CHAPTER – II

CHARISMATIC LEADERS IN STATE POLITICS
India is a Union of States, according to its Constitution, with state power distributed between a (federal) government at the Centre and governments of the constituent States (the word ‘State’ denotes a constituent province of the Indian Union and the word ‘state’ is used in its juridical sense. Some of the major States of India are as big as merely in their vast territory or population, but in their distinct social structure, well-developed languages, culture and history. This tremendous diversity is mainly responsible for giving rise to different patterns of politics in different States. The government at the State level is responsible for most of the usual functions of a government, such as making laws on a wide-variety of matters, their execution, maintenance of law and order, adjudication, commerce, industry, agriculture, education and health.

During the last 64 years of its existence as Republic, States have come to occupy an increasingly important place in the Indian political system. The political processes at the State level assumed significance after the breakdown of the Congress dominance in the late 1960s. With the emergence of the State based parties, there has been growing divergence in politics at the State and Central (federal) levels. Different party systems had taken shape in different States and the electoral outcomes began to differ from State to State in the last 25 years, bringing a great deal of diversity among the States too. The emergence of coalition governments since 1989, in which the State parties became important partners, brought the State to the centre state. The onset of liberalization policies from the early 1990s further increased the salience of the State. National and international financial institutions and agencies, companies and industrial houses began to deal directly with the States. State governments have assumed an active role in the development of infrastructure in the State, and determine a host of policies in accordance with the priorities of the ruling party at the State level.

The bewildering variety of political forms at the State level led some observers of Indian politics to think of it as 'patternless' or a big mess out of which one could make little sense. A highly plural society characterized by tremendous socio-cultural and economic diversity, continuously undergoing radical changes, politics no doubt
appears to be in a state of perpetual flux. Therefore, Indian politics today may be comprehended better if one tries to understand it from the perspective of State politics, not as emanating from the 'Centre', but as a cluster or coalescence of diverse State politics. While the States operate within the national policy framework and politics, there is a two-way interaction between the State and Central politics.

At the time India became Independent the country faced, to use the phrase of Rajni Kothari, the challenge of simultaneous change and development. It took upon itself the daunting tasks of reforming social structure, promoting agricultural and industrial development, and fostering democratic political institutions, all at the same time\(^2\). The Constitution was a social covenant in democratic socialism, as it assured to its people liberty, equality and social justice. Elections have become the main agency through which democracy has been strengthened in the country. Commentators of Indian politics have observed that such a situation gave rise to both political development as well as political decay. New sections of people were mobilized into the political firmament, participation of people in politics was made possible on an increasing scale and activists and leaders are recruited and nurtured. At the same time the demands from the newly mobilized sections of people have increased on the state. There have been attempts to strike a balance between the claims of diverse segments of society for political power, social wealth and other opportunities, which were often conflicting. This proved to be a difficult exercise in recent years. The era of liberalization and economic reforms has affected the thinking about the nature and role of state and government in the country. The new economic policies, with their stress on deregulation, privatization and destatization, have raised new questions about development and welfare. The tensions in the process of change are too many. The new panchayati raj system mandated by the Constitution has opened new avenues of political participation to include more and more representative of different sections of society in the decision-making bodies at the local level.

Elections have assumed significance as hundreds of millions of voters, living under conditions of illiteracy, poverty, backwardness, pre-modern social relations, religious distinctions, and inequalities based on caste built over hundreds of years, were repeatedly called upon to exercise their political right to choose their representatives at the Central, State and local levels. Fears that elections in India
would either fail because of the awesome structural limitations and unpreparedness of the country to institutionalize parliamentary democracy or that they would have destabilizing consequences, which the political elites cannot control, proved to be wrong. There may be several limitations, deficiencies and failures in the functioning of India’s democracy, which need to be overcome, but there are also commendable achievements. Very few might be happy with what has been achieved, but there is also satisfaction that Indians are able to work solve their problems under a democratic framework.

So far India has gone through 14 Parliamentary elections and almost an equal number of Legislative Assembly elections in each State. It is indeed a great experiment in consolidating and operating democracy in a large and ancient country like India trying to stand on its own legs, after nearly two centuries of colonial rule. For a country with relatively little experience of struggle for parliamentary democracy and franchise, afflicted by several congenital defects and constrained by several social problems, it was no mean achievement of its people that elections could take place at regular intervals. Parties in government could be changed without violence, power could be peacefully transferred to new sets of leaders, political parties could transform themselves from the era of mass politics of the freedom struggle to competition, and a government based on law with an assurance of basic freedoms to the people were made possible. The greatest achievement of periodical elections was the democratization of society and politics.

