

# **Democracy and Regional Political Parties in India:**

## **A Study in Andhra Pradesh**

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**BY**

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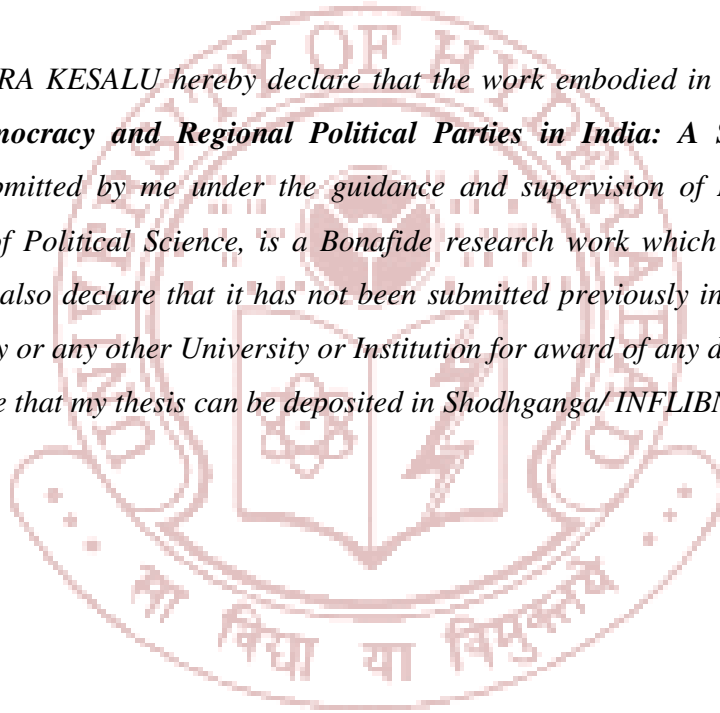
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***DECLARATION***

*I SATRI VEERA KESALU hereby declare that the work embodied in the present thesis entitled “**Democracy and Regional Political Parties in India: A Study in Andhra Pradesh**” submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr. K.Y. Ratnam** Department of Political Science, is a Bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.*



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*This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Democracy and Regional Political Parties in India: A Study in Andhra Pradesh**” submitted by SATRI VEERA KESALU bearing Regd. No. 09SRPH01 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Regional Studies is a Bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism free thesis.*

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Dedicated to

**Lord Jesus Christ**  
*who gave me new life*

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**My Parents S.P. Kesalu & Pullamma**  
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- SATRI VEERA KESALU

## **GLOSSARY OF TERMS**

<b>Term</b>	<b>Description</b>
Andhra Kesari	: Literally, 'Lion of Andhra'; name given to the legendary : Tanguturi Prakasam, leader of a Congress Party faction and : founder of the Praja Party
Amma	: Mother
Anna	: Elder brother
Arrack	: Cheap liquor, distilled usually from molasses
Atma-gauramu	: Self-respect
Bahujans	: Literally, 'the underprivileged multitude'. The concept includes : people who belong to backward castes, Scheduled Castes, : Scheduled Tribes and minorities. It is now mostly used by the : BSP and refers to dalits
Bandh	: Total strikes
Bhiksha	: Alms
Crore	: A unit of ten million (10,000,000)
Dalit	: A member of the caste of Harijans or 'untouchables'; in : Sanskrit, 'depressed'
Dalit Maha Saba	: A socio-political organisation of the dalits
Desam	: Land, nation
Dharma Yuddham	: A war for justice
Dharna	: Sit-in strike
Garibi Hatao	: Banish poverty
Gram	: Village
Gram Panchayat	: Village Council
Jai Congress	: Victory to the Congress,
Jai Telengana	: victory to Telengana
Janmabhoomi	
Programme	: A people-centred participatory development process
Lakh	: A unit of one-hundred thousand (100,000)
Lok Sabha	: The lower chamber of India's Parliament; in Hindi, 'people's : assembly'
Mahanadu	: The TDP annual conference
Mandal	: Territorial and administrative unit (with a population of about 50,000 to 70,000) between the village and district levels
Mandal Parishad	: Intermediate level council in the Panchayati Raj system, made : up of the heads of the Panchayats and representatives of the



	: territorial constituencies (MPTCs) within the Mandal
Mulki	: Natives of Telangana region
Panchayat	: An institution of self-government for the rural areas
Panchayati Raj	: System of local rural self-government with a three-tier structure, the units being the village, mandal and district councils
Panchayati Samithi:	A middle-level unit of rural local government existing prior to 1986, made up of the heads of village
Prajala Vadaku	
Palana	: Government at People's Doorstep
Pukka	: Properly constructed; houses constructed with bricks and cement
Rajya Sabha	: The upper chamber of India's Parliament; in Hindi, 'States assembly'
Reddy Raj	: Rule by the Reddis, a term used to describe the Congress rule from the 1960s to early 1980s
Runa mapi	: Waving of Loans
Rythu Kosam	: For Farmers
Samaikyandhra	: United Andhra Pradesh
Samithi	: An association, especially one formed to organize political activity
Samrakshana	: Protection
Sarpanch	: Head of a Panchayat
Shramadanam	: Donation of labour
Telugu	: The language spoken in Andhra Pradesh; also one who speaks Telugu
Telugu Bidda	: Son of the Telugu soil
Visalandhra	: The greater Andhra, called Andhra Pradesh
Votu Bhiksha	: Votes as alms
Zamindar	: Type of landlord, holder and rent-receiver of an agricultural estate during the British rule
Zilla	: District
Zilla Parishad	: District Council

## **ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

AC	:	Arunachal Congress
AGP	:	Asom Ganatantra Parishad (1957), Asom Gan Parishad (1984)
AD	:	Akali Dal
AIADMK	:	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagham
APHLC	:	All Party Hill Leaders' Conference
BC	:	Backward Caste
BJD	:	Biju Janata Dal
BJP	:	Bharatiya Janata Party
BJS	:	Bharatiya Jana Sangh
BSP	:	Bahujan Samaj Party
CLP	:	Congress Legislature Party
CPI	:	Communist Party of India
CPM	:	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CPI-ML	:	Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
CS	:	Congress (Socialist)
CSDS	:	Centre for the Study of Developing Societies
CSJ	:	Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana Janata Party
CSP	:	Congress Socialist Party
CT	:	Congress ( Tiwari )
CW	:	Commonweal
DMK	:	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DTDP	:	Democratic Telugu Desam Party
DWACRA	:	Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas
FB	:	Forward Bloc
GP	:	Gantantra Parishad
HLD / INLD	:	Haryana Lok Dal / Indian National Lok Dal
HLS	:	Haryana Lok Shakti
HVC	:	Himachal Vikas Congress
HVP	:	Haryana Vikas Party
INC	:	Indian National Congress
IUML	:	Indian Union Muslim League
JDG	:	Janata Dal ( Gujarat )
JKP / D	:	Jharkhand Party / Dal
JMM	:	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
JP	:	Janata Party
KCP	:	Karnataka Congress Party
KLP	:	Krishikar Lok Party
KMPP	:	Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party
LD	:	Lok Dal

MGP	:	Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party
MIM	:	Majlis-i-Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen
ML	:	Marxist–Leninist
MLA	:	Member of the Legislative Assembly
MP	:	Member of Parliament
MPP	:	Mandala Praja Parishad
MPTC	:	Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituency
MRPS	:	Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi
NC	:	National Conference
NCP	:	National Congress Party
NDA	:	National Democratic Alliance
NPC	:	Nagaland People’s Council
NSSO	:	National Sample Survey Organisation
NTR	:	NT Rama Rao
NTRTDP– LP	:	NTR Telugu Desam Party – Lakshmi Parvathi
OBC	:	Other Backward Caste
PCC	:	Pradesh Congress Committee
PDF	:	People’s Democratic Front
PMK	:	Pattali Makkal Kachi
PP	:	Praja Party
PRIs	:	Panchayati Raj Institutions
PSP	:	Praja Socialist Party
PWP	:	Peasants’ and Workers’ Party
RRP	:	Ram Rajya Parishad
RSP	:	Revolutionary Socialist Party
SCF	:	Scheduled Castes Federation
SDF	:	Sikkim Democratic Front
SHP	:	Self Help Group
SKJP	:	Sikkim Janata Parishad
SP	:	Samajwadi Party
SSP	:	Sarva Sangrama Parishad
ST	:	Scheduled Tribe
TC	:	Trinmul Congress
TCLF	:	Telengana Congress Legislators Forum
TDP	:	Telugu Desam Party
TDPLP	:	TDP Lakshmi Parvathi
TDPN	:	TDP Naidu
TMC	:	Tamil Maanil Congress
TPS	:	Telengana Praja Samithi
TRS	:	Telengana Rashtra Samithi
UC	:	Utkal Congress
VHP	:	Vishwa Hindu Parishad

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## CHAPTER-I

### Introduction

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Political parties are essential for any vibrant democratic system<sup>1</sup>. Edmond Burke has termed a political party as a body of men, united for promoting the principles of national interest.<sup>2</sup> A. D. Lindsay, R. M. Mac Iver, Joseph Schumpeter, Maurice Duverger, have also emphasized the significance of political parties in a democracy. Political parties formulate, consolidate and articulate public opinion. They simplify the election process, enlighten the people on political issues and make them conscious of their responsibilities.<sup>3</sup> They act as the best link between the government and the common man. They are one of the most salient and universal features of political life in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> LaPalombara and Weiner observed that the existence of parties are common to both the developing and developed political systems, irrespective of the fact whether they are democratic, totalitarian or authoritative.<sup>5</sup>

Political parties have certain peculiarities: organizational structure and stability, definite objectives, activities on the basis of ideas and principles<sup>6</sup> and a supposedly clear and consistent stand on issues of public interest. The ultimate objective of political parties is to attain governmental power. Political parties have acted as responsible mediating agencies in bringing about democratic transformation in the country. What is remarkable that all this has been achieved in a relatively peaceful manner and in a short span of time, even when conditions were not very facilitative.<sup>7</sup> The major contribution of political parties is that they have almost taken governments closer to the people. Today, all parties contest elections in the name of securing the common good. All of them almost

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<sup>1</sup> Stokes. S.C, "Political Parties and Democracy", *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2:243–67, 1999, p.245

<sup>2</sup> Paul Langford(et al), *The Writings and speeches of Edmund Burke*, Oxford: Clarendon Press,1981, p.317

<sup>3</sup> Sirsikar, V.M and Fernandes. L, *Indian Political Parties*, New Delhi: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1984, p.4

<sup>4</sup> Pushpa Asthana, *Party System in India: Development or Decay*, New Delhi: Criterion Publication, 1988, p.1

<sup>5</sup> Huntington. S.P, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960, p.xi

<sup>6</sup> Pruthi, *Principles of Political Science*, New Delhi: Mohit Publications, 2006, pp.6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, , 2005, p.8

uniformly profess their commitment to protect and promote the interests of the poor, marginalised and the socially disadvantaged.<sup>8</sup>

### ***Statement of the Problem***

The political scenario in India has radically changed from the time the country attained independence. The character and composition of political parties are not what they were some sixty years back. In this long sojourn, some of the old parties (like the Congress, the Communists and the erstwhile Jan Sangh) have changed almost beyond recognition. Some others have either declined or almost become part of history. Some have emerged in new avatars. Also, some electoral permutations and combinations have seen the emergence of new parties and alliances.<sup>9</sup> From a time when political scientists and analysts expressed misgivings about the conduciveness of one-party dominance for a healthy democracy, we have now reached a stage where too many parties are engaged in a game of one-upmanship to grab the entire or (the larger) share of the political pie. Some see it as a natural, if not desirable, corollary of the dynamics of the world's most populous democracy - marked by factors like great diversity, cultural pluralism and economic under-development. Some others apprehend such a scenario as a threat to the very institution of democracy, and, as a result, to the very stability and security of the country.<sup>10</sup>

At the time of the first general elections in 1952, there were hardly any regional parties. It was mostly the Congress party all the way. Such a dominance by national parties continued even till the 1960s<sup>11</sup>. Although the one-party dominant system held sway for two decades after Independence, it may not be totally wrong to say that the future multi-party democracy started taking roots then itself. This became more evident during the past two decades when national parties were either marginalized, or have become adjuncts to the State parties in major States of the country.<sup>12</sup> Of the 50 recognized

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<sup>8</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.8

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p.6

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, p.7

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p.3

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p.7

national and state political parties, 44 were established after Independence.<sup>13</sup> The 2004 general elections saw regional parties winning as many as 43 per cent of the total number of seats. Today there are 47 regional parties and over 400 smaller parties fiercely competing for their share of the pie.<sup>14</sup>

The plural and federal character of our polity has been manifesting itself for quite some time. This was possibly due to the increasing hold of powerful regional satraps in their spheres of influence. The era of continuous rule by a single party (like the Congress Party at the centre from 1947 to 1977, and 1980 to 1990), and the (Left Front in West Bengal from 1977 to 2011) almost became a thing of the past. In the process, even the leading parties like the Congress and the Baratiya Janata Party (BJP) have been reduced to sitting in the opposition at certain points of time. The turbulence and fluidity of the 1980s was marked by a dispensation at the Union level, in which a large number of parties shared power. This trend has also been noticed in the coalition governments of the NDA and the UPA at the centre.<sup>15</sup>

One offshoot of the growing importance of regional political parties is that single-party rule at the centre almost appears to be a thing of the past. It may be recalled, that even in 1977, when the Congress Party suffered a drubbing in most parts of North India, it managed to put up a decent performance in states like Andhra Pradesh – winning 41 out of the 42 seats at stake. Only Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy of the Janata Party was able to prevent a total sweep of the state by the Congress Party. At that time, it could be said that this was one party which had committed voters in all parts of the country. Such an assured support can no longer be taken for granted, even in the north eastern states, where the regional players are becoming increasingly assertive. Today, only a coalition government, which can cobble up an alliance, can hope to form a government at the centre. All this has occurred due to the rise of regional parties which are able to impose their will at the centre as well.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.7

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p3

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, p.8

<sup>16</sup> Melwyn Pinto S.J, “The Rise of Regional Parties: Boon or Bane?,” *Media Watch: A Critical Look at the Contemporary Media*, 2009



Regional parties are increasingly occupying a pivotal position in the country's political life. Because of India's federal system, regional parties have been able to obtain power by espousing issues of regional concern. In recent years, Regional Political Parties have played a significant role in the centre and in Indian states. Regional political parties and their influence was mostly confined to particular states and even there, they won in some pockets and did not generally command enough strength to form governments on their own. The year 1967 was a watershed in India's political history, when the DMK displaced the Congress and came to power in Tamilnadu. It is significant that even the AICC President, K. Kamaraj Nadar, himself was defeated by a relatively unknown student leader. Since then, the Congress Party has almost 'relinquished' its hold over the Tamilnadu state assembly, which is today being controlled by either the DMK or AIADMK – almost in rotation. The Congress Party has been reduced to almost depending on the mercy of these two parties for Lok Sabha seats.

