Chapter -I

Introduction
India's political evolution since Independence presents an untidy picture but one which can best be described as the emergence of a 'market polity'. This means a system in which a large number of decisions are taken by a substantial number of participants who stand in position of both dependence on and conflict with each other. A process of bargaining reaches the decisions; no one is strong enough to impose his will. Although the terms of trading fluctuate continuously, outcome is some kind of compromise where what is hoped for gives way to what is practicable. While decisions are multiple and dispersed, coherence secured by the communication of information and by a consensus on certain rules which are perceived as necessary to the continuation of the process. These rules are modified from time to time as conditions—for example, the number of participants—change. A few of the participants withdraw but many more seek admission. These observations of Morris-Jones have more
relevance to the Indian political development, which took a turn in the context of globalisation.

Within the Indian political system, States have been playing a very important role in political development. The electoral politics of these Indian states have been adding substantially to political development since 1980's. In particular, since independence the State of Andhra Pradesh has been playing a dominant role in Indian political development. It has become a trendsetter in Indian political process, thus contributing to political development. Late Sri. N.T. Rama Rao, the founder President of the Telugu Desam Party (TDP), served as a catalyst in organizing the non-Congress Opposition conclave in the eighties. This paved the way for the formation of the National Front Government led by V.P. Singh at Delhi. Thus, for the first time, some regional parties, including the Telugu Desam Party participated in the Government at the national level and became active in the national political process, thus contributing to political development. More recently, N. Chandrababu Naidu, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh has emerged as a key player capable of moulding the national political process. In fact, the advent of Nara Chandrababu Naidu, though a leader of a regional party, provided a new turn and twist to national political process—first in the formation of the United Front Government in 1996 and later in the installation of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government led by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) at the centre depending on the outside support of the TDP.
legislators elected from the State of Andhra Pradesh. In any event, the importance of state political processes is on the rise and the country is adjusting to a new political culture of coalitions and alliances indicating 'market polity'.

It is in this background, the present study has been designed. The study is devoted to the Party Politics and Assembly Elections in the State with the emphasis on Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh.

CONCEPTS USED IN THE STUDY

Political System

Concept of Political System has acquired wide currency as it directs attention to the entire scope of political activities within a society. The concept received the treatment of many political scientists³. Though their definitions vary considerably, there is some consensus as to the nature of its meaning.

Political system includes the study of the Governmental institutions such as legislatures, courts and administrative agencies in terms of their political aspects. It includes traditional structures like kinship ties and caste groupings as well as organizations like parties, interest groups and the media.

Political system considerably rests upon social and economic development. Now-a-days largeumber of individuals are urbanized and literate. Therefore, they have been exposed to changed economic conditions - spread of participatory attitudes instrumental among the people creates both problems and potentiality for the political systems.
Every political system is "responsive" to its environment - internal and external. In other words, a Political System must be responding to some set of internal and external pressures and demands.

**Political Socialisation**

Political Socialization refers to the learning process by which form and behaviour acceptable to well running political system are transmitted from one generation to another. R.S. Sigel propounds that "political socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. Through the performance of the function, individuals are inducted into the political culture, making their orientations towards political objects are formed." It has psychological dimension in the sense that it is "the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes and behaviour acceptable to an on-going political system\(^5\).

The process of political socialization generally acts in a casual or imperceptible manner without people being aware of it. People take the norms for granted without questioning their legitimacy. Thus the subject matter of this concept is the process by which people acquire political values and simply doing active political participation, but also in the period before they engage explicit political activity. Thus, political socialization would encompass all unplanned explicit political learning, which affects political behaviour at every state of the cycle of his life, including not only, such as the learning of politically irrelevant social attitudes but also the acquisition of politically relevant personal characteristics\(^6\).
The main emphasis of this concept is on the transmission of political values from one generation to another. The stability of a social or political system depends on political socialization of its members on account of the fact that a well functioning citizen is one who accepts society’s political norms and who will then transmit them to future generation. In India, after independence the old political set-up underwent a complete change. Popular governments are formed on the basis of constitutional provisions, owned the responsibility of mobilizing the adult population for participative roles and making them aware of their rights and duties. The introduction of universal adult suffrage is a powerful instrument in the political life of the rural community, making them politically conscious to a phenomenal degree. Entry of people in active politics as a result of universal suffrage is a new point of departure in the history of Indian society. Abrupt rise of political parties provided vehicle for political participation and effective choice to the electorate and brought new order into the conduct of government.

**Political Culture**

Political culture means set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments, which give order and meaning to a political process, which provides assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideas and operating norms of a policy. Political culture is thus a manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. It is the product of
both the collective history of a political system and the life history of the members therein which is rooted in public events and private experiences.

