CHAPTER - 11

PARTIES, ALIGNMENTS AND GENERAL ELECTIONS IN
ANDHRA PRADESH
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION:

Part XV (Articles 324-329) of the Indian Constitution lays down the basic provisions regarding elections. According to Article 326 - "The Elections to the House of People and to the Legislative Assembly of every state should be on the basis of adult suffrage.

This provision determines the character of electoral system. The Constitution also contains provision for the size of the Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and the various state legislative assemblies and reservation of seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The electoral process is formally set in motion by the Presidential announcement calling upon electors in all parliamentary constituencies to elect their representatives to the Lok Sabha. Similarly the Governors of the state issue notification calling upon the electors to elect their representatives for the legislative assemblies. At the same time election commission issues notification specifying the time table for nominations, scrutiny, withdrawals and polling."
It is the election commission that determines what political parties shall be recognised at both national and state levels and what symbols shall be assigned to each party. After the first general elections in 1952, the election commission established a rule that only those parties which polled at least three percent of the total valid votes cast in the previous general elections would be recognised as national parties.

General elections are major and much publicised events in any democratic set up as they tend to highlight the entire political process and to a considerable extent, the underlying cultural and social milieu. No other single national event involves as many people in political activity as the general elections. They bring political leaders and aspirant for political leadership into more direct contact with the citizens, thereby giving the voters a temporary sense of being the sovereign voters. The common voters are crowned as "The sovereign voters".

The Indian voter is becoming increasingly politicised. A major factor for this phenomenon of increasing politicisation is the growing participation of more and more Indians in the electoral process.

However some observers fear that the growing politicisation will increase tension in the Indian society and increase instability in the political system.
Hence it should be admitted that too little politicisation is unhealthy for an evolving polity, but too much is also undesirable in the early stages of political development.

Political participation in developed states like Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Haryana, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, the turnout has been relatively high while it has been relatively low in the states like Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar which are relatively underdeveloped.

Regarding the interest in politics, the general observation is that the majority of the Indian electorate has little or no interest in politics. Even though the degree of voter interest in politics may not compare unfavourably with the situation the other democratic countries as one might expect, it is disturbingly low in India.

Important changes had taken place in the character of the Indian electorate by 1967 and certainly by 1971. The voters seemed to be less interested in the past achievements of the party and were also less under the charisma of the national leaders than in the earlier elections. Thus a trend was visible that they were increasingly concerned with the contemporary events and problems. But the case is different as far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned.
GENERAL ELECTIONS

The election system is a political device through which the modern state creates among its citizens a sense of involvement and participation in public affairs. Masses share the power by choosing their representatives through periodical general elections and by electing the representatives to the legislative organs of the states.

Elections reveal aspects of most contemporary political set up and also dramatise the political system. They are complex events involving individual and collective decisions which directly affect and are affected by the total political and social process.

FIRST GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1952:

During the first general elections the election commission faced many difficulties. The registration of voters created special problems arising from the linguistic complications and the difficulty of diverse traditions about surnames. Above all was the problem of illiteracy.

Before the formation of Andhra State in 1952, first general elections were held to composite Madras State. The Communist Party reaped a rich harvest in the Andhra area of the Madras State. Being a movement turned political party, the Congress could not find itself in good position.
SECOND GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1957:

Andhra Pradesh the fifth largest state in India came into existence on November 1st 1956 as the first linguistic state. The state consists of three distinct regions namely Coastal Andhra, Telangana and Rayalaseema. And Second general elections of 1957 were held and the Congress party claimed 39 of the 43 Lok Sabha seats and Communist Party got only 4 seats.

THIRD GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1962:

In the Third general elections of 1962 the Congress party in Andhra Pradesh was able to get 43 out of 43 seats in spite of the challengers posed by the Swatantra Party and the Communist party. The Communist party of India got seven seats and others won two seats.

FOURTH GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1967:

After the Third general elections, political situation in India underwent a radical change due to China's invasion. And Jawaharlal Nehru's dream of India died on May 27th, 1964.
During Fourth general elections number of seats in Lok Sabha for Andhra Pradesh reduced to Forty one and the Congress party secured 35, Swatantra Party 3, Communist Party of India one and others two.

"It is obvious consequence of the 1967 election results, the general contours of the political power structure were undergoing basic changes. Otherwise highly fragmented opposition saw in the situation an opportunity to capture power atleast in some states. There began a process of non-Congress parties even those of extreme right and the extreme left-shedding the ideological edges and coming forward together to share power on the basis of what were called the agreed minimum programmes".1

FIFTH GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1971:

During Mid-term Lok Sabha elections of 1971 Congress(R) of Indira Gandhi contested. Keeping in view a foreign paper commented: "Mrs. Indira Gandhi has emerged as the first genuine national leader since Mr. Nehru's death and perhaps the toughest since the Indian Independence. She has proved to be resilient and tough and has exhibited a ruthlessness which has unnerved old political bosses".2

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(1) S.C. Kashyap, "The Politics of Power" P-10
(2) Bangkok post, March 14, 1971
**LOK SABHA ELECTIONS - 1971**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s.No.</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Congress (R) of Mrs. Gandhi</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Congress (O)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Swatantra</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Jana Sangh</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>SSP</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>RSP (Revolutionary Socialist Party)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>PSP</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>DMK</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Telangana Praja Samiti</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Bharatiya Krianti Dal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Akali Dal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Other parties</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results showed that the Congress Party of Mrs. Indira Gandhi had regained its lost paradise of power. Congress(R) fully reaped the harvest of its popularity due to India's victory over Pakistan in 1971 and emergence of Sovereign Bangla Desh. The historical victory could be possible only due to the stewardship of Mrs. Gandhi.
IMPOSITION OF INTERNAL EMERGENCY:

Mrs. Indira Gandhi enjoyed enormous popularity till June 11, 1975. However on June 12, 1975 the Allahabad Court gave its decision against her on the election petition of Shri Raj Narain (who contested against her to the Lok Sabha in March 1971 from Rai Bareli constituency of Uttar Pradesh). The Court held her guilty of corrupt practices. Mr. Jagmohan Sinha delivered the judgement and set aside her election but granted absolute stay of operation of judgement for 20 days.