In the case of Kerala state, where 'rotation of governments' is an almost regular phenomenon, whether it is the UDF or the LDP, the dominant player in the coalition is a national party, the Congress in case of UDF and CPI (M) in the other case. Maharashtra and Punjab states have been two instances of regional political parties (Shiv Sena and Akali Dal) being the main players whenever non-Congress coalition governments came to power in the state. Political parties and corporate entities seem to have some common features like mergers, acquisitions, splits and counter-splits. One can almost lose count of the various offshoots of the political parties that have sprung up from time to time; to name a few, Congress (I), Congress (O), Nationalist Congress Party, Trimamul Congress, YSR Congress, Utkal Congress, Janata Dal (United), Janata Dal (Secular), Biju Janata Dal, and Rashtriya Janata Dal. The number of political parties has been rising over the years. While 74 parties contested the 1952 general elections, the number, today, is more than 177<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Subhash C. Kashyap, "Review of the working of Political Parties especially in relation to Elections and Reform options," New Delhi: Vigyan Bavan Annex, January 8, 2001. A Consultation Paper, accessed from <http://lawmin.nic.in/ncrwc/finalreport/v2b1-8.htm>, retrieved on 10 August 2014.

Manmohan Singh, till very recently the Prime Minister of India, had once blamed regional parties for the backwardness of several states since they lacked a national perspective. This statement drew protests from many regional parties. Perhaps what he intended was that regional parties indulged more in regionalism, rather than having a broader vision of the country.<sup>18</sup> In recent years, the phenomenon of unstable governments has become quite the norm, this is due to the way political parties are functioning in today's milieu. Personal and sectorial interest seems to be gaining precedence over national interest. Yet another feature that was noticed till very recently was the way regional parties were even calling the tune at the centre. The instability at the Union level or in the States can be attributed solely to the growing number of parties and the functioning and the dynamics of the party system in India.<sup>19</sup>

The best example of this was the way Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (a man of outstanding personal credentials) could not do much even when there were serious allegations of corruption and irregularities (like in the 3G scam) against members of influential coalition partners. Any action against the accused could have led to collapse of the UPA-2 government at the centre. It is this helplessness of the then Prime Minister that 'contributed' largely to the defeat of the UPA in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections. Earlier also, it is believed that the NDA was unable to concede the demand for a separate state of Telangana in 2002 (even when the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Uttarakhand were created) because of strong resistance from the TDP, which was providing outside support to the NDA government. A little earlier, in 1999, the then NDA government lost the vote of confidence by a single vote due to the last minute withdrawal of support by the AIADMK and the BSP refusing to 'bail out' the government.

It is not at all surprising that today six states (Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Tamilnadu, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal) are dominated by independent regional parties and in as many as eight states, there are alliance governments of regional and

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<sup>18</sup> Melwyn Pinto S.J., "The Rise of Regional Parties: Boon or Bane?," *Media Watch: A Critical Look at the Contemporary Media*, 2009, p.5

<sup>19</sup> Spieb, Clemens, *One-Party-Dominance in Changing Societies*, Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics, Working paper 10, 2002, Retrieved from <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/4120/>

national parties. The Samajwadi Party in Uttar Pradesh may like to call itself a national party, but its hold is mostly confined to that state alone. In Tamil Nadu, for example, national parties have hardly a chance. The regional parties have dominated the electoral scene since 1967. Andhra Pradesh was ruled by the Telugu Desam Party between 1983 and 1989 and between 1994 and 2004.<sup>20</sup> It has bounced back to power in the residuary state of Andhra Pradesh. Uttar Pradesh has also been ruled by regional parties for greater part of the last two decades. National parties do not seem to make any significant progress in their voters' share in UP. Interestingly, in the recently concluded Lok Sabha elections, the BJP bagged 71 of the 80 seats at stake in the state.

The other important aspect is that in several instances, regional parties eventually grow to become national parties. The present Bharatiya Janata Party had its origin in the erstwhile Jan Sangh, which was a regional party. The Bahujan Samaj Party has been contesting independently in many Lok Sabha constituencies all over the country, even though its 'winnability' quotient is mostly restricted to Uttar Pradesh alone. Even the Nationalist Congress Party and Samajwadi Party are contesting in several states. The creation of the separate state of Telangana has posed an interesting question about the future of the TDP in that state. It remains to be seen whether the party will perform creditably in the 2019 elections – both to the Lok Sabha and the Telangana state assembly. The rise of regional parties can only be attributed to the failure of national parties to adequately address the concerns of people in certain regions of the states. Those opposed to the growing importance of regional parties may cite reasons like such parties lack a national vision and think only of their region. The other point of view is that those at the helm in a single party rule may tend to sit in ivory towers, and have no feel of issues at the grassroots.<sup>21</sup>

The main problem that the present study tries to address is that whether the regional political parties are assets or liabilities for Indian democracy. The present thesis asserts that the regional political parties have strengthened the democratic values and aspirations

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<sup>20</sup> Melwyn Pinto S.J., "The Rise of Regional Parties: Boon or Bane?," *Media Watch: A Critical Look at the Contemporary Media*, 2009, p.4

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*

in India through participating in election, sending representatives to the parliament and sharing power at the centre and bringing regional problems, etc., onto the national canvas. It argues that in the present political scenario invariably the so-called national political parties are dependent on the regional political parties because their sizeable strength in parliament. It must also be noted that the Electoral College for electing the President of India also comprises of elected Members of the State Legislatures. To that extent also, regional parties, including those in the States have become major players in national politics. In this context the aim of the present thesis is to examine that whether such a trend is good for Indian democracy, what is the contribution of regional parties to strengthen the Indian democracy how regional parties are able to play crucial role in the democratization of Indian society. This problem has been examined taking the Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh as a case.

### ***Review of Literature***

Though there has been substantial research on the regional political parties in India, no significant work has been done on whether the regional political parties are assets or liabilities for Indian democracy - more so of the State of Andhra. However, there has not been much intense research works on the growth of regional political parties and their contribution to Indian democracy. Limited works are available on parties like D.M.K, AIADMK, Akali Dal, and the T.D.P. Even in these studies, attempt has not been made to provide a theoretical framework of regional Political parties in relation to the democratic asset of the regional political parties.

Melwyn Pinto S.J (2009)<sup>22</sup> argued that the way in which the regional political parties have become key players in India's political arena. Yet, at times, it is these very parties that have been responsible for the backwardness of several states since these parties had a uni-directional focus and lacked a national perspective and having regional perspective.

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<sup>22</sup> Melwyn Pinto S.J, "The Rise of Regional Parties Boon or Bane?" *Media Watch: A Critical look at the Contemporary media*, 2009.

Dasarathi Bhuyan (2007)<sup>23</sup> analyzed the factors like socio-economic, religious and cultural pluralism is responsible for the mushrooming of regional political parties in India. According to Bhuyan, at the grassroots level, the regional parties have made the people more politically conscious and facilitated more extensive and wider public participation in the political process.

Suri K.C. (2005)<sup>24</sup> has spoken about the mediating role of political parties in bringing about peaceful democratic transformation in this country – that too in a short span of time, and under conditions generally inimical for democratic development. They have also helped in taking governments closer to the people. Today, all parties contest elections purportedly to secure the common good. They maintain that they are committed to protect and promote the interests of the poor, marginalised and the socially disadvantaged.

Sambaiah Gundimeda (2009),<sup>25</sup> carried out an illustrated study on the short-lived regional political party, i.e., Praja Rajyam Party (later merged into the Congress Party) in Andhra Pradesh. It is argued that the formation of the Praja Rajyam Party in Andhra Pradesh was viewed differently by the two major Dalit castes (Malas and Madigas) in the state. The former regarded the PRP as the champion of social justice. However, the latter viewed it as the party of the Kapus (The chief of the party, the popular movie star, Chiranjeevi, hails from the Kapu community). The article further presents an interesting history of caste politics in Andhra Pradesh's political history. As a whole, the article offers a good insight for understanding the caste factor and its impact on Indian society, especially in the political realm. And it further clarifies how the political dominance certainly leads to other dominations in Andhra Pradesh since its inception in 1953.

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<sup>23</sup> Dasarathi Bhuyan, *Role of Regional Political Parties in India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publishers, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> Suri K.C., *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India Since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005.

<sup>25</sup> Sambaiah Gundimeda, "Dalits, Praja Rajyam Party and Caste Politics in Andhra Pradesh," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 May: Vol. 44, 2009

Zoya Hassan (ed.) (2002)<sup>26</sup> in this edited volume, the authors examined the caste, class, communal and regional dimensions and the impact of various parties on the changing nature of Indian politics. This research encompasses a wide gamut of issues and challenges that impact party politics and the party system as a whole. The authors analyzed the origin, evolution and transformation of party politics in India. For this purpose, she has conducted an in-depth analysis of important parties, their organisational structure and politics since independence. The parties include: Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party, and the Communist Parties. The author has posed a number of questions of topical interest like: Under what conditions do the parties and party systems change? What have been the coping strategies of the party system to handle social change? What has been the impact of the contemporary party system on democracy? These questions are answered in this volume which is an essential reference book on political parties in India.

Paul R. Brass (1973)<sup>27</sup> study concentrated mostly on the regional dimension of radical politics in India. He has paid special attention to the influence of local factors on the style and structure of left-wing politics. This is linked, however, with a rather arbitrary depreciation of the significance of ideological debates. Paul R. Brass (1994)<sup>28</sup> focused on the role of the national leaders in areas like centralization of power, decision making, and control of economic resources in one of the most culturally and socially diverse societies in the world. The author has expressed dismay over the systemic crisis in India due to issues like: the erosion of the effectiveness of political organizations, increase in instances of ethnic, religious, caste, and other cultural and regional conflicts, and the decline in the capability of the central government to implement its own economic plans and programmes.

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<sup>26</sup> Zoya Hassan, (ed.), *Parties and Party Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

<sup>27</sup> Paul R. Brass, *Radical Politics in South Asia*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973.

<sup>28</sup> Paul R. Brass, *Politics in India since Independence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Chibber Pradeep. K (1999)<sup>29</sup> has suggested that caste and religion-based groups have gained an increasing hold on political parties which depend on them. The author has explained the manner in which religious and caste-based political parties dominated the electoral landscape in 1990s India. The hold of parties like the Shiv Sena, Akali Dal and the BSP in their areas of influence shows that such parties have ‘come to stay’.

Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed.,) (2001)<sup>30</sup> brings together the possibly the best of scholarly writings on several facets of India’s democracy. The contributors have analysed India’s experiment with democracy and its pluses and negatives. The volume has sought to address the issue whether the state has contributed to the decline of democracy. A major highlight of the book is its discussion on India’s unique experiment of managing cultural diversity through democratic institutional mechanisms.

Atul Kohli (2001)<sup>31</sup> brings together some of the world’s leading scholars of Indian politics to consider the intriguing anomaly concerning the Indian political system. The writers have focused not so much on socio-economic factors, but rather on the ways in which power is distributed in India. Two processes have guided the negotiation of power conflicts. First, a delicate balance has been struck between the forces of centralisation and decentralisation and, second, the interests of the powerful in society have been served, without fully excluding those on the margins. These and related themes are addressed by the editor in his introduction, which is followed by an essay on the historical origins of Indian democracy, and two further sections, one on the consolidation of democratic institutions, and the other on the forces which motivate or inhibit democratic growth.

Banerjee Kishalay’s (1984)<sup>32</sup> book deals with the complicated pattern of events which have taken place since the 1940s in the Indian state of Orissa. Although the Indian National Congress had large social base in the state, however, this has been challenged by the Ganatantra Parishad a state level party; it nevertheless retained a precarious grip on

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<sup>29</sup> Chibber Pradeep. K, *Democracy without Associations: Transformation of the Party System and Social Change in India*, New Delhi: Vistaar, 1999.

<sup>30</sup> Niraja Gopal Jayal, *Democracy in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

<sup>31</sup> Atul Kohli, *The Success of India’s Democracy*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

<sup>32</sup> Banerjee Kishalay, *Regional Political Parties in India*, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1984.

the state government until May 1959, when the State Chief Minister, H.K. Mahatab, formed a coalition ministry with the Ganatantra Parishad. This coalition, which was unpopular with a section of the Congress, collapsed in February 1961, and, after a brief period of President's Rule, mid-term elections resulted in an outright victory for the Congress, which formed a government under Biju Patnaik.

Ram Reddy G and Sharma B.A.V. (1979)<sup>33</sup> explored regionalism in India in the backdrop of the 1968-69 Telangana agitation. At that time, both the authors were splendidly placed to observe the origins and progress of the agitation. The first part of this book describes the grievances which fuelled the agitation, its origins and development, and the attitudes of the various parties and the press on the issue. The second, and by far the longer, section reports in meticulous and indeed pedantic detail on a public opinion survey of attitudes towards the agitation and involvement of various players in it. A number of useful documents, including the Mulki Rules, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1956, the Eight-point Programme and the All-Party Agreement of 1969, and the Five-point Programme of 1972 were explained in the book.

Javeed Alam (2004)<sup>34</sup> has overviewed the complex dynamics of democracy in India since independence. According to him, democracy in the initial phases began as a tryst between the elites and the masses. The masses were assured that their conditions would improve. In return, they conferred power on the elites to rule them. However, things have changed a lot since then and the oppressed and exploited are no content with letting others govern them. Today, democracy in India depends on the politics of the oppressed and exploited, or what Partha Chatterjee (2004) calls, 'the politics of the governed'. According to the author, the increasing participation of the vulnerable populations and their struggle for equality and inclusion has redefined the boundaries of democratic politics in India. Another telling point made by him is that democratic thirst is now with the downtrodden - not with the rich sections of society. In other words, the hitherto deprived sections of

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<sup>33</sup> Ram Reddy G and Sharma B.A. V, *Regionalism in India: A Study of Telangana*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co, 1979.

<sup>34</sup> Javeed Alam, *Who wants Democracy?*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004.



society have developed confidence that they too can form governments and provide good governance.

David Ludden (ed.) (1997)<sup>35</sup> work is a collection of essays on the current state of research on Hindu nationalism. The *Contesting the Nation* finds in the nexus of causes, events, and ideological processes leading up to the destruction of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya on December 6, 1992. This valuable collection brings together stimulating, politically engaged analyses from a range of disciplinary perspectives on a seminal contemporary issue. But the collection's value and sophistication, despite its editor's hope that it will be accessible to a general readership, is most likely to be apparent only to specialists familiar with the complex analyses and critical protocols that govern the rich and constantly growing scholarship on sub-continental nationalism, in particular, and other nationalism, in general.

Larry Diamond & Richard Gunther (2001)<sup>36</sup> argues that the public confidence in political parties has generally declined. This is reflected in areas like: membership, organisation, popular involvement and commitment of the political parties. The authors are convinced that political parties are now only one of many vehicles for furthering the interests of certain individuals. A very significant point that emerges is that if the parties are weak and discredited, the health of democracy will be seriously impaired.

Stokes S.C (1999),<sup>37</sup> has presented two conflicting views about the role of political parties. Further he says that the democracy should ideally induce governments to be responsive to the preferences of the people. On one side, parties induce democracies to be responsive. Secondly, parties give voice to extremists and reduce the responsiveness of governments to the electorate. The discussion about parties and democracy has assumed

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<sup>35</sup> David Ludden (ed.), *Contesting the Nation: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

<sup>36</sup> Larry Jay Diamond, Richard Gunther, *Political Parties and Democracy*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

<sup>37</sup> Stokes. S. C, Political Parties and Democracy, *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2:243–67, 1999.

importance as new democracies around the globe contend with issues such as representation and governability.