Political Behaviour

Political behaviour suggests that systematic observation of behaviour is an especially useful way of understanding the character of values that operate in a political system. Political behaviour is an approach, which goes beyond the data supplied by constitutions, statutes, and administrative decrees of judicial decisions. It is based on evidence directly or indirectly of political behaviour that describes the action of Government and party structures. Although political behaviour is concerned with the actions of men and women and groups in politics, it postulates a commonality among their behaviour that would help to analyse specific political situations.

Political Efficacy

The student of political behaviour uses the concept of political efficacy to identify a citizen's feelings about the effects of his action on political events. This concept of efficacy has proven useful in examining certain orientations of political officials. For purposes of analysing legislative behaviour the concept is redefined to mean a legislator's sense of effectiveness in his political roles.

Political Elite

Etymologically, *elite* means "worthy of choice". The political elites comprise the power holders of a body politic. The power holders
include the leadership groups and the social formations from which leaders typically come and to which accountability is maintained during a given generation. In other words, the power elite is the "top power class."²⁹

Anywhere the population of each society consists of two strata—the elite and the masses. Persons at the top in every branch of human activity can be called the elite and the rest masses. In this study, elite refer the political leaders of different political parties hailed from the study area. Mostly, these include the incoming and outgoing political power who seek for power

**Political Participation**

The most widespread form of political participation is through direct contact with local officials, members of the state Legislative Assembly, Members of Parliament, and local party leaders. Access may be direct or through a village patron who has connections within the Government. To get what one wants, one may appeal to friendship or to ties of blood, caste, or community; one may have to pay a bribe or promise a vote. For most voters and politicians, politics is not a matter of ideological principles and policies but one of patronage and administration.

**Elections**

Elections may be regarded as one procedure for aggregating preferences of a particular kind. Liberal democratic theories attribute special authority to the amalgamation of the expressed preferences of
individuals through recognised procedures. Voting is one of these procedures. Voting in nation-wide elections have a position of special importance in Western democracies. This predominance has led to the export of voting in elections to countries where voting procedure has not historically possessed the same social authority as in the West.

Elections might be defined as a form of procedure recognised by the rules of an organisation, where all or some of the members of the organisation choose a smaller number of persons or one person to hold office of authority in the organisation. In other words, elections are institutionalised procedures for the choosing of office holders by some or all of the recognised members of an organisation.

**Elections and the Political System**

Elections are particularly conspicuous and revealing aspects of most contemporary political systems. They highlight and provide insights into other aspects of the system, its basic nature and actual functioning. Therefore the study of elections provides an opportunity to study a political system in action. Political parties are main agencies for organising and for providing political direction to the electorate and for political choice.

Elections constitute the significant aspect of democracies. They are at the heart of the democratic process and are an expression of popular will. In fact, democracy is based on the active intelligent interest of the people in their regional and national affairs and the elections that result in the formation of governments. Elections
would give an opportunity to the people to decide whether those who were previously elected to the office, should be re-elected or whether they should be replaced by another set of rulers of the political system. It is through this power of electoral decision that people exercise control over the political system and the broad lines of policy pursued by it. Rulers realise that unless their policies and programmes are generally in accordance with the public opinion, there is no chance of their being re-elected. Hence, parties form the manifestoes to win the public opinion.

**Party System**

"Party is organized opinion", said Daisraeli. Nevertheless, the modern parties have the longest continuous history and party is more than that. Party had its antiquity in renaissance Italy. It evolved as an institution. The role of 'Party' as an institution is to win political power and exercise it. Parties are inescapable necessities of the democratic system. It gets the masses into the political community. The eighteenth century three-fold division of Governmental powers takes no account of political parties as organs of Government because parties of the contemporary type did not then exist. Actually, political parties as they now operate are far reaching modifications of these constitutions through usage and convention.

Party system has become an indispensable factor in the working of a representative form of government. It is a link between the people and the representative machinery of government. In a democracy,
party system drives the individuals and groups to secure political power.

Political party in one form and another is 'omni present'. This phenomenon indicates a mark of political modernization in the sense that it calls for the involvement of more and more people into the process of decision-making that leads to 'the authoritative allocation of values'.

The party system, which has grown with the growth of modern democratic governments, spread to the transitional countries like India. In such states, the sustenance of party system occurred more vigorously after the attainment of political independence. This has led to considerable political development in these states.

**Political Parties**

Political parties exist in differing forms in various political systems. The concept of political party has changed from year to year. Edmond Burke, H.J. Lasky, Schumpetor are among those who have analysed the concept of political party. Party is "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all united." (Burke). Lasky viewed it as an organization, which seeks to determine the economic constitution of the state. Joseph Schumpetor has observed, "The first and foremost aim of each political party is to prevail over the others in order to get into power or to stay in it." It is this goal of
attainment of political power that distinguishes political parties from other groups in the political system.

