CHAPTER - VI

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF N.T. RAMA RAO
A movie entitled 'Sardar Paparayudu' was being shot at Ooty. On that day N.T. Rama Rao who was greatly respected and idolized as a mythical cine hero by the Telugu speaking people was acting in the above movie. N.T. Rama Rao was playing the role of Sardar Paparayudu who was a dedicated individual to put an end to the injustice and atrocities of the society. During the break time N.T. Rama Rao was sitting in a chair and closing his eyes, he was recollecting the dialogues of the following scene. At that time some journalists came there and N.T. Rama Rao warmly greeted them and enquired of their welfare. While conversing with N.T. Rama Rao one journalist asked him, “Sir in another six months you will be sixty years of age and in view of that will you be taking any major and important decision?” N.T. Rama Rao thought over for a while and relied to the journalist, “I was born in a small village called Nimmakuru. The Telugu – speaking people have been showering so much endearing me to their hearts for the last 30 years. They have been showing so much love on me. They have been seeing the movies in which I acted and they have made a wealthy man. They brought me honor and fame. I am greatly indebted to the Telugu-speaking people. Now it is my duty to pay off the debt, which I owe to the people. From my next birthday onwards I would like to spend fifteen days of a month in the service of the people”. N.T. Rama Rao never comments on anything in a jocular way but if he takes a decision he is bound by it and he fulfills it under any circumstances. All the magazines of the silver screen published the exciting news. A political newspaper from Nellore announced that N.T. Rama Rao was starting a new political party. This news spread like wild fire throughout the state. People began to discuss the matter at great length.

THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE STATE In the General Elections of 1978 the Congress party secured only 37% of votes but came to power. The political and social conditions began to deteriorate during the Congress regime. Corruption spread like cancer to all walks of political and social life. The Chief Minister got celebrated the attainment of 60 years (Shashtipurthi) of age, with great pomp and show. Donations were collected on a grand scale by making the public believe that the collected donations were for the Congress party fund and the political power was misused by the Congress leaders and the people were awe stricken at the turn of the
events. As there was disharmony among the Congress leaders, the Chief Minister had to step down. Another Chief Minister was sent from the Delhi. The new Chief Minister formed his Government consisting of 61 ministers. Some Congress legislators became Chairman of Several corporations. All the national newspapers announced that the Government would become bankrupt. Everyone looted the Government and because of disharmony among the Congress leaders the Chief Minister was sent from New Delhi. During his regime corruption spread in new dimensions. When the Assembly was about to be dissolved in two or three months the Chief Minister had to step down and the fourth Chief Minister in a span of 5 years was appointed, the people were disgusted and disappointed with the rule of the Congress party in a span of five years changing of Chief Ministers for every simple reason. The Government getting entangled in corruption is the apparent cause for the failure of the Congress rule. A common man also was able to perceive the truth about the failure of the administration in the political and social fields. The Development activities came to a stand still and the Government's expenditure on establishment sector doubled up. The people in the state felt whether there was justice, rule of law, and administration at all, the opposition parties also were in the same position.

POLITICS AND N.T.Rama Rao:

In this situation N.T.Rama Rao determined to serve the people by entering into politics. Some of the close friends of N.T.Rama Rao said, "Politics is a kind of quagmire. After knowing the truth about the politics, why do you get into politics? You are so successful on the silver screen. You are earning so well in this field." N.T.Rama Rao began to think in a different angle. He knew pretty well that the celluloid world would give him infinite wealth. When the Congress High Command changed the Chief Ministers four times, he felt that the self - respect of the Telugu speaking people was wounded. N.T.Rama Rao felt that the self - respect of the Telugus speaking people was pawned to the High Command. On one particular occasion, when the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh went to the Hyderabad Airport, in order to welcome a Congress leader from Delhi, the leader ill - treated the Chief Ministers. This incident caused so much dismay to all the Telugu Speaking people. N.T.Rama Rao knew the feelings of the people of Andhra Pradesh. He didn't like to waste time. He completed the call sheets of the pictures to which he entered into
contract. Some leaders who did not like the politics of Congress, were waiting for a chance. They were curiously watching the situation. On March 21, 1982 when N.T.Rama Rao came to Hyderabad from Ooty there was redcarpet welcome to him from his fans, well wishers and from some political leaders. Mean while there were dramatic changes in the Congress party. Nandella Bhaskara Rao, the sitting member of the Legislative Assembly resigned from congress, even to the primary membership. He decided to join the new party, which was being started by N.T.Rama Rao.

On the 28th of March 1982 N.T.Rama Rao reached Hyderabad. The steering committee consisting of 13 members was formed. N.T.Rama Rao was the founder President of the new party. He had has great faith in auspicious Muhurthams. He decided to declare the formation of a new party on the 29th of March 1982 at 2.30p.m. There was tremendous response from the public. In the same afternoon N.T.Rama Rao and his followers assembled in the new M.L.A quarters, the followers of N.T.Rama Rao began to shout, ‘Sri N.T.Rama Rao Jindabad, Sri N.T.Rama Rao jindabad.’ There was an echo of the shouting. The meeting place was shifted from the small hall to the lawn of the New M.L.A quarters.

N.T.Rama Rao started addressing the gathering “My dear brothers and sisters, I have been seriously considering the idea of entering into politics. I was wondering how people would react to this new idea; when I see all of you here, it gives me immense pleasure and from this moment onwards I am entering into politics.” At the declaration of N.T.Rama Rao the people in the gathering were greatly excited and they began to clap their hands with whistles.

Someone from the gathering has asked, “Sir, what is the name of your party?” N.T.Rama Rao glanced around and said “Telugu Desam”. He also said, “I am a born Telugu; from today onwards I dedicate my life for the service of the Telugu’s and for the state. I would work for protecting the Telugu culture, for enhancing the greatness of Telugu language and I would strive to protect the self – respect of the people. That’s why our party’s name is “Telugu Desam”.

