in the State and even the steel plant agitation, Telangana agitation and Andhra agitation were initially started by the congress dissident leaders. The opposition parties could carry on the agitations as long as the congress factional leaders worked against their rivals and as soon as the differences were sorted out, they conveniently gave up the struggle and rushed for political patronage. The role of the opposition parties was insignificant in all those agitation and they could not carry on their own. The opposition parties, to a large extent were formed to oppose personalities rather than
policies. Hence, the opposition was fragmented and consequently, ineffective.

Jaipal Reddy, the articulate and well informed Janata party leader has made some interesting observations on the point. He says "one way of looking at it would be to go by the figures of percentage of popular vote. In the year 1971, Mrs. Indira Gandhi thumped her way to victory in Andhra Pradesh and now there has been a steady decline in the percentage of popular votes polled by her party. In Andhra Pradesh there was a time when Mrs. Indira Gandhi secured as high as 56 per cent of votes, While even though her party came to power in other states, the popular vote percentage was relatively low. I considered the popular vote percentage a better indicator of a party's base rather than the number of seats it has won."

In the wake of it has come the Telugu Desam Party (T.D.P), under the leadership of N.T. Rama Rao, under his glamour, the 26 years mighty congress organisation has been brushed aside by the newly formed Telugu Desam Party which has ultimately come to hold the reins of the State. When it came to power on 9th January, 1983 even the Charisma of

Mrs. Indira Gandhi could not save the Congress Party from the electoral catastrophe. Why this mighty party was humbled to dust is a thing that should be studied from various angles. The factors that have contributed to its decline are many—

REASONS FOR THE DECLINE OF THE NATIONAL PARTY (Congress (I)):

Analysing the causes for the rise to prominence of the film-star-turned politician has swamped the Congress (I) bastion, one political analyst said: "The stink of corruption, inefficiency and the greed to make money are the basic reasons for the defeat." And Mr. A. Sree Ramulu, former president of Andhra Pradesh N.G.O.'s Association said: "The ordinary man was so much harassed with inefficiency and corruption that he voted for the change."

One of the major reasons for the decline of Congress (I) in the elections held in January 1983, was the corruption, which had been institutionalised by the successive Congress (I) governments. The Congress ministers were not only arrogant but also corrupt to the core. The M.L.A.'s were in the habit of running to Delhi

with money bags to seek the favour of the party high command. The Chief minister's performance was judged by his ability to raise funds for electioneering. The Congress governments were not only unmindful of corruption in high officer but also virtually encouraged it for their own survival. The way in which the funds were raised by the members of the party to celebrate the 'Shastipoorthi' ceremony of a former Chief Minister, Dr.Chenna Reddy vindicate this contention.

Dr.M.Chenna Reddy became the Chief Minister on the 6th of March 1978. He had to stepdown on October 10th, 1980, directed by the Party High Command. T.Anjaiah, who was in the Union Minister, succeeded M.Chenna Reddy from October 11, 1980. After about 16 months, Anjaiah had to make way for B. Venkatram Reddy February 24th, 1982. The High Command threw B.Venkatram Reddy out just seven months later in September 19,1982. K.Vijaya Bhasker Reddy a member of the Lok Sabha, was the Chief Minister till January 9, 1983, then he was replaced by N.T.Rama Rao of the Telugu Desam Party which won the assembly election.

4. Ibid.,p.9.
During the regime of Dr. Chenna Reddy, it is alleged, Mrs. Indira Gandhi who was out of power, asked him to collect funds for the 1980 Parliament Elections. The Congress (I) which had limited resources to raise funds for the elections concentrated on Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka where it had still retained its hold. In the Assembly Elections of 1983, each candidate was given Rs. 1 lakh to meet the expenses. According to a Pradesh Congress (I) Committee (PCC (I)) office bearer, who was also a taxi-driver, the hire for a jeep and an ambassador car was Rs. 500/- a day. The total transport cost for 15 days of hectic electioneering the Karnataka was Rs. 1 crore. Another Rs. 2 crores were given in cash to the candidates, and Rs. 50 lakhs were spent on publicity. If the expenses incurred by the candidates themselves are included the ruling party will have spent at least Rs. 5 crores on the election.

Referring to the results of the Andhra Assembly elections of 1983, Prof. G. Ram Reddy, a former Professor of Political Science said: "The results in Andhra Pradesh should be viewed in conjunction with the results in Karnataka. Both the States, which are citadels of the

Congress have given a jolt to its system. It shows that Indian democracy is still vibrant and public opinion asserts itself. The voters are not happy with the way the public life is conducted. They wanted a change and when a determined leader offered an alternative, they voted for N.T.Rama Rao. Undoubtedly the youth wanted something new and something different. It should not be viewed merely as a vote for the charm of a film star. There is something more to it than meets the eye."

Admits Buta Singh: "Undoubtedly elections are becoming very expensive, but each candidate wants to reach the last voter for which he needs resources. We need posters, flags, manifestos and badges. The entire election system has developed in such a manner that we have to score over our political opponents. However, we will like to reduce the expenses because we are the followers of Mahatma Gandhi."

Dr. Chenna Reddy continued the fund-collection even after the elections and in course of time it was alleged that he 'institutionalised' corruption. Some of his...

ministerial colleagues were also accused of corrupt practices.

He was removed from the office mainly due to corrupt administration and T.Anjaiah who boasted himself of being a 'six anna cooly' and a trade union worker occupied the office. T.Anjaiah celebrated his daughter's marriage spending Rs.60 lakhs and later he came to be worth Rs.610 crores. A number of scandals were unearthed by both the opposition and ruling party members such as Baga Reddy's cement scandal, land grab scandal etc. Administrative and political corruption spread to every nook and corner of the State. Though he was replaced by B.Venkatram, the latter failed to eradicate corruption which had taken strong roots by that time. Though K.Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, the fourth Chief Minister with in four and half years, was a strong 'old war horse', he had to concentrate his limited time on the drought relief programmes and the forthcoming Assembly elections. A brighter star, N.T.Rama Rao, highlighted the corrupt practices of the government in his election campaign and won the confidence of the people promising to weed out

10.Ibid., p.301.
corruption on all fronts.