Organization of Political Parties

Political parties are organized on the following issues.

1. People believing in the same political program such as attainment of Independence or establish republican form, organize a common political party for the attainment of their objectives.

2. People having economic affinities or following the same profession or believing in the same economic program for the reorganization of the society or for the betterment of the conditions of life of a particular class of people organize a common political party. Ex: Leftist parties and socialist parties.

3. There are some people in all countries of the world who do not like the changes taking place in the social or political sphere and who always endeavour to pull back society to the traditions of the past. Such people organize reactionary parties.

4. Some people form parties on the basis of racial, religious and linguistic considerations.

Functions of Political Parties

One of the most important functions of political parties is that of uniting, simplifying and stabilizing the political process. Parties bring together sectional interests, overcome geographical distances and provide coherence to structures. This bridging function of political parties is an important factor in political stability.

Political parties provide a link between government and people. They seek to educate, instruct and activate the electorate. They use the mass media and local organizations to meet their objections.
Political parties seek to mobilize people's support providing for political mobilization of population. According to Allan R. Ball, the modern political parties have four important functions to perform. They are representative functions, electoral functions, governing functions and the formulation of policy.

**Representative Functions**

This is the first and foremost of functions of political parties. Parties are important pre-requisites of liberal democratic government. Parties widen the extent of popular participation. They provide mechanisms for organizing the choice of representatives to act on behalf of their electors. They also provide guidance to the electorate concerning the policies, which those representatives commit themselves to pursue.

**Electoral Functions**

Parties structure the vote. They organize the electorate. They present to the electorate and seek electoral support. This in turn leads to a two-way system of communication between the governed and the government or potential government. Parties may go further, attempting to convert the electorate to their programmes.

**Governing Functions**

It is very important function of a political party for the realization of its political ambitions. "Political parties almost monopolise the organization of government in Great Britain. Independents scarcely exist in the House of Commons. Nominees of the political parties
always occupy cabinet posts and the main source of political recruitment in the British political system is the party”. In other political system a variety of agencies, such as the army or the church, may perform the task.

**Policy Formulation**

This is the most difficult function to deal with. There is no doubt that political parties formulate demands, but it is left certain that they always translate demands into government policy. There are many obstacles to party Government. Civil service is one of the important barriers. However, inspire of these important qualifications, the party is certainly one of the agencies engaged in the formulation of government policy.

**Structure of Political Parties**

The structure of political parties is closely related to the function and the methods that the political parties employ them to realise their aim of capturing or retaining political power. The French political scientist Maurice Duverger\(^9\) has offered the most important analysis of party structure:

Duverger put forward a fourfold classification of party structure; these were


Any examination of party structure includes the following factors.

1. The role of leadership and the method of selecting it.
2. The degree of organizational centralization.
3. The power of the leadership in relation to the rank and file; the extent of disciplinary powers; participation in decision making and policy initiation.

4. The control of the party bureaucracy.

5. The relationship of the parliamentary wing to the rest of the party.


Attributes of Political Parties

In analysing the character of political parties on the ideological basis a distinction needs to be drawn between their fundamental and their less fundamental attributes. These attributes refer to their intellectual outlook and organizational characteristics. In terms of intellectual outlooks political parties may be termed as 'Secular' or 'Communal', 'Democratic' or 'Authoritarian', 'Traditionalist' or 'Modernizing'. In terms of organizational aspects political parties may be 'open' or 'closed', 'activist' or 'mass', 'centralized' or 'decentralized', 'composite' or 'sectional' etc. Broadly speaking congress party has remained secular and democratic. Organizationally it is open and mass based. The leftist parties such as communist parties are primarily ideological, secular and authoritarian. The BJP, Muslim League and the Akali Dal are communal parties. It is to be noted that in a democratic political system political parties function under the imperative of universal adult franchise. In the context of universal adult franchise, the parties try to get the support of the various segments of the
society. They tried to be broad based and get 'interest groups under their fold'.

It is remarked by the critics of Indian political system that India has parties, but no party system. They argue that though there may be several political parties, big and small in India, there is nothing likes emotional or psychological attachments of the people with a particular party or parties on the basis of which concrete rules of political behaviour may be formulated.

**Election Manifestos**

It is customary on the part of political parties to present the manifestos on the eve of general elections. An election manifesto may be regarded as a planned programme set out by the party covering the solutions to varied problems of the country in the national or international field. Political parties without exception make all sorts of promises to voters, whether they are contradictory or even unattainable\textsuperscript{20}.