On 20th June 1975, the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi filed an appeal petition in the Supreme Court, seeking an absolute and unconditional stay of the Allahabad High Court judgement, pending final disposal of the appeal. On June 24, 1975 the vacation bench of the Supreme Court granted Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stay of the operation of the Allahabad High Court judgement and declared that she could continue to function as Prime Minister and take part in parliamentary proceedings without the right to vote pending the disposal of her appeal by the Court. The stay order declared by Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, substantially preserved her position as Prime Minister.
On June 25th, 1975 the non-CPI opposition parties Jan Sangh, Congress (O), Bharatiya Lok Dal, Akali Dal and Socialist party of India led by Jaya Prakash Narain announced a programme of country-wide agitation. At a mass rally on June 25th, 1975 on Delhi's Ram Leela Ground, Jaya Prakash Narain threatened to derecognise the Government and said - "We would not co-operate with the Government, not a paisa of tax shall be given to them".

PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY:

The situation facing Mrs. Indira Gandhi was extremely grave and fraught with dangerous consequences. Her advisers prevailed upon her to declare internal emergency to meet the challenge of the opposition. Under these circumstances she met President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and advised the President to declare Internal Emergency.

The President declared emergency late at night on 25th July, 1975. Mrs. Gandhi took the decision without the approval of the cabinet. Immediately after the declaration of emergency thousands of workers and leaders of the non-CPI opposition were arrested under the MISA (Maintenance of Internal Security Act) and other security laws and thrown behind the bars. The MISA was also amended so that detenue may not be able to move to the court for
knowing the grounds of his detention. The fundamental rights were also suspended by the proclamation of the President during emergency. Therefore the detenues continued to sit in the jails without trial throughout emergency for nearly 19 months.

Emergency gave a severe blow to the already flickering candle of Democracy. Light was taken out of life and the greatest reign of terror started in the history of India. The emergency came as a thunder clap and the nation became aware of this unexpected blow through the conspicuous absence of news papers. The gradual development of dictatorship was totally unimaginable to the democratic thinking of most Indians.³

She gave to the Parliament, 'unfettered, unqualified and unbridgeable right' to amend the constitution.

She bestowed the yogic power of 'Ichcha Mrutyu' (death at Will) on Indian parliament, so that the latter declared on 5th Nov. 1976, its will to extend its life by another one year⁴.


⁴ M.M. Kothari, "Reflection during Emergency".
"Neither the spirit of our constitution nor its essential characteristic can charge", the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared categorically and most emphatically. This statement put an end to funeral orations on the 'demise' of Indian democracy by foreign and domestic mourners.

The country has been quite since declaration of emergency. There was no occasion to use fire in a big way anywhere. It is mainly due to the fact that trouble makers were denied the means to whip up popular feelings through misrepresentation and maligning or misleading the people. The people welcomed the restoration of order and confidence.

Indira Gandhi continued raising her voice in defence of the political system adopted by India. She said - "I am not thinking in terms of either a constituent assembly or a new constitution. A second look does not mean an alternative constitution".

"Andhra Pradesh was rocked by a political agitation in Telangana in 1969 for a separate Telangana State. The main reason for this agitation was the non-implementation of the terms of the "Gentlemen's Agreement". The first Chief Minister refused to create the post of Deputy Chief Minister from the Telangana Region calling it "Sixth finger". Till 1969 no one from Telangana became a Chief Minister. This created a feeling of breach of trust in Telangana people. They alleged neglect of the region dominated by the Andhras, diversion of funds of Telangana to other regions, injustice to Telangana people in service matters. These reasons compelled them to start Telangana agitation. Closure of educational institutions, demonstrations, dharnas and curfew, threatening the Andhras and forcing them to go to the Andhra region, became the order of the day. When the agitation was at its peak the centre gave a compromise formula that K. Brahmananda Reddy would resign and pave way for the implementation of mulki rules and a man from Telangana would become the Chief Minister. P.V. Narasimha Rao from Vangara constituency of Ranga Reddy district of Telangana became the Chief Minister in 1971 and continued till 1977. Then the state was brought under President's Rule during Andhra Agitation".  

The Supreme Court judgement violating Mulki rules and the Chief Minister's acceptance of this judgement as a final word on Mulki rules increased the fears of the people in the Andhra region. They felt that they would have to live as second class citizens in their own state capital as they would be required to satisfy Mulki rules in order to get a job in the Telangana region. This sparked off a serious agitation in Andhra region for the formation of a separate Andhra state. This divided the Govt. also, since some ministers supported separation and others supported integration. The agitation was done on such a large scale that the Centre thought it wise to impose President's rule and P.V. Narasimha Rao had to resign.

Popular Government was restored when J. Vengal Rao became the Chief Minister and the Centre after consulting all concerned, evolved the following six point formula for saving the integrity of the State:

1. Separate development boards were to be created for coastal, Andhra and Rayalaseema.

2. A Central University was to be established at Hyderabad.

3. Appointment of local people upto a certain level in Government and Universities.
4. Establishment of administrative tribunals for solving service problems of service personnel.

5. Division of State into 6 zones for recruitment transfer of Staff of State Govt.


ANDHRA PRADESH - NATIONAL EMERGENCY, 1975:

When emergency was declared by Mrs. Indira Gandhi on 25th June, 1975, all over the country all the dissidents in the state Congress were silenced. As per the instructions of the centre, most of the opposition leaders from BLD, Socialist, CPM, Jana Sangh, CPM (C) were arrested in Andhra Pradesh. No cases were registered against them nor were they brought to trial. Many members of RSS were imprisoned and harassed. The extremists were brutally tortured and shot dead in the name of police encounters. A Censor board was created in the information department itself, many news items were censored, over the telephone itself.

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi came to Vizag on 3rd January, 1976 to inaugurate the Science Congress, her son Sanjay Gandhi accompanied her. All arrangements were made to accord a grand welcome too its official machinery to accord lavish reception. Such was the pitiable position of the Chief Minister in those emergency days.
Though certain changes were brought about regarding Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Parishads, elections were not held. All the co-operative institutions were run by persons-in-charge of them. This was an effort by the party in power to strengthen itself politically without using democratic means. In the name of 20-point formula, the centre sanctioned few crores of rupees and while spending it for the state, Vengal Rao, Chief Minister conducted a very good propaganda in favour of Mrs. Gandhi and her party. Along with that even the 5-point formula of Sanjay Gandhi was prominently brought home to the people. The poor and down-trodden were taken care of by giving land pattas, loans for houses as a boon from Mrs. Gandhi.

In the absence of the regular Governor to the state, the Chief Justice Obul Reddy acted as Governor. Late R.D. Bhandari, who took charge as the Governor of Andhra Pradesh personally started propaganda of the 20-point formula thus abusing the high office.