The frequent changes of Chief Ministers was not very much appreciated in Andhra Pradesh. Faceless wonderers were sent to Andhra Pradesh as Chief Ministers. "The Times of London" wrote "the people had voted against Mrs. Indira Gandhi's determination to install her own creatures as Chief Ministers." Interestingly, certain incidents involving the Union government have acted as catalysts for the feelings of provincialism in the State. T. Anjaiah may not have been among the best loved and admired Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh. Yet when for no particular fault of his, he was openly and rudely upbraided by Mrs. Rajiv Gandhi at the Begumpet Airport, the Chief Minister earned a surge of sympathy from among his people. "Whatever opinion we might have held about his capabilities as Chief Minister, he was after all our Chief Minister. An ordinary member of parliament and that too not from our state, had the cheek to insult him publicly. It was an insult to each one of us here," was a commonly expressed sentiment at that time.

T. Anjaiah, Union Labour Minister had taken over the

office of the Chief Minister on October 11, 1980. The 15 members of Dr. Chenna Reddy's ministry, whose campaign against him had led to his resignation were all included in the new ministry. Anjaiah, who constructed his castle with the support of the dissident Congressmen decided not to displease his supporters. He knew that the conservative and dictatorial attitude of Chenna Reddy led to the revolt of the Congressmen. Hence he wanted to appease the MLA's and other congressmen by distributing lucrative offices like ministers, chairman of the newly formed Corporations etc. In this process, he was compelled to expand his ministry to a record number of 61 by December 2nd, 1980. The Congress(I) High Command intervened and advised him to prune his ministry. He reduced his cabinet to 44 on February 7, 1981. He unnecessarily created corporate bodies to accommodate the disgruntled Congressmen and the number of corporations reached to 48, including five statutory bodies. Though he declared himself as a six annas cooly, he had given importance to pomp and pageantry, and extravagantly spent the money from the state exchequer to purchase helicopters, a galaxy of cars and other amenities to his army of ministers, chairman of corporations and other dignitaries.
Anjaiah was elected as MLA from Ramayampet, Medak (district) Constituency on March 16, 1981, defeating 12 opponents. He sorted out his differences with G.V. Sudhakara Rao, Minister, Major Irrigation. However, D. Surendra Rao, N. Kondaliah and Venkata Rao, all MLAs and former APCC (I) General Secretary, M. Ramachandra Reddy issued a strongly worded statement on April 19, 1981 in which they pointed out that the Congress(I) had faced the danger of obliteration due to the (inept) administration of Anjaiah. Following discussions with Anjaiah, they withdrew their statement leaving traces of dissatisfaction among the Congressmen due to the non-implementation of the new 20-point programme by the Chief Minister and his inefficient administration. Under the leadership of G. Rajaram, Finance Minister, and the leader of the Backward Classes and also contender for the Chief Ministership, a group of backward class legislators started attacking the policies of Anjaiah which failed to implement developmental programmes for the benefit of the weaker sections. This group lost their voice when their leader Rajaram was killed in a road accident on May 10th, 1981.

ELECTIONS TO PANCHAYAT RAJ INSTITUTIONS

The credit for conducting the abnormally postponed and
much feared elections to the Panchayat Raj institutions and local bodies, went to Anjaiah. He introduced direct elections to the post of President of Panchayat Samiti and conducted elections from May 27 to June 5 inspite of severe dissident activity in the Congress (I) party. Infighting within the party reached such a chaotic peak that the beleaguered Chief Minister had to withhold fielding official candidates but kept the party’s door open to whoever won. Of the 120 Panchayat Samiti Presidents, as many as 172 got elected in the face of stiff opposition from the local Congress (I) M.LAs. Earlier Anjaiah was insulted by Rajiv Gandhi then M.P. (son of Late Indira Gandhi, former PM) when the latter visited the State, by refusing Anjaiah to accompany him to Tirupati on a helicopter. The State congressmen were sore at the high-handedness of Rajiv Gandhi and the domination of the central leadership over the state politics. The press severely criticised the incident and the people made it a subject for discussion.

Anjaiah’s supporters hailed him for conducting Panchayati elections and controlling communal tension. However Anjaiah developed differences with S.S.Mahapatra AICC (I) observer in the organisation matters and requested
the party High Command to change him. The High Command rejected his request and Mahapalra continued to be the observer adding insult to injury, the new PCC (I) President Kona Prabhakara Rao also failed to cooperate with the Chief Minister. Their differences surfaced at the time of the election of the Chairman of Chittoor Zilla Parishad. Though the PCC (I) issued a directive to party-men, not to participate in the election of the Chairman, C.Das, Minister for Minor Irrigation, and N.Chandrabahu Naidu, Minister for Cinematography and M.Safullah Kalig, Chairman, Rayalasrema Planning and Development Committee defied the party directive and attended the election. The President, PCC (I) suspended them from the party on October 9, 1981 and the two Ministers resigned from the ministry on the following day, creating a crisis. Finally, the High Command intervened, summoned the Party Chief and the Chief Minister to New Delhi, sorted out their differences and revoked the suspension orders.

THE CHRONIC DISSENTENT DISEASE

In spite of the disciplinary action taken against the anti-party activities, six MLAs submitted a memorandum to the President, AICC (I) and the Prime Minister, demanding
the ouster of Anjaiah for his inconsistent and unnecessary statements, corrupt and inefficient administration and failure to safeguard the interests of the weaker sections. Though the Cabinet was divided on the issue of granted permission to start private Engineering Colleges, Anjaiah granted permission. His opponents alleged him of shady deals, accused him that six annas Chief Minister was worth six crores rupees and K. Kesava Rao, Minister for small scale Industries threatened to resign in November, 1981.