Election manifestos are of great significance and purpose for the voters. The manifesto is a charter of assurances and promises of a political party on the basis of which, it solicits votes. It is a document that tells the voters what the political party would do for the people after winning the elections. It is widely believed that political parties are like producers and the electorate are consumers. Hence, the election promises denote the finished products placed for the consumption of people. It is the electorate who choose the best
commodity and support their producers. In this sense, political parties by their programmes make an effort to infuse political interest and attract citizens in their favour, while the bulk of the electorate exercise their franchise on political and non-political factors including primordial loyalties. However, election manifestos are broad guidelines setting out priorities in socio politico-economic fields for effective implementation.

All the political parties (national and regional) viz., Congress (I), T.D.P., B.J.P., C.P.I., C.P.I (M), T.D.P. (Anna), T.D.P. (NTR), etc. release their manifestos before the commencement of elections. Broadly, the policies and programmes outlined in their manifestos are discussed hereunder.

**Manifesto of Congress (I)**

The manifesto of Congress (I) is released to attract votes from all the sections of the society. Some of the important aspects of the manifesto include the following.

- To provide stable, able and experienced government that complete its full term in office.
- To amend the constitution for providing one-third reservation for women in Parliament and State Assemblies.
- To establish a Commission for minority education institutions.
- To give greater administrative, legal and financial powers to elected local bodies.
- To accelerate economic growth and new investments to make the country truly self-reliant.
• To provide employment opportunities, broad-base agriculture and non-farm activities and promote small-scale industries.

• To set up a corpus for the state funding of elections

• To accelerate economic growth to 7-8 per cent.

• To introduce changes in Essential Commodities Act.

Congress (I)’s Manifesto for Andhra Pradesh

Literally promising all things to all people, the State unit of the Congress Party released a separate 15-page manifesto in Telugu by APCC President Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy at a press conference at Gandhi Bhavan, the party headquarters in Hyderabad on August 27, 1999 for the first time with a promise to make the state ‘Adarsha Andhra Pradesh’.

Matching Telugu Desam’s populist schemes, the Andhra Pradesh Congress (I) Committee had come out with several novel schemes and policies to woo the youth, women, minorities and other downtrodden sections of the society in its pro-poor tax-free manifesto. The list of promises made by the State Unit of the Congress Party includes:

• Janma Bhoomi Programme was to be replaced by Mahatma Gandhi’s Gram Swaraj.

• Free power supply to farming sector

• Waiver of power dues of farmers.

• Power connections for agriculture purposes in 100 days.

• Free education to girls up to postgraduate level.

• One-lakh telephone booths to women.
• Cooking gas connections to rural women under Indian Kalyana Yojana.

• Payment of Rs.100/- to every poor pregnant woman for six months from the third month of pregnancy onwards and removal of gender discrimination.

• Thirty-three per cent reservation for women.

• To provide unemployment dole of Rs.2, 500/- per annum for two years to graduate, unemployed youth.

• To construct 40 lakh pucca houses in five years for the poor

• To provide one acre of Banjar land to every landless SC and ST family.

• To revive the Legislative Council.

The state leader of the Congress Party stated that he would meet all the promises without imposing any further tax burden on people.

**T.D.P's Manifesto**

The Chief Minister Sri N. Chandrababu Naidu on August 20, 1999, released the Telugu Desam manifest for the Assembly and Lok Sabha elections. It promised to eradicate poverty in the next five years by launching a poverty eradication mission. The mission would concentrate on individual development by laying emphasis on economic upliftment, improvement of literacy, health conditions, technical skills and motivating individuals through regular training. The salient features of the manifesto are elaborated hereunder.²⁴

• Subsidy rice scheme to continue and white cards to all the eligible poor.

• Deepam to be extended to all the poor in rural and urban areas.
• Construction of 35 lakh houses for the weaker sections.

• Creation of market intervention fund with Rs.100 crore to stabilize prices of agricultural commodities.

• One-third quota for women in elected bodies.

• Counselling in transfers, guidelines to be fixed for government jobs.

• Constitutional amendment to ensure positions such as President, Vice-President, Prime Minister for natural born Indians.

• To provide primary school within one km. range of every habitation with pucca building, residential school for weaker sections in every Assembly constituency.

• To increase the agricultural growth from 3.7 per cent to 6.1 percent and industrial growth rate from 5.3 per cent to 9.7 per cent.

• Free education for girls upto postgraduate courses.

• To accord top priority for education and achieving 83 per cent literacy rate in the next five years as against the present 43 per cent.

• To generate an additional 10,000 M.W. power in the next five years.

• To implement various schemes such as Mundadugu, Cheyutha, Chaitanyam, Adarana and Roshni more effectively thereby helping 40 lakh families who were below the poverty line.