Louise Tillin (2014)<sup>38</sup> argues that the constitutional flexibility to vary state boundaries has bolstered the stableness of India's democracy. But debates persist regarding whether the creation of extra states is fascinating. Political parties, regional movements and native activists still demand new states in many parts of the country as a vicinity of their makes an endeavor to reshape political and economic arenas. This book looks at the foremost recent episode of state creation in 2000, once the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand came into being during a variety of the poorest, but resource-rich, regions of Hindi-speaking north and central India. Their creation portrayed a greenhorn flip inside the history of the country's territorial organisation. This book explains the politics that lay behind this episode of 'post-linguistic' state organization and what it implies that for the long term form of India's federal system and offers an original premise by suggesting that the calls for these states emerged out of 'longer term changes in local structures of power and the relations between social groups'. And also to deals with separate Telangana movement and political parties intervention in regard to United Andhra Pradesh.

Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy's (2011)<sup>39</sup> 'India's 2009 Elections: Coalition Politics, Party Competition and Congress Continuity' is an emended volume and authored by well-known scholars and analysts from numerous backgrounds, the gathered articles critically examines multiple areas of the Indian polity as coalition politics, representation, national integration, caste, and ethnic politics in Indian states. These studies have used a variety of approaches, besides the currently dominant survey analysis approach, others embrace case studies, anthropological studies, single-election studies and additionally interpretative and descriptive accounts. This volume is useful to understand the dynamics of caste and regional politics in India, in briefly.

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<sup>38</sup> Louise Tillin, *Remapping India: New States and Their Political Origins*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

<sup>39</sup> Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy, *India's 2009 Elections: Coalition Politics, Party Competition and Congress Continuity*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2011.

Eugene F. Irschick (1969)<sup>40</sup> study on the non-Brahman movement in Madras is a major contribution to our understanding of Tamil separatism, caste conflict, and the evolution of “backward caste” movements in general. Non-Brahman caste Hindus founded the Justice Party in 1916 to oppose the home rule movement, which in Madras was dominated by Brahmins, and to seek British help in ending the near monopoly of Brahmins in administration, higher education, and the Legislative Council. After the Justice party won the Madras Legislative Council Elections of 1920 and 1923, it used its electoral success to expand employment and educational opportunities for non-Brahmins. The Brahmins were bitter about the changes, but since the Congress boycotted the elections, they were unable to prevent anti-Brahmin legislations and administrative orders. In its preoccupation with jobs and in the absence of Congress opposition in the Legislative Council, the Justice party neglected untouchables, social reform, and its own organisation. By 1925, the Justice Party leaders became complacent and inactive. Non-Brahmins were entering the Congress and forcing the Brahmin leaders, who feared further political and economic defeats, to meet non-Brahmin demands. In fact, the decay of the Justice party and the participation of some non-Brahmins in the Congress reflected an important tendency among caste-based political parties. They suggested that Indian political parties with narrow, particularistic goals must eventually broaden their programmes and relate to national politics, or face the danger of eclipse.

An offshoot of the Congress, the Swaraj Party, defeated the Justice Party in the 1926 elections. The Justice Party never recovered its early sense of mission or effective leadership; but it had launched the non-Brahmin movement and achieved many of its original goals. Confident in their new strength, yet ambivalent about conflicts between their regional and national loyalties, non-Brahmin leaders continued their movement on different fronts, in and outside the Congress. The most notable regional effort was Ramaswami Naicker’s Self-Respect Movement, which emphasised the distinctiveness of Tamil culture and contrasted it with the alien, caste-ridden, Sanskrit culture of the Brahmins. Out of the social progressivism and regional chauvinism of the Self-Respect

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<sup>40</sup> Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflicts in South India: the Non-Brahmin Movement and Tamil Separatism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.

Movement, eventually the demand for a separate Tamil country developed. Excellent as this book is, it is disappointing not to find the political analysis more continuously linked to a specific social and cultural context.

Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (ed) (2004)<sup>41</sup> have examined the meaning of India's democracy, by assessing its performance over a period of five years. Rajni Kothari asserts that the potential for social change brought about by representative democracy has reached its limits in India, the electoral process, following the decline of the Congress Party, has created new regional political parties. Agreeing with such an analysis, Javed Alam posits that there is a lack of fit between the aspirations of the people and their representatives, yet it is the ordinary, common people, who are the most committed to Indian democracy. Indeed, Manoranjan Mohanty another contributor to the volume places hope in the people - workers, peasants, Dalits, Adivasis and women to further democratise India's polity by forcing constitutional changes. Despite the advances made by the people, Suhas Palshikar cautions that the Indian elite, in collaboration with the newly emergent Indian middle class, has the potential to establish its hegemony over the democratic system - something it failed to accomplish after independence. In contrast, Jayant Lele contends that the emergence of the rural bourgeoisie, consisting of rich and middle-class members and the urban petty bourgeoisie, has reconstituted the political landscape through the formation of the Bharatiya Janata Party and the National Democratic Alliance. Rajeev Bhargava asserts that the democratic system has fundamentally challenged the traditionally dominant sections of Indian society, by acknowledging the rights of subordinate sections of Indian society, but it has failed to establish democratic ethical values in the daily lives of the people.

In the second part of the book, eight contributors have examined the emergence of new practices within the Indian polity. Thomas Pantham sums up the debate on secularism in the 1990s by arguing that Gandhi's definition of secularism - equal respect of or all religions - continues to be relevant for tackling the rise of Hindu fundamentalism in

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<sup>41</sup> Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar(ed), *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004.

India. Rajendra Vora attributes the rise of Hindu majority to the emergence of caste politics, which lacks transformative potential. V .B. Singh offers a thorough examination of the contemporary political situation, claiming that the decline of the Congress Party is an appropriated development given the pluralistic character of Indian society. Gopal Guru paints a very despondent picture of Dalit movements in India, by arguing that their leadership have de-politicised, instead of radicalizing, the Dalit masses. The analysis offered in the volume summarizes the recent evaluations and reassessments of Indian democracy. There is an overwhelming concern with political parties, but very little discussion of the struggles of people divided along the boundaries of caste, language, region, religion and development, struggles that have shaped Indian democracy.

### ***Significance of the Study***

An objective assessment of regional politics and regional political parties in the Indian states is long overdue. Interestingly, many of the regional political parties in most of the states have largely remained unrecognised and unstudied, although there has been a spate of studies on each of the national parties in India, but very little research has been done on the regional parties. This apathy towards the study of regional political parties seems to be partly rooted in the insufficient appreciation of regional politics as an operationally significant level of inquiry, even though the regional parties in many states have increasingly gained strength and some of them have repeatedly held reins of power at the state level. Such an attitude of scholars may be also partly due to the continuing emphasis on the study of national parties and the dominance of regional parties by national parties. The net result has been that the study of regional parties has not been accorded due institutional support and was allowed to remain a dark area in the studies on Indian politics.

Political scientists from both foreign and Indian, have undertaken studies on political development and political change in the Indian states. These studies, by way of their discussion on parties and political developments, have tended to make only indirect references to the regional political parties in the States. By and large, these studies formed a part of their work on state politics and, therefore, were not expected to deal with the regional parties in details. Both foreign and Indian scholars reveal that due emphasis

was not put by them on the study of Regional political parties and Democracy in India, with special reference to Andhra Pradesh (now Andhra Pradesh and Telangana). The present study differ from previous studies, its main emphasis on Regional political parties role in strengthens of Democracy in India and as well as in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. The present study also deals with how the regional and caste have become base for the emergence of regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh.

### ***Objectives of the Study***

The present thesis has the following Objectives:

- To understand the relation between democracy and political parties. To assess why political parties are the essential ingredients in the process of democratization in Indian parliamentary Democracy.
- To study the basic factors for the emergence of regional political parties and to study the role of caste and region in the emergence of regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh
- To critically evaluate how these two factors caste and region are intertwined in the process of emergence of regional parties in Andhra Pradesh
- To study whether the regional political parties are strengthening the democracy or do they hamper the democratization and region's development.
- To find out the importance of the regional political parties and their role in articulating the region and caste aspiration in Andhra Pradesh.

### ***Research Questions***

The following research questions are raised and answered in the body of the thesis:

- Does cultural plurality lead to the formation of regional political parties in India?
- Do the Regional Political Parties helping to strengthen Indian Democracy?
- Do the dynamics of region and caste of regional political parties of Andhra Pradesh hampering Democracy or aspects of development?

## ***Methodology***

The study adapted qualitative in nature and follows historical, descriptive and content analysis method. For this data has been collected from the primary sources like party manifestos, election commission reports, parliamentary documents, government records and other related data on the political parties. The secondary data has been collected from the published books and articles from various international, national and regional journals, newspapers, internet sources etc. are extensively used in this study.

For the data collection, visited party offices and collected party manifestos, party related material. Collected Election Commission Reports, CSDS data and OBC reports Data on Representatives affiliations of caste and so on, applied content analysis as a method for analysis of the study. For the purpose of the study, Pre-poll election survey data 2013 is used to analyse performance of the parties in Andhra Pradesh and people's views on the parties and party leaders.

My universe of the study is regional political parties in India. Sampling Unit is Andhra Pradesh and Sampling Frame is regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh but main focus is on TDP. Present study focuses on Regional political Parties Role in Democratization process of India and very focus on Andhra Pradesh because of Andhra Pradesh is a very peculiar state in terms of politics, it involved in caste, class and regional politics. Present study main focus is on TDP and also discussed in and around of all parties existed in Andhra Pradesh. For the main reason is to select TDP is, TDP is in power (formed governments) and also in opposition. It will be a good case for the better analysis of the study in different aspects.

## ***Chapterisation***

The present thesis is divided in to Six chapters:

The first chapter is an Introduction of the thesis in which the importance of the study is discussed. Apart from that, it also covers the genesis and evaluation of parties in India and also problem of study, objectives of study, research questions, limitations of study,

and the methodology of study. After steady review of literature, the chapter comes up with view that, there is a dire need to study on regional political parties in India as well in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The second chapter, 'Democracy and Political Parties: An Overview' broadly explores about understanding of democracy and political parties to the present context. It explains the role of political parties in the process of democratization in Indian parliamentary Democracy and also focuses on framework of regional political parties in India. It largely speaks about the role of regional political parties in strengthening democracy in India. And also discussed about reasons for emergence of regional political parties, social base, ideological base and electoral performance of the parties in India.

In the third chapter, 'Democracy and Region: Regional Politics in Andhra Pradesh', has concentrated on the regionalism and its aspects in Andhra Pradesh. This chapter is discussed the role of regional political parties in as promotion of regionalism and the degree of democratization process in Andhra Pradesh.

In the fourth chapter, 'Democracy and Caste Politics in Andhra Pradesh', has explained significance of Caste in politics of Andhra Pradesh. Also explored the issue whether the authoritarian and undemocratic caste system has become a veritable foundation and sustainer of our democratic system. For centuries, the Dalits have continued to be socially oppressed and depressed. It needs to be seen whether they are now getting their share in the state politics and the extent to which the regional political parties are providing space for this disadvantaged section of society.

The fifth chapter, 'Democracy and Role of Regional Political Parties in Andhra Pradesh: A Case of Telugu Desam Party', discusses on role of regional political parties in strengthening democracy in Andhra Pradesh, with special emphasis on the TDP and their degree of success in articulating people's aspirations and acting as agencies that have led to the accommodation of diverse groups in governmental structures.

The last chapter, 'Conclusion' is dealt the summary of thesis with findings of the study.



### ***Limitations of the Study***

The study which is on role of regional political parties has its own limitations. Given the nature of problems and complexity, it can change from time to time and place to place.

The nature of the enquiry is limited, because firstly, the research has been carried on the basis of the review of existing literature in the area. Secondly, present study didn't have the field work in the villages of Andhra Pradesh and also not have the one to one interviews of the party leaders because of its adapted the historical descriptive and content analysis method.

Thirdly, present study focused in general on all India level, and in particular to Andhra Pradesh and more so in and around of TDP. Exclusively not covered each and every party in detail. Fourthly, present study covers from 1950s to 2013.

Fifthly, one has to note that India is a very complex society, and researcher need not find similar pattern throughout India. Indicator may be different in a heterogeneous society from one part of India to another. Indicators in similar society may also vary from one part to another. Hence, the findings of this study may be confined to a limited geographical location or a region. The research findings need not be universally applicable in different parts of India.

Lastly, social science research is not possible in a controlled atmosphere. The research works are influenced by time, space, money and above all by human nature. There is always a scope for error in the research finding and many short comings creep in. The present research work is not free from these things and limitations need to be duly acknowledged with the hope that there is scope for improvement in the future.

## CHAPTER-II

### **Democracy and Political Parties in India: An Overview**

Democracy is being increasingly accepted as the best form of government in the world. There has been mass conversion of many nations, including under developing and developing countries, to the cause of the democracy and its governance. For the successful running of democracy, there is a need for strong and vibrant political parties which could effectively represent their constituents and demonstrate their ability to work for the public good. Political parties are the great tools of democracy and they are the vital link between the state and civil society, between the institutions of government and the groups and interests that operate in the society. The aim of this chapter is to analyze the conceptual framework on democracy and the party political parties. The first part will explain the understanding of democracy and political parties and next part will provide the framework of regional political parties in India.

#### ***Democracy and Political Parties: Conceptual Framework***

Democracy has proved a quite imprecise term to grasp its essence and there is a fair amount of consensus in the literature in respect of what political parties are and of their role in a democratic system. The development of political parties and the party system has been recognized as a mark of political modernization and democratization. Thus the political parties have to be understood within the overall theory and practice of democracy. Democracy can be defined in three different ways in the context of party politics or competitive party system. First, a *minimal* definition of democracy locates the theory and practice of democracy around two principles or values—political competition or contestation, and participation.<sup>1</sup> The notion of contestation ‘captures the uncertain peaceful competition necessary for democratic rule, a principle which presumes the legitimacy of some opposition, the right to challenge the incumbents, the existence of

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<sup>1</sup> Khabele Matlosa, “Political parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization,” Sweden: International IDEA, 2007, p.19

free and fair elections and a consolidated party system'.<sup>2</sup> Participation presupposes political control of the citizens over the people who govern on their behalf. This notion 'captures the idea of popular sovereignty which presumes the protection of the right to vote as well as the existence of universal suffrage'.<sup>3</sup> This is what often referred to as *procedural democracy*.

Second, the *liberal notion of democracy* extends its essence beyond just contestation and participation to include the positive protection and promotion of political rights and civil liberties. It includes other institutional dimensions (guarantees) such as accountability, transparency, constraints upon leaders, the representation of citizens, the rule of law, and property and minority rights. This is what liberal democracy is all about. Third, the *structuralist definition of democracy* extends the theory and practice of democracy beyond the procedural and institutional dimensions found in the first two definitions and introduces the socio-economic dimensions. This is the defining feature of social, or developmental, democracy.<sup>4</sup>

The term democracy, thus, encompasses both a set of ideals and a political system<sup>5</sup>. As a political system, it enjoins upon the government to be answerable to the people. Thus J.R. Lowell says that democracy is only 'an experiment' in government. Lincoln defines it as 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people'. In the words of E. M. Burns, democracy literally means: "all things to all men".<sup>6</sup> According to Robertson David "Democracy means political power in the hands of the people, as opposed to the rule by a few, even if the few are very capable. Democracy only takes on a more useful meaning when qualified by one or the other word with which it is associated, for example liberal democracy, representative democracy, participatory democracy or direct democracy".<sup>7</sup>

The concept of democracy has been expanded steadily in recent times. What was originally a political principle has been enlarged to include social, economic and political

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<sup>2</sup> Landman, T, 'Democracy Analysis', in International IDEA, *Ten Years of Supporting Democracy Worldwide*, Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005, p.20.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Khabele Matlosa, "Political parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization," Sweden: International IDEA, 2007, p.19

<sup>5</sup> David Sills and others, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. IV. New York: The Macmillan Company of the Free Press, 1972, p.112.

