Chapter VII

Summary and Conclusion
The Indian States have been playing a very important role in the political development of India. Andhra Pradesh in particular has been playing a dominant role in the Indian political development. It has become a trendsetter in the Indian Political process. The Telugu Desam party since its inception has been serving as a catalyst in organizing the non-Congress opposition conclaves. More recently Sri N. Chandrababu Naidu, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh has emerged as a key player capable of moulding the national political process. In the introductory chapter an attempt has been made to clarify the concepts used in the study, such as political system, political socialization, political culture, political behaviour, political efficacy, political elite, political participation, elections and a host of other things. An effort is also made in this Chapter to explains the election manifestos of the Congress (I), the TDP, the BJP, the Left Parties and other Regional Parties of Andhra Pradesh. It also highlights the type of
campaigns organized by these political parties to secure votes in the elections held to the parliament and state legislative assembly.

In a pluralistic society of India, party system exhibits multiplicity of interests. Proliferation of political parties in India is a reflection of the democratic character of the polity. Indian polity has not yet reached that stage of development where ideologies are strong, the political parties are able to structure meaningful electoral issues and parliamentary opposition successfully channelizes popular opposition.

The Indian party system is characterized by the existence of various types of parties. Parties are free to emerge and collapse. Whenever general elections are announced several parties emerge to contest for and gain power. Prominent persons who failed to get seats either for themselves or to their group form a party. There are national parties, like Congress, Communist Party, B.J.P. and Lok Dal etc., Besides there are regional parties like DMK, AIA DMK, Akali Dal, National Conference, Telugu Desam party etc.

In the chapter on Methodology and Review of literature it is stated that the striking feature of the Indian party system is the personality factor or the charisma of leaders. Individuals rather than programs and ideologies of parties dominate the scene. Congress (I), Congress (S), Lok Dal (C), AIADMK and TDP are an example of such parties. Further Indian political parties reflect a pattern of steady fragmentation and proliferation of political forces reflecting social fragmentation and regional divisions of the country. Caste and
communal divisions, cultural diversities, linguistic nationalism, varying socio-economic levels, elite-mass and rural-urban, dichotomies and traditional-modern differences are likely to sustain the forces of political fragmentation and proliferation.

Since the first general election held during 1952 the Indian political system has experienced the emergence of several regional and sub-regional political parties. In a majority of cases these parties came into existence because of the excessive centralism and monopolistic politics of the congress. Particularly after the fourth general elections in 1967, the regional parties played a crucial role in some of the States like West Bengal, Kerala and Orissa.

Andhra Pradesh like some other Indian states experienced the existence of several political parties, groups and fronts of regional and sub-regional dimensions at different periods of its political history. Many had emerged but only a few survived and continued in some form or other. The frustrated and disgruntled dissidents of major and minor political parties floated them. Denial of share in political power gave birth to these local parties. Accommodation and absorption of dissidents into the power circles by the major groups of parties led to their dissolution. Ideology was not the basis for the emergence of smaller parties. Opportunistic alliances, alignments and power equations were mainly responsible for the emergence and exit of local parties. Therefore an objective assessment of regional politics and members of regional political parties in the Indian states is long over
due. Hence, the need for the study of political parties and the assembly elections at the district level.

Andhra Pradesh is one of the prominent states of the Indian Union. It is a strong citadel of Congress Party for more than three decades. It lost its glory in the state of Andhra Pradesh to Telugu Desam Party, which emerged as the dominant party not only in the State but also in the electoral politics at the Centre.

The present work is an attempt to throw light on the changing political conditions of Andhra Pradesh with special reference to Chittoor District from 1989 to 1999. Chittoor district is one of the important districts of Rayalaseema region. An attempt has been made by the researcher to study and analyze the party politics and assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh with special reference to Chittoor District. The study analyzed the role of political parties in the electoral politics of the State and the Chittoor district during the period between 1989 – 1999. Another objective of the study is to examine the role of Chittoor District in the elections of the State of Andhra Pradesh during the General Elections held to the Assembly. It also analyzes the performance of political allies of the Chittoor District. The researcher has adopted both descriptive and analytical methods. The data has been collected from both primary and secondary sources. Leaders were personally contacted with the help of an Interview Schedule to collect the data. Library sources were exclusively used for the collection of Secondary data.
Both foreign and Indian scholars have undertaken studies on political development and political change in the Indian States. These studies by way of their discussion on parties and political development have made only indirect reference to the political parties and political elite in the States. A number of works have been reviewed and analyzed from the academic and research point of view.