As the elections for the 29 council seats approached in December, neither the party Chief nor the Chief Minister could control the anti-party activities of the Congressmen. The party chief expelled 10 party men including two legislators on December 25, 1981. Council elections were held on December 20, 1981 and Congress won 20 out of 29 seats from local bodies constituencies. The Janata Party secured two seats, the CPI and Lok Dal shared one each and the remaining five were won by independents. Four of the five independents were rebel congressmen who were expelled from the party along with 55 others for working against official nominees. Show cause notices were issued to five ministers and K. Anantha Reddy, Chairman, Telengana Planning and Development Committee (cabinet rank) for working
against the party candidates in the local body elections. The game of changing Chief Ministers which was started by the Central leadership since the time of Dr. Chenna Reddy was in the State Politics. Later Bhaskara Rao and N. Janardhana Reddy who tried to succeed Chenna Reddy, continued their attempts to capture the highest office in the state even after Anjaiah became the Chief Minister. Though the above two aspirants were included in his cabinet, Anjaiah kept N. Bhaskara Rao at bay and later he dropped him for the Cabinet. N. Bhaskara Rao fanned the dissident fire in the State from outside the cabinet while Janardhana Reddy ignited dissidence from within. Bhaskar Rao shuttled between Hyderabad and New Delhi discribing the failures of Anjaiah. The High Command which was sore by Anjaiah’s weak performance gave the green signal to foment trouble. It was alleged that the Congress (I) has lost its ground to the Janata and Communist Parties in local bodies elections and Assembly by-elections. Anjaiah failed to weed out corruption which was institutionalised during the tenure of Dr. Chenna Reddy. Moreover, corruption increased and Anjaiah’s ministerial colleagues amassed wealth and indulged in several scandals.

Finally, the High Command lost confidence in Anjaiah while N. Janardhan Reddy staked his claim to head the state and Bhaskar Rao's claim was ignored by the central leadership. But P.V. Narasimha Rao, Foreign Affairs Minister, wanted to install his own man and projected Kona Prabhakara Rao whom he had by then managed to make the APCC(I) President. P.V. Narasimha Rao effectively settled the chances of Janardhan Reddy.

Wrong Selection of a Weakling Chief Minister

Bhavani Venkatram Reddy (MLC) as Chief Minister and Jagannatha Rao Backward Class leader from Telangana, as Deputy Chief Minister took charge on February 24, 1982. On 20th the rest of the ministry consisting of 22 cabinet ministers and 10 ministers of state joined them. Six of them joined for the first time in the ministry. As Kona Prabhakara Rao, President PCC (I), N. Janardhan Reddy who was the main contender for the Chief’s post, was also included in the cabinet.

The new Chief Minister had to face more problems soon after he had taken over charge. Four MLAs resigned from the Congress (I) to join the new regional party which was

15 Ibid., p. 295.
in the offering under the leadership of N.T.Rama Rao and the disgruntled Congress (I) leader, N.Bhaskara Rao. The State faced severe drought and the economy was already crippled due to extravagant expenditure by his predecessor, Anjalah. N.Janardhan Reddy and Puna Prabhakara Rao were very active in proving the inability of Venkatram Reddy to run the administration. Janardhana Reddy started alleging that Jayaprada, wife of Venkatram Reddy was actually running the State administration. The conflict of interests, mud-slinging and bickering among the senior cabinet colleagues led to erosion of the party's image and dysfunctioning of the administration. His two predecessors Anjalah and Chenna Reddy who were unceremoniously removed were waiting for an opportunity to avenge their removal. Anjalah started anti-party activity in the guise of Panchayat Forum. He had good following in the Panchayat Raj institutions for which he conducted elections. The appointment of Chenna Reddy as Governor of Punjab in April 1982 came as a blessing in disguise to the deteriorating party politics.

The Congress (I) leaders who tested power for 26 years became blood hounds and started chasing the Chief Minister and the Delhi power brokers to quench their thirst. The
shuttled between Hyderabad and Delhi to from their groups and power blocks to influence their entry into the ministry and other important positions, Venkatram annoyed by the rush of a large number of party men including former ministers to Delhi, cancelled his Delhi trip on April 27, 1982.

Venkatram Reddy and Das failed to maintain coherence and unity among the party men at the time of the Legislative council's election on July 27, 1982 for 10 seats. Though the Congress (I) had overwhelming majority, only five Congress (I) candidates were declared elected in the first count and four in the second and subsequent counts while the rest won by an independent. It was evident that 11 congressmen indulged in cross voting. However, Venkatram Reddy denied any cross voting and viewed it as mistaken marking. During his tenure corruption increased in the administration as well as among his ministerial colleagues. When the High Command asked his views about the conduct of the Assembly elections before N.T. Rama Rao would become popular, he wanted some more time for his consolidation. Though the High Command had given him time to counter act the N.T. Rama Rao wave, to contain the dissident activity, to implement the party programme and to win the
confidence of the people by attending drought relief. Venkatram Reddy thoroughly failed to achieve the above ends. On the other hand, he had given enough time to N.T. Rama Rao to build his among the masses and before Venkatram Reddy realised he was pushed by his enemies out of his chair.

THE REPEATED GAME OF MUSICAL CHAIRS:

The Congress (I) High Command realised by the end of August, 1982 that it was losing ground to N.T. Rama Rao, the State Congress (I) became a divided House and as heading for the debacle. They wanted to relieve the weakling Chief Minister and rejuvenate and party. After a week long cliffhanger in early September, the dannish and ineffectual Venkatram Reddy was asked to pack after seven months. N. Janardhana Reddy, Revenue Minister who was struggling for his chance since 1980 was almost crowned as Chief Minister but inexplicably side-lined. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, M.P. Kurnool and former detractor of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the follower of Brahmananda Reddy was selected as successor to Venkatram. R. Venkataraman, the then Union Defence Minister who acted as observer called

K. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy an Old War Horse.