**Manifesto of B.J.P**

In the year 1999 during Parliamentary elections, B.J.P. made alliance with various parties and fought the elections under the banner of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) at the National level. In the AP State elections the BJP entered into alliance with Telugu Desam Party. The manifesto assured the social, economic and political issues connected with development. The manifesto promised electoral
reforms to check defections, corruption and criminalisation of politics, and to prevent electoral malpractices.

The manifesto rejected both the old leftist approach of complete state control of industry and the rightist approach of leaving everything to the market force. Its manifesto sought a harmony between government and industry to achieve key objective aimed at enhancing dynamism of the market with effective and efficient regulatory mechanisms.

Manifestos of the Left Parties

The CPI (M) manifesto was no different from the CPI Manifesto. Both the left parties showed concern for the common man's well being. Their manifestos, therefore, promised to increase the allocation for basic education, health and sanitation. Some of the salient features were:

- To provide mid-day meal to school going children and also to provide free and compulsory education to all the children upto 14 years.
- To gear-up economic growth rate with social justice to one and all.
- To invest more infrastructural facilities and inviting foreign investment to key sectors of the economy.
- To protect the domestic industry and to attract investment in areas like Tourism.
- To provide housing to the rural and urban poor and to achieve this objective enunciating a national policy in this matter.
- To strengthen the parliamentary democracy and to sharpen the anti-defection Bill further.
• To establish National Judicial Commission for the appointment of High Court and Supreme Court Justices.

• To provide more subsidies to small-scale industries and to provide marketing facilities.

• To formulate a national policy for the control of population and to campaign for small family.

• To strengthen the public sector with more emphasis on Swadeshi thrust.

**Manifesto of T.D.P (Anna)**

The T.D.P (Anna) released its manifesto on August 29, 1999 with the following promises.  

• To protect the self-respect of the Telugu people.

• To provide subsidized rice scheme for the poor at two rupees per kg.

• To provide power to farmers at Rs.50/- per horse-power

• To ensure total prohibition

• To provide 33 per cent reservation to women in all fields.

**T.D.P (NTR)**

T.D.P (NTR) manifesto is almost all' akin to the manifestos of T.D.P (Anna)

All the other parties failed to issue any election manifests, as they did not believe in having a manifesto, as they would not want to be like other parties, which made a lot of promises but seldom implemented them.
The Campaigning of T.D.P

T.D.P Supremo Sri N.Chandrababu Naidu, from the Temple town, Tirupati, formally launched Telugu Desam Party’s election campaign – Vijaya Sankharavam. In his first election meeting at Tirupathi, he mounted his attack on the Congress for misleading people with its false promises like free supply of power and issue of ration cards. He remarked that it was up to people to choose a rowdy raj or a government that performs and ridiculed the Congress Party’s promise of providing a stable government at the Centre. Projecting T.D.P. as a regional party with national outlook, he urged the voters to give him more strength to fight with the Centre for a better deal to the State. He also stated that his party would protect secularism and fight communal forces.

Unlike others, Naidu adopted a high-tech campaign strategy, travelling more on air and less on road and canvassed intensively for his party on 21st, 22nd and 23rd August, 1999 at Prakasam, Nellore, Cuddapah, Ananthapur, Kurnool and Mahboobnagar Districts respectively. He designed his election campaign so meticulously that he campaigned for the party during the day and devoted the rest of the period for the selection of party candidates as well as to coordinate the efforts of Party Propaganda Committee thus working round the clock. Naidu, the lone ranger used to begin and close his election campaign flashing ‘V’ sign as a mark of victory.
A significant feature of this election was that Satellite Channels like BBC, World, Star News, G-News, CNS, Jain Television network, etc., broadcasted a number of election-related programmes besides election news. In short, media played a major role in taking the message of political parties to voters and almost all the political parties relied heavily on media, especially electronic media, to influence the voters. Having recognized the growing importance of media, T.D.P. spent huge amounts of money on political promotion and especially it propagated its programmes like Janmabhoomi, Shramadhanam (contributory labour) Prajalavaddaku Palana (administration at the door-steps of people) in different media.

To make the promotion effective and efficient, T.D.P. designed six different documentary films for which it availed itself of the services of popular cine and TV artists. These six documentary films with different messages and content were shown in different popular television channels especially in Eenadu television and in one such humorous documentary film, a few people personifying congressmen were shown fighting for a single chair to sit on, thus ridiculing the Congress Party. The programme indirectly indicated that T.D.P. alone could provide a stable government.