The First public Meeting: The first public meeting was held on the 11th of April 1982 in Nizam College Grounds. N.T.Rama Rao Started in the open jeep from Rama Krishna Studio. There was tremendous ovation from the people all the way up to the
meeting place. People came from all corners of Andhra Pradesh to attend the
meeting. N.T.Rama Rao Said, "You are all behind me! there is no question of going
back."
N.T.Rama Rao delivered an emotional speech and people began to think about
the realities of life. The people were greatly impressed by the oratory of N.T.Rama
Rao. The leaders who attended the meeting felt that the Congress party would face a
tug of war in the ensuing elections. Lord Venkateswara of Tirupati is considered by
all the people as the deity of the Kaliyuga. Many people start something new after
having the Darshan of Lord Venkateswara. N.T.Rama Rao who follows the spiritual
path of life has decided to hold the second meeting at Tirupathi. It was a mammoth
gathering. N.T.Rama Rao has many fans in the Rayalaseema area. The fans of
N.T.Rama Rao came to the Tirupati meeting to see him and to hear his message.
Every one who attended the meeting was enamoured of N.T.Rama Rao. The success
of the second meeting heralded a new era in the political history of Andhra Pradesh.
In the beginning some political leaders thought that because of cinema glamour
people were coming to the public meetings of N.T.Rama Rao but gradually they
realized that N.T.Rama Rao made a mark on the political map of Andhra Pradesh.

Chaithanya Radham: Usually political leaders go in cars of helicopters to address
the people. But N.T.Rama Rao has made a new experiment. He got repaired a
Chevrolet van which was like a moving platform. Wherever people gathered,
N.T.Rama Rao used to go the top of the van and address the people make them know
about the misrule of the Congress. People slowly developed faith in the ideology of
the Telugu Desam. The Chevrolet van was named as Chaithanya Radham. The
caption on the Chaithanya Radham was Telugu Desam is' Calling you! come on.
People young and old, women and children ran after he Chaithanya Radham and they
were very keen to listen to the speeches of N.T.Rama Rao. The whirlwind trip
continued. N.T.Rama Rao didn’t stay in hotels and lodges. He moved in the van;
delivered speeches from the top of the van; ate in the van; slept in the van and took his
bath near the roadside water point. It was a new way of canvassing. N.T.Rama Rao
was good at delivering long dialogues with clear pronunciation. This art helped him to
attract the people and endear them to his heart. There was sweetness in his words and
clarity in delivering the dialogues. People never heard such refined words from a
political leader. It was a new experience to them. The people greatly felt happy and
they were greatly excited when they heard the oratory of N.T.Rama Rao. Through the
Canvassing speeches, N.T. Rama Rao gave a new meaning to politics. People gasped clapped when N.T. Rama Rao delivered beautiful and musical speeches. The speeches and dialogues of N.T. Rama Rao were released in the form of cassettes. N.T. Rama Rao toured all the places in Andhra Pradesh traveling in his famous Chaithanya Radham, giving lecturers how the Congress party exploited them. The rural folk were greatly inspired by the Speeches of N.T Rama Rao and they revered him by Mangalalaharathulu and Raktha Tilakam. The congress leaders were perturbed at the popularity of Rama Rao. The popularity was like a big tidal wave and the Congress leaders decided to hold the elections in January 1983 instead of March 1983. Rama Rao wanted to introduce new values into politics. He didn’t want to select the candidates in a haphazard manner. He selected educated candidates who have good name in the society. Among the candidates who contested on behalf of the Telugu Desam party there were 125 graduates, 28 post graduates, 20 physicians, 8 Engineering graduates and 47 law graduates. In Indian politics no other party gave so much importance to youth and qualified candidates. The last election meeting of the Telugu Desam was held at Tirupati. Before the arrival of Rama Rao people anxiously waited for him. All the streets were full with the people who came in large numbers to attend the meeting of Rama Rao. Everywhere there were yellow flags and people wearing yellow shirts. There was festive mood everywhere. When Rama Rao entered the town people showered followers on him. In the last election meeting Rama Rao delivered an emotional speech. "The Telugu Speaking people have been subjected to humiliations for the last 35 years. In a span of four years four Chief Ministers were changed by the Delhi High Command. The elected representatives represent 60 million Telugu-speaking people. The Congress high Command sends some on as the Chief Minister. The elected representatives have no voice. Is it not a humiliation to the Telugu Speaking people?" Thus, N.T. Rama Rao criticized the Congress leaders, who are like puppets in the hands of High Command. The Telugu Desam is not just a political party, but it is a social revolution to uphold the social and political values of the people. The people have to rule themselves. Corrupt leaders are to be removed from their ranks. Our leaders have forgotten their self-respect. Now the Telugu Speaking people have to get up from their sleep. The emotional speech of Rama Rao greatly influenced the voters. After competing election campaign at Tirupati, Rama Rao went uphill to have the Darshan of Lord Venkateswar and got tonsured as a mark of devotion and left for Hyderabad. Polling was to take place on
the following day. N.T. Rama Rao wanted to join with the left front. But they did not cooperate with him. He allotted five constituencies to Sanjaya Vichar Manch and the Telugu Desam candidates contested in all the remaining 289 Assembly Constituencies. Vijayabhaskar Reddy was very confident that the Congress party would get the absolute majority. At 10 'O' clock night the first result was declared. At Shadnagar the Congress candidate Dr. Sankar Rao won the election. In Shadnagar Constituency 65,673 votes polled and out of this, the Congress Candidate secured 32,919 votes, and the Telugu Desam candidate secured 29,916 votes and the Independent candidate secured 2796 votes. N.T. Rama Rao was not surprised at this result. He was very confident that the Telugu Desam would get absolute majority. On the following day the daily news papers carried the headings as 'Telugu Desam Super hit'. In the storm of the Telugu Desam the address of the Congress is lost. The National Congress which has a history of 97 years, was defeated by the Telugu Desam which founded just nine months before. All the results were announced by the afternoon of the 7th January 1983. The Telugu Desam candidates secured absolute majority in 199 constituencies, the Sanjaya Manch secured 4 seats. In the entire state a total of 2,14,96,754 votes polled and out of this, the Telugu Desam got 96,23,361 votes. The congress 60 seats, the C.P.I 4 seats, the C.P.I (M) 5 seats, the B.J.P 3 seats, and the independents 19 seats.