REPLACEMENT BY A VETERAN AND STRONG CHIEF MINISTER

K. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, MP had sworn in as Chief Minister on September 19, 1982 and 17 Cabinet Ministers and 10 Ministers of State joined him on the following day. Eighteen members of the outgoing 34-member ministry, were included in the new ministry. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy started his ministerial career 15 years ago in Brahmananda Reddy's Government—first as Minister of State for cooperation and later as Finance Minister. In due course K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy became an effective number two in Brahmananda Reddy's administration during Telangana agitation. In September 1971, he stoutly defended his Chief Minister in Assembly, declaring that no force on earth can destabilize this Government as long as it continues to enjoy the confidence of the House. This display of independence was too much for New Delhi and the very next day Brahmananda Reddy was asked to resign. K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy was considered as a follower of Brahmananda Reddy and the former was also eclipsed along with his mentor. Brahmananda Reddy joined Charan Singh's Union Cabinet in 1979. However, before 1980 General election, both Reddys joined the Congress (I).

18. Ibid., p.298.
WORK MINDED CHIEF MINISTER:

Soon-after he assumed office K.Vijaya Bhaaskar Reddy proceeded to Cuddapah district to attend to the drought relief work. He sought funds from the Centre for implementing schemes aimed at developing the rural economy, such as the National Rural Employment Programme and provision of houses for Harijans and backward classes. Priority was given for organising immediate relief operations in the drought-hit areas of the State. He promised that every family would be provided with work and the farmers would be relieved from their distress. He viewed Telugu Desam as a 'short-lived' organisation. He had a brisk programme to streamline the administration and to implement developmental works which were shelved due to lack of proper leadership. The centre extended its full support to the new Chief Minister. Though the Congressmen pleased for the expansion of the ministry, the Chief Minister refused to budge and denied reports regarding the expansion of ministry.

FACTIONALISM:

Another important reason for the decline of national
party is factionalism. Factionalism is the identification of State Congress elite with regional and local politics. These factors played a major role in the formation of ministry, elections of members of the State party executive and appointments to the chairmanship of various corporations. Though factionalism was a characteristic feature of the Congress, it became rampant since 1980. For example, the central Ministers shepherded their own group and continuously interfered in the State administration to change the leadership and include or exclude certain ministers. All the former Chief ministers particularly Brahmananda Reddy, Chenna Reddy, Anjaiah and Venkatram Reddy had their own groups vigorously working against each other. Even the senior ministers like N.Janardhana Reddy, Baga Reddy and Kona Prabhakara Rao had their own groups acting against each other. Each group stupidly worked for the defeat of other groups and indirectly helped the victory of Telugu Desam Party. A top Congress(I) functionary rightly pointed out that "If Rama Rao had one more week of campaigning in the Telangana region, our 60 seats would have been reduced to six. Another commented that "We have defeated ourselves."

20. Ibid., p. 303.
There is no doubt that these leaders have been able to prevail upon the High Command. This was partly because they all come from districts where the Reddy and backward classes hold sway, where the Congress (I) has relatively little fear from the Telugu Desam. Says the then State Labour Minister K. Kesava Rao "voters can easily see through the make up of a film star. They know Mrs. Gandhi is always on the side of the poor."

Caste, community and interests also constitute another important factor of factionalism. Some of them become pronounced during the general elections and elections to Panchayat Raj bodies. The on-going process of modernisation mobilisation of caste groups and politicisation of the castes have been a major political factor in the politics of the State.

FACTIONAL FIGHT RESUMED:

Whenever a Chief Minister was changed the realignment of factional groups was active. The two Union Ministers P.V.Narasimha Rao and Shiva Shankar had their own groups in the State apart from the already existing groups shepherd

by Chenna Reddy, Anjaiah, N.Janardhan Reddy, and other minor regional and caste groups. The Congress leaders who supported Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the 1978 split and were instrumental for the emergence of Congress (I) in the state, criticised the selection of K.V.B.Reddy, a defector from Congress (U) as Chief Minister. They argued that they had provided funds for the success of Mrs. Indira Gandhi during the 1980 parliament elections and supported her even during her bad days without deserting her, sacrificing their political career while some leaders left her, enjoyed power and cleverly defected to occupy positions in the Congress (I). They accused the Prime Minister of giving more importance to those defectors ignoring the real congress (I) leaders. They further alleged the new Chief Minister of forming his own group with the assistance of his old friends and insulting the real Congress (I) party men.

The above changed circumstances resulted in new alignment of groups in the process. The original Congress (I) Party men and former Ministers who were denied ministerial berths and formed a separate group under the stewardship of the former Chief Ministers-Anjaiah and Venkatram. The Congress (I) High Command summoned
Bramhananda Reddy, Anjaiah and Venkatram, former Chief Ministers, to attend the Congress Working Committee meeting on 9th and 10th October, 1982, to discuss party affairs and to work out strategy for the ensuing Assembly elections. Anjaiah and Venkatram decided not to attend the Congress working Committee meeting as a token of their resentment towards the party High Command regarding the treatment they were receiving from the new Chief Minister as well as the High Command. This decision was taken at an informal meeting which was attended by Anjaiah, Venkatram, K.Prabhakara Reddy, P.V.Chowdary, G.V.Sudhakara Rao, Divi Kondaiah Chowdary, Boka Rameswamy and E.Ayyapu Reddy besides a number of Zilla Parishad Chairmen, Panchayat Samiti Presidents and legislators on October 3, 1982. Later on, October 7, the two former Chief Ministers announced their decision to ignore the call of the High Command; instead they called for a convention of the Congress (I) legislators and party workers on October 16th and 17th 1982 in Hyderabad to explain their misgivings. They stated that they would then go to Delhi to appraise the party leadership of the intensity of their feelings. The two maintained that their decision did not amount to defiance of the party leadership. The party High Command viewed
their decision seriously and the representatives of the High Command contacted them just before midnight of October 9, 1982. Their move to call a meeting of the "original" Congress (I) workers was dropped as the Party High Command was "soothing" of their grievances and they attended the Congress working committee meeting on October 10, 1982.