In another amusing and surfcasting documentary film, a Deepam, which disseminated light to all directions, was shown and immediately somebody came and put out the light. It was followed by a message- Do you caste your vote to a person or party who put out
the light thus charging Congress Party for creating hurdles in the implementation of Deepam Scheme. No doubt, these documentary films surpassed cinemas and serials in terms of quality and richness and all these documentary films ended projecting Naidu as the saviour of the State.27

T.D.P. was highly unique and novel and set a new benchmark in its campaign as visible in the use of German paper posters, cardboards stand cardboards, etc. This propaganda material did not get deformed even in adverse environmental conditions and it is no exaggeration to state that no party had ever used such propaganda material. Andhra Pradesh witnessed a star spangled poll campaign. During the elections most of the parties drafted film personalities into the election arena to add glamour to the hard-boiled political routine. The ruling T.D.P. is in the forefront in wooing film Stars and T.V.artists and noted film actors and actresses like Jayaprada, Roja, Jayasudha, Suman, Rajendra Prasad, Ali, Murali Mohan and a number of T.V.artists campaigned vigorously for T.D.P. in almost all the constituencies.

T.D.P. also issued full page and half page advertisements in various newspapers and magazines of repute and most of the advertisements given in these media were thought provoking and one such advertisement was drawn from the Panchatantra story. T.D.P. cleverly utilized the Panchatantra story for the promotion of its party and in one such advertisement; it showed how a cunning and hungry
tiger thus symbolizing Congress Party as the tiger and the voter as the deceived a poor Brahmin.28.

T.D.P. also utilized the services of classical and folk artists in promoting its party. To influence the rural voters, the party propaganda Committee trained 87 artist groups and directed them to propagate the developmental programmes undertaken by T.D.P. in these areas in the form of folk songs and dances, street plays, etc. The party also resorted to direct mail to influence various people like, party sympathizers, beneficiaries and those who are directly or indirectly related to the party. It also brought a new concept in politics by urging neutral voters to support T.D.P. and the Party High Command directed all the contesting candidates to met the voters personally thus introducing the marketing concept of door-to-door campaign in politics. All the same to infuse enthusiasm in the lower cadres of the party, the party ordered Town and City Committees to undertake cycle rallies, car rallies, etc.

The party also resorted to sky advertising in almost all the towns and cities. The flying balloons representing T.D.P. symbol could draw the attention of people very easily and, in fact, no one could escape from such high profile advertising. The party used everything as propaganda material including pen stands, key chains, wall calendars, wallets, torch lights, trays, waist belts, pens, pencil boxes, umbrellas, etc. In fact, T.D.P's political promotion set a new trend in politics and surpassed all benchmarking that might be set for this purpose.
Congress Campaign

As far as poll strategy is concerned, Sonia Gandhi, the A.I.C.C. President was the star campaigner of the Congress Party. Even the State P.C.C. President, Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy enthused the party cadre by campaigning for the party intensively. The party sought votes from people in the name of stability and secularism.

The P.C.C. President, Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy who accompanied Sonia Gandhi in her election tour of A.P.promised people that his party would write off all the power dues of farmers and also provide them power free of charge. He reiterated his party stand that under Nehru Jyothi Scheme, power would be supplied free of cost to households using a single bulb and urged the people to put an end to the undemocratic rule of Naidu.

Sonia in her election campaign at Cuddapah and Chittoor districts of Rayalseema region unveiled her party agenda and the various programmes undertaken by the party for the upliftment of the various sections of the society including farmers, women, youth and the weaker sections. She described the B.J.P.-led coalition at the Centre as an experiment of instability and wondered how a chariot drawn by 18 horses pulling in different directions could stick to the course. She also lambasted both T.D.P. and B.J.P. parties for forging an unprincipled and unholy alliance with the sole objective of staying in power. She also criticized the T.D.P. for neglecting the farm sector. She said that her party would launch special programmes for the farm
sector particularly to the small and marginal farmers who were hitherto grossly neglected and urged the people to give their wholehearted support to their party which would implement the various welfare schemes if came into power. Sonia visited Andhra Pradesh 11 times along with her son, Rahul Gandhi and she proved to be a great crowd-puller and in fact she attracted enormous attention.

Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy criticized the T.D.P. government for its all-round failure stating that T.D.P. did not launch a single programme that would benefit the poor and further ridiculed it for not establishing a single industry. He also blamed the T.D.P. for not having any action plan to revive the sick units. He also remarked that Andhra Pradesh under the rule of Naidu became Runa Andhra Pradesh (debt-burdened Andhra Pradesh) and the Congress Party would make it Adarsa Andhra Pradesh (ideal Andhra Pradesh) if voted to power. He urged the people to release the State from Chandra Grahanam, thus ridiculing Chandrababu and his misrule.

The 1999 general elections became crucial for the State P.C.C. President, Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy due to the fact that his political fortunes were essentially linked with the performance of the Congress Party. Besides his election campaign along with Sonia, he canvassed for the party throughout the state in his capacity as State P.C.C. President. In all his public meetings, he vehemently criticized T.D.P. for breaking its promises like Rs.2/- a Kg. Rice scheme, prohibition, free power to farm sector and so on. He also blamed T.D.P. for
helping the contractors and remarked that under Janmabhoomi, contractors were making money and the government had become a contractor Raj. He also accused T.D.P. government of pledging the State to World Bank and burdened the poor with heavy taxes.  