An attempt has been made by the researcher to present a brief profile of the area under the study in chapter III. The study was conducted in the Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh is the 5th largest state both in area and in population in the Indian Union. It consists of three distinct but homogeneous geographical regions – the Coastal Andhra, the Rayalaseema and the Telangana. The Coastal Andhra includes 9 districts and comprises of 30 percent of the State’s population. The four districts namely Chittoor, Kadapa, Kurnool, and Anantapur form the Rayalaseema region and comprise of 18 percent of the state’s population. The Telangana region consists of 10 districts comprising of 39 percent of the State’s population.

The electoral process and its outcome reflect the history of socio economic development and political culture of each region. These three regions of the state are characterized by asymmetric development due to geographical factors such as soil fertility, rainfall, cropping pattern, and infrastructure facilities. These three regions
differ in their levels of literacy. The state ranks high in rural electrification and in power generation in the country.

Further the caste system in Andhra Pradesh is akin to the one that prevails in most other parts of India. The "Varna Model" broadly guides the structure of caste stratification in the State. The peasant castes, reddys and kammas, in particular, technically belonging to the 'sudra varna’ achieved tremendous upward social mobility. This reflects at the Chittoor District level also. The district has a population of 37,35202 as per 2001 census data. The rural population consists of 29,25,187 constituting 88.31per cent, the remaining 11.69per cent represents the urban population. The literacy rate of district is 67.46 per cent. The district is divided into three revenue divisions and consists of 66 mandals. There are 1,540 revenue villages and 1,394 panchayats. The urban components include Chittoor, Tirupati, Srikalahasti, Punganur, and Madanapalli. There are two parliamentary constituencies and 15 assembly constituencies in the district.

Chapter IV is devoted to analyze the party politics and assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh. In this chapter an attempt has been made to briefly present the party politics of the State beginning with the first general elections. The study makes it clear that since the first general elections Andhra Pradesh remained a safe bet for the Congress till 1983. The 1983 elections have created a landmark in the political history of Andhra Pradesh by bringing a new political party into power. The Telugu Desam Party penetrated much deeper into the Congress
heartland. It secured an average of 45.92 per cent of the votes and won 201 out of 289 assembly seats contested. The Congress (I) was to be content with only 60 seats securing 33.56 per cent of popular votes, which was lowest ever. The five party alliances in Andhra Pradesh contested for 176 seats in 1989 but it could secure only 10 seats. Another interesting aspect of this election was that Sanjay Vichar Manch, which had an electoral alliance with TDP, won 4 out of the 5 seats contested. As a result for the first time Andhra Pradesh witnessed a non-congress government in power. Andhra voters shifted their political loyalties from Mrs. Gandhi to N.T. Rama Rao. The TDP’s entry into state politics altered the traditional vote bank politics. The Kamma, captured the power from the Reddys. However the 1985 mid term assembly elections showed that while the upper castes as well as most of the Scheduled Castes were the main stay of the Congress (I), the backward castes and a section of Scheduled Castes were the chief supporters of the TDP. However during the period 1985-1989 the Congress regained its ground by attacking the TDP and its leader N.T. Rama Rao. The encouragement given by the Central leadership to the congress party helped the State Congress to revive its last glory to some extent. Therefore the Congress came back to power in the state with Dr. M. Chenna Reddy as Chief Minister. There are a number of factors during 1989 and 1999, which influenced the political development in Andhra Pradesh. All these aspects have been carefully studied.
Chapter V examines the party politics and assembly elections of Chittoor District. In the Chittoor District before independence elections were held as per the 1919 and 1935 Government of India Acts. Under the people representation Act of 1950, Chittoor was allotted 12 seats in the erstwhile composite Madras State legislative assembly. There were 8 single member constituencies and two double member constituencies. The single member constituencies were Chittoor, Madanapalli, Punganur, Pileru, Palamaner, Puttur, Srikalahasti and Chandragiri. The double member constituencies were Chittoor and Tirupati. The first general elections were held in 1952. In 1953 separate Andhra State was formed. In 1954 the seats were increased from 12 to 17. Under the new arrangement Chittoor was converted into single member constituency. In 1960 new changes took place. In the third general elections held in 1962 Chittoor District, there were 16 constituencies. In 1965 the number of constituencies were reduced to 15. The constituencies regarding the assembly elections include 15 namely, Sri kalahasti, Satyavedu, Puttur, Nagari, Tirupati, Chandragiri, Chittoor, Vepanjeri, Palmaner, Kuppam, Madanapalli, Punganur, Vayalpadu, Pileru and Tamballapalli.