An account of electoral process and State politics in Andhra Pradesh is presented in the following pages. An attempt is made in this study to analyze the ways in the regional, faction, class and caste factors, on which different political actors depend for support, have operated in State politics and shaped the electoral outcomes. It also discusses how the policies and programmes of the State government and also the strategies of competing political parties have been influenced by the logic of electoral politics. It examines the process of the emergence of the Telugu Desam Party and the factors for its consolidation. It also focuses on certain aspects of political decay and the challenges to the political leadership in the State.
The word Charisma is derived from a Greek word meaning ‘gift of grace’. For years, social scientists have analyzed and debated the origin of charisma and why people gravitate toward charismatic leaders. Influence sociologist Max Weber was one of the first thinker to study the theory of charismatic leadership. According to Weber, social actions are controlled and directed by a general belief on the part of the members of a society that a legitimate social order exist. The probability that social behavior will be oriented in terms of that order constitutes the basis for its authority. Weber postulated that there were three ways to convert power into legitimate authority; rational, traditional, and charismatic, and that each type of authority was validated differently. Established orders such as educational instructions or courts of law give rise to rational authority. Traditional authority arises when leader and follower relationships such as parent/child, teacher/student, or officer/soldier are bounded by long-standing traditions. Traditional and rational bases of authority are not effective forms of authority to bring social or organizational changes.

Charismatic authority, on the other hand, is part of the expression of schismatic tendencies in society. In contrast to legal or traditional authority, charismatic authority is the antithesis of routine activities and represents the desire for disruption and change of the prevailing social order. It is a necessary part of the dialeciton between the human need for structure and the equally rational or traditional authority in that it spawns not from established orders or traditions, but rather from the special trust the charismatic leader induces in his followers, the peculiar powers he exhibits, and the unique qualities he possesses. According to Weber, it is difficult for charismatic leaders to maintain their authority because followers must continue to legitimate this authority. There is a need for the charismatic leader to constantly exhibit leadership performance to his followers to reinforce the legitimacy of his authority.

Several theoretical frameworks have been put forth to explain the crucial elements that give rise to charismatic leadership. Our psychological sense of self worth or self-esteem is a function of the status of our identifications with certain self-objects. These self-objects may be tangible (i.e., a social class to which we belong or a car we drive) or intangible (i.e., a belief or a cause). When the status of the self-objects with which we identify diminishes in value, our self-esteem diminishes.
Effective leaders elevate the status of the self-objects with which their followers identify, raising their followers' self-esteem; the followers perceive the leader as charismatic.

Another theory states that individuals who have solved for themselves problems the followers have not been able to solve for themselves are perceived as charismatic. The perception of charisma is of great importance only between the leaders and their followers. How non-followers perceive the leaders has very little relevance to the notion of charisma. According to Weber, people have extraordinary needs, especially in times of great stress and crisis in a society, and leaders who are able to satisfy these of transcendence by becoming the embodiment of the qualities they wish that they possessed. Charismatic leaders appear most frequently in times of societal crisis. What are some of the common qualities and characteristics of charismatic leaders? Charismatic leaders are able to distill complex thoughts and ideas into simple messages through the use of symbolism, analogies, and metaphors. Charismatic leaders embrace risk and feel empty in its absence. And, they take chances without fear of failure. Charismatic leaders rebel against the status quo and conventional wisdom. According to Weber, charismatic leaders reject rational, economic objectives and orders, choosing more "irrational" but more humanistic pursuits, and that one of the traditional institutionalized structure that he rejects. Charismatic leaders have robust empathic capacity—they attempt to see the world through their follower's eyes. Finally, charismatic leaders challenge, prod, and poke their followers to test their courage and their commitment. Charismatic leaders score high on expression of values, emphasis on commitment, setting high standards, stressing a sense of mission, talking optimistically about the future, expressing confidence, making personal sacrifices, providing encouragement to followers, and displaying conviction in ideals. To quote an example the charismatic leader Pol Pot in Cambodia, how he inspired the peasants by the desire to bring about such social and political changes to benefit the poor peasants.

Postcolonial Cambodia was a society with a deeply rooted sense of hierarchy that permitted one man to exercise enormous power. From 1945 until 1970, that one man was Norodom Sihanouk, who ruled Cambodia first as king and then as its Head of State. Cambodian political structure during Sihanouk's rule bestowed "power on a
small group of men who... exploit[ed] the majority of the people at every level". ‘Nepotism and corruption’ were the way of life. Cambodia was an agrarian society whose economy did not develop beyond agriculture and other small labour-intensive industries. The absence of strong economic bases manifested in the people’s low standard of living. The resulting gulf of economic disparities between a concentrated group of wealthy ruling elite and the poor masses served as the battle cries for social and political changes intended to wrest political and economic power from the ruling elite and to distribute them to the poor masses.

Pol Pot’s entrance onto Cambodia political landscape was inspired by the desire to bring about such social and political changes to benefit the poor masses. After having spent three years at a university in France, where he was exposed to Communist ideology, Pol Pot returned to Cambodia in 1953. Pol pot saw communism as a set of techniques that would allow for social and political changes to occur in Cambodia.

To spread the message of Communism to his compatriots, in 1956 Pol Pot embarked on a career teaching French and geography at a private college in Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia. Teaching provided Pol Pot with a stage for his budding political talents to attract young people to the Communist movement. Many recollections of Pol Pot referred to his skills as a teacher. In choosing to play this role, he drew on the reservoir of reverence Cambodians have always had for their teachers, reflecting the centuries in which education was in the hands of Hindu Brahmans or Buddhist monks and the high status accorded teachers in the French Third Republic under which Pol Pot was raised. In the Cambodian education system, even a mathematics professor taught ethics. Students traditionally gave respect to their teachers, as they did to elderly.