1977 ELECTIONS AND REGROUPING OF FACTIONS:

The 1977 elections saw the fall of the Congress ministry at the centre. This resulted in a new type of factionalism in Andhra Pradesh. Bramhananda Reddy's candidature for the Congress Party Presidency was rejected by Vengal Rao. He even threatened to resign. Meanwhile Anjalaiah and Rajaram, who were loyal to P.V. Narasimha Rao, formed an effective faction resulting in Vengal Rao's joining Bramhananda Reddy's group. The cabinet was expanded to accommodate Bramhananda Reddy's men. Bramhananda Reddy's creation of a new ad-hoc body for the State Congress was resisted by the dissident group with the former ministerialists becoming dissident and vice versa. It ultimately led to the Congress split.

K. Rajamallu, T. Anjaiah and Dharma Reddy resigned from the cabinet in December, 1977. Later they formed Congress (I) under the leadership of Chenna Reddy.

The emergence of the Janata at the centre and the split in the Congress Party had an impact on state politics. The Congress Party in the state was divided in 1978 and the official unit of Congress (I) came into existence on 18th January, 1978.

In the 1978 elections the Congress led by Bramhananda Reddy and Janata entered into electoral adjustments with CPI and CPI (M) respectively. The Congress (I) was the only party which contested without any alliance. The Congress (I) contested 250 seats and won 175 seats with 39.24 per cent of the votes polled. Congress (I), though free from rebels, was handicapped with deep divisions in the party ranks. Divisions emerged between supporters of Chenna Reddy and P. V. Narasimha Rao and C. Rajaraj Broups.

Once again the Congress (I) exposed the usual factional fights when the question of electing a leader arose. Chenna Reddy and G. Rajaraj staked their claim.

24. Ibid., p.12.
After hectic bargaining, D. Rajaram withdrew in favour of Chenna Reddy. What Rajni Kothari had said of Congress was true: "Congress system has always been a system of coalition, multi-group in character, and informed by a continuous process of internal bargaining and mobility. Even though the party returned with absolute majority, differences broke out. A dissident group was formed within the organisation of the party questioning Chenna Reddy's continuance as president of Congress (I). Whenever the Congress high command felt that a particular Chief Minister was emerging powerful within the State, it started encouraging factionalism as a counter-force to size him up. Factionalism not only incapacitated the Chief Ministers in finding solutions to the people's problems, but also contributed to the instability of the government machinery. The internal bickerings in the party only contributed to the worsening of the situation. The dissatisfied and disgruntled elements in the party were relentlessly giving trouble to the Chief Ministers and they in turn spent much of their time in appeasing these.

factional leaders. Thus the organisation has failed and
people of Andhra Pradesh taught a fitting lesson to the
Congress(I) at the hustings. The Guardian noted that "the
electorate had served their prime Minister with due warning
that dynastic politics, an arrogant and centralist desire
to reward friends and punish enemies" would not clique.

FACTIONS PLACATED:

The Andhra Pradesh Congress (I) is a house bitterly
divided and every faction must be pleased to prevent
differences showing up during election time. From the
moment elections were announced prominent state leaders
like Union Cabinet ministers, P.V. Narasimha Rao and P.Siva
Shankar, and the aspirants for the Chief Ministership like
Kuna Prabhakara Rao and N.Janardhana Reddy have been
lobbying energetically for their men. Also staking a claim
from his distant exile has been Punjab Governor M.Chenna
Reddy.

There is a doubt as to how these leaders have been
able to prevail upon the high command. This was partly
because they all come from districts in which the Reddys

and backward classes hold sway, where the Congress (I) has relatively little to fear from the Telugu Desam. In Medak constituency, Mrs. Indira Bandi saw to it that only one of the nine sitting MLAs has been dropped. Narasimha Rao, likewise, made sure that all the five sitting MLAs in his parliamentary constituency, Hanumakonda were retained while Shiva Shankar ensured that seven of the eight sitting MLAs in the district were dropped. The only districts where the balance between the factions was not carefully maintained were Cuddapah and Chittoor where N.T. Rama Rao’s son-in-law N. Chandra Babu Naidu and a local tycoon Y.S. Raja Sekhara Reddy, both state ministers, were allowed to have their say.

While the political situation in the state has still fluid there is no doubt that the tactic of holding early elections has cut some of the ground from under N.T. Rama Rao’s feet. Only a few years ago he was the odds on favourite of nearly all political posters in Hyderabad. Now he seems to have slipped some what in their estimation even though he still magnetically attracts colossal crowds wherever he goes.

It is now being acknowledged that no amount of screen charisma can build a political party in such a short time.
Observers point out that even the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, late M.G. Ramachandran had the traditional and the entrenched strength of Dravidian Munnetra Kazhagam and the Dravida Kazhagam to draw upon. N.T. Rama Rao by contrast is trying to fashion a political party in the short space of a few months.

NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRAMMES

Another notable reason for the decline of the Congress (I) was non-implementation of the socio-economic programmes which are aimed at the upliftment of the poorer sections. The northern India was under the spell of Janata wave in 1977 and 1978. The Andhra Pradesh voted for Congress(I) ignoring Janata and Congress (I) because the 20-point programme of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and 5-point programme of Sanjay Gandhi were faithfully implemented by the then Chief Minister Vengal Rao. The New schemes implemented for the uplift of the down-trodden or weaker sections attracted the masses and the people ignored even Vengal Rao who implemented the programmes but worshipped who originated the programmes viz., Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her son Sanjay Gandhi, Chenna Reddy, who was a capitalist was
not actually interested to work for the uplift of Harijans, Girijans and backward class people, who stood solidly behind Indira Gandhi even during her haydays. Said an advocate " the whole exercise was made by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The helicopters, the jeeps the top campaigners and money came from New Delhi and northern States and she and her party lost in the elections. They had lost touch with the people, because they have failed to implement the programmes.