The election promises of N.T. Ram Rao were incorporated into his 15 – point program called the 'Pragati Patham' which he announced a month and half after assuming the offices, on March 1st 1983. The emphasis of the programme was on the bettering of the last of the poor, the down – trodden and the other weaker sections of the society. While the principal beneficiaries of the programme were the rural poor the other weaker sections are not left out of its purview. The implementation of the programme hoped to lesson poverty especially in backward areas. The Programme envisaged rural development, generation of employment opportunities, increasing the purchasing power of the poor and transferring to them productive assets of land, livestock etc., it has been detailed as an overall plan of development and pinpoint areas of special thrust which yield immediate and tangible results. The popular scheme of Rs.2/- per kilo of rice, supply of dhotis and sarees at subsidized rates, supply of drinking water to the people in rural as well as urban areas, improving the lot of the scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes under
The party has implemented other schemes for the benefit of the poor, among them were pension for widows and the landless, organization of youth force in order to develop a cadre of volunteers who were motivated to help the were community at different areas of development activities. The government determined to eradicate social evils like untouchability. Child marriage, dowry system and bonded labour. One of the much acclaimed programme of the party was that, relating to the introduction of Telugu as the language at all levels of activity. It was hoped that measures when fully implemented were sure to lead the weaker sections towards new frontiers of progress. These programs provided a firm a new thrust to the basic philosophy of welfare and laid a firm foundation to the task of elevating the lives of 40 % of the population above the poverty line.

The 15- point socio - economic programme of N.T.Rama Rao richly related to the 20- point programme of late Srimathi Indira Gandhi. Though the main stress of her programme was of the elimination of poverty (Garibi Hatao) it failed to do much for the common man. The zeal and sincerity with which the fact is that the programme as sabotaged by the richer sections of the community. Thus the benefits of the programme were monopolized by a few. As a result, the socio- economic condition of the rural population remained static. The 15 point economic programme of N.T.Rama Rao was a supplement to the 20- print programme Late. Mrs. Indira Gandhi. But this programme as also has seen into innumerable difficulties in the actual process of implementation. The Government had to discontinue some of the programmes as they run into rough weather.

The success of any Governmental programme in a democracy depends upon the strength of the man at the helm of affairs. The people’s cooperation and participation is an essential factor for the success of development programme. The people who are entrusted with responsibility of implementing such programmes should go about their work with honesty and sincerity.
Various forces are involved in making a programme successful and laudable. When different elements pull in different directions it is the development and the welfare of the people that suffers. The failure of any programme of Telugu Desam party should be understood in the light of the facts mentioned below.

The mid-day meal had to be modified and ultimately discontinued for obvious reasons. The Congress Government first introduced the programme as an election gimmick. The motive behind this was only to appease the common man and encash his sympathy. Therefore, the programme became a white elephant and turned out to be unmanageable. It was revived and reintroduced by the Telugu Desam Government for the benefit of children between 6-11 years. The nutritious meal programme of Tamil Nadu could be a success whereas the mid-day meal programme in Andhra Pradesh met with failure. Sarpanches, Mahila Mandalas and other Voluntary agencies who were assigned the task of cooking food and feeding the children were not properly motivated and money went down the drain without the beneficiaries getting the benefit. Food that was unhygienic was served to the children. In some schools cooking and serving became the main occupation for the Headmasters and the Teachers. Consequently education was given the go – bye. Proper thought was not bestowed on the programme and the necessary infrastructure was lacking. The programme would have been a great success had the Government patterned this on the model of the nutritious food scheme introduced by our neighboring state of Tamil Nadu.

Another lacuna of the Programme was that the scheme was aimed at providing food only to the children belonging to a few sections of society. This kind of discrimination and segregation, even for their own good, created psychological imbalance. Therefore, the programme had to be discontinued.

The Rs.2/- kilo rice scheme a very popular in the state and which covered nearly 105 cores card – holders guaranteeing 5 kgs of rice per head with a maximum of 25Kgs per family whose income was Rs.6000/- per annum. The State Government had faced innumerable hardships in the implementation of this programme. From time to time the central Government increased the price of rice and the State Government had to incur a lot of Expenditure. Another difficulty with this scheme was it had led to the illegal procurement of green cards. Though this programme was meant for the
benefit of poor, it was actually benefited the idle rich. It was the considered opinion of a few that this programme killed the instructive of the beneficiaries. But it was not correct. This programmes was hailed by the Congress (I) ruled States. But the success of only such scheme depends on the co – operation given by the centre to the state Government and the public Distribution system has to be overhauled.

One of the most laudable schemes of the Pragati Patham programme was the construction of pucca houses for the communities which are socially and economically weak. This housing scheme has been there even under the Congress Government. This constitutes a part of the 20- point programme enunciated by the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Food, clothing and shelter are the irreducible minimum of human wants. But unfortunately millions of people are left without shelter. The poor people in the villages live in thatched houses under unhygienic conditions. Whenever there are floods due to cyclones it is this section of society that suffers to the maximum. And therefore, the successive Congress (I) governments undertook this task of providing pucca houses at a cost of Rs.6000/- per house to the weaker sections. But the performance of the Congress (I) government in this direction was far from satisfaction. The net result was low – targets and badly built houses. The Contractors became rich by cornering the money allotted for the scheme and it be blamed the Government. But the Telugu Desam Government undertook the scheme on a war – footing and during the five years of its tenure it has succeeded in reaching the target set forth. The Telugu Desam achieved good record not only in number of houses constructed but also in the quality of houses built.

This scheme, instead of giving security and satisfaction to the depressed classes, become a source of unhappiness. The Houses were constructed on the outskirts of the villages and thus the Harijans and Girijans were segregated. This phenomenon, if it is continued would only do harm to the depressed classes. They can’t develop themselves if they are made to live in isolated places, away from other communities. For centuries they were made to live like that, and even now that situation continues16.

The Telugu Desam Government had set motion to series of measures to improve the lot of scheduled Castes, scheduled Tribe and backward classes. The government strived of the common man. It had provided the atmosphere and
infrastructure where in the individual can improve himself socially, economically and politically. Unfortunately the benefits of the schemes not reached the persons intended for. The middle men and the officials of the Government were prospered but the fate of the common man remained the same. The average individual was not aware of all those schemes and their usefulness.

Corruption was institutionalized by the successive congress (I) regimes. They never bothered to usher value based is politics. Whatever they did, they did with an eye on the next election. Whatever they did to the common man, they did with a view to grab his votes. The development of the State suffered due to the corrupt and inefficient leaders and administrators. These were instances when the Government had virtually supported corruption and sided with the people who indulged in it. Corruption has become an accepted phenomenon. If this is allowed it would eat way the vitals of our society and may completely destroy the morale of its. As soon as it came to power the Telugu Desam Government declared that it would root out corruption. In partial fulfillment of this promise the Telugu Desam Party Government had instructed "Dharmamahapatra and Lokayukta,"17. The Telugu Desam government also undertook the task of providing land to the landless poor. Land reforms were not taken up by Telugu Desam Government in a vigorous manner and thus the gulf that separates the rich and the poor is getting widened. Another disturbing factor was that the land given to the poor was grabbed by the conning rich by certain devious means. The Government should have taken stringent measures against the land grabbers. The Telugu Desam Government did marvelous service to the people of the state by abolishing hereditary village officers. This was a colonial legacy and unfortunately the Congress (I) government could not do away with this phenomenon. The Telugu Desam government was appreciated for taking the bold step of abolishing village officers.