Though Vengal Rao was very close to Mrs. Gandhi he could not do away with groupism in the State Congress as well as in the Ministry. Basi Reddy, the Industries Minister, was against the Chief Minister on many issues.
Even during the emergency, he carried complaints to the High Command in Delhi. P.V. Narasimha Rao maintained a close relationship with Mrs. Gandhi in Delhi. Frequent consultations took place between the dissidents and P.V. Narasimha Rao in order to overthrow Vengal Rao.

The Legislative Assembly met during the emergency. The discussions held there were not allowed to be published in the newspapers. The legislators, who were mostly in jails, were not allowed to attend the Assembly sessions even with a police escort.

The Chief Minister was quite benevolent in the matter, and did not order the arrest of his 'Guru' (Master) Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. Even when Sanjeeva Reddy attempted to address one or two public meetings, he was not arrested but only prevented from speaking. But those who hosted Sanjeeva Reddy were arrested.

H.C. Sarin, who was the advisor to the Governor ruled the state unopposed. The politicians despaired as they could do nothing. The politicians who lived on politics alone, were restless. They forgot their demands either for a separate Telangana or a separate Andhra.
Universities and colleges were free from strikes and hartals. Examinations were conducted with utmost sincerity. Price labels were fixed on the articles. Price rise was also controlled. Buses and trains maintained punctuality. People used to attend to their routine work without fear and with sincerity. But many Government servants, police officers and teachers were removed from service in the name of inefficiency and corruption. Only a few of them could later go to Court for justice.

When compared to the North, Andhra Pradesh felt only a few of the excesses of the emergency. People enjoyed mostly the positive aspects of emergency. This was evident by the verdict of 1977 Lok Sabha elections during which Congress secured 41 seats out of 42 Lok Sabha seats.

BIRTH OF JANATA PARTY:

For the first time after independence in India all the opposition parties had made an abortive effort during Fifth general elections only to oppose the Congress(R) in 1972 elections. During 1973 budget sessions of parliament all opposition parties except Communist Party of India had staged a united walk-out from the President's speech because the Government had failed to implement its programme of "Garibi Hatao".
In 1971 the CPI (Marxists) and the Jana Sangh unitedly gave a call for Maharashtra Bandh. In Gujarat Congress(O) and Jana Sangh had joined hands supporting the "Nava Nirmana Samithi" and in Uttar Pradesh an election alliance was formed by Bharatiya Kranti Dal, Muslim Majilis and Samyuktha Socialist parties. Thus the opposition parties on one occasion or the other were uniting and opposing the ruling party. Besides Sri Jayaprakash Narain with the support of socialists and Jana sanghıs had been growing strong with mass popularity.


One Twenty sixth June, 1975, National Emergency was declared and all the opposition leaders were imprisoned. Imprisonment of opposition leaders provided them with an opportunity to get together and pose a united opposition against Government.

"The Janata Party was born in prison. The idea of a common opposition was thrashed out among the imprisoned leaders. All the opposition leaders came out of jail psychologically prepared to come together. They had
one common ground. The restoration of democracy and
the route of Mrs. Gandhi. Mainly the grand old man of
the silent revolution was Jaya Prakash Narain. 8

Within a few days after the announcement in mid-
January, 1977, of the general elections to be held in
March to Lok Sabha, the Socialists, the Jana Sangh, the
BLD and the Congress (O) had created a unified Janata
Party led by Shri Morarji Desai. Immediately a surprising
event took place. It was the resignation of Sri Jagjivan
Ram a prominent Harijan leader who has started a new
party called Congress for Democracy (CFD).

Thus a solid opposition was set against the Congress
to face 1977 general elections in the name of 'Janata
Party' with a Haldhar within a wheel as joint symbol.

JANATA PARTY IN ANDHRA PRADESH: 9

On the eve of Lok Sabha elections the Janata Party
of Andhra Pradesh State unit came into existence on January
30th, 1977 with Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy as a Chairman.
As elsewhere its constituents were Socialists, Jana Sangh,
Bharatiya Lok Dal, Congress (O) and Praja Party.

Sri Tenali Vishwanatham described the Janata Party as a "New Movement" to bring freedom to the people. N. Sanjeeva Reddy formally announced the formation of the State Committee with nine members to draw up the campaign strategy and finalise the list of party contestants.

At its Kurnool Meeting in 1977, the Janata Party formed Committee headed by A.V.K. Chaitanya to organise its trade union wing. The party immediately on its formation plunged into the elections and decided to contest 30 seats and had alliance with CPI (M). N. Sanjeeva Reddy, the party's organiser for the South was also to be a candidate for the Nandyal seat of Kurnool district in A.P.

Finally Janata party contested 30 seats by allotting 6 seats to CFD, 5 for CPI (M) and 1 seat to Republican party of India.

The Janata Party declared that the party was dedicated "to the values and ideals of Gandhiji and to the task of building up a democratic and socialist state".

The party in Andhra Pradesh drew its support mainly from Government servants who felt insecure because of the threat of premature retirement and disciplinary action. The party also drew its support from rural elite specially
from Reddy community and also business community who got scared of Income Tax raids and the lawyers too supported because the executive has snatched supremacy over the Judiciary.

Inspite of its popularity in North and its support many sections of the people the party could win only one seat for Lok Sabha during 1977 elections. N.Sanjeeva Reddy from Nandyal Constituency of Kurnool district alone secured the seat for Janata. But the party was able to win sixty seats during 1978 assembly elections in A.P. For the first time in A.P. state legislature a sixtmember opposition party was recognised and the leader of the opposition Mr. Babul Reddy was given a cabinet rank and the deputy speaker also belonged to an opposition party.

The Janata Party manifesto declared that the choice before the electorate was one between "freedom and slavery" and between 'Democracy and dictatorship'. Also party promised --

1. To restore fundamental rights
2. To lift emergency
3. Release of all political detaineees
4. Freedom of Press
5. Changing 42 amendment
6. Power to impose Presidential rule will not be misused.
7. Guaranteed independence of Judiciary

But the party did not form an economic programme to bring about change in economic structure of the country.

In view of the shortness of time the Election Commission did not recognise all the opposition parties as United (Janata party) at the time of elections. They were allotted a common symbol and recognised all the opposition United Party as National Party.

THE SIXTH GENERAL ELECTIONS - 1977:

On January, 18th, 1977 Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi announced that the Lok Sabha would be dissolved and surprisingly said that general elections for the Lok Sabha will be held in the month of March 1977.

Prime Minister in her broadcast message said - "Legally the present Lok Sabha can continue for another 15 months. But we also strongly believe that Parliament and the Government must report back to the people and seek sanction from them to carry out programme and policies for the nation's strength and welfare. Because of this unshakeable faith in the power of the people, I have advised the
President to dissolve the present Lok Sabha and order fresh elections. This he has accepted. We expect the polling to take place in March. The rules of the emergency are being further relaxed to permit all the legitimate activity necessary for recognised parties to put forth their points of view before the people".