Dr. Chenna Reddy fully concentrated on the Parliament Elections 1980 and after success he wanted continue on that glory. Even Anisiah, Venkataras and Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy thoroughly failed to implement the party programme and simply tried to drag on only worshipping Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The programmes which were already started for the benefit of Harijans and Girijans continued automatically to some extent but other programmes which were aimed at the uplift of the down trodden people and backward classes severely suffered, and this particular strata of population alienated themselves from the Congress (I) from 1980 onwards. The middle class people affected by the price hike and the non-availability of essential
commodities also withdrew their support to the Congress (I). As seen from the results of the Assembly election 1983, the Congress swing was backwards from 219 seats with 52% of votes in 1972 to 175 seats with 39% of votes in 1978 to 60 seats with 30% of votes in 1983. It was evident that though Harijans favoured the Congress (I) the middle and backward classes gradually alienated themselves from the Congress since 1972 onwards.

LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND CONGRESS (I) SUPPORT:

Studies have confirmed that Congress (I) derives its support structure from the lower socio-economic status groups.

TABLE 1: Confirms the above statement.

Voters intention to vote Congress(I) – 1980 parliamentary elections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age yrs</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Income Rs.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Caste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 – 25</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 – 30</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>151 – 300</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Some Secondary)</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>301 – 500</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>35.7 (N = 75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 – 40</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>501 – 750</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>751 – 1000</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 – 45</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1000 above</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 – 50</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 – 60</td>
<td>18.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 yrs above</td>
<td>16.33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total No. of respondents 750.

1. Statewide study of 30 parliamentary constituencies, 1980 parliament elections, Political Science Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
It shows that Congress (I) does not have support from young voters. A majority of the Congress voters belong to the illiterate section of society. Income wise, the data shows it is the lower income groups which support the Congress (I) party caste-wise majority of SCs and BCs had decided to vote for Congress (I). Yadagiri's study of the Medak parliamentary constituency also confirms the fact that the congress support structure emerges from low socio-economic strata. His study indicates a composition of 72.4 per cent backward classes, 83.9 per cent illiterates and 79.3 per cent of lower income group. In fact the study argues that it was a calculated move on the part of the Congress high command to propose Mrs. Indira Gandhi's candidature for Medak constituency in 1980 elections. It was based not only upon the low socio-economic conditions of the constituency, but also on the low-socio-economic status profile of the voters.

Those who had intended to vote for Congress (I) in the 1980 parliamentary elections. Table 2 gives us an interesting analysis

Table 2

Backward Class, Scheduled Castes, Muslim voters of Congress (I), during the years 1971, 1977 and 1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1971 Lok Sabha Voted %</th>
<th>1977 Lok Sabha Voted %</th>
<th>1979 Assembly Election %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K.C.</td>
<td>57.67</td>
<td>72.09</td>
<td>72.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.</td>
<td>56.48</td>
<td>67.59</td>
<td>67.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>30.40</td>
<td>36.73</td>
<td>27.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Statewide study of 10 parliamentary Constituencies, 1980 Parliament elections. Political Science Department, Osmania University Hyderabad.

The data shows a considerable rise in the support structure of backward classes and the Scheduled Castes, but as far as the Muslims were concerned, there was a decline of support to Congress (I). The 1983 pre-election study revealed that 18.00 per cent could be called 'Congress regulars' (those who voted for Congress (I) in the previous elections and would like to vote for Congress (I) in the 1983 elections) and a large proportion (31.00%) who had voted for Congress (I) in the previous elections were now undecided about their voting choice. It could have been possible for those in a dilemma voters to have caused the
swing towards the Telugu Desam Party. About 8% of the voters who voted for the Congress (I) in the previous elections decided to vote for other parties. Among these, 6% said that they would vote for Telugu Desam Party. The Congress (I) could attract only an insignificant 0.5% among the new voters.

The survey also shows that those who have shifted their loyalties from Congress (I) who voted in 1978 and 1980 for Congress (I) to other parties are predominantly from among the males, younger age groups, primary and middle school educated urban voters, middle income groups and backward classes. The study also shows that Scheduled Tribes and middle castes voted for opposition parties in 1978 and 1980.

No significant shift of the Congress (I) traditional voter from among females, illiterates, upper castes, low income and rural voters could be discerned.

The over all support structure of Congress (I) can be seen in Table 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>R/U</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 35</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>61.00</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>55.00</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>Low Income</td>
<td>68.00</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>27.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>27.00</td>
<td>Household</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>73.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 50</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>White collared</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total No. of respondents 886

31 Pre-Election Survey of A.P assembly elections 1983, Political Science Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
Data in Table 4 also shows a significant decline in the backward class and Muslim support. In fact the subsequent performance of the Congress (I) in 1983 elections proved that the backward classes played a decisive role in shifting of support structure from Congress to Telugu Desam Party.

Harijans and Muslims constitute up to 30 per cent of the electorate in Andhra Pradesh. The 1983 results showed that their support to Congress (I) could no more be taken for granted because of two reasons: (a) these sections do not vote on the basis of caste or religion any longer, and (b) they do not see Congress (I) as the protector of their interests. While in 1978 the Congress (I) had won over three-fourths of all SC seats, in 1983 it conceded 68 per cent of them to Telugu Desam Party. In constituencies where the Harijan population is significantly higher, Telugu Desam Party won absolute majority surpassing the 1978 Congress (I) record. In short the support Congress (I) received from the reserved constituencies proved the lowest level, thus eroding its traditional support group base.
TABLE 4: Congress (I) support structure 1983 election study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SES</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Minorities</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>BC/BST</td>
<td>26.00</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>56.00</td>
<td>C.C</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>33.00</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of respondents 800

A cumulative index of socio-economic status based on caste, education, and income indicates the support structure of political parties among the various classes of society.