<sup>6</sup> Burns, E. M, *Ideas in Conflict*, New York: Macmillan, 1960, p.14.

<sup>7</sup> Robertson, David, *Dictionary of Politics* (Second Edition), London: Penguin Books, p.129.

ideas. Democracy embodies the following ideas and principles: The principle of equality is inextricably linked with the principle of liberty under a democratic government. Democracy, it is claimed, stands for an egalitarian society, in which the individual has equal status with others. W. F. Willoughby says that the term democracy is “unfortunately used in popular discussion, and indeed in much political literature, in two different senses: as designating a society or community in which class distinctions are absent or relatively unimportant, and as designating a distinct form of government. Here, the emphasis is on the doctrine of equality”<sup>8</sup>. Democracy is “a government in which everyone has a share.”<sup>9</sup> Ambedkar’s vision of democracy is based on social justice and ideal society based on equality, liberty and fraternity which strive for the egalitarian values.<sup>10</sup> True democracy gives opportunities to all to take part in political matters. All citizens have the right to vote and to contest elections. The word ‘democracy’ was first used in ancient Greece in the *History* by Herodotus in connection with the concept of *isonomia* (equality before the law).<sup>11</sup>

In the ancient Greek city state of Athens, all citizens took an active part in the governance of the city. Hence, it was direct democracy. Direct democracy is not possible in the modern nation-states which have a large territory and population. All the people in a modern democratic state do not take an active part in the affairs of the government. The people elect their representatives, who are supposed to think, speak and act on their behalf. Hence, in modern times, there is indirect or representative democracy, which means government by elected representatives. In his Gettysburg speech, the USA President Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as a form of government which is, of the people, by the people and for the people. Power is vested in the people, and hence it is government by the people. Government is run by the people through their elected

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<sup>8</sup> Actually quoted John J. Schrems, *Understanding Principles of Politics and the State*, Maryland: University Press of America, 2007, p.4

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Dreze, J, “Dr. Ambedkar and the Future of Indian Democracy,” *Journal of the Human Rights*, 2009, p.113

<sup>11</sup> Urmila Sharma and S.K. Sharma, *Principles and Theory of Political Science*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2007, p.436

representatives. Government is also run for promoting the welfare and happiness of the people.

Democracy stands for a rule of the majority, with adequate safeguards for the minorities. Every state has political parties. The party that wins the majority of seats in the elections comes to power. This means that the democratic system of governance is based on the principle of majority rule. It is assumed that the majority opinion has greater validity than what the minority says. Moreover, taking a realistic point of view, the majority is stronger than the minority. These are two basic reasons justifying majority rule. In a democratic constitution, linguistic, racial, religious and cultural minorities are guaranteed basic rights. Indian Constitution has consonance with this.

In the democratic system of government, every adult citizen has an equal right to express his views on all possible subjects and influence the majority of his fellow citizens to act according to those views. Governmental machinery shall move according to the wishes of the people and for meeting the requirements of the people. Government has to be responsive to public opinion, and in the light of genuine and responsible public criticism, it may have to change its course for the benefit of the people. An unpopular and inefficient government, which has lost the confidence of the people, is likely to be overthrown by the pressure of public criticism and through the ballot box. A. D. Lindsay observes: "Modern democracy stands or falls with the right of discussion and with the existence of a recognised opposition. That implies that the sincere expression of differences is essential to political wisdom."<sup>12</sup>

Democracy is not only a form of government, but also a way of life. Popular sovereignty and freedom to live as one pleases go together. Under a democratic government, the dignity of the human personality is fully recognised. Every individual is free to live in his own way, think freely as he likes, express his opinion freely, move about freely, enjoy the company of people he likes and become a member of associations and parties of his choice. In a democratic country, the individual enjoys liberty and equality. He is given certain minimum rights, called the fundamental rights, on which nobody can encroach.

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<sup>12</sup> Lindsay A. D, *The Modern Democratic State*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961. p.134

He can follow a religion of his choice, speak the language of his choice and have a culture to which he is accustomed. Thus, not only in the political sphere, but in other fields too, the individual enjoys complete freedom. C. C. Maxey says, “Democracy, as reinterpreted in the twentieth century, is thus seen to be more than a political formula, more than a system of government, more than a social order. It is a search for a way of life in which voluntary free intelligence and activity of man can be harmonized and coordinated with the least possible coercion, and it is the belief that such a way of life is the best way for all mankind, the way most in keeping with the nature of man and the nature of the universe”.<sup>13</sup>

Political parties are organized groups that are formed with the sole purpose of articulating and aggregating the interests of the group, contesting control over state power and government, and directing a country’s development process in line with their own ideological orientations and their policy frameworks.<sup>14</sup> Hess described political parties as groups of people who have collectively to pursue their common political and social goals. Parties are formed in all societies and states wherever the people energetically participate in the political process. Political parties allow the individuals to organise and to articulate their political opinions and attempt for the realisation of their political aims as a group.<sup>15</sup> In line with Maliyamkono and Kanyangolo says that political party is an organised group of people working along to vie for political power and promote agreed-upon policies.<sup>16</sup> Andrew Heywood says that political party could be a group of individuals that’s organized for the capture of government power, by electoral or other means.<sup>17</sup> He observes that political parties are typically confused with ‘interest groups’.<sup>18</sup> Democracy can be meaningful only when it has vibrant and vigilant political parties. However, the formal definition of democracy may not always talk about political parties.

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<sup>13</sup> Maxey, C. C, *Political Philosophies*. Delhi: Surjeet Publications, 2007, p.690

<sup>14</sup> Khabele Matlosa, “Political parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization,” Sweden: International IDEA, 2007, p.20

<sup>15</sup> Hess, H, *Party Work in Social-Democratic Parties: A Practical Handbook*, Bonn, Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, 1994 (mimeo), p.15

<sup>16</sup> Maliyamkono, T. and Kanyangolo, F(eds), *When Political Parties Clash*, Dar-es-Salaam: Tema Publishers, 2003, p.41

<sup>17</sup> Khabele Matlosa, “Political parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization,” Sweden: International IDEA, 2007, p.20

<sup>18</sup> Heywood, A., *Politics*, 2nd edn, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p.248

Also, the constitutions of most democratic countries do not envisage a role for such parties. This brings us to the related issue of 'Party System' which incorporates factors like: the relationship that exists between a country's constitution, the electoral laws, etc., and the number of parties that may exist in that country. Lemay M. C. says that political party, as "any group of politically active persons outside a government who organise to capture government by nominating and electing officials who thereby control the operations of government and determine its policies."<sup>19</sup> Political parties have become important players in the electoral process, which includes setting up candidates and conducting election campaigns. The recent years have thrown up a succession of unstable governments. Such a phenomenon can perhaps be attributed to the anarchic and chaotic functioning of political parties. It has also become common to see alliances and coalitions being cobbled up, broken and changed at whim, and the balance of power seems to be held not by those at the Union level, but by minor players on the fringes.

Political parties have helped in crystallising public opinion and making democracy workable and meaningful. They provide the vital linkages between the people and the representative machinery of the government. They make people politically conscious, that is, aware of their role as citizens. This role cannot be performed simply by voting, but must be a continuous one, if government is to be kept responsive to public interest. Thus, political parties have the responsibility of maintaining a continuous connection between the people and their representatives, either in the government or in the opposition. Edmund Burke says that 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 agreed.<sup>20</sup>

Another way of looking at the term "party" is to consider it as a group of more or less professional workers. At times, the term party refers to a group within the government. Yet, both analytically and operationally, the term party generally refers to several types

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<sup>19</sup> Lemay. M. C., *Public Administration*, California: Wadsworth Publisher, 2001, p.112

<sup>20</sup> Quoted from Paul Langford (ed), *The Writings and speeches of Edmund Burke*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, p.317

of groups; and it is useful to have clarity about the way in which the term is used.<sup>21</sup> Leon D. Epstein says, “A political party is any group however loosely organised seeking to elect government officeholders under a given label”.<sup>22</sup> According to Joseph Schlesinger, “a political party is a group organised to gain control of government in the name of the group by winning election to public offices”.<sup>23</sup> John Aldrich says that political parties can be seen as “a coalition of elites to capture and use political office, but a political party is more than a coalition. It is an institutionalized coalition, one that has adopted rules, norms and procedures”.<sup>24</sup>

In any political system, political parties perform a number of functions. Political parties contest elections, with a view to exercise (or gain) political power (authority).<sup>25</sup> Parties purportedly help in the spread of political education, interest aggregation, political socialisation, and political recruitment. Scholars differ about the precise role and function of political parties. Those who support “participatory,” “direct,” “deliberative,” or “strong” democracy often treat parties with a degree of skepticism, since they feel that citizens should discuss issues and determine priorities within each community, and not be influenced by partisan bias. This is not an entirely recent perspective. In fact, even as far back as the eighteenth century, Madison and Rousseau perceived party organisations as “sinister interests” prone to undermining, perverting, or usurping the will of the majority’.<sup>26</sup> However, in actual practice, such as referenda, initiatives, and community town-hall meetings can only have a restricted role in determining policy for and governing mass societies.<sup>27</sup> The potential functions of political parties can include the following: “The integration and mobilization of citizens; the articulation and aggregation

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<sup>21</sup> Key. V. O.Jr, *Politics, Parties in Western Democracies*, New Brunham: Transaction Books, 1980, pp-163-5

<sup>22</sup> Leon D. Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1980, p.9. 36

<sup>23</sup> Joseph Schlesinger, *Political Parties and the Winning of Office*. USA: University of Michigan Press, 1991, p.6

<sup>24</sup> John. H. Aldrich, *Why Parties?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, p.19

<sup>25</sup> Yaqub N. Political Parties in the Transition Process, in B. Onuoha and M.M. Fadakinte (eds). *Transition Politics in Nigeria: 1970- 1999*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002, p.126

<sup>26</sup> Richard S. Katz, *Democracy and Elections*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p4

<sup>27</sup> Schatterschneider. E.E, *Party Government*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1942, p.67.



of interests; the formulation of public policy; the recruitment of political leaders; and the organization of parliament and government”.<sup>28</sup>

Andrew Heywood identifies four characteristics that distinguish parties from other organized groups. Political parties, according to him:

- ❖ Aim to aim to exercise government power by winning political office (small parties could use elections more to gain a platform than to win power);
- ❖ are organized bodies with a formal ‘card-carrying’ membership. This distinguishes them from broader and more diffuse social movements;
- ❖ typically adopt a broad issue focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy (small parties, however, could have a single-issue focus, so resembling interest groups); and
- ❖ are united to varying degrees by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, it is noted that without political parties, politics is reduced to unbridled opportunism and also the overt selfish interest of individual politicians who could derail the nation-building process and also the democratic development.<sup>30</sup> ‘without robust political parties and institutions that are accountable and effective, that can negotiate and articulate compromises to respond to conflicting demands, the door is effectively open to those populist leaders who can seek to bypass the institutions of government, particularly a system of checks and balances, and also the rule of law’.<sup>31</sup> Sachikonye says that ‘historically, political parties have played a vital role in founding and consolidating systems of governance. Parties aggregate numerous demands into coherent political programmes. They then translate these programmes into effective collective action through elections and legitimated control of political office’.<sup>32</sup> The first reason for the existence of parties is to contest and capture state power (ideally through peaceful

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<sup>28</sup> Stefano Bartolini and Peter Mair, “Challenges to Contemporary Political Parties”, in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther (eds). *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, p.67

<sup>29</sup> Heywood, A., *Politics*, 2nd edn, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p.248

<sup>30</sup> Khabele Matlosa, “Political parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization,” Sweden: International IDEA, 2007, p.21

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

means). These peaceful means involve parties' contestation of power through regular multiparty elections.

From the conceptual discussion above it is evident that political parties are among the foremost necessary organizations in modern democracies<sup>33</sup>; Democracy, it is argued, could be a system of competitive political parties.<sup>34</sup> The competitive electoral context, within which many political parties organise the alternatives that face voters, is what identifies modern democracy'.<sup>35</sup> To a great extent, political parties, in theory, have to be compelled to advance political pluralism, enhance citizen participation within the political process, broaden the representation of different political opinions and ideologies within the governance process, ensure the peaceful and democratic transfer of political power at both national and regional levels, increase the accountability of governments, and provides the necessary legitimacy to both the government of the day and the political system as a whole.<sup>36</sup> Mohamed Salih segregates four major functions of political parties.

- ❖ *“They endow regimes with legitimacy by providing ideologies, leadership or opportunities for political participation, or a mix of all the 3.*
- ❖ *they act as a medium for political achievement, so making opportunities for upward social quality.*
- ❖ *they offer opportunities for the formation of coalitions of powerful political interests to sustain government (interest aggregation), have major influence on policies as results of fashioning programmes, supervise policy implementation, and promote the political socialization or mobilization of individuals to undertake help activities.*
- ❖ *they offer political stability in societies that are able to absorb increasing levels of political participation by the new social forces generated by modernization.”<sup>37</sup>*

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<sup>33</sup> ibid

<sup>34</sup> ibid

<sup>35</sup> Mohamed Salih, M, *African Democracies and African Politics*, London: Pluto Press, 2001, p.34

<sup>36</sup> Khabele Matlosa, “Political parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization,” Sweden: International IDEA, 2007, p.22

<sup>37</sup> ibid

Mohamed Salih supplementary highlights the political importance of political parties to democracy by observing that in competitive political systems. Parties present ‘the connection between the party system and government on the one hand, and between government and society on the other’.<sup>38</sup> Thus, only if parties are a vital element of a representative democracy that ensure political competition and advance citizen participation, nowadays ‘the debate is no longer whether or not there ought to be parties, however but the party system ought to be pluralist or not’.<sup>39</sup>

Thus it is necessary to highlight from the outset that political parties do play an important role in a very cheerful and successful democracy, but they also will conjointly become an obstacle to each democratic transition and democratic consolidation. In a very recent fascinating study on political parties by Alycia Kellman makes an argument that ‘the study of political parties and also the institutional structures that support them is inherently related to the study of democracy. Political parties serve as the primary link between government and society. As such, they have a unique role in fostering democratic governance and making certain that it’s responsive to societal needs. If they fail in this role, true democracy has very little probability of surviving’.<sup>40</sup> She then comes to the logical conclusion that ‘political parties should be conceptualized as instruments which will either work for, or against, democratic forces. Ideally, political parties “help flip citizen interests and demands into policies and laws”. However, if they fail in this mission, the whole democratic experiment will disintegrate’.<sup>41</sup> It is abundantly evident from the extant literature that political parties are central to both democratization and democratic consolidation.<sup>42</sup> However, in contrary to this, in several developed and developing countries, parties tend to fail to play a political role that enhances their

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<sup>38</sup> Mohamed Salih M, (ed.), *African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalisation and Governance* London: Pluto Press, 2003, p.7

<sup>39</sup> Doorenspleet, R, “Political Parties, Party Systems and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa,” in Mohamed Salih(ed.), *African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalisation and Governance*, London: Pluto Press, 2003, p.169

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*

<sup>41</sup> *ibid*

<sup>42</sup> Kadima, D, *The Politics of Party Coalitions in Africa*, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), 2006, p.18

intrinsic institutional and functional value to democratization and democratic consolidation.<sup>43</sup>

### ***Party System and Political Parties in India***

The Party System is defined by Eckstein, as ‘competitive interaction patterns among parties’<sup>44</sup> in Duverger’s terms, as ‘the forms and modes of their coexistence, then degree of competition is clearly a crucial variable.’<sup>45</sup> Broadly, the party system refers to complex social and political processes that go beyond individual leaders, societal associations, political groups and organisations to intricate patterns of their interaction and interrelationships. These interaction patterns are governed not only by constitutions, statutes, rules, regulations and institutions, but a whole range of live issues that shape political attitudes and behaviours at critical stages of evolution in a society and polity. The multi-cultural society that India is, it has seen coalitions<sup>46</sup> at all possible levels - national, inter-regional, regional, rural, urban, etc. The parties are at the centre of Indian politics as in any other major democracies. The choices facing the voters, are simplified by the fact that politicians find it necessary to ally with each other under party labels. Rajni Kothari has stated, in his *Politics in India*, that the party system evolved from an identifiable political centre. This political centre, carved during the nationalist movement, was comprised of the political elite sharing a common socio-economic background, i.e., educated, urban, upper-caste people belonging mainly to middle and upper classes. The common social background of the elite resulted in the homogeneity that became a defining feature of the political centre, as well as of the party system. Members of the ruling party and the opposition, coming from the same social background, shared the social perceptions and had convergence of views on many issues. A consensus, therefore, existed within the system around the basic values.