Accordingly the Lok Sabha was dissolved on January 19th, 1977. The Lok sabha tenure had been extended for one more year during emergency. Therefore the Loksabha members for the first time in the constitutional history of India enjoyed 6 years term of office.

CAMPAIGNING:

The campaign of the Congress and Janata Party had apparently been encouraging. According to eye-witness accounts, the turnout at the meetings addressed by Jaya Prakash Narain and Morarji Desai was far more impressive.

The Congress had planned to give representation to the Youth Congress and planned to drop at least 80% of the sitting members. To play safe the congress had fielded a few candidates from Backward classes whose resources were limited. In order to pacify the backward classes a rumour was being spread that they would be taken into Rajya sabha when vacancies would arise. Whether this would be regarded as adequate compensation was debatable
Janata's main plan against the Government was its demand for ending the emergency. But the people in A.P. unlike some other states were indifferent to the emergency as it had not affected them like in any significant manner.

People of Rayalaseema were sore with the government which mobilised all its resources to provide relief to the cyclone affected people of coastal A.P., but failed to rise upto the occasion while Rayalaseema had been exposed to one of the worst droughts in the century. In Nandyal where Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy was contesting the most, Congressmen were sympathetic to him because he was the state's chief of Janata Party and hailed from Rayalaseema region.

There had been a rather perplexing development at Congress head office in Gandhi bhavan, the people who a week before, could enter and move about freely in Gandhi Bhavan now found its door closed against them. Now the main entrance was kept locked. All visitors, including press and less known khaddar weavers were stopped by a receptionist and a few were allowed in only when they were called by the person they wanted to see. Work went on under a blanket of secrecy. By contrast the doors of the Janata Party headquarters - the former city office
of the Jana sangh were open to all except during party meetings.

In the state Anti-Congress sentiment was enhanced by factionalism within its own ranks and caste rivalries. Instances of sabotage by Congressmen against party candidates had also been reported from quite a few constituencies. There were also instances of Congressmen establishing rapport with the Janata party leaders on a reciprocal basis. Also a section of Congressmen also worked for Janata party candidate in atleast four constituencies. There was not much significance of the manifestos of the different parties because all of them made tall promises about solving the common man's problems.

Janata slogan of "Democracy - VVs - Dictatorship and criticism of various governmental measures during emergency evoked sympathetic response from the middle classes. In the villages however, this point did not court, and it was the rural vote that was crucial. Congress was appealing for votes in the name of administrative stability and the progress made by the state in the past few years. It pointed out that states resources were sound, industrialisation had been speeded up and farm production increased under the congress rule. Provisions on the Land Ceiling Act the distribution of government waste land among the landless and the allocation of house sites
to the poor had brought some benefits to the rural sections. And price had fallen after the imposition of emergency.

In twenty-four constituencies the Congress confronted either a Janata or a CPI (M) candidate. In ten constituencies the CPI faced triangular contests. While the Congress put up candidates in all the forty-two constituencies. The Janata party and CFD fielded thirty-seven candidates.

There were triangular contests in thirteen constituencies and four corner seats for four seats. Bobbili and Secunderabad had the highest number of candidates seven each. The CPI failed its adjustment with Congress and contested ten seats and supported the CFD in three constituencies, Siddipet, Nagarkurnool and Adilabad. And it clashed with CPI (M) in Miryalaguda, Khammam, Narsapur and Vijayawada.

The Republican Party and the Ram Rajya Parishad had put up one candidate each. There were sixty-eight independents.

The PCC President and the Chief Minister were authorised to prepare the list of the candidates and then the list went for approval by the central election committee. The list released from Delhi had many surprises. The
selectors apparently were carried away more by the chances of the candidate winning the election than the image he could project of the party and the politics.

The Congress party and the Janata party did not lose their deposits in any single constituency. Sixty seven independents, eight CPI and one CPI(M) candidates lost their deposits. Congress contrary to the general trend in the country, improved its own score as it had held Thirty nine seats out of forty one in dissolved Lok Sabha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Percentage of votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>57.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata</td>
<td>32.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>2.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
<td>4.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>2.82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The CPI not only lost one seat it had held in the dissolved Lok Sabha but had also given a very poor account of itself in terms of votes received, compared to 7,76,619 votes (5.84) in 1971. It secured now only 4,46,044 votes (2.67%) this time. And of the ten candidates eight lost deposits.
During 1977 General elections in Andhra Pradesh Janata party was able to get only one seat out of 42 Lok Sabha seats. The candidate for the unique seat was Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy who later became the President of India.

The Nandyal Constituency from where N. Sanjeeva Reddy contested is situated in Kurnool district. It comprises Koilakuntla, Allagadda, Panyam, Nandikotkur, Nandyal, Atmakur and Giddalur (at present it is in the Prakasam district).

This constituency got special and notable significance because of the competition between two political giants namely Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy and Pendekanti Venkata Subbaiah.

N. Sanjeeva Reddy entered into political career in 1931 during national movement. He played an important role in bringing Andhra Pradesh state into existence in 1956 and became its first Chief Minister. He had even worked as the President of All India National Congress. Now he ascended to the highest level of the Presidency. As speaker he had conducted the proceedings of Lok Sabha with decency, fairness and decorum during the years 1962-69. He belongs to the group of professional politicians.
Pendekanti Venkata Subbaiah was the local stalwart with a long political career. He depended mainly on the charity of Indira Gandhi. The Communist Party of India co-operated with Congress (I) in Nandyal constituency. And CPI (M) had an adjustment with Janata. Caste-wise it was Reddy versus Vysya race in Nandyal. The Janata support came from the middle aged Reddy community, a section of Christians and Muslims and 20% of Hindus. Congress secured the support of religious minorities and orthodox Congress men.

Janata Party thus dominated the scene in Nandyal. But for Sanjeeva Reddy it would not have been possible for the Janata party to win the Nandyal seat.

**1977 - A.P. LOK SABHA ELECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total electorate</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total No. of polling stations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,75,67,618</td>
<td>1,37,57,025</td>
<td>1,38,10,593</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 42 seats for Lok Sabha during sixth Lok Sabha election as against 41 seats in fifth general elections. Out of 42 seats there were reservations to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

- Total Loksabha seats: 42
- Scheduled caste seats: 6
- Scheduled Tribes: 2

(10) Report of the Sixth general elections to the Lok Sabha in A.P. - 1977
## A.P. Lok Sabha Results - 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>Votes polled</th>
<th>Percentage of valid votes polled</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>95,82,708</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
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<tr>
<td>RPJ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>15,189</td>
<td>0.09</td>
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<tr>
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<td>165</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1,67,05,123</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Congress candidate Sri S.B.P. Pattabhiruma Rao of Rajahmundry secured the highest no. of votes that is 2,92,323 votes.