4. Pre-election survey of Andhra Pradesh Assembly elections, 1983, political Science Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

TABLE 5: Andhra Pradesh reserved constituency-Congress (I) position, 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>SC seats</th>
<th>ST seats</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Seats won by Congress (I)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayalaseema</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telangana</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In at least 30 constituencies where Muslims form the majority, Congress (I) fared badly securing less than a quarter of the total vote. In four-fights of them it had to face stiff opposition from rival Muslim candidates, some of whom were supported by Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen. Even in popular votes the percentage shows the decline of Congress (I) support base.

LOYALTY FACTORS

Another weighty argument for the declining of the National Party (Congress (I)) in Andhra Pradesh in the 1983 Assembly elections is loyalty.

The exit of Chenna Reddy in 1978 brought to surface the Congress (I) legislators' talk of power to assert themselves. The Congress (I) leaders of the state allowed Mrs. Indira Gandhi to use her clout in imposing a leader. The total subjugation of the State Congress (I) to the central leadership could be gauged, when a defeated candidate in the assembly elections, from Musheerabad constituency and a member of the Raja Sabha, Anjaiah was made the leader. Apart from other arguments, Anjaiah's defeat in Musheerabad should have been enough for his elimination but the congress ethos made him the Chief
Minister. Of course Anjaiah's loyalty to Mrs. Indira Gandhi mattered more than anything else.

At this stage, the Congress (I) lowered its image to the point of ridicule. Making and expanding the ministry was done in Delhi. It was a 61-member ministry. Anjaiah accommodated representatives of all the factions. The large-sized ministry provided conducive grounds for the emergence of a dissident group within three months. All the ministers in the state were asked to resign on 13 January, 1981.

The style of functioning of Anjaiah supplemented by active factionalism among the party men created a feeling of disgust among the people. The elections held in Andhra Pradesh during this period were clear indicators of things to come. In the elections to the upper house, the Congress (I) lost as many as 9 seats out of 30. The party fared badly in the corporation elections held in Vijayawada and Visakhapatnam. Congress (I)'s credibility to deliver an honest administration was doubted by people. Charges of corruption and favouritism were levelled by the rivals within the party. Anjaiah had little time for administration, for he was busy pruning or expanding his
cabinet. Every third Congress I MLA in Andhra Pradesh became a minister.

Meanwhile the high command wanted Anjaiah to prune his cabinet. He dropped 16 ministers, prominent among them were Venkatesa Reddy's son-in-law, C.Rambhupal Reddy, K.V.Krishna Reddy (Brachananda Reddy's nephew) and N.Beenivasulu Reddy.

The first major challenge to Anjaiah came from N.Bhaskar Rao whom Anjaiah later sacked. Dissidents along with Bhaskar Rao moved to Delhi with the one-point Programme namely 'Removal of Anjaiah'. The high command was convinced that Anjaiah was hardly the person who could lead the party to victory in the ensuing assembly elections. The central leadership discovered that he lacked political depth and shrewdness and they wanted a leader who could command the respect of the administration and help the selection of candidates. The AICC (I) general Secretary, Rhyam Sunder Mahapatra, was sent to Hyderabad to assess the situation.

It was decided to remove M.N. Aciz, the APCC (I) President. Anjaiah wanted to nominate E. Krishna Murthy, a former minister to the post of APCC (I) President. The high command overruled the chief minister by nominating Kona Prabhakar Rao, a follower of P.V. Narsimha Rao.

The emergence of a reconstituted party organisation saw shifting of the power centre. Kona Prabhakar Rao was suspended along with two other members of Anjaiah's cabinet, C.Dav and Chandrababu Naidu for violating party discipline. The suspension was made without consulting the Chief Minister.

The president of APCC (I) and the chief minister were working on parallel lines, and once again a chief minister who had absolute majority in the assembly was unceremoniously removed from office.

B. Venkatram Reddy was chosen Chief Minister after a close race between Kona Prabhakar Rao, N.Janardhan Reddy and Dagg Reddy. B. Venkatram Reddy was a non-starter. Congress (I) unity and discipline were needed during the Rajya Sabha elections. Though Congress (I) had the requisite strength to elect all the six members from the
state, the state leadership was not prepared to field six candidates. It decided to field only 5 nominees, for the party leaders could foresee large-scale cross-voting.

The elections set an all-time record in cross-voting by the Congress (I) MLAs. The Janata party candidate Babul Reddy was declared elected on the first count. Shockingly, no Congress (I) nominee was selected on the first count. About 60 Congress (I) members indulged in cross-voting. Meanwhile the emergence of the Seelam Ram and the growing popularity of N.T. Rama Rao saw the exit of yet another chief minister Venkatram Reddy was replaced by K.Vijayabaskar Reddy on 29th September, 1982. This change signalled an early poll. There was an element of fear of political skill and maturity in the high command's decision to bring in Vijayabaskar Reddy from Lok Sabha and impose him upon the Congress (I) legislature party. Succumbing to the pressures of the dissidents, the chief minister was asked to expand the ministry. With the former minister's legacy of factional politics which was revived by Venkatram Reddy and Anjaiah, many managed to gate-crash into the cabinet. Minister who were suspected of wide-
scale corruption were also accommodated. The very purpose of inducting Vijayabhaskar Reddy from Lok Sabha to revitalise the ageing party was brought to naught by not allowing him to function independently.

WOMEN'S VOTES

Women's votes have always been Mrs. Indira Gandhi's forte, so much so that even in 1977, when her popularity was at its nadir in north India, the Janata demagogues could catch relatively few women listeners in their campaign rallies.