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<sup>43</sup> Khabele Matlosa, “Political parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization,” Sweden: International IDEA, 2007, p.22

<sup>44</sup> Harry Eckstein, “Parties, Political: Party system,” *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol.11, New York, 1968, p.436.

<sup>45</sup> Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern state* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition), New York: Wiley, 1962, p.203

<sup>46</sup> Bertrand Lefebvre and Cyril Robin, “Pre-electoral Coalitions, Party System and Electoral Geography: A Decade of General Elections in India (1999–2009),” *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, Vol.3, 2009, p.68

The party system in India is unique. It does not fit in any kind of classification that is generally used to categorize the party systems in several other countries. It is defined by the singular nature of Indian politics, on the one hand, and the nature of the state-society relationship, on the other. In the last two decades, there has been a substantial change both in the nature of politics, as well as in nature of relationship between the state and the society. One of the very important manifestations of change is visible in the context of the politicization of greater number of people, especially those who were, till very recently, kept out of the mainstream. Naturally, the change in political awareness has impacted the very functioning of the party system in the country. The distinctive features that characterized the party system of India in the first two decades after independence are no more to be seen at present. The present nature of the party system can be best understood by tracing its history and referring to its political logic in the context of the changing state-society relationship.

India, the largest democracy of the world, has the distinction of having a very large number and bewildering range of parties: secular, nationalist, socialist, conservative, radical, communist, regional, religious, tribal and caste-based, etc. These are issues like great variation in terms of organizational structure and functioning which make any sweeping generalization a difficult proposition.<sup>47</sup> Thus the party system in any country is largely dependent on the political culture prevailing there. In turn, the political culture of a society is determined by the values and participatory attitudes that the people of that country, by and large, hold. The “Political parties and the party system in India have been greatly influenced by cultural diversity, social, ethnic, caste, community and religious pluralism, traditions of the nationalist movement, contrasting style of party leadership, and clashing ideological perspectives”.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Suri.K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.26

<sup>48</sup> R.N. Mirdha and R.B Jain, “Review of the Working of Political Parties specially the relation to Elections and Reform Options,” *Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies (ICPS)*, New Delhi: Vignan Bavan Annex, 2001, p.2

### ***Party System in India: Colonial Period***

The establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 has triggered the evolution of the Party System in India. In the first ever meeting held on 29 December, 1885, in Bombay, with the initial efforts of A. O. Hume along with prominent personalities of intelligentsia, which subsequently evolved as an organizational base for India's national movement against British imperialism. Ever since its foundation the Indian National Congress Party had been the dominant political party in Indian and gained popularity, it set in motion the process of different ideas to bloom, rules of political organization and competition among different groups to mobilize people on issues of public importance. Throughout the process, the Congress acted as the pivot on which the party system hinged. The evolution of the Congress during the pre-independence period can be broadly divided in three stages, during which it first grew as a movement and a political party. In the process, it also developed the Indian Party System. During the period from 1885 to 1905, it was more-or-less confined its role to that of an elite debating forum that approached the government for extra privileges for the few. Some cynics have gone to the extent of terming the activities of the Congress Party of that time as 'politics of mendicancy'<sup>49</sup>.

The second stage, that spanned the decade 1905-16), was marked by the disagreement between two powerful sections within the Party. The moderates believed in their strategy of petitions and appeals, and also in the sense of fair play of the British. On the other hand, the extremists were in favour of adopting a more aggressive strategy for pressing their demands<sup>50</sup>. The Lal –Bal- Pal trio (Lala Lajpat Rai, Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal) recalled the glorious past of India, to raise the self-confidence of Indians. The trio believed in the statement of Tilak, 'Political rights will have to be fought for'. The moderates always believed in persuasion. Though they cooperated in the Swadeshi and boycott movements, as well as protest against partition of Bengal, the moderates, led by Dadabhai Naoroji, supported and adopted Swaraj and self-rule as the aim of the Congress movement in 1907 session of the Congress. The two groups formally split in

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<sup>49</sup> Paul R. Brass and Francis Robinson, *Indian National Congress and Indian Society*, New Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1987, p.3

<sup>50</sup> Ajay K. Mehra, Khanna D.D, *Political Parties and Party System*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003, p.63

the Surat session of Congress in 1907. Both groups went their separate ways for nearly a decade, till they re-united in 1916.

The developments in the Congress party of two very articulate groups, with vastly divergent political strategies, working together for some time, then moving apart and finally re-uniting, can be treated as the launching pad for the evolution of the party system in India. In the process another instance of the party system taking firm roots in the country was the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League in 1906, which conceded the demand of the Muslim League for a separate electorate for Muslims and Minorities. All this went on to show that within the same party, there was scope for accommodating even contrasting shades of opinion. The third stage, spanned the period 1916 to 1946. The early years were marked by a number of Congress-led movements. The phase ended with the formation of an interim Government under Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi's joining the nationalist struggle transformed the nature of the freedom movement and Indian politics through the principle of '*ahimsa* and *satyagraha*' and mobilisation of all section of society. Nehru described the changes brought about in the Congress, as follows:

*"Gandhi, for the first time, entered the Congress organisation and immediately brought about a complete change in the constitution. He made it democratic and a mass organisation. Democratic it had been previously also, but it had so far been limited in franchise and restricted to the upper classes. Now the peasants rolled in and, in its new grab, it began to assume the look of a vast agrarian organisation with a strong sprinkling of middle classes. This agrarian character was to grow. Industrial workers also came in but as individuals and not in their separate organized capacity".*<sup>51</sup>

The transition in the strategy and social base of the Congress, from that of petitioning to engaging in mass politics, from elitist to mass base, by about 1920 greatly helped in the development of the party system in India. With the opening of membership of the Congress organisation to the masses with each stage of the civil disobedience movements during the 1920s and 1930s (on issues like land taxes, land reforms in rural areas of Bihar, Gujarat, the Andhra area and Uttar Pradesh) helped the Congress Party to expand both its cadre and leadership base and accommodate even persons from small towns and rural areas. Congress transcended from being an elite debating club to articulating the

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<sup>51</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 14th impression, Bombay: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1964, p.360

aspirations of the people during the initial years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As the Congress got transformed into a mass movement by 1916, the rules for operation of the party system evolved and rival groups came to the fore. With elections becoming more and more competitive, the party system started taking a more concrete shape. The events gave rise to the moderate-extremist debate, Gandhi's differences with Jinnah and Subhash Chandra Bose and their parting of ways paved the way for the launching of the All India Forward Bloc in 1939 by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. The Swaraj Party was formed in 1922 by CR Das over the issue of participation in the provincial assemblies and the party's subsequent return to the Congress fold strengthened the culture of dissent and created an atmosphere of tolerance.

The formation of Congress Socialist Party (CSP) group in 1934, with the active involvement of Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan, principally opposed to the Gandhian strategy and tactics like Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, signified that a single party could not accommodate persons having different ideological positions on contentious issues. Aware of the difficulties involved, Jayaprakash Narayan in 1934 told his followers, "We are placing before Congress a programme and we want the Congress to accept it. If the Congress does not accept it, we do not say we are going out of Congress. If today we fail, tomorrow we will try and if tomorrow we fail, we will try again".<sup>52</sup> The contribution of CSP within the Congress by advocating different left oriented ideology was an indication of democratization of the party. Though after a prolonged disagreement with Patel group, the Socialist felt compelled to leave the Congress in 1945, the existence of the CSP for a decade and half and its politics contained the seeds of an emerging party system.

The formation of Muslim League on 30 December 1906 was an extension of the quest of the Muslim intelligentsia and wealthy elite for a place under the British. It led them to contest the nationalist politics of the Congress and affirmation of loyalty to the Crown. Whether it was Partition of Bengal or the question of a separate electorate for the Muslims, the British took special care to see that members of separate identity, existing among the Muslim elite, were kept smoldering and were fanned in to a raging flame by

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<sup>52</sup> Ajay K. Mehra, Khanna D.D, *Political Parties and Party System*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003, p.71



encouraging confrontationalist and communal politics of Muslim league. This shows the emerging socio-economic contradictions that shaped the politics of that time. From its formation in 1906 till it made a demand for a separate state of Pakistan for the Muslims, it remained part of pre-independence party system.

The Communist Party of India (CPI) was initially launched as an emigrant group by the end of 1920 by M.N. Roy, who dispatched several Indian communist trained in Russia to organize a communist movement in India. The party was almost dormant during the Indian national movement. Yet, it was banned many times by the British. It received the recognition of the government in July 1942 since it supported the British-Indian War Time Home policy and termed the 'Quit India Movement', launched by the Congress, as anti-people.

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was established in 1925 by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar along with four trusted friends in Nagpur. An active Congressman from 1916 to 1924, he was once general secretary of Nagpur PCC. Activities of Islamic fundamentalists in 1920s across the country led him to believe in the need for organizing the Hindu society, particularly the youth, to keep a balance and obviate the possibility of Muslim domination. This was basically 'a kind of educational body whose objective was to train a group of Hindu men who, on the basis of their character building experience in RSS, would work to unite the Hindu community so that India could again become an independent country and evolve into a creative society'.<sup>53</sup> Even prior to RSS, as an immediate reaction of the founding of the Muslim League, organizations like United Bengal Hindu Movement and Punjab Hindu Maha Sabha were established, which culminated in the establishment of Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha. It was later on joined by many Arya Samaji's and active supporters and members of the Congress like Lala Lajpat Rai and Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, who continued to be simultaneously in the Congress also. The new crop of Mahasabha Leaders like Vinayak Damodar Savarkar remained in active politics. So did Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, the leader from Bengal, a prominent Congress leader who on differences over the issue of the lenient attitude of

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<sup>53</sup> Walter K. Anderson and Sridhar D. Damle, *The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*, New Delhi: Vistar Publishers, 1987, p.2

Congress towards Pakistan in 1950, quit the Congress Party and founded the Bhartiya Jana Sangh (BJS) with the active support of the RSS.

### ***Party System in India: Post-Colonial Period***

The Congress virtually monopolised the political arena as the only dominant party by virtue of its identification with the independence movement. Thus by 1951, the time when preparations for first general election were on, four major group of parties emerged in the India's political arena. The Congress, Socialist Party, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP), and many smaller states parties formed the first group who believed in a democratic and secular state, as enshrined in the Constitution. The Communist factions in India, which were opposed to the western type parliamentary democracy and advocated the Soviet or the Chinese models, formed the other group. The third group consisted of Hindu sectarian parties like the Bharatiya Jan Sangh (BJS), Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad. The fourth group consisted of parties like the Akali Dal, Scheduled Castes Federation, Jharkhand Party, and Tamilnadu Congress, all of which were having regional agendas. This was an uneven contest as the Congress enjoyed mass support among all section of society by virtue of its identification with the independence movement. In this context, it is significant to mention here that the day prior to his assassination in January 1948, Gandhi had planned to suggest to the Congress Working Committee that the Congress 'as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine has outlived its use' and that 'it must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties'. He wanted the Congress to become a non-political, non-governmental social service society only focusing on rural development'<sup>54</sup> but Congress party continued as a political party and played a dominant role in Indian politics.

After the independence of India, the first general elections were held in 1952. For a very long time, the Congress Party was the dominant party in India, so that party ruled at the centre up to the 1970s. At the time of the first general elections, 53 parties were recognised. Of these, 14 were national parties and 39, regional parties. We can observe that national political parties are declining and regional political have been growing in strength and importance. The Congress was the dominant party from 1952 to 1977.

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<sup>54</sup> Myron Weiner, *Party Building in a New Nation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, p.39

During this period, the party totally dominated other parties both in terms of Lok Sabha seats and vote share. On the other hand, there was no consistent performance by the other parties. For instance, in 1952, while the Socialist Party was second in terms of vote share, the CPI won more number of seats. The second position was occupied by different parties from time to time. However, during the 1977 Lok Sabha Poll, the Congress party got relegated to the second position, while the newly formed Janata Party occupied the pole position. Since then, the political scenario of India has been changing. Both in terms of vote share and number of seats won, the regional parties have been performing well vis-à-vis national parties.

The Congress, as expected, in first general election won 45 percent of the national vote and 73 percent of the seats (363 out of 489) in the Lok Sabha. In the State Assemblies, the Congress won 68.47 percent of the seats (2248 out of 3283) with 42.2 percent of votes and secured a majority in all but three states, where again it emerged as the single largest party. Out of the 14 parties that entered the fray as national parties, only five (Congress, Socialist Party, KMPP, CPI and BJS) could retain their status as national parties, by garnering more than 3 percent of the votes polled. The Congress dominance continued till the mid-1960s, except with the exception of Non-Congress Coalition in Kerala as early as 1956. In first two decades after independence, in the absence of a fully grown democratic system and Congress party's total domination of political space, the regional sentiments were expressed differently through the Congress party itself, where democratisation of the party was still intact. The regional pressure that was exerted on the Congress Centre, actually came from regional satraps from within the Congress. This period came to be known as the era of strong Chief Ministers ( some of these leaders were: K. Kamaraj Nadar of Tamilnadu, S.K. Patil of Bombay, N.Sanjiva Reddy of Andhra Pradesh, and S. Nijalingappa of Mysore)<sup>55</sup>, which eventually came to be termed as the 'federalisation' of the Congress party<sup>56</sup>. In a way, regional pulls were so much in operation that the Congress in 1960s had to work like a federal organisation whose state units were at times behaving like regional parties, putting all kinds of pressures to force the central leadership to yield to their demands. According to tables 3.4 and 3.3 parties

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<sup>55</sup> Rahman M.M, *The Congress Crisis*. Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1970, p.103

<sup>56</sup> Myron Weiner, *State Politics in India*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978, p.49

like Akali Dal, Peasant workers party of India, Revolutionary Socialists, Jharkhand Party and Gana Parishad played a significant role in the politics of in India.