The 1999 general elections were marked by claims and counter claims of contesting parties especially between the T.D.P. and the Congress. As the election dates were nearing, the criticism became more personalized. In the hard boiled situation, Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy instead of criticizing T.D.P. on policies, and programmes made bitter criticism against Naidu and the criticism reached its zenith when Y.S.R. questioned Naidu, how the latter amassed Rs.2000 crore of wealth when he just owned Rs.2 acres of land at the time of entering politics. He even advised the farmers not to pay the power dues to the government. When Naidu made a counter claim, Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy challenged the former for an open discussion. 

Congress Party did not lag behind T.D.P. in utilising the mass media, especially electronic media to propagate its policies and programmes. Its documentary films were in no way poor and they were as rich as T.D.P.'s documentary films in terms of quality and humour. In one documentary film released by the party, two farmers were shown pumping water manually into their farmland. When they were pumping water, one of their friends, a farmer came and advised them to switch on the power. Then these two farmer friends in a sarcastic tone stated that the current gave shocks implying the high
tariff imposed on power. These two farmers in a single tone said that they would use power only after Congress would assume power, as they would get power free of cost. When a Congress rally went nearby these farmers joined the rally. In another documentary film, Congress Party was projected as the party, which brought independence to India, and the party, which provided a stable government. In the film, the political heavy weights who sacrificed their lives for the cause of nation were shown implying that Congress Party only could provide stable government and it could do anything for the cause of the nation.

The party also utilized newspaper media in an effective and efficient way. The full page and half page advertisements given in newspapers were so appealing and among a host of appealing advertisements, one such advertisement was worth-mentioning “why are you blaming others for your failure to hold your coalition together,” thus ridiculing that coalitions were in no way suitable to a country like India. In another advertisement, T.D.P’s failures to fulfil its earlier election promises were shown in a logical way.

Unlike T.D.P. Congress failed to avail itself of the services of cine stars. However, it could get the support of a few cine and T.V. artists like Dasari Narayana Rao and Dr.M.Mohan Babu, of whom the former in his sarcastic political film – Pichhodi Chetilo Rayi (Stone in the hand of an Insane) showed the misdeeds of Naidu in the film released just before the elections. These artists not only propagated the policies of
Congress but also criticized T.D.P. for its pro-rich policies and its failure in helping the poor.

The party also erected huge cutouts of Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi and Sonia Gandhi in various strategic locations of the various towns and cities of Andhra Pradesh. The party also distributed tri-coloured caps, pamphlets; etc. to the people

**B.J.P. Campaign**

B.J.P. launched its campaign attacking both the Congress and the Left Parties and tried to project itself as superior to Congress. It found the Congress Party bogged down in family rule and accused it of encouraging political instability in the country. B.J.P’s campaign was centred round A.B. Vajpaye. In the first election meting, the BJP criticized the Congress Party for pursuing politics of destabilization and forcing elections upon people. The party appealed the electorate to give a massive mandate and urged the voters to cast their vote in favour of B.J.P. as it stands for national security and integrity.

The B.J.P. brought to the state a galaxy of its national leaders including L.K. Advani, Murali Manohar Joshi, Sushma Swaraj, etc. Adding to this, the party General Secretary Venkaiah Naidu and B.J.P. State President, Vidya Sagara Rao campaigned for the party intensively. As B.J.P. had alliance with T.D.P. in some areas, joint campaigns were made by both the parties and in some pockets of Andhra Pradesh, individual campaigns have been undertaken.
Another prominent national leader Sushma Swaraj ridiculed Congress and its stability plank and urged the voters to give a new direction to national politics by voting for the B.J.P. The General Secretary of the party, Venkaiah Naidu said that Congress Party had no right to talk about stability in the State as it changed Chief Ministers frequently. He also assured the people that the N.D.A. –led Vajpayee government would provide a stable and corrupt free government and accused the left parties for colliding with the Congress in dethroning B.J.P. from power.

B.J.P. also brought cine stars – Vijaya Santhi, Gowthami, Krishnam Raju, Kota Srinivasa Rao, Siva Krishna, Giri Babu, Naresh, etc. to gear-up its electioneering campaign. It also introduced documentary films to neutralize its main opponent- Congress in the elections. Its documentary films were as rich as that of T.D.P. and Congress and in one such documentary film the party projected A.B. Vajpayee as freedom fighter and experienced parliamentarian. On the other hand, in the same documentary, Sonia’s negative (shadow) film was shown thus indicated that she was unknown to Indians. The documentary film ended with the slogan “The choice is clear”. Besides electronic media, the party relied on press for the promotion of its political interests. The party in all its advertisements tried to evoke patriotism among voters.