Pol Pot as a Charismatic Leader

Pol Pot was a Charismatic Leader for several reasons consistent with the theoretical explanations his genteel charisma combined with simple taste, a good education and staunch hatred of corruption had a broad appeal to certain segments of Cambodian society, particularly the students and the peasants. Cambodians who came into his presence found him charismatic because he embodied the ideals of conduct-self-control, kind-heartedness-that had been drummed into them for years. People
who were not brought-up in this social context may likely find Pol Pot exasperating and hypocritical.

Pol Pot and his ideals represented the good virtues (i.e., social and economic equity, anticorruption) desired by the average Cambodian. On the other hand, the traditional authority represented all evil forces—social contaminants—infesting Cambodian society, which the people wanted, but were not able, to eliminate on their own. In this respect, the people, who came to share his view about Cambodian social order and its problems at that time, regarded Pol Pot as someone who had solved for himself problems that they had not been able to solve for themselves. These people had endured years of narcissistic injuries at the hands of their own government. They looked to Pol Pot to bring them together in order to bring about changes in Cambodian social order to improve basic living conditions of the poor and uneducated.

The peasants’ acceptance of this view laid the foundation for the Cambodian Communist movement to eventually achieve victory. Cambodian peasants were willing to take up arms and sacrifice their in open military conflicts against what they perceived to be the force of evil. Cambodian peasants, within Cambodian social, economic and political structure, were treated as the ruled, and were never part of the ruling circle. Pol Pot identified with and raised the self esteem of his followers—Cambodian peasants—when the ruling elites looked at the peasants with contempt and disdain. He raised their self-esteem by allowing them to play active roles in determining the political future of Cambodia. By participating in the armed struggle against the corrupt region, these peasants were led to feel that they, for the first time in Cambodia’s history, had an opportunity to affect the course of history. The peasants viewed active participation in Cambodia’s political process as the ultimate form of gratification.

Pol Pot exhibited the qualities and characteristics of a charismatic of a charismatic leader. He was able to communicate his messages in simple terms and he usually spoke with complete candor: His message to the people and his deeds, his way of life, reinforced the image of a man who was incorruptible and who cared passionately about the poor. He was a man with broad empathic capacity for Cambodian peasants. When he spoke of the corrupt government, people accepted his
message readily because they, too; saw corruptions, people were eager to embrace this vision. He instilled confidence in his followers and are able to inspire them to rise up and light against the enemy.

Shamir et al., advanced a theoretical of an interpretive process, frame alignment1 by which charismatic leaders motivate followers to embrace social change. Frame alignment refers to the linkage of individual and leader interpretive orientations, such that some set of followers interests, values, and beliefs and the leader’s activities, goals, and ideology become congruent and complementary.

The charismatic leaders engage the self-concepts of followers in the mission articulated by the leader. Strong engagement of the self-concept of followers makes it cognitively dissonant for them not to behave in ways that further mission accomplishment. Charismatic leaders increase the intrinsic value of followers efforts in pursuit of mission accomplishment by linking effort and goals to valued aspects of the follower’s self-concept, thus harnessing the motivational forces of self-worth. Shamir et al. further argued that charismatic leaders change the salience hierarchy of values and identities within the follower’s self-concept, thus increasing the probability that these values and identities will be implicated in action. Finally, they argued that charismatic leaders increase self-afficacy and collective efficacy by positive evaluations, communicating higher performance expectations of followers, showing confidence in followers’ ability to meet such expectations, and emphasizing followers’ ties to the collective12.

Charismatic leaders link present behaviors to past events by citing historical examples. They articulate an ideology clearly, often using labels and slogans. They provide a vivid and positive image of the future. Further, they amplify certain values and identities and suggest linkages between expected behaviors, amplified values and identities, and their vision of the future. By articulating an ideological vision and recruiting a number of followers who share the values and a sense of efficacy resulting from membership in the collective. Articulation of high performance expectations, together with display of confidence in followers, results in enhancing both follower self-esteem and self-worth. Since such a shift in values and identities is socially based, followers’ resulting behavior should represent a shift from the
instrumental to the moral, and from a concern with individual gains to a concern with contributions to a collective.

India has given birth to tremendous charismatic leaders from times immemorial both at the national and regional levels. Some of the national charismatic leaders in the modern times have contributed for the attainment of Indian independence and development of the country in all spheres. They have laid their ideals lasting for ever in this country and some obtained universal validity and practice. Mahatma Gandhi, Jwaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and few others are national charismatic leaders. In state politics, the charismatic leaders, particularly in south, have come mainly from film industry. M.G. Ramachandran, Jayalalitha and N.T.Rama Rao belong to this category. These charismatic leaders are not born politicians, but with the artistic qualities have joined in film industry and they never had a thought of theirs to enter in politics. The regional majority poor people, their pathetic condition of living even after the decades of obtaining independence, the rampant corruption at all levels in administration, unsolved rural problems in agriculture, credit facilities, under development of small and cottage industries, growing unemployment and the failure of Congress policies have pressed the cinema charismatic leaders to enter in state politics to serve the poor and downtrodden with their new charismatic thinking. In this category of charismatic leaders Tamil Nadu stands first and Andhra Pradesh second in the southern region of India. In Tamil Nadu M.G.Ramachandran, Jayalalitha are worth to mention where as in Andhra Pradesh it is N.T.R. The study in also carriedout in this pattern.