The rest of the programmes launched by N.T.Rama Rao fell into the broad category of schemes for the development of rural areas, particularly in agriculture, strengthening the small scale industrial infrastructure and elimination of some social and economic evils. The notable achievement of the Telugu Desam party was the initiation of Telugu Desam project. This ambitious project provided irrigation to the parched lands of Rayalaseem and also supply of drinking water to madras city from
Krishna river. It was a symbol of inter-state co-operation and amity. The Telugu Desam Government allotted 30% of the jobs to women was indeed a great step in the direction of improving the lot of women. The Mahila University was started with a lot of zeal and enthusiasm. The widow-pension scheme was another laudable thing done by the N.T.Rama Rao government. A system of submissions of monthly progress report was established by the N.T.Rama Rao government, which provided for quick assessment of how the 15-point programme was implemented.

However the success of the Pragati Patham and the various schemes under this programme announced by the N.T.Rama Rao Government depended on the cooperation of the officials. On the whole, the Pragati Patham, programme, succeeded in achieving some objectives all these schemes under 15-point programme have definitely put the state on the path of progress, and when they were fully implanted they are sure to make the Andhra Pradesh state economically and politically strong.

Nothing is more unpredictable than politics. However, it can be safely said that, having achieves a miracle by unseating the Congress (I) rulers from their seemingly impregnable fortress, N.T.Rama Rao sincerely tried to do something to the poor. Most of the measures he had taken were welcomed all around. Some of his decisions were criticized not because the were bad in themselves but because he took them in a rather tactless manner and incurred the wrath of the vociferous sections of the community. His critics said he was going too fast, rather in the fashion of reckless driver. His well wishers felt there was no need for such speed and fear that his haste may prove his undoing. Politics was not cinema, they argued. It was not enough to take decisions that are expected to do good to the people at large. It was also necessary to take the people along with him to convince them that what he was doing was meant to do them good.

There has been criticism that Rama Rao took important decisions without consulting the ministers into his confidence. His legislators were felt alienated because he has no time to spare for them. He was quite emotional and tended to be self-centred; and has encouraged members of his family to enter in politics; he was gimmicky and theatrical.
N.T.Rama Rao had started on a promising note, with a small cabinet emphasizing the values of austerity and economy in Government expenditure, punctuality, and quick decisions. Reduction in the number of state corporations, anti-corruption drive against higher officials, restrictions on employees in the interest of efficiency, passing a resolution on abolition of Legislative Council, reducing the retirement age of the employees, ban on capitation fee in educational institutions, introduction of Telugu as official language in administration, signing of Telugu Ganga agreement—all these were undertaken in a few months. However, several of the measures have bogged down in administrative and legal problems, while N.T.Rama Rao opened too many fronts for fight displeasing vast organized section such as urban middle classes, Government servants, doctors, powerful managements of educational institutions. It may be that N.T.Rama Rao has not been sufficiently cautioned that Institutional restraints such as federalism, court cases and other variables, account for the extent to which parties can carry out their programmes.

In trying to wean the party away from Congress (I) culture, Telugu Desam Party directed its MLAs not to stay in Hyderabad when the assembly is not to stay in Hyderabad when the Assembly is not in session giving scope to the criticism of ‘stifling atmosphere’. Canceling pensions to former Legislators, imposing restrictions on defections and N.T.Rama Rao’s own authoritarian personality streak shook the party even in initial stages. The party structure continued to remain very centralized and the distribution of power inside it was top-heavy. The members showed passivity and difference, to the leadership. The importance of building the organizational structure was realized mid-way and Chandra Babu Naidu, the number two in the party, assiduously built it from the village level with over thirty lakh members. Training campus to party workers were set up to train them in party ideology and developing oratorical skills. On the Ideology of the party, N.T.Rama Rao proclaimed: “you cannot get any ideology from the dusty books in a library. If you have eyes to see and ears to hear, you can discover our ideology in the hungry faces of the poor. Our Ideology is to work for providing food, shelter and clothing to the country’s poor.”

One significant development in the Congress Party at the state level seems to be closing of ranks among the factional leaders and their joint tirade against the ruling
Telugu Desam Party. Within a year of N.T.Rama Rao's coming to power, congressmen like J.Vengala Rao, who were outside the state politics, reentered. Right from the beginning, Congress in the un-acustomed role of opposition in the state concentrated on virulent criticism of the Chief Minister, and systematic obstruction in the legislature. The attitude of the local party is represented through their party's central ministers belonging to the state. N.T.Rama Rao had to reorient the purpose, scope of opposition unity from time to time, as many of his ideas are not acceptable to the other parties. His idea for starting a loosely-knit federation of regional parties still remained a dream. Instead of Bharata Desam, he seems to have veered around to the idea of a forum of oppositions parties, with co-ordinates and joint action on issues, to which they had common approach. N.T.Ram Rao and the Telugu Desam MPs campaigned vigorously for Assam Ganatantra Parishad's victory in December 1985. He employed in his chariot (Vehicle tour around the Constituencies) Again in Haryana elections in June 1987 with the slogan 'Congress Hatao, Desh Bacho' (oust the Congress (1), save the country). His plea an behalf of regional party (NNDP) does not seem to have had any impact on the electorate of Nagalad, as Congress (1) won the elections comfortably.