Equally conspicuous was the Congress (I)'s near-total rout from the urban areas, a fact which will not doubt cast its shadow on Mrs. Indira Gandhi's future electoral prospects in the metropolises, the centres from where public opinion swamps downward. In Hyderabad, the Congress (I) was defeated in all the 15 constituencies.

The obliteration of the Congress (I) from certain regions of the Andhra Pradesh was dramatic. In the whole of coastal Andhra, comprising a densely-populated conglomeration of 114 constituencies, the Congress (I) barely managed to win nine seats. In the Rayalaseema area,
it could carry only eight of the 53 seats. In Medak, the parliamentary constituency that sent Mrs. Indira Gandhi to the Lok Sabha in 1980, her candidates lost in five out of the seven Assembly seats. The rub salt into her wound, one of the seats went to the Sanjay Vihar Manch led by her rebellious daughter-in-law, Monika Gandhi.

The women voters, who were more than half of the electorate swung away from Indira Gandhi when N.T. Rama Rao entered politics and promised to provide security to women equal property rights with men and a separate university for women. In the election of 1983 in Andhra Pradesh there were 5,13,72, 809 voters: 1,58,47,290 of them were women. There were 42,437 polling booths, 9,715 of them exclusively for women. So, women voters have always been Mrs. Indira Gandhi's forte, but Rama Rao in his campaign trail induced a stupendously large turnout of women listeners even at his whistlestop rallies.

PRE-1983 ELECTION SCENE:

Since the Congress splits in 1969 and 1977, the infighting in the party had never been so acute as it was.

just before the 1983 elections. Added to that, the party had institutionalised corruption. This was all the more manifest in the election campaign of the Congress (I). For instance, more than 1000 Congress (I) jeenas crisscrossed the entire state during the period. In this context the electorate had to opt for status quo or change. Telugu Desam decided to contest 294 seats along with Menaka’s Gujju Vicker March. About 50 ex-Congressmen were in the ranks of Telugu Desam. The lack of confidence on the part of the high command towards the state leadership was evident during the campaign. People from northern India were posted as poll observers. About sixty Congress (I) legislators and leaders from U.P. and Haryana camped in Karimnagar district along.

The caste-wise data of contestants shows that the Congress high command deviated from the earlier 1972 and 1978 assembly elections. The weaker sections were allotted nearly 60 per cent of seats but in 1983 the party

36. In 1946, when the nation’s value system was different, Gandhi hit a brick wall to T. Prakasan, the undisputed Andhra leader, becoming the Chief Minister of Madras simply because the latter, having given up a lucrative practice at the bar to join the freedom movement, retained for himself the Rs. 50,000 purse presented to him by his admirers.
allotted only 30 per cent of seats to the weaker sections.

XII. Out of the 274 seats Congress (I) contested. I could collect from the Congress (I) State party office, Hyderabad, the caste background of 274 candidates. The caste division of 274 is: Reddy 73,amma 57, Kshatriya 50, Velama 5, Brahman 11, BC 53, Vysya 4, Harijan 22, Birijan 6, Christian 2, Muslim 10. 181 belonged to upper castes, 31 were from middle caste sections and 12 from minorities.
TABLE 6: Andhra Pradesh - 1983 assembly elections - Details of the election results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
<th>Contested</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Forfeited deposit</th>
<th>Votes Pollled</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress (I)</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7,081,318</td>
<td>33.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Congress (Socialist)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>48,268</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Party</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>204,170</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lok Dal</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>193,880</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party of India</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>588,144</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party of India (Marxist)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>425,169</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharatiya Janata Party</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>532,464</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Congress (II)</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>119,372</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu Desam Party including Sanjaya Vichar Manch</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9,812,472</td>
<td>46.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>2,050,395</td>
<td>9.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,720</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>21,117,112</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a powerful swing in favour of Telugu Desam. The party’s impact, particularly on the coastal belt from Nellore district to Guntakulam district, which comprised 134 constituencies was spectacular. Here the Telugu Desam Party bagged 119 seats out of 134, Congress (I) bagged 9 BJP 1, CPI Congress rebels 4. In the Rayalaseema district, village factionalism and Congress (I) in fighting helped the Telugu Desam. In the Telangana region Telugu Desam Party and Congress (I) bagged 43 seats each.

Table 7 indicates the downward slide in Congress (I) performance as compared to 1978 assembly elections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total seats</th>
<th>Votes Polled %</th>
<th>Seats Won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>30.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayalaseema</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>33.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telangana</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>36.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>294</strong></td>
<td><strong>38.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>31.58</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The performance of Congress (I) in 1983 in the reserved constituencies, when analysed in the context of our earlier data regarding the support structure of Congress (I), shows poor performance. The reserved constituency offers the necessary socio-economic base for the ruling party to derive necessary support from the socially, economically and educationally backward voters.

The Congress leaders of Andhra Pradesh are fully conscious of the charismatic leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. They give her a free hand in the state politics because of their own electoral success mainly, depends upon her favour. This is one of the reasons for the decline of national party in Andhra Pradesh.

The last factor is the rise of a film star N.T. Rama Rao, as theaviour of Telugu Atmanovram or the Self-respect of荣耀 Telugu people. N.T. Rama Rao's charisma worked wonders with the electorate on the eve of the poll. His popularity as a film hero, his cine roles of 'Krishna', 'Rama', 'Lord Venkateswara' (Lord of Seven Hills) and such other Godly roles which endeared him to the common man came in handy during the elections. Thousands of people flocked to see their God in flesh during the election campaign. In
addition to this N.T. Rama Rao's image was not tarnished because he had no prior political background. N.T. Rama Rao provided them the required opportunity to change the Congress (I) government and to install a new government. This is the very essence of parliamentary democracy.

These are the factors for the decline of the National Party Congress (I) in Andhra Pradesh in the 1985 Assembly Elections.