Charismatic visual representations of political leadership, produced through entertainment cinema and spectacular advertising, entrenched the power of an ethnic nationalist movement in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Political portraiture aided in the movement’s transformation from militant atheism into one in which its leaders acquired an iconic status. Tamil nationalism was entwined historically (since the 1940s) with the regional cinema industry, resulting in an exceptional diffusion between the arenas of filmic illusion and political reality. This provided the ideal conditions for a series of individuals in Tamil Nadu, who were involved in both cinema and politics, to become installed as charismatic leaders of the state. The connection between cinema and politics in Tamil Nadu was visualized and reinforced
by the use of identical advertising media, particularly vibrantly colored, hand-painted cutout portraits of film stars and political leaders that soared skyward like celestial beings. Analysis of these visual representations reveals the strategies of Tamil Nadu’s political leaders in obfuscating boundaries between politics and screenplay to acquired a charismatic, even divine authority.

When M.G. Ramachandran joined the Dravinda Munetra Kalygam, the party was already a force. He did not have to suffer for the cause which the party represented. Others who had been in it from the beginning had to go through suffering. M.G.Ramachandran’s sole claim to influence in the party was his mass film following. But it must be admitted that he had tried to combat evil through his films. People took his pronouncements on the screen seriously and followed him into politics. M.G.Ramachandran came to power only because Dravida Munnetra Kalagam leader M. Karunanidhi was charged for corruption.

M.G.Ramachandran firmly made up his mind that he was going to become an actor. He became a charismatic film-star and turned politician. “My blood brothers and sisters” was how M.G. Ramachandran used to begin his public speeches. Ramachandran had several titles, but to his fans he was simply ‘vaadhiyaar’ (the ustad) who in his film roles fought against tyrants, wiped out the evil and restored good.

As a matinee idol M.G.Ramachandran played in the roles of a good Samaritan. He lives as a hero in the hearts of people for all times. He was the first star who entered politics with a bang, and with his star image he occupied the political with a like an unconquered giant till the last breath of his life. In one of his 136 films, when M.G.Ramachandran sang “if I can be the ruler, these poor people will not suffer” transformed him from man to God in Tamil Nadu. He dominated Tamil filmdom for well over a quarter of a century. He did the role of a do-gooder in most of his films. His dialogue and songs had ideals of the Dravinda Munnetra Kalygam and these contributed significantly towards popularizing the party and its eventual capture of power in 1967. The mascot of M.G.Ramachandran films had the Dravida Munnetra Kalygam flag held aloft by a man and woman.
M.G. Ramachandran made his debut in Tamil films in 1935 when he was given a minor role in ‘Sathi Leelavathi’ scripted by Mr. S.S. Vasan of Gemini Films. For the next decade he had to be content with secondary roles as the Tamil screen was then dominated by veterans like M.K. Thiagaraj Bhargavathar, P.U. Chinnapa and K.R. Ramaswamy. The real break came in 1945 when he was given a lead role in ‘Rajkumari’ which was instrumental in his meteoric rise to stardom.

The magnum opus of M.G. Ramachandran films was ‘Nadodi Mannan’, a Tamil version of the ‘Prisoner of Zenda’. Ideals set up in that film were considered the directive principles of Anna Dravida Munnetra Kalygam Government and the State Government officials were asked to see the film for proper guidance. It was not a question of a good actor enacting the politician’s role; in any event, his acting abilities in films are an arguable point, and other actors have come to grief by launching themselves into politics. M.G. Ramachandran had the uncanny ability not only to carry films to real life but also to use his political powers to good effect by keeping the various factions in his party at bay while forcing the only real opposition he faced the Dravida Munnetra Kalagam on the defensive. His decision to forge an alliance with the Congress ensured that there would be a sympathetic Centre viewing the State’s needs. It must be recognized that M.G. Ramachandran was acting within a democratic framework, despite the peculiarities of the Indian system. There have been dictators in the world who have held absolute sway in their countries. In the short term, the dictator’s task is easier because he has the engine of repression at his command. To be able to carve out a supreme position in a democratic framework requires greater political acumenship. But in probing the M.G. Ramachandran phenomenon, a few nagging questions remain. To particularly Tamilian or southern temperament? Second, if such popularity is divorced from achievements on the ground, how is one to correct the imbalance? Third, granted that films are the opium of the masses in India, is it wise to increase the dosage? It would seem that the M.G. Ramachandran phenomenon happened in Tamil Nadu, rather than elsewhere, because the climate was favourable for it for a variety of local reasons. It can be duplicated in the rest of the country, given the right circumstances and the emergence of an M.G. Ramachandran. The very fact of the popularity of the mythological soap opera on television Ramayana, is testimony of how as M.G. Ramachandran phenomenon can emerge in the north provided the right ingredients are present. The
answer to the second question is obvious. The end of phenomenon such as M.G.Ramachandran's must be followed by the regime of a man or woman who can look at the nuts and bolts issues and get on with the task of paying attention to all the neglected areas in administration and the development.