The most conspicuous change from the previous Government seems to be sent that under the Congress Government, heavy investments were made in irrigation and power sectors while Telugu Desam has put up much higher allocations to social services. Though at one level. The Congress (1) criticized the populist welfare measures, While (Rice at Rs.2/- Kg: permanent houses at a cost of Rs.6000/- Distribution of Cloths etc.) the congress claimed to have implemented them the before N.T.Ram rao's Government and Rajiv Gandhi tried to convey the impression that the central Government has been subsidizing most of the welfare measures. As the twenty Point programme (Sponsored by the Central Government)and Pragathi Patham (Sponsored by the Central Government) and probably have many common features, and the State Government has been interested in implementation of welfare programmes under the latter public, the central Government has accused the State Government of slipping down in the implementation of development programmes. Telugu Desam Government preferred to implement such programmes where they don't have to provide matching grants.
N.T. Rama Rao Government had inherited a difficult financial position as his predecessors squandered public money at will. He took hasty [decisions with troubled him politically and administratively. He requested Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams (TTD) board to deposit its funds with the Government treasury. After appointing a commission to review the religious endowment act, the Government initiated reforms to take over the administration of all the temples in the State and abolish hereditary priesthood. The property in different forms owned by the temples would be under the State custody.

N.T. Rama Rao regarded Telugu Desam as firm anti Congress (1) Political force in the country which would like to cooperate with confederation of regional parties. He always stood for strong states and had called the Centre a conceptual myth. He asserted it is a thought the people of the country who elect the State Governments had persuaded to delegate their authority in subjects such as defense and foreign policy to the Centre so that there is no overlapping such in the discharge of powers by the central and state Governments. In its memorandum to Sarkaria Commission in September, 1985. Telugu Desam party refuted the arguments in favour of strong centre under the existing constitution. He castigated the ruling party at centre for “promoting the wrong theory that the same party should rule at the Centre and States”. The Theory is wrong because ours is a federal constitution which envisages different parties coming to power in different states thought democratic means. The Continuous propagandas that these parties. Are a threat to the country’s unity is an insult to public opinion20.”

N.T. Rama Rao, who survived a few crises, continued to dominate the Government and Telugu Desam party. Using a combination of Charisma gained through films and populist slogans and shrewd welfare schemes, the resilient leader has benefited from floundering opposition leadership. His pronouncements that only his party could protect the interests or image of Telugus had managed to set sufficient sympathy from public. Though he has come to politics from nowhere, N.T. Rama Rao learned ways to recoup support from among the masses, even when analysis see the constant dwindling support. N.T. Rama Rao’s views on political parties, separation of
powers, federalism and welfare of the poor, even if native on occasion, are united an integrated.

After one and half years of the Telugu Desam Party’s rule the Congress pulled down the N.T.Rama Rao’s government in August 1984. The party gave support to the plans of a ginger group within the Telugu Desam Party led by Nalenda Bhaskara Rao to oust the Chief Minister from office at a time when he was away in the US to undergo a heart surgery. Because the Congress party was in power at the Centre it used the office of the Governor for the purpose. The meeting of the seventeen national opposition parties, including the CPI, CPI (M), BJP and the Janata, cam down heavily on the Congress for including in the game of topping the non-Congress Governments and felt that the coup d’etat staged in Hyderabad was engineered in Delhi by the Prime Minister and the coterie around her. They launched a ‘Serve democracy movement’ which led to a massive anti-congress and anti-centre upsurge in the state against the dismissal of the Telugu Desam Party Government. N.T.Rama Rao called it a dharma yuddham (a war of justice), a war against the authoritarian and autocratic rule at the Centre, for restoration of democracy and safeguarding the Constitution. Thanks to the powerful mass agitation and the force of united opposition, the ‘defectors group’ despite the support of the Congress party, could not muster enough numbers in the Assembly to continue in power. Since the 1984 Lok Sabha elections were round the corner.

However, the decline of the Telugu Desam Party electoral base cannot be attributed to the efforts of the Congress alone. Partly it was due to his own making. The style of N.T.Rama Rao’s functioning both in the party and the government alienated individuals and social groups from the Telugu Desam Party. He thought himself to be infallible. Often his actions were arbitrary and rash. Some of the policies and laws enacted by his government has to be withdrawn immediately after they were made or struck down by courts. He attacked the Congress for depriving people of self-respect, lack of respect for democratic norms, encouraging the principle of family rule in the country, etc. But he encouraged people prostrating before him and touch his feet and bestowed favours on them. He never cared to build a democratic party structure nor to make it function on any democratic principle. He dismissed all his Ministers in February 1989 just before elections and constituted a
new Ministry with all new faces. He never allowed elections to the 'Politburo', the top decision-making body in the party. Once in public meeting at Madnapalli, he announced his actor-son Balakrishna as his successor, but later denied this, in the face of severe criticism. All these issues became favourite themes of those who opposed the Telugu Desam party in 1989 Assembly elections. Even those who openly supported N.T.Rama Rao in the initial years gradually got disenchanted with N.T.Rama Rao's style both in the party and government. Several party leaders had either become passive or revolted against N.T.Rama Rao or left the Telugu Desam Party as they saw in him a highly 'authoritarian personality'. They raised the issue of loss of self-respect for the leaders and workers in the party. Most of those who left the party joined the Congress saying that it was more democratic and responsive to the wishes of the people.

The decline of electoral support for the Telugu Desam Party and a corresponding increases in the Congress strength became clear before the 1989 Assembly elections. The elections to the Zilla praja Parishads (ZPP) and Mandla Praja Parishads (MPP), created by the Telugu Desam Party Government, were held in March 1987. Though the results meant a victory for the Telugu Desam Party (as the Telugu Desam Party bagged 18 out of the 21 ZPPs and 632 out of 1058 MPPs), and analysis of the Voting pattern indicated the electoral gains of the Congress. The congress won 42.38 per cent vote and 330 MPPs as against 200 expected in proportion to its strength in the Assembly. The poll also boosted up the local level party organization as APCC president gave authority to the DCCs to select the candidates, making a break in the tradition of nomination from above. On the contrary, the Telugu Desam Party's selection of candidates at Gandipet (head Quarters of the party) though a computer processing caused discontent among the local leaders21.

Close on the heels of the panchayat election came elections to as many as 95 municipalities and two Municipal Corporations. For the first time the method of direct election for the positions of Municipal chairman and Corporation Mayor on party basis was introduced. The results of the civic elections confirmed the growing disenchantment of the Congress leadership wanted to salvage the party's image to the extent possible. It gave up its efforts to prop up the 'defectors' government, called
back the Governor, making him a scapegoat, and finally reinstalled the N.T. Rama Rao in office. It was the only instance in the political history of India when a dismissed Chief Minister was reinstated. The whole episode proved that if people firmly stand for safeguarding democratic norms, the manipulations of the political leadership in weakening the democratic institutions and structures to fulfil personal, factional and partisan ambitions can be curbed, resisted and even defeated.