**Table 2.1: Position and performance of the Congress and the ‘Second party’<sup>57</sup> since 1952**

Year	Congress’ Performance				Relative Position of the Congress Compared to the “Second” Party					
	Total seats	% of votes	Seats won	% of seats	Second Party vote	Difference	Second Party Seats	Difference	% of seats	Difference
1952	489	45.0	363	74.2	10.6(SP)	63.7	16(CPI)	347	3.3	71.0
1957	494	47.8	371	75.1	10.4(PSP)	64.7	27(CPI)	344	5.5	69.6
1962	494	44.7	361	73.1	10.0(CPI)	63.1	29(CPI)	332	5.9	67.2
1967	520	40.8	283	54.4	9.3(BJS)	45.1	44(SWA)	239	8.5	46.0
1971	518	43.7	352	68.0	10.4(INCO)	57.5	25(CPM)	327	4.8	63.1
1977	542	34.5	154	28.4	41.3(BLD)	-12.9	295(BLD)	-141	54.4	-26.0
1980	529	39.5	197	37.2	17.8(JP)	47.8	41(JNPS)	312	7.8	59.0
1984	514	49.0	404	87.6	7.7(BJP)	70	22(CPM)	382	4.3	74.3
1989	529	39.5	197	37.2	17.8(JD)	19.5	143(JD)	54	27.0	10.2
1991	534	36.4	244	45.7	20.1(BJP)	25.6	120(BJP)	124	22.5	23.2
1996	543	28.8	140	25.8	20.3(BJP)	5.5	161(BJP)	-21	29.7	-3.9
1998	543	25.8	141	26.0	25.6(BJP)	0.4	182(BJP)	-41	33.5	-7.9
1999	543	28.3	114	21.0	23.8(BJP)	-2.8	182(BJP)	-68	33.5	-12.5
2004	543	26.5	145	26.7	22.2(BJP)	4.5	138(BJP)	7	25.4	1.3

Source: Data Unit, Lokniti-CSDS, Delhi

Table 3.2 explains the domination of Congress party and position and performance of ‘second party’ since 1952. Second party means relative position of party with compare to the Congress party. Congress party was dominant party from 1952 to 1971, it was enjoyed the absolute majority in seat and vote share. According to the data BJP was emerged as second party and alternative to the Congress. Baratiya Lok Dal, CPI, CPM and Socialists were also played a role as second party for a short span of time. As a whole congress party was the dominated in all aspects since independence.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Second party’ means relatively second position in the Lok Sabha after the Congress party

### ***Party System in India: Types and Legal Position***

Most democratic countries do not have specific constitutional provision or legal sanction for regulating the functioning of political parties. However, some governmental systems have sought to lay down some conditions for the operation of the party system.<sup>58</sup> The Constitution of India does not make a direct mention of political parties. However, in the Tenth Schedule contains a provision that directly speaks about the functioning of political parties has been added to the Constitution by Fifty-second Amendment Act, 1985.<sup>59</sup> It deals with the disqualification of a person from continuing to be a member of either House of Parliament (Art. 102(2)) or the Legislative Assembly or Legislative Council of a State (Art.191(2)), on the ground of defection<sup>60</sup> from the party on whose ticket he or she had won the election. Since the Constitution of India does not contain sufficiently detailed constitutional provisions regarding the regulation of political parties, the ‘onus’ of framing and administering the rules and regulations in this area has fallen on the Election Commission, a constitutional body responsible for the conduct of elections.<sup>61</sup> Thus, the final authority to accord recognition and status of political parties to the association or body of citizens of India is the Election Commission of India.<sup>62</sup>

According to Article 29A (1) and (2) of the Representation of People’s Act 1951<sup>63</sup>, “any association or body of individuals of India calling itself a political party is required to make an application to the Election Commission for its registration as a political party within thirty days following the date of its formation”.<sup>64</sup> Article 29A (5)<sup>65</sup> requires that the applicant party should submit a copy of the memorandum or rules and regulations of the association or body. These documents must highlight: true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India, and to the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy and to safeguard the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India. The Election Symbols

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<sup>58</sup> Subhash C. Kashyap, “*Review of the working of Political Parties especially in relation to Elections and Reform options*”, New Delhi: Vigyan Bavan Annex, January 8, 2001, A Consultation Paper, accessed from <http://lawmin.nic.in/ncrwc/finalreport/v2b1-8.htm>, retrieved on 10 August 2013.

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Mangal Chandra Jain Kagzi, *The Constitution of India*, New Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co. private Ltd, 1987, p.613

<sup>62</sup> “Ministry of Law and Justice”, Retrieved from [www.lawmin.nic.in](http://www.lawmin.nic.in), retrieved on 10 August 2014.

<sup>63</sup> Bakshi, P. M, *The Constitution of India*. New Delhi: Universal Publishers, 2000. P.562

<sup>64</sup> *ibid*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

(Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968,<sup>66</sup> as amended from time to time, regulates how the recognized political parties would be granted the status of either national or regional political parties based on their areas of operation (or influence), objectives and interests.<sup>67</sup> The National Party means a party have a influential power on national level and defined as per the constitutional protocol as the party securing at least 6 percent of the valid votes (this means total votes polled) in favor of more than 4 states in Lok Sabha and Assembly Elections. It has to win at least 4 seats in the Lok Sabha in one or more states and 2 percent of seats in Lok Sabha are elected from at least 3 different states. Similarly, a regional party should have secured 6 percent of valid votes in a state and win one out of every thirty assembly seats in the state, and one out of every twenty five Lok Sabha seats in the state. The performance of the various parties in the previous elections has been a major determinant of the number of national parties. No wonder, the number of national parties has kept on varying ever since 1952, when the first general elections were held. In 1951, there were 14 National parties, while presently there are 7 National political parties.<sup>68</sup>

The party system is largely conditioned by its cultural fabric, the values and participatory attitudes that the people hold make up the political culture of the country.<sup>69</sup> The party system prevalent in any country can either be: single party, bi-party, and multi-party systems. The legal and constitutional position of political parties is not the same in all countries. Another classification of political parties in India by observers, academics and political analysts is: All India parties, Regional parties and Local parties. This is based on their territorial or geographical representation<sup>70</sup>. It must be emphasized that such a categorization is more of an academic exercise or as a matter of convenience to argue a particular point, or identify them in a particular way and has no official sanction, either of

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<sup>66</sup> Mangal Chandra Jain Kagzi, *The Constitution of India*, New Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co. private Ltd, 1987, p.614

<sup>67</sup> Pruthi, *Principles of Political Science*, New Delhi: Mohit Publications, 2006, pp.6-7.

<sup>68</sup> Subhash C. Kashyap, "Review of the working of Political Parties especially in relation to Elections and Reform options, New Delhi: Vigyan Bavan Annex, January 8, 2001, A Consultation Paper, accessed from <http://lawmin.nic.in/ncrwc/finalreport/v2b1-8.htm>, retrieved on 10 August 2013.

<sup>69</sup> Sirsikar, V.M and Fernandes. L, *Indian Political Parties*, New Delhi: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1984, p.4.

<sup>70</sup> *ibid*

the Government or the Election Commission of India<sup>71</sup>. Likewise, the terming of a party as a party of the left, right, centre, socialist, communist, communalist or leader- centered, etc., too does not carry any official recognition. According to Para 2 (h) of the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968, “a Political Party means an association or body of individual citizens of India registered with the Election Commission of India as a political party under Section 29A of the Representation of People’s Act of 1951”<sup>72</sup>. As per para 6A of the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968<sup>73</sup>, as amended, a political party shall be treated as a recognized National party, if, and only if, -

*“either (A) (i) the candidates set up by it, in any four or more States, at the last general election to the House of the People, or to the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned, have secured not less than six percent of the total valid votes polled in their respective States at that general election; and (ii) in addition, it has returned at least four members to the House of the People at the aforesaid last general election from any State or States”<sup>74</sup>;*

*or (B) (i) its candidates have been elected to the House of the People, at the last general election to that House, from at least two percent of the total number of parliamentary constituencies in India, any fraction exceeding one-half being counted as one; and (ii) the said candidates have been elected to that House from not less than three States.”<sup>75</sup>*

According to para 6B of the afore said Order<sup>76</sup>, a political party, other than a National party, shall be treated as a recognized State party in a State or States, if, and only if, -

*“either (A) (i) the candidates set up by it, at the last general election to the House of the People, or to the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned, have secured not less than six percent of the total valid votes polled in that State at that general election; and (ii) in addition, it has returned at least two members to the Legislative Assembly of the State at the last general election to that Assembly;*

*or (B) it wins at least three percent of the total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State, (any fraction exceeding one-half being counted as one), or at least three seats in the Assembly, whichever is more, at the aforesaid general election.”<sup>77</sup>*

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<sup>71</sup> ibid

<sup>72</sup> ibid

<sup>73</sup> Bakshi, P. M, *The Constitution of India*, New Delhi: Universal Publishers, p.563

<sup>74</sup> Subhash C. Kashyap, “Review of the working of Political Parties especially in relation to Elections and Reform options, New Delhi: Vigyan Bavan Annex, January 8, 2001, A Consultation Paper, accessed from <http://lawmin.nic.in/ncrwc/finalreport/v2b1-8.htm>, retrieved on 10 August 2013.

<sup>75</sup> ibid

<sup>76</sup> Bakshi, P. M, *The Constitution of India*, New Delhi: Universal Publishers, p.563

<sup>77</sup> Subhash C. Kashyap, “Review of the working of Political Parties especially in relation to Elections and Reform options,” New Delhi: Vigyan Bavan Annex, January 8, 2001, A Consultation Paper, accessed from <http://lawmin.nic.in/ncrwc/finalreport/v2b1-8.htm>, retrieved on 10 August 2013.

According to para 6C of the said Order, “if a political party is recognized as a National party under paragraph 6A, or as a State party under paragraph 6B, the question whether it shall continue to be so recognized after any subsequent general election to the House of the People or, as the case may be, to the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned, shall be dependent upon the fulfillment by it of the conditions specified in the said paragraphs on the results of that general election.”<sup>78</sup>

**Table 2.2: Recognized Political Parties represented in the Lok Sabha after Independence**

Year	Participated in the elections	Recognised parties			Represented	With at least 10 seats	With at least 1% Vote share
		National	Regional	Total			
1952	53	14	39	53	22	3	10
1957	15	4	11	15	12	3	6
1962	27	5	11	17	20	5	8
1967	25	7	14	21	18	8	9
1971	53	8	17	25	24	7	11
1977	34	5	15	20	18	4	8
1980	36	6	19	25	17	7	8
1984	33	7	17	24	21	5	12
1989	113	8	20	28	24	6	10
1991	145	9	28	37	24	7	10
1996	209	8	30	37	39	8	16
1998	176	7	40	47	38	11	15
1999	169	7	40	47	38	11	15
2004	230	6	36	42	40	10	15

*Source:* Data Unit, Lokniti-CSDS, Delhi

Table 2.2 explained that number of recognised political parties that participated in and were represented in the Lok Sabha after the independence. After the independence of India, first general elections were introduced in 1952. After and before the independence congress party was the dominant party in India so that party led the Indian government up to 1970s. At the time of first general elections 53 parties were recognized within that 14 were national parties and 39 were regional parties and these parties were participated in the Lok Sabha elections after the Independence of India. Within that only 22 parties were represented in the Lok Sabha. At least 10 seats secured parties were 3 and at least 1 vote share of parties were 10 represented in the Lok Sabha. We can observe that national political parties are declining and regional political are growing from the 1952 to 2004.

<sup>78</sup> ibid



**Table 2.3: Electoral Performance of selected Political Parties in Lok Sabha  
Elections, 1952-2004(Percentage of votes secured)**

Year/ Party	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999	2004
<b>National Parties</b>														
INC	44.98	47.78	44.72	40.78	43.68	34.52	42.69	48.01	39.53	36.64	28.80	25.83	28.30	26.53
BJS/BJP	3.07	5.97	6.44	9.35	7.36	.....	..	7.40	11.49	20.04	20.29	25.59	23.75	22.16
CPI	3.29	8.92	9.94	4.95	4.73	2.82	2.59	2.70	2.57	2.48	1.97	1.75	1.48	1.41
CPI(M)	..	..	..	4.44	5.12	4.29	6.15	5.72	6.55	6.14	6.12	5.16	5.40	5.66
BSP	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.07	1.80	4.02	4.67	4.16	5.33
NCP	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.27	1.80
<b>Regional Parties</b>														
JKNC	..	..	..	0.14	..	0.26	0.25	0.40	0.02	..	..	0.2	0.12	0.13
PDP	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.08
SAD	0.99	..	0.72	..	0.87	1.26	0.71	1.03	0.14	0.03	0.76	0.81	0.69	0.90
INLD	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.53	0.55	0.50
SP	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.28	4.93	3.76	4.32
RJD	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.78	2.79	2.41
LJSP	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.71
CPIML	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.24	0.24	0.25	0.33	0.33
JMM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.34	0.53	0.41	0.36	0.27	0.47
GGP	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.05	0.05	0.18
SHS	..	..	..	..	0.16	..	0.07	..	0.11	0.79	1.49	1.77	1.56	1.81
TDP	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4.06	3.29	2.96	2.97	2.77	3.65	3.04
TRS	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.63
JD(S)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.91	1.47
JD(U)	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.10	2.35
KEC(M)	..	..	..	0.22	0.37	0.26	0.18	0.10	0.02	0.14	0.10	0.13	0.10	0.55
MUL	0.08	..	0.36	0.28	0.28	0.30	0.24	0.90	..	0.01	..	0.22	0.01	0.19
DMK	..	..	2.01	3.79	3.84	1.71	2.14	2.28	2.34	2.06	2.14	1.44	1.73	1.81
AIADM K	..	..	..	..	..	2.95	2.36	1.59	1.50	1.61	0.64	1.83	1.93	2.19
PMK	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.52	0.46	0.16	0.42	0.65	0.56
MDMK	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.37	0.44	1.73	1.81
BJD	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.00	1.20	1.30
TRMC	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	2.19	2.42	2.57	1.30
FB	0.08	0.55	0.72	0.43	0.66	0.34	0.51	0.42	0.42	0.41	0.38	0.33	0.23	0.35
RSP	0.44	0.26	0.39	..	0.49	0.45	0.65	0.47	0.62	0.63	0.63	0.55	0.41	0.44
AGP	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.00	0.02	0.54	0.76	0.29	0.32	0.53
MNF	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.03	0.03	0.02	..	0.05

Source: Suri, K.C., Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence, Lokniti, New Delhi, 2005.

### ***Regional Parties in India: Overview***

Today, one can find regional parties in almost every country of the world. Regional parties can help to strengthen and consolidate democracy by voicing the issues and concerns of groups, otherwise underrepresented by the state. On the other hand, some of these parties can reinforce ethnic and regional identities and put strong pressure on the central government for autonomy or independence.<sup>79</sup> At the same time, as recent events, globally have shown, regional parties can trigger the collapse of governments and give a fillip to ethnic conflict and secessionism.<sup>80</sup> The traditional view is that regional parties spring up from unaddressed regional-based social cleavages.<sup>81</sup> But while regional cleavages are major causative factors for the emergence of regional parties, the former cannot fully explain the increasing influence of the latter.