Films occupy a place in Indian life out of proportion to other forms of entertainment. This is so for the simple reason that the people do not have access to other forms, except for middle class now being increasingly hooked on to the film box. There is no reason why we should deny the people their fantasy world of films since we cannot provide all of them the basic necessities of life. The popularity of Indian commercial films in other developing countries bears testimony to the fact that, whatever the Government's edicts, Indian producers know what their audiences want. Grief, joy or any other emotion has to be depicted in song, and the good guys must win in the end, but only after epic battles between good and evil and a bit of history thrown in to bring in colourful costumes. And in a country full of politicians making speeches by the yard, there must be moralizing, something to make us feel good at the end of it all to enable us to lead our mundane lives. M.G.Ramachandran knew how to tug at the emotional heart strings of his people better than any producer. He was besides, his own best script writer. The danger in the M.G.Ramachandran phenomenon lies in the fact that others in the acting fraternity might be tempted to enter the world of politics. There is no bar to actors, in common with members of any other profession, trying their hands at politics. Some of them have already discovered the pitfalls and have resumed their primary activity. Others are persevering, in the hope of winning political rewards. Indeed, actors would be missing the essential point of the M.G.Ramachandran phenomenon if they equate their profession with success in politics. An M.G.Ramachandran is a rare occurrence, and the fact that he was able to use his acting talents, such as they were, to create unique of his populist genius. He filled an emotional need of his people and in the process gained a stature in Tamil Nadu history which will defy posterity.

As a party leader, ever since M.G.Ramachandran drifted to the Dravidian movement from the Congress, he had displayed great qualities of leadership. He emerged as a balancing force between the hardliners led by his arch rival M. Karunanidhi and the moderate in the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kalygam. If party has
withstood strains and fissures, it is in no small measure due to his charisma and leadership qualities.

In the words of M.G.Ramachandran, "Tamil Nadu occupies a prestigious position in the Industrial map of India. It has a large reservoir of natural resources, and skilled labour. But the growth was hitherto lopsided, for industries developed around major cities alone, leaving the vast rural area industrially barren. This has led to the regional imbalance many areas remaining backward. The Anna Dravida Munnetra Kalagam Government took stock of the situation and started re-drawing the industrial map of Tamil Nadu. With a view to ensure uniform growth, the Government encouraged establishment of small scale industrial units in generating employment for the rural poor. Though the accent is on developing small industrial units in rural areas, the Government is equally anxious in encouraging the setting up of large and medium industries also in backward areas to ensure harmonious growth in public, private and joint necessary infrastructure and providing financial, technical and marketing assistance required for the orderly growth of the private sector. The Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation has set up some large and medium industries in public sector and also promotes industrial units in joint sector in collaboration with private entrepreneurs. The State Industries Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu is engaged in promoting large and medium industries in the private sector hastening the industrial dispersal to the backward areas in the State. The Corporation implements a package of incentives and provides financial assistance to industries under the refinancing scheme of the Industrial Development Bank of India. The incentives offered by SIPCOT include Central subsidy and interest free Sales tax loan of the State. The Tamil Nadu Industrial Investment Corporation Ltd. Functions as the State’s Financial Corporation, assisting establishment of new units and expansion and modernization of existing units by providing medium term loans, guaranteeing deferred payments for acquisition of machinery and underwriting equity and preference shares, implementing special schemes like financial assistance to technocrats, rural medical practitioners, transport operators and hotels, loan assistance under soft loan schemes and Technician-Entrepreneur schemes etc.

After the announcement of policy by the Government that in addition to cooperative sector and public sector, private sector is also welcomed, we have had
good response. A large number of sugar factories are being planned now. The major break through towards fuller utilization of biogas is sought to be done by setting up of a plant for the production of newsprint and writing paper. This project is being implemented with World Bank aid. The project is estimated to cost about 190 crores. The Electronic Corporation of Tamil Nadu has been formed to stimulate the growth of electronic industries in the State by setting up modern electronic units in the public sector and joint sector. The Tamil Nadu Handicrafts Development Corporation provides employment to the unemployed rural artisans and in order to use the local resources available, the Corporation has opened training centres. The labour Policy of the Government of Tamil Nadu in securing a fair deal to the labour by various new legislations and amendments to the existing labour laws has been responsible, in large measure for promoting a healthy relationship and understanding between the management and labour, conductive to industrial peace and industrial progress.16

Tamil Nadu cultivates variety of crops like rice, millets, pulses, oilseeds, fibres, narcotics, plantation crops and other horticulture products. It is making a steady progress in the field of food production inspite of adverse conditions due to scanty monsoon, untimely rains and floods at times. In the 1985-86, reaching an all-time high of 2,507 kgs. of rice per hectare. The total production of rice in the State was 56 lakh metric tones during 1985-86, though the coverage was only 22.33 lakh hectares against the normal coverage of 26.5 lakh hectares. For the year 1986-87 the tempo in productivity was to be maintained to reach a target production of 64 lakh. Metric tones. The Agriculture Department under the Chief Ministership of M.G.Ramachandran launched a five-step approach with specific production goal at the grassroot level, and it was aiming to increase the Samba production by 750 kgs. of paddy (500 kgs. of rice).This made a breakthrough in production in the State as 80 per cent of the paddy area came under Samba and Thaladi. The Agricultural Department was able to translate the strategy of five tones/hectare with a specific target for different cultivating seasons. During 1985-86, the Department programmed to reach the five T/Ha in 60 per cent of area of Kar and 40 per cent of Samba to have an overall achievement in 50 per cent of the area. But actually the five T/Ha. Coverage had exceeded the 50 per cent target and this had reflected in the high production attained that year. Similarly for 1986-87 the target of five T/Ha, was fixed at 80 per cent for first crop, i.e., Kar and 50 per cent for the Samba to have a coverage of 65 per
percent of the rice area. The five-step approach to increase production of rice will be complimentary to make the five metric tonnes strategy a successful one over the large area. Under the five-step approach the production technology is to be demonstrated by the subject matter specialist at the sub division level as a nucleus for the demonstrations to be conducted by the assistant agricultural officers (village extension workers) in their groups. Accordingly there would be 32,000 demonstrations on crop production. Pest and disease management is to be monitored through similar technology development and demonstration centers by the subject matter specialists. The IBM concept is emphasized and field adoption has become a reality in the State. To manage the pest and diseases, moving survey and surveillance over 7,116 centres in the State is being initiated in collaboration with the Tamil Nadu Agricultural University in different agro-climatic conditions.