And the lowest number of votes were secured by Sri Laxmi-kant Rao an Independent of Medak Constituency who got only 637 votes.

Out of the 42 Lok Sabha seats in A.P. only one seat had gone to Bharatiya Lok Dal represented by Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy.

Sri K. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy won Kurnool constituency seat with largest margin of 1,99,356 votes and the lowest margin had gone to M.M. Hashim who won with 3,847 votes.
The emergence of all opposition united Janata Party on the eve of the Sixth general elections is a significant event deserving useful political discussion. The party swept the poll at the national level by securing two hundred and Ninety seven seats. Whereas in Andhra Pradesh the party was able to get only one seat and Congress won sixty one seats. These election results clearly show that Andhra Pradesh was not at all affected by the emergency atrocities.

WORLD PRESS - SIXTH GENERAL ELECTIONS:

The world press hailed the verdict of the Indian electorate as a victory for democratic forces.

"The New York Times" described the elections as an inspiration to all democracies. It will have an impact on many countries.

"The Christian Science Monitor" said, India has given the world an extra ordinary demonstration of a nation's love of freedom and this will inspire the forces of freedom everwhere.

The largest circulated paper "New York Daily News" said that totalitarian rule took a deserved drubbing from the voters.
The "London Times" said that it seemed certain that Mrs. Indira Gandhi's political career was at end. In an editorial, "Fall of the Nehru Dynasty", the newspaper said, "Her rule, her leadership and her emergency have been rejected....".

"The Guardian" termed the election results as a "Political earthquake and upheaval so stunning that nobody can fully assess it or tell where it will lead to".

La Figaro of Paris, in one article said the electorate in India has rejected Emergency, press censorship and imprisonment without trial.

The Russian Government newspaper'IZVESTIA' reporting from New Delhi said "mistakes and excesses in realising measures resulting from the laws that were passed after the introduction of the state of Emergency in 1975 had their effect".

"A Verdict for Democracy" is how the Pakistani language and English Press described the results of the general elections in India.

Kenyan Newspapers, headlining Indian election results, paid tribute to the democratic process.
Australia's metropolitan newspaper frontpaged the election defeat of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, hailing the result as a rare show of unanimity. In the words of nationally circulated 'Australian' it was "a triumph for the common man in India".

DEFEAT OF CONGRESS AND VICTORY OF JANATA PARTY:

SIXTH LOk SAbHA:

The Congress was badly defeated in elections to the Sixth House of the People. The total Lok Sabha seats were 542, but out of them elections were held for 540 seats only. The Congress got only 153 seats and Janata secured 271 seats out of 539 declared. The Congress for democracy led by Jagjivan Ram secured 28 seats later merged with Janata Party.

It should be noted that the Congress had to face such a reverse for the first time during its 30 years sway. Besides Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her son Sanjay Gandhi a host of her cabinet ministers were defeated.

Janata Government under the leadership of Mr. Morarji Desai was instilled on 24th March, 1977.
FALL OF JANATA GOVERNMENT

Janata Government led by Mr. Morarji Desai fell on July 15, 1979 due to mutual bickerings, infighting and defections spearheaded by Chowdary Charan Singh and Raj Narain. After this Mr. Y.B. Chavan, being the leader of the opposition was invited by the President Neelan Sanjeeva Reddy to form the Ministry but he could not form the Govt. owning to the lack of majority at his back. Next Chowdary Charan Singh was invited to form the Government by the President. Charan Singh with the help of Congress leader Y.B. Chavan formed the Government while Mrs. Indira Gandhi's group in Parliament led by Mr. Stephen extended support from outside. Mr. Charan Singh was asked to win the confidence of the Lok Sabha on 20th August 1979 but due to the withdrawal of support of Congress (I) could not do so. So he called a meeting of his cabinet and decided to resign and recommended the dissolution of the Sixth Lok Sabha.

SECOND MID-TERM POLL:
SEVENTH GENERAL ELECTIONS:

The Janata Party was a product of the J.P. movement and the emergency. Within a year of its rule the party

(11) R.C. Agarwal - "Indian Government and Politics"
Pub: - S.Chand & Co. (Pvt) Ltd., Ram Nagar,
New Delhi - 110 055.
totally failed to organise itself as an ideologically and functionally cohesive unit.

The Janata leaders failed in this historic task because they refused to see their party as a 'Child of Revolution' and treated it as a mere another party in the place of Congress. The failure of the Janata is a failure of democracy at a very crucial stage in Indian History. The Janata's great failure, therefore has proved to be failure of a political system and not that of a political party.\textsuperscript{12}

Andhra factor which has greatly helped Indira Gandhi is her image in the public mind that she atleast has the capacity to rule. People realised that Janata lacked this very basic human capacity namely the capacity to rule. She succeeded to come back in politics and in establishing her rule through proxies.

With the Janata Party having disintegrated into fragments the Congress-I, having manipulated to set upper hand for itself, by first supporting and then withdrawing that support to Charan Singh's Government in parliament, could clear the decks now for the mid-term elections.

\textsuperscript{12} From Total Revolution to Total Failure" - By J.A. Naik.
The elections could have been avoided if wisdom had prevailed upon even one of the leaders of the different factions of the broken up Janata party. Each one of them was charging the other with "heinous" intention to become Prime Minister. No one was prepared to sacrifice for the sake of the country or for the sake of his own safety against Mrs. Gandhi whom they all hated unitedly. They failed to remain united though knowing fully well that the destruction of the spirit of their unity was going to destroy their future as well.

President Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy knew the fact that the political atmosphere was not good and he felt impossible for himself to keep easy in the company with his colleagues in that splintering political phenomenon and had a clear case of using the Constitution for setting the mid-term elections.13

(13) Richard Lark, "India's Political System" Prentice Hall, INC - Englewood Cliffs New Jersey - 07632
A.P. ON THE EVE OF 1980 GENERAL ELECTIONS TO LOK SABHA:

The defeat of Congress in 1977 Lok Sabha elections and the formation of Janata Government at the centre created tension in the Congress Party of Andhra Pradesh.

On the one hand, Vengal Rao, Chief Minister of A.P. was happy about this thumping victory in the state and on the other hand many charges were levelled against Vengal Rao. The centre appointed two commissions of inquiry the Vinallul Commission and Bhargava Commission to go into the atrocities and charges of corruption against the Chief Minister and some of his cabinet colleagues.