Mid-term elections to the Andhra Pradesh assembly, caused by the dissolution of the Assembly by N.T Rama Rao in November 1984, were held in March 1985. The alliance between the major non-Congress opposition parties and the Telugu Desam Party was continued in the Assembly elections. N.T Rama Rao asked the people to 'get rid of the Congress culture and strengthen your self — respect vis-à-vis the arrogant Centre. The election manifesto issued by the APPCC said that the Assembly elections provided the Telugu people a 'unique opportunity to join the Mainstream of national life' Rajiv Gandhi maintained that regional parties posed a threat to the unity of the country and advocated the need for the same party to rule both at the Centre and in the States. But the congress suffered from group rivalries. Also the demoralization caused by successive electoral defeats and the collective fear of N.T Rama Rao was so much in the Congress that 22 candidates who were allotted its tickets refused to file their nominations. The Telugu Desam Party won 202 seats, three more seats than it won in the 1983 elections. The Congress failed to retain its strength, which it had in the dissolved Assembly (59), and won only 49 seats. But it improved its percentage of votes from 33.6 per cent in the Assembly elections in 1983 to 37.4 in 1985. Its performance was particularly good in Krishna and Guntur Districts, which solidly stood with the Telugu Desam Party in 1983 and where Kamma Concentration was highest in the State.

With this, attempts to reenact the Tamil Nadu model of having two rival regional parties urban population with the ruling party. The Congress secured 42.08 per cent votes as compared to the Telugu Desam Party's 40.16 per cent votes. The Congress bagged 49 municipal chairmanships and 1292 wards, as against 40 and 948 for the Telugu Desam Party. The Congress won all the municipalities in the districts of Guntur, Prakasam, Srikakulam and Karimnagar. Congress also wrested the Vijayawada Municipal Corporation from the CPI and the CPM, which jointly held
sway over the city for the previous five years. If the votes polled by the Congress in the Panchayat and Municipal elections were added, the Congress managed to narrow down the overall difference between itself and the Telugu Desam Party to a mere 16 lakh votes. It had established leads in about 140 out of the 294 Assembly segments, which meant an increase of 90 over its tally of 50 in 1985\textsuperscript{22}. The outcome of the elections was so reassuring to the Congress that the APCC president declared that his party was going to triumph in the next elections.

Simultaneous elections to the Lok Sabha and Andhra Pradesh Assembly were held in November 1989. Congress recorded impressive victories at both the levels. It won 39 seats in the Lok Sabha with 49.04 per cent votes while the Telugu Desam Party could win only 2 seats securing 41.58 per cent votes (including the votes polled by the allied parties). Curiously enough the Andhra Pradesh electorate, like in the 1977 Lok Sabha elections, gave a spectacular victory for the Congress, at a time when the electoral verdict in the country at large went against it. Over time, especially since 1977, Andhra Pradesh electorate had earned the dubious distinction of voting against the national political current. In the Assembly elections too the Congress turned the tables against the Telugu Desam Party. It won 182 seats with 47.15 per cent popular vote as against 94 seats won by the Telugu Desam Party and its allies - the CPI, the CPM, the Barathiya Janata Party and the Janata Dal - with 43.88 per cent popular vote. On its own the Telugu Desam Party secured 73 seats with 36.6 per cent votes. While the Congress improved its electoral support by 9.65 per cent, the Telugu Desam Party lost ground by 9.6 per cent. However, the margins of victory either for the Congress or the Telugu Desam Party were not very large; the overall difference in popular vote between the Congress on the one hand and the Telugu Desam Party and its allies on the other was only 3.2 per cent. But the electoral victory for the Congress did not mean a going back to the one-party dominant system that existed prior to the 1980s in Andhra Pradesh, as some thought at that time.

With the Congress back in power in 1989 factionalism in the party once again came to the fore from 1990. The newly formed Chenna Reddy government came under flak from both the opposition Telugu Desam Party and the rival factions of the Congress. The government was accused of corrupt practices and the dilution of welfare schemes, especially the subsidized rice scheme. Chenna Reddy was held
responsible for the deterioration in law and order due to the spurt in Naxalite violence. During his tenure the State was also rocked by anti-Mandal agitation. The factional struggle in the party went to the extent that the Chief Minister accused the dissident faction leader N. Janardana Reddy for engineering Hindu-Muslim communal riots in Hyderabad in order to discredit the government. Interestingly the communal violence came to an abrupt end with the exit of Chenna Reddy and Janardan Reddy taking the oath as the Chief Minister.

Some of the governmental policies and decisions during Janardan Reddy's tenure became highly controversial. There was a widespread feeling that everything under the Congress regime had a price tag and nothing was impossible if one was ready to pay the bribe. Corruption charges were leveled at him, especially in the affairs of leasing out the mines and awarding the contracts for World Bank funded cyclone reconstruction work involving hundreds of crores of rupees. It was also alleged that crores of rupees had changed hands in allowing liquor barons and influential persons to start several private medical and engineering colleges with hefty capitation fees. He granted a medical and an engineering college also to a trust run by his wife and son. All this provided sufficient fodder to the opposition guns. The Telugu Desam Party once again became active. The High Court passed severe strictures against the Chief Minister for granting capitation fee colleges of medicine and engineering. The Congress image had gone down so much that it received a thorough drubbing at the hands of the Telugu Desam Party in the earlier phase of 1991 Lok Sabha elections held before the killing of Rajiv Gandhi. It was Rajiv's death that saved the Congress in the second phase of Lok Sabha elections.

Even after P.V. Narasimha Rao, the former CM of AP, became the Prime Minister of India, the stock of the Congress in the State did not improve much in the public eye. In the Congress Legislature Party (CLP) meeting held to 'elect' a new Chief Minister, in place of Janardan Reddy, the 'sealed cover' from the PM and party president, was sent appointing the veteran faction leader from Rayalaseema and a former Chief Minister of the State, Kotla Vijayabhaskar Reddy, to the post. Soon the dissident factions intensified their activity against the Chief Minister, but at the same time proclaiming unflinching loyalty to the High Command. The Chief Minister was criticized for his feudal attitude and behaving like a factional leader. The anti-arrack
movement by women, dalit assertion and the growth of the BSP in the State and the Naxalite activities also led to the damping the morale of the Congressmen and erosion in the electoral base of the Congress. These social and political movements are discussed later in this section.