New varieties are introduced in the State through Minikit and demonstrations. In the case of rice one lakh of Minikits are to be distributed to popularize new varieties. In the case of millets, 30,800 Minikits are to be distributed. During this year more than 8,000 Minikits of minor millets are to be distributed. About 3.5 lakh hectares land is cultivated under minor millet in this State and this programme will go a long way in helping dry land farmers. The State is planning to reach a production of 24 lakh tones under millets. The major and minor millets are normally cultivated over 18 lakh hectares. The present productivity of millets is around one metric tones hectare and it is to be stepped up to 1.5 metric tones hectare during this year. In the case of pulses production an all-time record has been set with 3.67 lakh tones from out of 9.67 lakh hectares. New technologies are made use of in the case of pulses like high – yielding varieties, seed treatment, rhizobial culture and spraying of D.A.P. Productivity of pulses has gone up from 270 kgs. hectare to 386./hectares. In the case of sugarcane, Tamil Nadu always stands first in its productivity with 100 tonnes hectare and above. During 1985-86, the area of sugarcane had reached 2.05 lakh hectares with a productivity of 108 M.T. of case per hectare. The department is programming to reach still higher productivity in the coming year. In the case of cotton, the all-time high production of six lakh bales reached during 1985-86, with a productivity of 358 kgs. per hectare. The offtake of fertilizer has doubled in the past years. During 1976-77, the fertilizer consumption was in the order of 2.9 M.T., which showed an increase to 6.68 tonnes during 1985-86 and the per acre consumption of
fertilizer had reached 100 kgs/hectare. The Agricultural Department is popularizing bio-fertilizers, integrated post management, integrated nutrient management with systematic planning to create new dimension in the field of agriculture to extend full benefit to the farmers. Among the bio-fertilizers, blue-green algae for rice, azospirillum for millets, ryzobium for pulses are popularized and the department is taking all steps to meet the increased demand of this low cost technology. The department is forging ahead in bringing the impact of technology in the field of adoption to boost the production in farmlands, with the aid of proven extension approaches under the training and visit schemes.

M.G.Ramachandran had stated, “Our efforts for industrial development after Independence have resulted in creation of a sound infrastructure and a number of industrial growth centers. India has emerged as a leading industrialized country. Our products in their quality and performance stand comparison with the highly industrialized regions. Tamil Nadu has not lagged behind in joining the march of industrial progress in the country. Our performance in areas like textiles, sugar cement and automobiles has given the economy a new fillip and a further leap forward in other areas of industrial development. Tamil Nadu accounts for one-fourth of the spindlages and twenty per cent of cement production in the country. The industrial climate in Tamil Nadu is conducive for capital investment not only by industrialists in the State, but also by industrialists from other States and non-resident Indians. The institutional financial facilities available through different sources and promotional activity of District Industries centres have trigged off development at the village level. The State has done very well in the implementation of the programme for self employment of the educated unemployed.”

Increase in employment opportunities is the main objective of the industrial policy pursued by the Government of M.G.Ramachandran. While steps are being taken to increase agricultural production with a view to increase income and employment generated in this sector, further progress in generating more income and employment in the economy can be made more by broadening and deepening the industrial base in the State. In the context of the planned development, large, medium and small scale sectors have been assigned roles in such a way that they function in a
complementary manner and help in activating and catalyzing the forces of growth in the States economy.

This had been the policy formulated and followed for a decade by the Government of Tamil Nadu under the leadership of dynamic and popular Chief Minister M.G.Ramachandran. The State Government laid utmost emphasis on encouraging the private entrepreneurial talents in the State and would enter directly only those areas of production which needed Government intervention from angles of social justice, innovation of technology or to correct any imbalances. Some of the major areas of growth in addition to the textile industry which had existed even earlier, had been in such moving equipment, casting and forging, heavy electrical equipment, cement, paper and fertilizers to mention only a few. The growth had not been confined to any one sector, but operated over a wide canvas. While a number of important public sector units like Neyveli Complex and the Integral Coach Factory had come up earlier, a large number of few units had also been established in the organized sector. M.G.Ramachandran remained a humble giant; he was humble as a man and a giant as a leader. He was the king among politicians, the messiah of the common man and the messenger of Tamil identity. He will be remembered by the rich and the poor all over the world.