At the centre also K. Brahmananda Reddy became All India Congress President. As protest against this Kotha Raghu Ramaiah left the Congress and J. Vengal Rao submitted resignation as Chief Minister. However at Mrs. Gandhi's request Vengal Rao agreed to come to terms with Kasu Brahmananda Reddy. The High Command permitted Vengal Rao to withdraw his resignation and continue as Chief Minister of A.P.

On 19th November, 1977, a tidal wave hit Krishna district killing over 10,000 people and rendering thousands homeless. Mr. Vengal Rao and his ministry had to face some criticism as they did not render timely help and
offer rescue measures to the people. P. Ranga Reddy, Finance Minister, J. Chokka Rao, Housing Minister and other ministers submitted their resignations holding Chief Minister responsible for the havoc caused to the people. There was rift in Congress both at Centre and State.

On December 18th, 1977 Mrs. Gandhi resigned from the Working Committee. And on 1st January, 1978 formal announcement of Congress split and the formation of Congress Indira (Congress-I) was announced boldly and firmly by the then Chief Minister Dr. M. Chenna Reddy. Dr. Chenna Reddy came back to state having submitted his resignation as Governor of Uttar Pradesh. He came over to Mrs. Gandhi's side and played a prominent role in that party. Many former M.L.As, former Sanithi Presidents, Zilla Parishad members and some other prominent people joined Congress-I.

T. Panchajanyam, who had been the leader of the opposition joined Congress (I). The former President of the State Congress, Tadepalli Musalaiah too left Congress (O) for Congress (I).

Dr. M. Chenna Reddy was made President of the Congress-I of A.P. State unit and election manifesto of 10 point programme was released. Her appeal was always directed towards harijans, B.Cs., and minorities.
Indian National Congress (O) in A.P. was headed by former Chief Minister Vengal Rao. Though he had good name among the Government servants and the middle class still Vengal Rao could not command support for the party. Even caste-wise also all the Reddy community of Rayalaseema and Telangana supported Chenna Reddy of Congress (I). Women of all classes supported Congress (I) because of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Uneducated women folk still believed that she was the Prime Minister of India and wanted her to continue as Prime Minister of India as long as she lived.

The Congress (I) manifesto said "the Indian national Congress (I) is the real congress. The Indian National Congress (I) is the only party and Indira Gandhi is the only leader who can serve the country after the recent traumatic experience. No other party or leader can be trusted to do so.

Congress (I) party accused the Janata of having "plunged the country into an enveloping crisis, economic, social and political". The party also promised the measures to revive the "Twenty Point Programme", promised to solve unemployment problem and to curb the rising prices of necessary commodities.
Dr. M. Chenna Reddy the President of the Congress (I) party has gone to the extent of inviting Mrs. Indira Gandhi to contest from A.P. and assured a massive victory at the polls. Therefore Mrs. Gandhi contested from Medak constituency as well as from Rai Barelli in Uttar Pradesh. The Janata party candidate from this constituency was Sri Jaipal Reddy. Just because Mrs. Gandhi is contesting from Medak many participated in the race and the participant's list touched 10th number. They are --

1. Mrs. Indira Gandhi -- Congress (I)
2. S. Jaipal Reddy -- Janata
3. Kesava Rao Jadav -- Janata (S)
4. Ganta Babu -- Independent
5. Dr. Reddy Begali -- Independent
6. M. Laxminarayana Rao -- Independent
7. P.V. Rajeswara Rao -- Independent
8. K. Venkatesham -- Independent
9. Smt. Shakuntala Devi -- Independent
10. Sardar Jagat Singh -- Independent

Mrs. Indira Gandhi in her election campaign once at Kamareddy said that she was not afraid of her possible defeat in contesting from A.P. She had chosen A.P. just because of the love and affection showered on her by the people of A.P. all these years.

Dr. M. Chenna Reddy made the Congress (I) party very very strong at the state level by encouraging defection. The seats won by Congress (I) during Assembly elections
of 1978 were 175 but the number soon increased to more than two hundred. Mr. Baga Reddy, A.P. Minister for Panchayat resigned from the cabinet to devote all his time and vigour to the electioneering at Medak Constituency. And Dr. M. Chenna Reddy took the issue of Mrs. Gandhi contesting in Medak as personal prestige and had put heart and soul into it for a comfortable win-over of Mrs. Gandhi.

The Janata party candidate Sri Jaipal Reddy too was a noteworthy political stalwart, an eloquent speaker and he attracted masses during election campaigning but was routed in the election.

The Lok sabha elections were held on 6th January, 1980. Mrs. Gandhi once again became the Prime Minister. As it was customary in Andhra Pradesh, 41 out of 42 Loksabha seats went to the Congress-I. The reserved constituency of Parvathipuram went to the Congress-U candidate of Kishore Chandra Deo, a Central Minister in Charan Singh's cabinet. Though Vengal Rao, the State Congress President tried to bring both the communist parties, Lok Dal and Congress-U together as united front for allotting seats, all these parties were routed by Indira wave. Janata fought single-handed, lost heavily. Mrs. Gandhi contested in Medak of Telangana Constituency and defeated her nearest rival Jaipal Reddy.
As elections were fast approaching, Brahmananda Reddy and Pamulapati Ankineedu Prasad Rao, who were Congress Ministers in Charan Singh's cabinet resigned their posts and joined Congress-I and got elected to Lok Sabha, 28 Congress-I members of the dissolved Lok Sabha were given party tickets.

Purushotham Reddy from Congress-U joined Congress-I at the last minute. Avadaru Venkateswarlu from Vinukonda constituency, who had defeated Bhavanam Jayaprada, a former minister, resigned from Lok Dal and joined Congress-I.

ELECTIONS TO THE SEVENTH LOK SABHA AND RETURN OF CONGRESS (I):

Elections were held in July 1980. Elections were held only for 524 seats. No elections were held for 12 seats of Assam and one seat of Meghalaya. Congress (I) returned with good majority. Only 57% of votes were cast. Congress (I) was able to get 43% and was able to capture 351 seats.
### Position of Seventh Lok Sabha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats secured</th>
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<tr>
<td>Congress (I)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janata Party</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lok Dal</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress (Urs)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>CPM</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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<td>Independents</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>525</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Eighth General Elections to Lok Sabha:

The campaign of eighth general elections was mainly focused strongly on Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination and on the inimical forces that master-minded it and how they hoped that India would disintegrate as a result. The appeal led to a new phase in the political lexicon: Sympathy wave.