Belying all projections and predictions the Telugu Desam Party scored a massive victory in the 1994 Assembly elections. The Telugu Desam Party got three-fourths majority in the Assembly on its own, winning 219 seats out of 251 it contested, and more than four-fifths if the seats won by the allies were added. The left parties, the allies of the Telugu Desam Party, won in 34 constituencies. Telugu Desam Party's success rate (candidates contested and won) of 87 per cent, compared to 76 per cent of the Congress in 1972, was a record in AP's electoral history. The TDP and its allies swept the polls in all the three regions, winning 120 (out of 133) in coastal Andhra, 42 (52) in Rayalaseema and 91 (107) in Telangana. In this election, the Congress had the dubious record of winning the lowest number of seats (26) and not being in a position to claim the status of an officially recognized opposition party in the State Assembly. The Congress could not win a single seat in 11 districts, seven of them being in the Telangana region. The Telugu Desam Party and its allies, CPI and CPM, have polled 51.32 per cent of the valid votes (the Telugu Desam Party, on its own, got 44.79 per cent votes). While the Congress polled 33.56 per cent, similar to the low vote polled by it in the 1983 elections (Table 3). Compared to the 1989 Assembly election, when it polled 45.33 per cent votes, the Congress lost 11.7 percentage points in the 1994 elections. Not simply the defeat, but the magnitude of the Congress defeat was significant.

Some attributed the Telugu Desam Party success to the charismatic appeal of N.T.Rama Rao, the trust the poor reposed in him for his resolve to implement welfare schemes and his pro-peasant and pro-women position. N.T.Rama Rao called his victory 'a silent revolution' of the hungry masses, suffering women and the unemployed. The Congress defeat was attributed to the poor image of the party due to factional infighting, perception that the Congress government was dominated by Reddias, widespread corruption, impact of the liberalization measures on the poor, the inability of the Congress leaders to counter the Telugu Desam Party election campaign and the desire for a change in the government. The election results had
shown that the Andhra electorate did not go by the sentiment that they should vote for the Congress to ensure the continuation of a Telugu Congressman at the helm of affairs in the country, a sentiment which PV and his supporters sought to invoke during the election campaign. Another implication of the election outcome was the rejection of the theme of electing the same party at the Centre and in the State, despite the warning from the top Congress leaders that voting for a non-Congress party meant trouble to the people of the State and would lead to Centre-State conflicts pressure, to give more importance to the Backward Castes and accommodate leaders from these castes more in number in party committees and government positions.

Women's movement for prohibition of arrack (cheap liquor) was another important social movement in the 1990s. Arrack contractors, united into syndicates, became a powerful lobby in State politics, funding the political parties and candidates in elections, including those of the communist parties. A good number of liquor contractors were politicians themselves, either directly or under fictitious names (benami), or close relatives of the politicians or real force behind some legislators and Ministers. After the Telugu Desam Party came into power government took over the function of production and distribution of arrack in the State, giving it a beautiful name varuni vahini (stream of liquor). In order to augment revenue from liquor business, the Telugu Desam Party government auctioned shops village wise. Government revenue from arrack sale, which was Rs. 1,500 million in 1982, shot up to a staggering amount of Rs.6,300 million in 1991. It was estimated at that time that around Rs.14,000 million get transferred annually from arrack consumers, who were mostly labourers and poor people, into the hands of contractors, of which 45 per cent went to the government. Thus the contractors pocketed nearly Rs.8,000 million every year. Imagine a situation when the government made arrangements, to overcome the resistance from people agitating against arrack sales, for selling it in police stations in Telangana region23.

The network of arrack contractors and sub-contractors was very extensive from the State capital to the village level to maximize its sales with all necessary employment of muscle power to carry on the business and bribing the administration. As a result consumption of arrack increased by several fold, household economies of the lower classes were ruined and family problems had increased. The rural women,
who were the worst victims of the arrack menace, got organized in the villages, attacked arrack shops and prevented the government from conducting their auctions. The police mercilessly beat women and large-scale arrests were made in November 1992. The hirelings and musclemen of the contractors disturbed the sit in strikes (dharnas) by the women agitators by attacking them with lathis. The active participation of the left parties in the agitation gave it a momentum. With an eye on 'women votes', N.T.Rama Rao extended support to the agitation, although the liquor consumption actually became a menace during his regime. While the agitation was going on the government sanctioned another 12 distilleries to private agencies. As there was a hue and cry, and as pressure from women agitators mounted, the Excise Minister resigned from the Ministry and the Assembly. The nexus between the politicians, bureaucrats, contractors and the police was exposed during the agitation. In the bye-elections in April 1993 prohibition became an important issue. The government was finally forced to introduce partial prohibition in April 1993 in Nellore district, where the agitation had started and was widespread, and from October 1993 throughout the State, but sufficient damage was already done to the Congress electoral prospects. Total prohibition (of arrack as well as Indian Made Foreign Liquor) became an important issue in the 1994 Assembly election and it was considered one major factor in swinging the women vote in favour of the Telugu Desam Party in its spectacular victory.

Politics of Pragmatism

N.T.Rama Rao, the patriarch of the Telugu Desam Party, was removed from power and party position in an ignominious manner by his party MLAs and Ministers within a few months of his massive victory in December 1994 elections, which he termed as 'silent revolution', was a big paradox in AP State politics. It was again a paradox that Chandrababu Naidu, N.T.Rama Rao's younger son-in-law, who played a crucial role in 'guarding' the Telugu Desam Party MLAs from deserting N.T.Rama Rao during the 'coup' against him in 1984, for which N.T.Rama Rao publicly expressed his gratitude, was the central figure in this revolt against N.T.Rama Rao in August 1995. The removal of N.T.Rama Rao and the assumption of the twin offices of the Chief Minister and the Party President by Chandrababu Naidu marked the end an era of charismatic, populist and autocratic politics of N.T.Rama Rao and the
beginning of a new phase, characterized by pragmatism and economic reform in AP politics.