The cutout portraits crafted a charismatic personality for the film star leaders of political parties and enabled the amplification of that charisma throughout the public sphere. It is to develop this argument through a close study of the cutout images of Jayalalitha. The analysis focuses on the shifts in the portraits of this leader created for campaigns to gain political office and those created during her first tenure as chief minister. These images depict a trajectory in here charismatic status from that of a popular film star to royalty to an omnipotent goddess of the Hindu pantheon. Jayalalitha was inducted into politics by her former co-star, M.G.Ramachandran a cultural super-hero and chief minister of Tamil Nadu from 1977 to 1988. Whereas M.G.Ramachandran was able to directly translate his film image into politics to attain the iconic status of a cultural hero as a female co-star, primarily an object for erotic contemplation and in need of protection by the hero, Jayalalitha had to transcend her film image to attain the status of a mother goddess, a powerful being who nurtures
and protects weak mortals, and who is worshipped as the supreme embodiment of shakti or power.

Motherhood is a revered symbol in the Indian cultural tradition. The narratives of Indian entertainment cinema have contributed much to the continued adulation of the maternal principle. The intensity of adulation however, turns to extreme castigation of the unmarried female and even of the bride who bears no children. How did Jayalalitha, a single female, a film actress by profession, and widely rumored to have been M.G.Ramachandran’s mistress or secret, second wife, become revered as a divine mother? Expectations from females are somewhat different in the case of immortals. Even unmarried goddesses are venerated although they are simultaneously feared for their dangerous, unbridled passion. And of the three greatest ‘mother’ goddesses, Parvati (or Minakshi), consort of Shiva, Lakshmi, consort of Vishnu and Sarasvati, consort of Brahma, idealized for their nurturing and protection, none bore offspring. This may help to explain why Jayalalitha could don the mantle of idealized motherhood without being married or bearing a child. Jayalalitha’s strategy of acquiring the potency of a female deity was initiated at the start of her campaign for political leadership. In a series of carefully orchestrated cutout portraits Jayalalitha made her bid to forge an iconic image.

Jayalalitha as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu laid milestone in administration reforms, developmental programmes and welfare schemes. The Tamil Nadu people acclaim her as: exponent of social justice; unrelenting disciplinarian; a fascile speaker choosing words well to give both illumination and ‘delight; a pragmatic idealist breathing new life into the party; a source of inspiration and strength of party members; a visionary leader with a missionary zeal and firm by temperament and flexible consideration. However, she was not away from scandals of criticism, facing enquiry of commissions and cases on her in the courts for her corrupt practices.

The visual culture of political portraiture, in a range of media, scattered throughout the public sphere continually fuels the ideology of Tamil nationalism and the charismatic power of its leadership. Tamil Nadu’s nationalist political parties, while operating from a political platform that sought to overturn religious hierarchy, managed to establish a relationship between their political leader and his or her constituents that bears similarities, in several fundamental ways, to religious worship.
The visual culture of political portraiture, in a range of media, that is made available by the various factions of the Dravidian nationalist movement throughout the public sphere in Tamil Nadu state, continually fuels the ideology of Tamil nationalism and the charismatic power of its leadership.

Andhra Pradesh is known for patriots, leaders, reformers, revolutionists, gymnastians, industrialists, writers, administrators and actors. The cultural heritage, Telugu the lyrical language, secularism and social harmony in Andhra Pradesh is very much applauded and appreciated nationally and internationally.

N.T.Rama Rao the charismatic personality, a cine artists descended from that soil. Though widely recognized for his mythological characters Rama Rao is considered one of the greatest and legendary actors in Telugu film industry. N.T.Rama Rao had a major contribution to what can be considered ‘The golden age of Telugu film making’. N.T.Rama Rao was naturally talented and extremely disciplined with various aspects of acting like preparation, punctuality and dialogue delivery. The single most important factor that makes him a great actor was his ability to delivery dialogues which were extremely lengthy that were original verses from Ramayana and Mahabharatha. The greatness of Rama Rao was that he was very versatile. In Tamil Nadu, Shivaji Ganesan was much more known for his acting skills and talent. Where as M.G.Ramachandran was a long time Tamil film actor and was much more known for his commercial movies. N.T.Rama Rao struck a balance between both kinds and cinema. He used to perform roles in mythological movies like those only Shivaji could perform and even do commercial Jañapadam films which were M.G.Ramachandran’s forte. He also did the roles of an elderly teacher (Badi pantulu) becoming a model to his pupils, as a prince and pauper (Raju Peda), a down servant dedicated to his master (Atma Bhanduvu). In later years of his acting life there were not many great directors to bring the best out of his talents; however, he excelled beyond comparison in every role he played.