Therefore, it may not be totally incorrect to regard regional parties as those entities that compete and win votes in only one region of a country. In a federal polity like India, individual states have to depend on the central government in areas like: funds and grants, location of major industrial and infrastructural projects, sharing of inter-state river waters and electricity from the national power grid. Therefore, regional parties are taking an increasing interest in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha elections, since they feel that in case the national parties are unable to form governments on their own steam, the regional parties can extend support 'on their own terms'. Then, there is also the issue of election of the President of India, for whom the Electoral College also consists of elected members of the state assemblies.

Regional parties are not necessarily ethnic or religious parties - and vice-versa. An ethnic party is a party that 'represents itself as the champion of the cause of one particular ethnic category or a set of categories to the exclusion of others, and makes such a representation

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<sup>79</sup> Lieven de Winter(ed), *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe*, New York: Routledge, 1998, p.204

<sup>80</sup> Dawn Brancati, "Pawns Take Queen: The Destabilizing Effects of Regional Parties in Europe", *Constitutional Political Economy* (Special Issue) 16. 2005, p.143-59

<sup>81</sup> De Winter, "Regionalist Parties in Western Europe", in Stein Rokkan and Derek W. Urwin. (eds). *The Politics of Territorial Identity*, Sage Publications, California: Beverly Hills, 1982, p.391

central to its mobilizing strategy'.<sup>82</sup> Political regions are distinct from geographic regions, which are areas of land, usually contiguous, considered to be a unit based on common physical characteristics, such as mountain ranges, plains, water-bodies, etc.<sup>83</sup> Regional party is identified across the world as regional, ethnic and minor parties. Western scholars like John Erick Line and Svante Ersson described that regional political parties could focus particularly in a geographical area and whose electoral performance is concentrated in the region.

A regional party is, however, found in Maurice Duverger's concept of a "Minor Party".<sup>84</sup> According to Duverger, "the concept of minor party" deserves special consideration. He says that, a minor party is one "which is minority-minded".<sup>85</sup> As to their nature, there is a good deal of controversy over these minor parties or small parties, as the case may be, regarding their role and performance in government and the opposition. Of late, some distinct types of these minor or small parties have emerged which have played a significant role in the politics of the developing countries. Their emergence and activities, under certain socio-economic milieu, have set certain patterns which nevertheless seem significant in the working of the political system. Duverger's theory of "minor parties" is primarily based on the distinction between major and minor parties - reflecting the difference in their mentality.<sup>86</sup> He has distinguished a minor party from a "party with a majority bent" and, in this case, has clarified that the "parties with a majority bent" are those which command an absolute majority in parliament or at least they have potential to attain a majority.<sup>87</sup> This distinction between a majority and minority party is more keenly felt in a multi-party system than in a two-party system.<sup>88</sup> Parties without a majority-bent are often led into demagoguery by the very nature of the system since they may tend to make

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<sup>82</sup> Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Head Counts in India*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p.3

<sup>83</sup> Jan Erik Lane and Svante Ersson, *Politics and Society in Western Europe*, London: Sage Publications, 1991, p.104.

<sup>84</sup> Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties, Their Organisation and Activity in the Modern State*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1955, p.290

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.* p.291

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.* p.289

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.* p.283

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.* p.286

irresponsible and unrealistic promises for reasons best known to them. It is quite unlikely for them to shoulder alone the responsibilities of the Government.<sup>89</sup>

Duverger has coined the term “minor party” referring to those which are “minority minded” and which seemingly include regional, local and such other smaller parties formed on the basis of linguistic, religious, ethnic and cultural interests. According to him, there are two distinct types of minor parties. They are “personality minor parties” and “permanent minor parties”.<sup>90</sup> Duverger has considered “personality parties” as purely legislators groups.<sup>91</sup> These parties are not based on any real party organization. They mostly originate as dissident groups and subsequently appear as separate organizations under the bossism or discipline imposed by major parties. These parties are centered on influential personalities and considerable number of people is attached to the charisma of these personalities for reasons of prestige or favor. It is for these reasons that such parties lack a true social sub-structure and for that reason also, they are neither strong nor stable in character. In absence of any discipline and precise doctrine, they turn out to be what Duverger has called as most recalcitrant of all parties.<sup>92</sup>

On the other hand, the permanent minority parties have organizations in the country which are either national or local.<sup>93</sup> They represent a modern variety of minor party and, in this respect; they stand in sharp contrast to the personality parties which are more of an archaic type.<sup>94</sup> These permanent minority parties represent either a race or a region and without accepting complete fusion with the national community, they tend to strive to manifest their strong minority bent of mind. However, these parties are relatively stable as they are very strong locally, frequently occupying the position of dominant parties or even of single parties at the provincial level.<sup>95</sup> These permanent minority parties are supported by a fairly homogeneous and solid faction of the population, either

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<sup>89</sup> *ibid.* p.284

<sup>90</sup> Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties, Their Organisation and Activity in the Modern State*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1955, p.290

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.* p.290

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.* p.291

<sup>93</sup> *ibid.* p.291

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.* p.292

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.* p.292

geographical, cultural or religious minorities, which tend to maintain a separate identity of their own.

Hence, permanent minority parties have been found in most of the cases to tend towards the opposition. It has been seen that generally and exclusively, regional parties are more focused on protecting the interests of particular linguistic, religious, ethnic or cultural groups, whose population may be concentrated in an area as small as a single Assembly Constituency, or as large as an entire state or region. Due to their narrowly defined interests, regional parties may not be expected to have the broad-ranging and diverse concerns that national parties have.<sup>96</sup>

The programmatic focus of regional parties is usually restricted towards specific issues of concern to their membership only or at best, to their region. Regional parties do not generally aspire to secure control over the country's national government.<sup>97</sup> It may be because they are mostly confined to a limited geographic area.<sup>98</sup> The regional parties are also relatively homogenous in their policy preferences. These may be the reasons why they aim at securing control over the State Governments or over certain policies that have special significance for their constituencies.<sup>99</sup> Regional parties draw their influence, from two major sources. First is the concentration of their supporters' in particular geographic areas, which helps them to concentrate their attention over certain constituencies at the time of elections.<sup>100</sup> Because of this concentration of attention, relatively very few votes for regional parties are 'wasted'.

In fact, a few votes are cast in constituencies where the candidates of regional parties have no chance of winning. On the other hand, regional parties generally avoid fielding candidates in those constituencies or areas where they do not have at least a marginal support base. Secondly, regional parties draw considerable influence from the stability

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<sup>96</sup> Richard L. Park and Bueno De Mesquita, *India's Political System*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1979, p.110

<sup>97</sup> *ibid*, p.110

<sup>98</sup> Jan Erik Lane and Svante Ersson, *Politics and Society in Western Europe*, London: Sage Publications, 1991, p.104.

<sup>99</sup> Richard L. Park and Bueno De Mesquita, *India's Political System*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1979, p.110

<sup>100</sup> *ibid*, p.111

they enjoy. Their relatively constant base of support in particular locales helps them in promoting those programmes that would benefit their constituents.<sup>101</sup> This stability of regional parties proves extremely beneficial in certain circumstances, especially when such parties are in a position to form the government at the state level, in coalition with other parties.

Regional parties are almost an inevitable development and have a definite influence and impact upon the politics of the democratic states depending upon the right of dissent and the diversity of life in their body politic. In western democracies, minor parties may be said to condition and modify major parties somewhat as the habit of an organism determines its characteristics.<sup>102</sup> In western democracies, minority political parties are very few in number. Such parties cannot stand the test of time by the very nature of the system prevailing in England or the United States.<sup>103</sup> In the U.S.A., the term 'third Party' is applied to minor parties which have a definite capacity to influence the electoral prospects of the two major parties. The minor parties in the U.S.A. have played a crucial role by holding the balance of voters and by making spectacular contributions to the victory of the Republicans or the Democrats.

Of late, the number of minor parties has considerably decreased in the U.S.A., because of adoption of their programme by major parties and due to the paucity of funds and other impediments raised by the electoral procedure.<sup>104</sup> Several minor parties had emerged in Australia between 1931 and 1946.<sup>105</sup> They were largely short-lived and very sterile. Their contribution to the Australian Political life was nothing except confusion and corruption. For similar reasons, several minor parties have disappeared from the electoral scene of the West, as well as from that of the third world. But interestingly, several new parties have emerged on the scene on fresh issues. The multiplication of minor parties cannot, however, be prevented and they are bound to be integral parts of the political system,

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<sup>101</sup> *ibid.* p.112

<sup>102</sup> Wilfred E. Binkley, *American Political Parties- Their Natural History*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979, p.182

<sup>103</sup> Sadasivan S.N, *Party and Democracy in India*, New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill, 1977, p.70

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* pp.115-116

<sup>105</sup> Davis S.R et al, *The Australian Political Party System*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1954, p.106

because of the continuous struggle between various closed social groups, particularly in multi-party systems.<sup>106</sup>

In a country of vast diversity like India, where political fluidity continues indefinitely, many minor parties or parties of purely local or regional origin have emerged. These have generally remained pre-occupied with local issues, which have strongly dominated the political scene since independence. The establishment of such parties marks the “transition from the traditional class politics to the democratic mass politics”.<sup>107</sup> With the initiation of the constitutional process, a process of regionalisation along primordial lines had commenced in India.<sup>108</sup> The new circumstances, immediately after independence led to the growth of several primordial linguistic and sub-cultural groups which demanded regional identity and regional personality of their own. The growth of these pan-Indian forces had, however, taken shape under the centralization of power during the British rule.<sup>109</sup> But they were submerged in the national movement. After independence, regional parties in this vast society, composed of numerous groups, have proliferated. These regional parties are not yet in an advantageous position to raise their bargaining power in national politics, although some of them have proved their strength against their adversaries including the Congress at the state level.<sup>110</sup>

Regional parties have often been referred to as parochial parties in India as they have mostly represented the parochial or particular interests of certain sections of the population.<sup>111</sup> Further, they were more concerned with the interests of certain groups than with the general welfare of the nation. Their limited aggregative potential led them to identify with particular interests. The aggregation and articulation of these regional, or other sectarian, interests took shape in the hands of certain politicians of middle-class origin, as well as of some caste and traditional leaders, who saw new opportunities to

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<sup>106</sup> Sadasivan S.N, *Party and Democracy in India*, New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill, 1977, p.116

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.* p.71

<sup>108</sup> Ram Reddy G and Sharma B.A.V, *Regionalism in India- A Study of Telangana*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co, 1979, p.4

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.* p.4

<sup>110</sup> Sadasivan S.N, p.115

<sup>111</sup> Horst Hartmann, *Political Parties in India*, Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1977, p.145

acquire positions of prominence in the changed circumstances after independence.<sup>112</sup> Sometimes, caste and other traditional loyalties were overlaid by political or ideological statements. However, these regional parties gained commanding influence in some localities or regions, but at the national level their impact has been limited.<sup>113</sup>

With their inherent shortcomings and in spite of the eventual disappearance of many of them, regional parties have contributed something significant to Indian Democracy.<sup>114</sup> They could not provide alternative governments in all cases. They could not also form durable effective opposition, nor could they displace the Congress on their own, though there have been some exceptions. But certainly, the regional parties have in their own way carried the “message of freedom and democracy” to the remote corners of the country and have made millions of citizens more politically conscious and increased their awareness of democracy, its institutions and their working”.<sup>115</sup> Further, the regional parties have displayed temperaments, aspirations and ambitions in numerous sections of the society and largely enabled them to organize and develop political life at the grassroots level. Several other regional parties, which were born out of the Congress, no doubt lacked the elements of viability to function independently and later either merged with the parent organization, or with other parties. Nevertheless, their emergence had some chastening effect upon the Congress for a time.<sup>116</sup> Some of these parties have played the constructive role of opposition with the main objective of reforming the Congress. While corruption is an endemic phenomenon in Indian politics, many of these regional parties took shape as a revolt against the betrayal of political morals and aimed to eradicate corruption from public life.<sup>117</sup>

Despite their limited range of concerns and their limited pool of potential supporters, regional parties have played an important role in national, state and local politics.<sup>118</sup> These parties have mobilised their strength in favour of local issues and regional

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<sup>112</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.* p.146

<sup>114</sup> Sadasivan S.N, *Party and Democracy in India*, New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill, 1977, p.71

<sup>115</sup> Sadasivan S.N, *Party and Democracy in India*, New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill, 1977, p.115

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.* p.115

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.* p.116

<sup>118</sup> Richard L. Park and Bueno De Mesquita, *India's Political System*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1979, p.110



demands to which the leaders at the, national level tended to be indifferent or adopted a casual or frivolous attitude. Some of these regional parties not only shared power at the state level, but also influenced some of the national decisions. Regional parties are those entities whose main holds are in one certain state and till recently were mostly contesting elections in that state alone. Most of these regional parties have agenda fitting the culture largely prevalent in that state. True, some regional parties have also participated in elections in neighbouring states, which have constituencies with culture similar to the first state. However, such parties hardly 'opened their accounts' in those states.

The All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (AIADMK) and Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK) are the two major regional players in Tamil Nadu of these; the DMK is the older party. A common feature of both parties is the emphasis on Tamil national pride. Before India's independence, there were two Dravidian parties. After India's independence, the DMK was established. This party first demanded an independent Dravidstan for all of south India. Later on, the demand was diluted to an independent Tamil state. Finally, this party 'settled for' a Tamil Nadu state within the Indian Union<sup>119</sup>. Initially, the DMK adopted an anti-north Indian stance. It was opposed to any entrance of any kind of cultures invasion by north Indians. Its special focus was on resistance to the so-called imposition of the Hindi language in the state. The party also sought reservation in government jobs for Dravidians - and not to 'immigrant' Brahmins. In 1972, following a split in the party, MG Ramachandaran founded the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (AIADMK). After Ramachandaran's death in 1987, Jayalalita succeeded him as the party supremo. In the last few years, these 'Tamil pride' parties have toned down their ideologies and before the 1998 elections, the AIADMK even cooperated with BJP, which was till then considered as a north Indian party. The Dravidian parties common agenda is the pride of local culture: Tamil pride in Tamil Nadu.<sup>120</sup>

The Akali Dal is another one state party. Its main hold is in Punjab, even though it does contest for a few seats in Delhi as an ally of the BJP. The Akali Dal considers itself a

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<sup>119</sup> Aharon Daniel, "*Regional parties*", 2004, accessed from <http://adaniel.tripod.com/regional.htm>.

<sup>120</sup> Suri K.C, *Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Report submitted as part of "Livelihood Options" research in South Asia, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.36

state party. However, in actual practice, it is a (Sikh) religion oriented party. This party came into existence prior to India's independence. At that time, the party's main demand was a separate entity for the Sikhs in Punjab. After independence, this party's focus shifted to special status for the Sikh culture and the Punjabi language. The party actively crusaded for a separate state of Punjab where the Sikhs would be in a majority and recognition of Punjabi as a distinct language. The party succeeded on both counts. The erstwhile composite state of Punjab was bifurcated into: the Punjabi speaking new state of Punjab and the predominantly Hindi speaking state of Haryana in 1966. Also, Punjabi was recognised as a distinct language - and not as a dialect of Hindi. Later on, some factions emerged in the Akali Dal. The militant factions of these demanded an independent Sikh state, to be known as Khalistan. However, the more influential Akali Dal faction in Punjab wanted Punjab to be a part of the Indian Union.<sup>121</sup>

Regional political parties emerged in other parts of the country as well. In Assam, the main plank of the parties was protection of the rights of the 'sons of soil.'<sup>122</sup> For some period during the British Rule, Assam was part of the Bengal province and saw that the Bengalis almost monopolizing the major government posts. Even after Assam became a separate province, many government posts continued to be manned by the Bengalis. In the 1980s, the Asom Gana Parishad was founded with an agenda to give back Assam to the Assamese people.