In the Indian Political system, the role of political parties has been changing since the emergence of the non-Congress Governments in various States. One can find a number of factors that influence the party performance either at the National, State, District or Constituency level. Political parties have been changing their
complexions and styles of functions so as to get the mandate of the electorate. The political process is interplay of different factors such as caste, group and factional rivalries, alliances on the occasion of elections. The electoral performance of the parties depends on such factors. The Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Assembly elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly were held in 1989, 1994 and 1999 respectively. The electoral trends have been analyzed at the State level in Chapter 4 of this thesis. In this Chapter, an attempt is made to study and analyze the electoral performance of the various political parties with reference to the 1989, 1994 and 1999 Assembly Elections of the Chittoor District. In the Chittoor District, there are 15 Assembly Constituencies. They are: 1. Srikalahasti, 2. Satyavedu, 3. Nagari, 4. Puttur, 5. Vepanjeri, 6. Chittoor, 7. Palamaner, 8. Kuppam, 9. Punganur, 10. Madanapalli 11. Tamballapalli, 12. Vayalpadu, 13. Piler, 14. Chandragiri, and 15. Tirupati. Of the 15 constituencies in the District, Satyavedu, Vepanjeri and Palamaneru were reserved for the Scheduled Castes.

Chittoor District forms part of Rayalseema region. The performance of T.D.P in the home district of Chief Minister, Sri N. Chandrababu Naidu was not at all impressive. The T.D.P which had a strength of 13 out of 15 seats in the district in the previous Assembly (1994) elections, has to be content with only 6 seats having conceded a lot of ground to the Congress (I). The Chief Minister, Sri N. Chandrababu Naidu, won with a thumping majority of 65,563 votes
from the Kuppam Constituency, which is the second highest majority in the State elections of 1999. The other notable victor was the Roads and Buildings Minister, Sri Bojjala Gopala Krishna Reddy who returned home with a margin of about 3,000 votes by defeating Sri Muni Ramaiah of the Congress (I) in a keenly contested elections of Srikalahasti.

The Tirupati Assembly seat was retained by the T.D.P where its candidate Sri Chadalavada Krishna Murthy, got elected against his Congress rival Sri Venkata Ramana by a margin of 13,082 votes in a triangular contest. The Satyvedu Assembly segment was won by T.D.P candidate, Dr. N.Siva Prasad who defeated his Congress (I) rival Sri Narayana Swamy by a margin of 6,668 votes.

The Puttur Assembly segment witnessed severe competition. In this Assembly segment, the T.D.P nominee, Sri Reddyvari Rajasekhara Reddy defeated the powerful Congress (I) candidate and three times winner from Puttur, Sri Gali Maddhu Krishnm Naidu by a margin of 6,756 votes much to the astonishment of political circles.

The Congress (I), which had a lone seat in the 1994 elections, grew phenomenally in these elections taking the figure to 9. In Chandragiri, Sri Nara Rama Murthy Naidu, the sitting M.L.A. and the brother of Sri N.Chandrabbu Naidu was trounced in the hands of the Congress (I) nominee Mrs. Galla Aruna Kumari by a margin of 2,272 votes in a keenly contest. Palmaneru Assembly segment, the stronghold of T.D.P has gone in favour of the Congress (I) candidate,
Dr. Thippe Swamy who defeated the T.D.P sitting M.L.A. and ex-
Minister Sri P. Subbaiah by a margin of 3,606 votes.

Punganuru Assembly segment, the citadel of T.D.P since 1985
has been conceded to Congress (I) in these elections. Its candidate,
Sri N.S. Reddy defeated the T.D.P candidate, Sri N. Amarnadha Reddy
by a margin of 5,747 votes. The Vepanjeri Assembly segment was
won by Congress (I) candidate and ex-Minister Smt. Gummadi
Kuthuhalamma by a margin of 13,225 votes defeating the T.D.P
candidate, Sri P. Pushpa Raj. The Nagari Assembly segment has been
wrested from T.D.P by the Congress and its candidate, Sri R. Chenga
Reddy, and ex-Minister and senior Congress leader defeated the cine
producer and sitting M.L.A., Sri Doraiswamy Raju by a margin of 2,993
votes. In Chittoor Assembly segment, the Congress (I) candidate Sri
C.K. Babu achieved hat trick, winning in three consecutive elections
defeating the T.D.P nominee, Sri A.S. Manohar by a margin of 14,174
votes. The B.J.P. contested the Tamballapalle Assembly segment
unsuccessfully. An important outcome of these elections was that,
three women candidates were elected to the Assembly from the district
of which Smt. G. Aruna Kumari and Dr. G. Kuthuhalamma belonged to
Congress Party while Smt. R. Sobha belonged to T.D.P. The marginal
performance of T.D.P in this district can be attributed to anti-
icumbency factor towards T.D.P’s sitting M.L.As like Sri Nara
Ramamurthy Naidu and Dr. P. Subbaiah, and the factional and group
politics pursued by leaders who failed to get the party tickets. The
improved performance of the Congress party in this election was due to the fielding of strong and resourceful candidates. The free power slogan also had its undercurrent in this district.