While promoting a new film, he was asked a question by a person in the audience, "ayya, memu mimmalni devudilaga adarinchamu, kani meeru maku emi chesaru? meaning Sir, we have treated you like a God but what have you done for us?" Rama Rao so moved by this that he formed Telugu Desam party. On 21st March 1982 the multi millionaire cine star, Rama Rao heralded a new era in state
politics. The regional party did not born out of any sustained movement or struggle, like that of Akali Dal in Punjab or National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, or any sustained social movement like the Dravida Munneta Kalagam in Tamil Nadu. It is not entirely true to say that Telugu Desam Party became successful because of N.T.Rama Rao’s cine popularity among the Andhra Pradesh electorate. In Andhra Pradesh politics the non-Congress/anti-Congress opposition vote was always substantial, with different parties and independents in the electoral fray securing a considerable percentage of votes in the Assembly elections held prior to 1983. Most of the leaders of the erstwhile Swatantra party, Lok Dal, Socialist parties and later the Janata party joined the Telugu Desam. The vote bases of these parties got welded together under the name of the Telugu Desam. Thus the Telugu Desam Party was a unified reincarnation of the hitherto divided anti-Congress vote in Andhra Pradesh politics. N.T.Rama Rao’s cine popularity was useful to him in the sense that he was not new to the Andhra Pradesh electorate and he used that as an effective means to convey a political message to them. It fell on receptive ears as the electorate too was looking for an alternative, a leader who can bail out the State from the reckless factionalism, rampant corruption and the political morass into which the State was dragged during the Congress regime between 1978-82.

The Telugu Desam Party mounted a blistering attack on the Congress and its ‘eunuch’ leadership at the State level and the ‘puppet shows’ constantly staged on the Andhra political theatre. The party in its manifesto promised to provide a clean administration and elimination of corruption. It would strive to remove the meaningless and unrealistic restrictions on industrialists and thus attract capital from outside the State and encourage the enterprising industrialists inside the State, the party said. The Telugu Desam Party called the Congress pro-merchant and anti-peasant for its failure to give remunerative prices to the agricultural products and to supply electricity for the peasants at subsidized rates. It totally rejected any proposal of imposing tax on agricultural income. Regarding the Centre-State relations the Telugu Desam Party said that Indira Gandhi in her endeavour to perpetuate her family rule over the country gradually transformed the States into glorified ‘municipalities’. It proclaimed its belief in complete federalism and did not agree with the argument that delegation of more powers to the States would weaken the Centre. It demanded that the Centre should confine itself to the matters of defense, foreign affairs, currency
and communications. N.T.Rama Rao later went to the extent of saying that the Centre was a 'conceptual myth'. Thus the Telugu Desam Party proclaimed policies were oriented to liberal industrial growth and pro-peasant agricultural development. The Telugu Desam Party was said to have made good impact on the regional industrialist class and the rich peasantry, who supported the Congress during the 70's. The Telugu Desam Party also partially took the philosophy of the erstwhile Swatantra party and as a consequence effectively weaned away a large section of peasant voters from the Congress and the Janata party.

N.T.Rama Rao used vituperative language in his speeches with theatrical gestures. He stressed that the prestige of Andhra Pradesh was tarnished because the Chief Minister's were installed by Delhi instead of being elected in Hyderabad. He generated a euphoria over the slogans of 'restoration of self-respect of the Telugus', 'humiliation of the Telugus by a system of imposing the Chief Minister's from Delhi', and 'fight against the inefficient and corrupt administration of the Congress. N.T.Rama Rao's speeches were exhortative and his policies populist. Initially the Congress underestimated the significance of the Telugu Desam Party and the crowds drawn towards N.T.Rama Rao meetings. Mrs. Gandhi regarded N.T.Rama Rao as no more than a freak phenomenon incapable of posing.

Rama Rao's government worked for better living conditions of the weaker sections or the downtrodden. To provide the basic human needs of subsistence such as food and nutrition, house, water, clothing, education, health care and slum clearance. To help the farmers, rural artisans, toddy tappers, weavers, fishermen etc. To extend an efficient and clean administration. To strengthen action against socio-economic offences. To achieve these targets Rama Rao had 15 point programme. This programmes was significant for its frontal attack on the citadels of poverty in rural area. It focused more sharply and directly on the amelioration of the living conditions of the Vuhurable sections such as the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward closes, small and marginal farmers, bonded labourers, agricultural laborers, artisans, women and children. The points of the programme are:

- Supply of drinking water to all people in rural as well as urban areas
- Supply of nutritious food to school children
- Supply of rice to the poor at Rs .2 per kilo (Telugu Annapuran Sakshatkaram)
Programmes to improve the lot of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes under various schemes.

Provision of house sites to the poor (Telugu Gruhasreya Pathakam)

Providing better living conditions in urban areas through slum clearance programmes.

Helping farmers through medium irrigation schemes, rural electrification for energizing pumpsets, biogas units and supply of quality seeds and fertilizers.

Improving the lot of rural artisans through cottage and small scale industries.

Redressing people's grievances speedily and effectively by establishing public assistance and grievances bureaus at all levels of administration.

Distribution of government land to the landless and helping them improve such land.

Providing momentum of rural development scheme to create durable assets in rural areas on a large scale.

Promotion of sports and youth welfare activities to channelise young people's energies for constructive purpose (construction of one stadium in each district and launching of self-employment schemes for youth)

Special schemes to help toddy-tappers, weavers, fishermen, rickshaw-pullers, washermen, quarry workers and bamboo weavers.

Introduction of Telugu as official language at all levels of administration.

The charismatic leader Rama Rao could dethrone the congress party within nine months of forming the party. His government worked for the fulfillment of his election manifesto and 15 point programme to the maximum extent.
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