Paradoxes, indeed, represent a condition of contradictory qualities, but they have their own rationale. In a way, the ouster of N.T.Rama Rao could be seen, with hindsight of course, as the tragic outcome of N.T.Rama Rao politics itself. The evolution of the Telugu Desam Party as a party has shown how a democratic upsurge among the people could be used, in the name of mass democracy, to establish an autocratic regime. Although N.T.Rama Rao lambasted the Congress for perpetuating family rule over the country, he pursued the same thing much more vigorously in AP. Under the prevailing conditions in which political power is treated by the top ruling elite as property to be bequeathed at their personal will to their family members, the inheritance of power became an issue during the life time of N.T.Rama Rao itself. Once he designated his actor-son, Balakrishna, to be his political heir. Two of his sons-in-law, who occupied crucial positions in the Party, would not relish this dynastic wish. The growing authority of his much-maligned wife, who was so dear to him, perturbed his other family members and some senior leaders of the party. The Ministers and MLAs were also unhappy as N.T.Rama Rao reduced them to non-entities, did not allow them to use patronage and power to get things done for themselves and to their supporters. There was also growing resentment among the elite, given the shifting policy environment in the country, against his 'populist' schemes that they now thought were burdensome, unproductive and anti-development. They saw in Chandrababu Naidu, the Revenue and Finance Minister in the N.T.Rama Rao's Cabinet, a prudent and pragmatic leader with views commensurable to the emergent paradigm of economic development.

Unlike on the earlier occasion in 1984, when the overthrow of N.T.Rama Rao was projected as murder of democracy, this time in 1995 there was much pity but no mass upsurge. N.T.Rama Rao toured the State wailing over what had happened to him and imploring the people to fight for his restoration, but with no avail. The whole affair was passed off as an event of episodic significance, or as just a family matter. Ironically, when the stage was set in Hyderabad for upstaging him, NTR was busy in 'Government at People's Doorstep' (Prajala Mungita Poland) programme, in a north coastal district, along with some government officials, Ministers and party workers.
He had even no inkling of the impending revolt against him until it was all over. The problem in politics is that every thing appears to be normal and fine to the autocratic ruler as he reigns supreme and the flatterers around make him believe that he is truly a great man. As the process he throws all democratic norms to wind, personalizes power, systematically destroys democratic institutions, stifles all dissent and criticism, including the ones helpful to the healthy functioning of the party and government, because he thinks them as many impediments and unnecessary. Gradually he gets alienated from people, dissatisfaction brews in the party and bursts into open when it reaches the breaking point. Those who lie low, but waiting for an opportunity, now act with vengeance and great force, knocking down the big boss from the pedestal. The entire aura, charm and the hallowed status of this superman seem to vanish in no time and he suddenly appears to every one as somewhat less than an ordinary mortal. When the calamity befalls him, he finds dumped as a spent material, forlorn and deserted. Thus N.T.Rama Rao too became a victim of the conditions he himself had engendered in the party and government. N.T.Rama Rao's political career should remain a lesson to any politician in the country25. N.T.Rama Rao, who vowed to kick out the 'backstabbers' and 'traitors' and to stage a come back, died within four months of his removal from office.

Heading whatever remained of the N.T.Rama Rao faction of the Telugu Desam Party, the widowed Lakshmi Parvathi imagined herself to be the true political heir to N.T.Rama Rao and that people were on her side. During the 1996 elections she wanted to prove that the mandate of the 1994 elections was for N.T.Rama Rao. She went round the state imploring people to undo the injustice meted out to her deceased husband. The 1996 LS elections became on occasion to settle the claims and counter claims of the two Telugu Desam Party groups – Telugu Desam party Naidu (TDPN) and Telugu Desam party Lakshmi Parvathi (TDPLP) – for the legacy of N.T.Rama Rao. The Congress party, which remained cozy at the developments in the Telugu Desam party, was confident that its electoral prospects were considerably brightened due to the turbulence in the Telugu Desam party and its split. While the leaders of the Janata Dal and Bahu jana Samajwad Party supported the TDPLP, the left parties sided with the TDPN. In the 1996 LS elections the TDPN polled 32.6 per cent of the votes, about the same the Telugu Desam Party polled in the 1991 elections, but improved its seats tally from 13 to 16. Faced as he was with a formidable rival
faction of the Telugu Desam Party it was in a way victory for Chandrababu. It greatly helped him to exorcise N.T.Rama Rao's ghost and emerge as a leader in his own right. The TDPLP polled 10.6 per cent votes but failed to get any seat. The marginalization of the TDPLP was complete in the 1998 LS elections, by which time the leaders who remained with N.T.Rama Rao when he was toppled shifted their allegiance either to the TDPN or to other parties.26

Viewed in the background of its worst electoral defeat in the 1994 Assembly elections, the performance of the Congress was better in the 1996 LS elections. However, there was only a marginal differences in the electoral strength of the Congress and the Telugu Desam party in the two LS elections of 1996 and 1998. The Congress and the Telugu Desam party (and allies) polled 39.7 and 37.9 per cent votes respectively in the 1996 elections. The figures for the 1998 elections were 38.5 and 37.5 percent.

The emergence of the Barathiya Janata Party, whose prestige and visibility was growing due to its position at the Centre, as a new political force to reckon with in the State was a significant feature of the outcome of the 1998 LS elections. It had an electoral alliance with the TDPLP, which seems to have benefited it much more than the later, as the estranged sections of the Telugu Desam Party who earlier rallied behind the TDPLP might have seen a better alternative in the Barathiya Janata Party whose status had changed by now. It won four seats, taking two each from the Congress and the Telugu Desam party. From a modest electoral support base of two per cent in the 1989 LS elections, the Barathiya Janatha Party increased its vote share to 18.3 per cent in the 1998 LS elections.

More importantly, the period between the 1996 and the 1998 LS elections saw the departure from N.T.Rama Rao's type of politics and public policies in the State. It is surprising as to how Chandrababu Naidu, who as a prominent leader of the Telugu Desam party during N.T.Rama Rao's regime had effected a major change in the policy orientation of the government. Before he became Chief Minister he was known more for his organizational abilities - as 'an outstanding back-room organizer' (Chandrababu Naidu and Ninan, 2000). He did not speak of any tension in the early 1990s between the competing paradigms of 'development' and 'populist welfarism'. By that time the new economic policy was already ushered in by the Congress Party.
while the Telugu Desam party stuck to its populism, impressively articulated by the N.T.Rama Rao. Even after the 1994 elections, he became a Member of the N.T.Rama Rao’s Cabinet holding revenue and finance portfolios. The same Chandrababu who acquiesced with N.T.Rama Rao’s welfarish/populist programme began to articulate the emergent paradigm of development after 1996 LS elections, perhaps buoyed up by the outcome. Perhaps he had also realized that it was expedient to own this new thinking, as he saw the ascendancy of economic reforms and their consolidation in India.
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