Rajiv Gandhi, AICC President, the eldest son of Mrs. Gandhi changed the plank and sharpened his message to focus on Punjab, recognising that here was an issue
which went straight to the gut in most parts of the country. The technique was a no-holds-barred offensive against the opposition, on how it had allegedly colluded with what Rajiv described as the forces of destabilisation.

Obviously but this is also true that Congress (l) for the first time allotted Rs. 2 Lakhs per candidate and provided the average aspirant with three vehicles in addition to about one lakh posters, 5,000 flags, 500 banners and audio cassettes of songs and speeches.

The campaigns, particularly Rajiv's clearly touched a vital nerve in the electorate. His election strategy paid off unlike nobody else's in the past. In the campaign speeches he sounded a prophetic note "There will be no opposition after the election". The outrageous forecast became a sobering fact and unprecedented political achievement. The opposition lay completely buried under an avalanche of votes polled against it.
RESULTS - EIGHTH Lok Sabha, 1984

<table>
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<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of the party</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Congress-I</td>
<td>401</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Telugu Desam</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>AIADMK</td>
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<td>5.</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>7.</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>MC (F)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>PWP</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

Thus Congress I captured more than three-fourth of the seats in Lok Sabha and this obliterated earlier record set by the Congress during the hey-days of Pandit Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Congress had scored 364 seats in the general elections of 1952, 371 seats in 1957, 361 seats in 1962, 283 seats in 1967, 352 seats in 1971, 154 seats in 1977, 351 seats in 1980. Therefore it was a historic victory of Congress (I) and by all accounts it was a recessive mandate.
The whirlwind of Congress carried everything before itself in all states except Andhra Pradesh. It was Andhra Pradesh which gave severest blow to Congress (I). Six Central Congress Ministers were defeated in Andhra Pradesh. They are the former Union Home Minister Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, Energy Minister Mr. P. Shiv Shankar, the Industries Minister K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, Deputy Minister of Parliamentary affairs Mr. Mallikarjuna, Minister of electronics Dr. S. Sanjeeva Rao, Union Minister for State for home Mr. P. Venkata Subbaiah and former Home Minister Mr. K. Brahmananda Reddy.

Another surprise of the election is the fall of Medak Constituency. Mr. Shiv Shankar, former Minister was defeated by Mr. P. Manik Reddy in a six-cornered contest.

Telugu Desam has emerged as the largest opposition party in the Lok Sabha with 30 seats because national opposition parties like Janata, BJP and DMK have lost heavily in the election.

Telugu Desam party, a regional party of A.P. which is three years old has in its debut in the Lok Sabha elections given the Congress (I) a drubbing as
good as the one it gave by capturing power in A.P. in the assembly elections in January 1983. It won 28 of the 32 Lok Sabha seats it contested.

The abortive camp episode and the closing of ranks of the opposition parties in putting up common candidates were not only reasons for the Telugu Desam victory. N.T. Rama Rao's spirited campaign, in which he pointedly asked voters what the sitting MPs of the Congress-I had done to raise the problems of Andhra Pradesh in parliament made the latter 'sitting ducks'. All the six central ministers and 17 other Congress (I) members who managed to get tickets fell by way side. The octogenarian Lok Sabha front bencher N.G. Ranga was the only one to survive, winning by a margin on 11,894 votes.14

As for the Congress (I) sweep across the country, Rama Rao says, 'It is the people's mandate there and I accept it. The trend and wind were favourable to them but the win might not have been so impressive if the opposition had been united.

A swing away from the Congress (I) and a more united opposition deprived the party of 35 of the 41 seats won in 1980. The Congress (I) however fared better than it did in the 1983 assembly elections - recording a swing in its favour since then of 9 percent. Corruption was a major election issue and Congress (I) didn't help itself by putting up the same old candidates. A poor campaign strategy counterposed Telugu Desam against Bharata Desam instead of portraying the two as complementary suggesting that regional autonomy would be meaningless without securing national unity.
DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN 1983 AND 1989:

The Congress party following the practice of nominating Chief Ministers and changing them as frequently as possible ignoring the wishes of elected members of state legislatures. In Andhra, six Chief Ministers were changed within a span of 3 years - Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, Sri T. Anjaiah, B. Venkatraman and K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy and this frequent change had its effect on the Congress party in the state.

FORMATION OF TELUGU DESAM PARTY GOVERNMENT:

The year 1983 saw the installation of first non-congress ministry led by N.T. Rama Rao, who formed Telugu Desam party just six months before the elections. The dissatisfaction of the people with the long rule of Congress, increase in unemployment, poverty, corruption, neglect of weaker sections, imposition and frequent changes of Chief Minister, lack of respect for the Andhras and Telugu language were some of the defects highlighted by the Telugu Desam in its election campaign. The charismatic personality of N.T. Rama Rao, the desire for a change, faith in the election promises, brought about the downfall of the Congress party in A.P. in 1983. The Telugu Desam party had been in power since 1983 to 1989 except for a month in 1984, when Nandendla Bhaskar Rao brought about a split in the party and became the Chief Minister.
N.T. Rama Rao dissolved the Assembly in December, 1984 and in the elections held in March 1985, the party won by a majority, subsequently the party lost its majority in the 1989 elections.

**T.D.P's EFFORTS FOR UNITING OPPOSITION PARTIES:**

Ever since he came to power, N.T. Rama Rao was making efforts to bring together all opposition parties with a view to dislodge the Congress party at the centre and to provide a viable alternative Govt. After several attempts, a national front was formed in August 1988 consisting of TDP, Lok Dal, Janata, Jan Morcha, Congress(S), AGP, DMK with Rama Rao as Chairman and V.P. Singh as Convenor. The National Front won the 1989 Lok Sabha elections and has formed a coalition Government at Centre.

TDP was highly critical of the Central government controlled by the Congress Party and the centre was accused of following a policy of step-motherly treatment to non-congress states and to delay the projects sponsored by these states. TDP was critical of the institution of Governor whom it regarded as agents of Central Government and recommended the abolition of the institution.
Debarred in 1969 from contesting polls by the Supreme Court - which found him guilty of corrupt electoral practices in an assembly poll - Dr. Marri Chenna Reddy found himself at the helm of the Congress (I) campaign in Andhra Pradesh.

Congress (I) high command obviously came to the conclusion that Reddy could break N.T. Rama Rao's stranglehold over the people of the State. Dr. Reddy is a hardened combatant, who had faced many ups and downs in a lengthy political career.