The party also utilized all sorts of campaigning material and methods just like Congress and T.D.P. to woo the voters into its fold.
On the whole, B.J.P. resorted to intensive campaigning in A.P. with special emphasis on the constituencies in which it contested.

**Campaign of Left Parties**

The left parties having a tie-up with T.D.P.(Anna) campaigned against rival parties with mounting criticism against B.J.P. and T.D.P. These parties focused their campaign against the harmful consequences of economic reforms undertaken by the duo BJP and TDP. A number of national and state level leaders like A.B. Burdan, Harikishan Singh Surjeet, Sitaram Echuri, Indragit Gupta, etc. campaigned vigorously in the State. These leaders in their campaign urged the people to defeat the communal forces and accused the B.J.P. led -coalition government of wasting crores of rupees of public money on arms and ammunition instead of diverting the same for solving the social and economic problems being faced by the nation. They alleged that Naidu had mortgaged the interests of the state to the World Bank. They accused him of pursuing pro-rich policies at the cost of common man and asserted that let parties were committed to the well-being of common man, and if their parties were voted to power, they would distribute land to the landless poor, strengthen public sector units, impose taxes on rich people and utilize the forest produce. They urged the people to vote in favour of left parties and defeat T.D.P., B.J.P. and Congress candidates.

The state level leaders like - B.V. Raghavulu and Suravaram Sudhakara Reddy, General Secretary of C.P.I and C.P.I (M) and Dasari

The C.P.I (M) General Secretary, B.V.Raghavulu alleged that the country's safety and security would be at stake if the B.J.P. was voted to power. He felt that T.D.P. was equally responsible for the commissions and omissions of the B.J.P. Government as the former extended support to the latter, and believed that the much publicised Deepam, Adarana and Mundadugu Schemes would meet the same fate as the dry law in the state.

Though left parties were known for their unity, consensus was lacking in their campaign and as a result they could not be a match to Congress, B.J.P. and T.D.P. in terms of campaign. The left parties stuck to their traditional campaigning techniques like street plays, door-to-door campaign besides the distribution of pamphlets to people wherein the misdeeds of B.J.P. and T.D.P. were highlighted.

T.D.P (Anna) Campaign

The President of T.D.P. (Anna) N.Hari Krishna is the Chief campaigner of the party. Though he had forged an alliance with left parties, consensus was lacking among these parties and as a result they could not campaign in an integrated way. As such, T.D.P. (Anna) headed by Hari Krishna in his chariot, Chaitanya Ratham made an all-round tour of the state to campaign for his party. He also said that, Naidu has cheated the people by creating bodies like water user
associations and education committees and reiterated his party's commitments to reintroduce and implement the Rs.2/- a Kg rice scheme and restoration of power supply at a subsidized rate of Rs.50/- per HP to farmers. He alleged that the State Government was out to convert more than 1.2 crore white ration cards into pink cards. T.D.P. (Anna) kept a low profile in the promotion of its party as it relied mostly on roadside meetings, etc.

**T.D.P (NTR)**

The T.D.P (NTR) headed by Lakshmi Parvathi had an alliance with Mahajan Front but these duos failed to campaign from a common platform. Her entire campaign was marked by severe criticism against Naidu and in every election meeting she cursed him as back-stabber and political opportunist. In her campaign, she promised people that her party would continue the welfare policies and programmes of N.T.R. It was clear that the organizational structure of the party got weakened and the party could not make any impact on people. Besides this, the campaigning made by its allies could not be reckoned with as they maintained a low profile in the elections.

A significant aspect of assembly elections was that almost all the parties spent huge amounts of money on election promotion. Initially, every party criticized other parties in terms of policies and programmes but when the election dates neared, there was clear shift in the stand of every party and the criticism became personalized. Another development in the campaigning strategies of political parties
was that all the major parties, i.e., Congress, T.D.P. and B.J.P. relied on electronic media more and more and it was no exaggeration to state that people enjoyed the documentary films rather than the movies during this election.

The foregoing analysis suggests that Indian political evolution represents the emergence of market polity. Within the Indian political system states have been playing a vital role. To explain the significance of state politics in India, an understanding of the basic concepts is felt necessary. Therefore the concepts used in this study such as political system, political socialization, political culture, political behaviour, political efficacy, political elite and political participation have been analysed. An attempt has also been made in this chapter to find out the theoretical relationship between the elections and the party system. This chapter also outlined the organization of political parties and structure and attributes of political parties. In the end a brief reference is also made to the election manifestos, which provide the basis for the electoral process of India.
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