In Chapter-VI an attempt has made to present the socioeconomic background of political elites of the Chittoor District. The attributes of Political elite indicate an important input in understanding the background of the political elite, which represents different parties. Therefore the study attempts as in the case of earlier studies to analyze the socio economic attributes of the political elites of the Chittoor district. Age, education, community, sex, rural-urban and political backgrounds are some of the factors considered by the present study.

Age is an important indicator of any human group. Political elite is not an exception. Its impact found on the electoral process, alliances, political efficacy, political socialization and political communication processes.

The age-wise distribution of political elite indicates that the political elite under the study belongs either to the middle age group of 44-54 or the old-age group of 55 and above. 25 elites belong to the middle age group while the rest represent the old age group. It reveals that the political parties by virtue of their political or other experience prefer people with higher age group.

The sex-wise distribution of political elites reveals that of the 36 political elite in the Chittoor District, 33 represent males while only 3
represent females constituting 8 3/4 per cent. A large majority i.e., 91.66 per cent of the males dominates the political scene in the Chittoor district.

Data relating to the educational level of respondents is always significant from the viewpoint of political articulation and communication of political elites and it would also help to enhance the capacity for political socialization. Evidently the large majority of political elites are graduates and post-graduates. They had college and professional education. Less than 20 per cent of the political elites had school education. There were no illiterates among the political elites.

In the political life and electoral process social status or community is considered to be an important sociological attribute. Of the total political elites under the study, 25 per cent belong to SC's, 27.78 per cent belong to BC's, and 47.22 per cent belong to Other castes of higher social status. There are no political elites representing ST category. Regarding rural urban background of the political elite, it can be said that 58.33 per cent of the elite belong to the rural areas while the remaining 41.67 per cent represent the urban areas.

Political elites of Chittoor District have been covered under three categories. They are elites belonging to Telugu Desam party, elites belonging to Congress (I) party and candidates belonging to other parties of the Chittoor District.
The study demonstrates that the events preceding the establishment of Telugu Desam Party have provided a fertile ground for leveling scathing criticism against the Congress Party. For example, in 1983 A.P. assembly elections, the Congress (I) was defeated in all the 13 constituencies of Hyderabad. In the whole of coastal Andhra, out of 134 constituencies the congress (I) barely managed to win in 9 constituencies. In the Rayalaseema area it could carry only 8 of the 53 seats.

CONCLUSIONS AND FINDINGS

Firstly, the trend of uni-party domination, lasting for over thirty years, has come to an end with the rise of the Telugu Desam party in Andhra Pradesh. In a similar fashion DMK, AIADMK have penetrated in Tamil Nadu Politics.

Secondly, the prospects of the national political parties to play important role in Andhra Pradesh seemed to bleak. The currents of regional identity has come to dominate the national political loyalties.

Thirdly, party system in general has been crippled in the State.

Fourthly, the process of social polarization; poor and rich, which has been set right from 1970 and 1980 has been buried with the rise of Telugu Desam Party. However, the Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes continued to be with Congress. But there seems to be a division among the backward classes, which has gone out of the congress fold.
In this regard, the study makes it clear that the electoral system is complex. The primary duty of electoral system is to represent the wishes of electorate as effectively as possible. Democracy is a game by political parties however, political parties perform the critical function of mobilizing and organizing public opinion and function as a link between the public and the government. Though there are a number of political parties, in Andhra Pradesh two party system has evolved. Another hard reality is that the votes are not always translated into seats. Political elites won with slight margins and get the seats, thus representing less than 50 per cent of the constituent voters. All these need the attention of electoral reforms.

SUGGESTIONS

As pointed out by Justice Jeevan Reddy the electoral system has given rise to inequities and distortions due to the multiplicity of political parties. Accordingly the following suggestions are made:

A definition for political party is to be introduced in the 10th schedule substituting the existing ‘original political party’ as pointed out by Law Commission.

The electoral trend during 1980s and 1990s in Andhra Pradesh, reflects the “politics of populism”. The fringe benefits such as house sites, bank loans, distribution of lands, (though more in form than in substance) among the weaker sections have influenced the electoral decisions in favor of Congress (I). It was not ideological issues but the politics of populism, which have become the determinants of electoral
behavior in the State. Therefore it is suggested that the electoral politics should be made based on ideological issues rather than politics of populism.

Political parties are being organized in the name of the party leader at the state level or national level. The role of charisma is making the political parties individual based or communal based. It reflects individual orientation rather than party orientation in electoral politics. Unless this situation is to be changed party politics cannot be democratized.

Like the national parties, the regional parties are also not free from splits. Therefore there is a need to regulate the formation and functioning of political parties and the need of modifications in the law of defections. As suggested by the Law Commission, once elected on the ticket of a party, the member should stick to it for the duration of the house or resign his seat.