Dr. Reddy as the President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress (I) undoubtedly galvanised the slumbering state unit of the party into action. His first act was to get the warring factions to forget their differences - at least temporarily and he had relentlessly kept up pressure on Rama Rao and paved way in the State to face both Lok Sabha and Assembly elections.

CHANDRA BABU NAIDU'S APPOINTMENT AS KARSHAKA PARISHAD CHIEF

Telugu Desam Government incurred dis-pleasure of several sections of population by abolishing the posts of Asthana Vidwans, fine arts academies, post of village officers hereditary archakas in temples and by abolishing legislative council.
But the year 1988 saw interesting developments in Andhra Pradesh. N.T. Rama Rao appointed his son-in-law Chandra Babu Naidu as Chairman of Karshaka Parishad and his appointment was struck down twice as unconstitutional by the A.P. High Court.

CONGRESS (I) M.L.A's ASSASSINATION:

It was in December 1988 that the fasting congress M.L.A. of Vijayawada, V. Mohana Ranga Rao, was murdered in his own fasting tent and his death was followed by unprecedented violence, arson, looting in Vijayawada and other districts of coastal Andhra. Loss of life and property worth nearly 200 crores were reported and both Congress-I and TDP blamed each other for the violence in Coastal Andhra. The Congress was demanding a probe by CBI and the Chief Minister appointed Shri K.B.N. Singh, retired Chief Justice of Patna High Court to conduct a judicial inquiry and this was rejected by Congress leaders.

Later Ratna Kumari Congress (I) candidate for Vijayawada assembly seat widow of V.M. Ranga, approached the courts for her protection by the CRPF as she did not have faith in the State Police and her plea was granted. She is the only M.L.A. who goes about with a CRPF security ring.
REMOVAL OF 31 MINISTERS:

In February, 1989, N.T. Rama Rao the Chief Minister demanded and got the resignation of all his 31 ministers on the ground that the budgetary secrets were leaked out to press. He ran the Government without a single minister for six days and reconstituted his cabinet with 23 ministers without inducting a single member as minister from the former cabinet. This was a bold step just before the Budget Session and it was a signal for dissidence in the party also. The former ministers charged Rama Rao of dictatorial behaviour and the absence of inner party democracy in Telugu Desam party.

THE DISSIDENCE IN TELUGU DESAM PARTY:

The Telugu Desam party suffered from the malady of dissidence and groupism based on caste, communal factors and dictatorial attitude. Mr.C. Mohan Reddy of Adilabad district heads a powerful TDP faction comprising many followers.

After resigning from the cabinet under force Vasanta Nageswara Rao, K. Jana Reddy, K.E. Krishna Murthy resigned both from the party and the assembly and started a new party called 'Telugu Nadu party'. Their aim was to expose and fight against the undemocratic, dictatorial

(15) HINDU, Dt. 19.12.1989
and anarchic policies of N.T. Rama Rao. Later the party merged itself with the Congress (I). The dissidence in the party did have the effect of splitting the votes in the 1989 elections.

**THE NINTH LOk SABHA ELECTIONS, 1989:**

In the last general elections Congress (I) was benefitted greatly from opposition disunity. Had the opposition been united as it was in 1977 the Congress would have lost the other elections of 1980 and 1984.

Significantly because of the efforts of N.T. Rama Rao "National front emerged with all opposition parties including left parties and was able to capture power at the centre.

The National Front emerged as a single largest group and Janata Dal got more seats than Congress (I). Congress (I) did not get absolute majority but emerged as a single largest party getting more seats than Janata Dal.

Finally leader of Janata Dal Mr. V.P. Singh formed the Government but couldn't continue even for one year. Later Mr. P. Chandra Sekhar of Janata Dal (Socialist) became the Prime Minister with the help of Congress (I) supporting from outside and faced a magnitude of problems.
Finally Prime Minister Chandra Sekhar realised that things were getting out of hand and decided for elections and dissolution of Ninth Lok Sabha.

**NINTH LOK SABHA ELECTIONS - A.P. 1989:**

The pre-election scene saw the growing factionalism among the Telugu Desam Party and due to the murder of Kapu leader Mr. V.M. Ranga a major polarisation process took place wherein the Kapu community managed to consolidate their solidarity.

Elections were conducted both for Assembly and Lok Sabha. In the elections the TDP lost its majority to the Congress (I) under the leadership of Dr. M. Chenna Reddy.

The Congress (I) won 182 seats in Assembly and TDP won 74 seats. Whereas Congress (I) got 40 Lok Sabha seats.

Significantly a mere 3.9 percent difference in the votes between the Congress (I) and the TDP and its allies has resulted in the victory of Congress (I). In the state as a whole the TDP and its allies polled 43.7 percent of the votes as against 47.6 percent polled by Congress (I). This resulted in the loss of many seats in the state for TDP.
Rajiv Gandhi's assassination orphaned the Congress (I) though it got majority in X Lok Sabha elections. Party felt sudden shock and was left leaderless. But P.V. Narasimha Rao a stalwart of Congress (I) from A.P. a senior Congress worker who had been outside the race for Prime Ministership miraculously became the Prime Minister as a compromise candidate. He cooled the political temperature, check-mated his opponents, disarmed the opposition parties, pushed ahead the country with revolutionary economic reforms, and emerged as its undisputed leader. He has alerted the deep-rooted culture of the party and shepherded it along the path of democratic reforms.

The members of Congress (I) party in its Tirupathi Plenary Session pledged themselves to the slogan of "continuity with change".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Total Cong. (1) seats</th>
<th>Total Lok Sabha seats</th>
<th>Percentage of seats</th>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>245</td>
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<td>1989</td>
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<td>108</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>195</td>
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<td></td>
<td>415</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>76.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Congress I was contesting for all the 42 Lok Sabha seats in the state. The TDP was contending for all the seats along with its alliance partners, the CPI, CPI (M) and the Janata Dal. The TDP was contesting 35 seats, leaving two seats each to the CPI, CPI (M) and Janata Dal and one seat to the Congress Socialist.

The BJP had fielded its candidates in 41 out of 42 constituencies for the first time. The only seat the BJP was not contesting was Parvathipuram (SC) seat in North Coastal A.P. The Samajwadi Janata Party Bahujan Samaj Party and a large number of independents were also in the fray but they could achieve only marginal presence.

The Congress I which has renominated 34 sitting members of the dissolved house, one defeated candidate (1989) and 7 new faces, is having a tough time, in its bid to retain the seats which had come its way in 1989. The TDP and allies which had sent 35 members to Parliament in 1984, are trying hard to regain their past strength and repeat the feat of 1984.

Finally Congress (I) could sweep the majority even in Tenth Lok Sabha of A.P. General Elections.