Maharashtra is another state which has seen an upsurge of regional sentiments. Today's Maharashtra and Gujarat were part of the erstwhile composite Bombay state. In 1960, the Bombay State was divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat. After Maharashtra was established, there was a widespread perception among many 'locals' that their capital city, Bombay (now Mumbai) was being ruled and governed by 'foreigners'. They targeted not only the Gujarati business communities, but also immigrants who arrived from all over India and settled in the city. This was the fertile ground for the genesis of the Shiv Sena party whose main objective has been protecting the interests of the Maharashtrians. This party, which began as a protest movement of some very vocal

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<sup>121</sup> Aharon Daniel, "*Regional parties*", 2004, accessed from <http://adaniel.tripod.com/regional.htm>. p.1

<sup>122</sup> *ibid*

Maharashtrians in Bombay, slowly spread its wings all over the state. This party's ideology is an admix of Hindu-Marathi nationalist pride. Critics consider the Shiv Sena as a fanatic and anti-Muslim party.<sup>123</sup>

State parties exist in other states as well. These include: National Conference in Jammu & Kashmir, Haryana Vikas Party in Haryana, Manipur People's Party in Manipur, Maharashtrawadi Gomantak in Goa, Sikkim Democratic Front in Sikkim and Mizo National Front in Mizoram. Then there are also offshoots of larger national parties, like the Trinamul Congress, Tamil Manila Congress, Kerala Congress and the YSR Congress in Andhra Pradesh. Both the Congress dominated front in Kerala and the Left Front in West Bengal have allies like the Indian Union Muslim League and the Socialist Unity Centre, respectively, which are almost unheard of in other states.

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<sup>123</sup> ibid

**Table No: 2.4 Regional Political Parties in Lok Sabha: 1952-2009**

Party	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009
NCP	-	-	1	-	-	2	3	3	3	-	3	2	1	-	9
HVC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
AD/P	4	-	2	3	1	9	1	7	6	-	8	9	3	-	-
HVP	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-
INLD/HLD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5	-	-
JDG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
SS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	15	6	15	12	11
PWP	2	4	-	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RPI*	2	6	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NCP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	11	9
MGP	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
UGDP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
LS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3(JDU)	-	-
KCP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
IUML	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-
KC*	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	-	-
RSP	2	1	2	1	3	4	4	3	4	3	5	5	3	3	2
CS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
DMK	-	2	-	25	22	1	16	2	-	-	17	6	12	16	18
AIADMK	-	-	-	-	-	19	2	12	11	11	-	18	10	-	9
TMC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	3	-	-	-
PMK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5	-	-
MDMK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
TRC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
JP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
MADMK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
MGRK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
TDP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	2	13	16	12	29	-	6
MIM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1
BJD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	10	-	14
MPVC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
SP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	20	26	36	23
SJP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	1	1	-	-
CT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
TRS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2

**Table No: 2.4 Continued...**

Party	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009
LC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
LD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	5
RJD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	7	24	4
SMP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	12	17	JDU	-
JMM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	6	2
TC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	8	-	19
FB	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	2	2	-	-
SDF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
AGP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	2	-
ASDC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
UMF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
MSC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
AC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
SSP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
SKJP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GNLF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
IPF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
CJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
JKP	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NNO	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UFN	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EIUT	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
APHLC	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BC	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CSJ	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
JKP/D	3	7	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UC	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GP	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TPS	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PDF	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TTC	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CW	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TNT	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MML	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ML	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UG(S)	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HLS	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VHP	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RRP	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NPC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	29	31	12	34	50	51	35	76	41	56	137	157	179	115	144

*Source: Compiled from Singh V.B., Elections in India: Data Hand book on Lok Sabha Elections: 1986-1991, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1994 and with Election Commission data*

According to Table 2.4, in 1952, the ratio of vote share between all national parties and all regional parties was 76.00: 8.10 percent. In 2004, the figure changed to 62.89: 32.86. With regard to Lok Sabha seats, in 1952, the ratio between all national parties and all regional parties was 418: 34. In 2004, the corresponding figure changed to 364:174.

These figures clearly bring out the declining influence of national parties and the corresponding increase in the hold of regional parties.

The rise of regional parties and electoral participation is new wave in national level politics. In Akali Dal and DMK were partners in the Janata government in 1977, even though; the Janata Party had a clear majority on its own with 295 seats. This was the first time that regional parties shared power at the central level. In 1977, 51 members were belonging to various regional parties.<sup>124</sup> However, regional parties lost their influential power and moment of glory when Congress returned to power in 1980. DMK managed to win 16 seats but Akalis were reduced to one seat and the total tally of regional parties including the smaller left parties of West Bengal remained only 35 in the 7<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha.<sup>125</sup> The elections to the 8<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha were held in the backdrop of Indira Gandhi's assassination. But in 1984, regional parties increased their share in Lok Sabha. There were 76 members belonging to different regional parties in the eighth Lok Sabha.<sup>126</sup> The rise of Telugu Desam in Andhra and Asom Gana Parishad in Assam were the main factors responsible for this performance of the regional parties. However, with Congress having 415 seats in Lok Sabha, the role of regional parties was bound to be insignificant in national politics.<sup>127</sup>

The feeling of anti-Congress brought many regional political parties together under the umbrella of the National Front (NF) formed in 1988.<sup>128</sup> These regional parties became power sharing partners in the NF led government of 1989. In 1991, the strength of regional parties in the Lok Sabha was at 57 but this time around TDP had a fair share (13 seats). AIADMK, Janata Dal (G), Indian Union Muslim League (IUML), Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP) and Kerala Congress provided outside support to the Congress government of P.V. Narasimha Rao.<sup>129</sup> In any case, both in 1989 and 1991, regional parties played a crucial role at the national level in making or unmaking the central

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<sup>124</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," in Ajay K. Mehra, D.D. Khanna and Gert W. Kueck (eds.), *Political Parties and Party Systems*, New Delhi: Sage publications, 2003, p.309

<sup>125</sup> *ibid*

<sup>126</sup> *ibid*

<sup>127</sup> *ibid*

<sup>128</sup> *ibid*

<sup>129</sup> *ibid*

government. The experiment of National Front government first underscored the centrality of regional parties to national politics.<sup>130</sup> In the 1996 Lok Sabha, 137 MPs hailed from various regional parties. Thus, 95 MPs belonging to regional parties were part of the UF coalition.<sup>131</sup> This helped to trigger the speculation that there was scope for a 'third' space to challenge the Congress and BJP led alliances. The National Front proved to be short-lived, although its supporters drew comfort from the fact that it was possible to prevent a communal party from coming to power.

Such a situation, however, did not continue for long and many parties stopped regarding the BJP as a political untouchable. This is evident from the manner in which some regional forces started cozying up to the BJP-led NDA in 1998. The Lok Sabha in 1998 included 92 MPs who were part of the NDA. Even the TDP, an earlier strong votary of the Third Front concept, chose to align with the NDA and bolstered it, whenever the NDA government was under threat. However, it was another regional party, the AIADMK, which chose to pull the rug from under the feet of the NDA which played a decisive role in the NDA government losing the vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha.

It can be observed that during the 1996 to 2009, the almost total domination of the Lok Sabha by either the BJP or the Congress was not to be seen. The Communist parties, BSP and JD were the three other non-regional parties with national status played an important role. In 1998, the BJP had allied with 15 regional parties; while in 1999, it allied with 19 regional parties.<sup>132</sup> This also indicates that since 1998, a larger number of regional parties have been drawn towards the BJP, in contrast to the situation in 1996. So that BJP formed the Government as NDA. Again the Congress gained its vote share and seat share in 2004 and 2009 Congress formed the coalition government as UPA with support of regional parties. In the UPA government also, many regional political parties played a significant role for the democratic function of the government in the centre. After a long time, BJP formed the government in 2014 with full majority and regional political parties are also part of this government. BJP won the elections mainly because

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<sup>130</sup> *ibid*

<sup>131</sup> *ibid*

<sup>132</sup> *ibid*

of anti – Congress wave's in entire nation and lack of strong PM candidate, high level of scams, corruption and dogmatism and also Modi wave in the elections.

During the 2004 and 2009 Lok Sabha and AP state Assembly elections, the TDP had given indications of moving away from the BJP – ostensibly to project a secular image. However, both the TDP and the BJP contested the 2014 elections as allies. The Narendra Modi led NDA government has a TDP member as a minister. At the same time, the TDP dominated government in Andhra Pradesh has 2 ministers from the BJP. During the tenure of the NDA government from 1998 to 2004 the TDP has only provided outside support. The only 'price' it extracted was to have its nominee, G.M.C. Balayogi, elected as the Lok Sabha Speaker. Balayogi continued in this position till his death in a helicopter crash in March 3, 2002.

Regional parties hardly have a presence in the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. Karnataka has a potential for regionalised politics since the two JD factions together garner a quarter of the votes. Finally, politics in Kerala is neatly divided between the two fronts, Left Front and United Democratic Front.<sup>133</sup> In both these alliances smaller state level parties are important partners, but Congress and the Communist Parties are the dominant players and can be said to be calling the tune. In recent years, regional parties have been dominating nine states, since half of the MPs from these states belong to regional parties. These include the smaller states of Manipur, Meghalaya and Sikkim. Besides these, other states in this category are Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Maharashtra, Haryana, and Jammu and Kashmir. The vote share of regional parties in West Bengal, Punjab, Orissa and Haryana was between 33 and 35 percent in the 1999 elections, while in other states, regional parties polled between 29 and 31 percent votes. Considering multi polarity of electoral contests, this performance is certainly remarkable.<sup>134</sup>

Even before the mushrooming of regional parties during the 1990s, these parties have dominated state level politics in states like those in the northeast, J&K, Punjab, Tamil

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<sup>133</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," Retrieved from [http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas\\_Palshikar\\_democracy\\_regional\\_parties.pdf](http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas_Palshikar_democracy_regional_parties.pdf)

<sup>134</sup> *ibid*



Nadu and Orissa. The National Conference has been a key political player in J&K. Ever since 1966 Punjab politics has centered on Akali politics. Similarly, the DMK in Tamil Nadu rose to prominence in 1962 Assembly elections, winning 50 seats. It came to power in 1967. The AIADMK replaced the DMK in 1977.<sup>135</sup> Since then, it has been like a game of musical chairs in Tamilnadu, with the DMK or the AIADMK running the government almost in rotation. Thus, Tamil politics has been regionalised since 1967. The BJD seems to have established itself in Orissa (now Odisha). However, regional parties dominated the state even during the period 1952 to 1975.<sup>136</sup> The two regional parties, Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (MGP) and United Goan Party (UGP), too have influence politics in Goa. Local parties of Karnataka had captured 41 seats, along with independents in the state legislature in 1967, while local parties of AP won 70 seats, along with independents. The Forward Block and RSP together won 22, 13 and 33 seats in the West Bengal Assembly in 1962, 1967 and 1969 respectively. The 1980s saw the rise of the AGP in Assam and TDP in Andhra.<sup>137</sup> To sum up, regional parties dominated state level politics in many states in the pre-1990 period. According to the table 2.4 regional political parties are increased its strength from 1990s to 2009 in Lok Sabha. It means people are moving towards to regional political parties because of their involvement in the regional issues and needs.

### ***Regional Parties in India: Ideological Perspectives***

Regionalist and state-based parties generally take up a variety of regional and non-regional ideological positions. Such parties are mostly personality-based and centre around one leader. Yet, formation of a party requires an ideological stance, even if it is only about an issue like a legitimization of the party's existence. The regional parties frequently combine the regional and non-regional arguments, in order to justify their presence to the electorate. Regional parties tend to 'champion' a broad range of regionalist arguments. These include invocation of regional pride and symbols of regional

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<sup>135</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," Retrieved from [http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas\\_Palshikar\\_democracy\\_regional\\_parties.pdf](http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas_Palshikar_democracy_regional_parties.pdf)

<sup>136</sup> *ibid*

<sup>137</sup> *ibid*

identity.<sup>138</sup> Regional arguments involve issues like regional culture, history and language. In recent times, regional parties are increasingly using the demands for creation of new states, inclusion of certain territories into a state or for more equitable development of the state as powerful rallying points to mobilize support. Such regionalism appears to be less about issues of identity and has more to do with issues of backwardness, investment and industrial progress. Identity, statehood, autonomy and development seem to be the main planks of regional parties. Not all regional parties have the same agenda. Identity and autonomy seem to be the major concerns for parties like the National Conference, Akali Dal and DMK. Development issues seem to be the 'prime movers for parties' like the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) or Trinamul Congress (TC). The TDP owed much of its prominence to the way it has put forward the issue of identity and self-respect. To his credit, Chandrababu Naidu has been successful in articulating developmental issues. The identity appeal is something that enthuses both the 'masses and classes.'<sup>139</sup>

Regional party would not always confine itself only to regionalist issues; it sometimes possible that a regional party can have a non-regionalist agenda. On one side, we may have the Akalis tending to identify regional identity with the Sikh religion. On the other hand, the Shiv Sena has chosen to combine the two ideologies of regionalism and religious communalism according to compulsions of electoral politics.<sup>140</sup> Then there are also some regional parties that use caste for their ideological formulations. For instance, the DMK initially equated Dravidian identity with non-Brahminism. This way, the party established its claims pertaining to a separate Dravidian identity, vis-à-vis the Aryans. In more recent times, the PMK in Tamil Nadu, has sought to combine the regional rhetoric with an anti-caste social position to champion the cause of the OBCs.<sup>141</sup> Such ideological positions are mere as marriages of convenience. These also have a broader implication that tends to restate the meaning of 'regional' identity.

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<sup>138</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," Retrieved from [http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas\\_Palshikar\\_democracy\\_regional\\_parties.pdf](http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas_Palshikar_democracy_regional_parties.pdf)

<sup>139</sup> *ibid*

<sup>140</sup> *ibid*

<sup>141</sup> *ibid*

For the Akalis, being a Punjabi implicitly means being a Sikh also. Similarly, the Shiv Sena oscillates its keeps on shifting its stand from Maharashtrian pride to Hindu pride. If regionalism tends to exclude persons belonging to other regions, some regionalist formulations involve a double exclusion: of outsiders and exclusion of certain (religious, social or caste) communities.<sup>142</sup> Some state-based parties employ the primary focus of exclusion/inclusion as the caste/community/tribe.<sup>143</sup> Also, because the principle of exclusion/ inclusion has a regionally specified political importance, the party tends to get confined to a single state. Such parties came into prominence in the late 1980s and 1990s. However, even earlier there were regional parties, which did not rely on regionalist ideology.

Take for instance the Republican Party of India (RPI), which initially sought to project itself as an all India party. However, it confined itself within the framework of exclusion/inclusion on the basis of caste. At that time, the mobilisation of Dalits on such considerations was possible only in Maharashtra and no wonders the RPI could not extend its sphere of influence outside Maharashtra. A similar plight is now being faced by the BSP which is finding it difficult to gain a foothold outside Uttar Pradesh. Parties like the Samajwadi Party (SP) and Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) aspire to be national parties and have non-regionalist ideologies. Still, both owe their standing in Indian politics to the caste-route of exclusion/inclusion they have adopted.

In an ideal situation, the ideology of OBC uplift should have all-India appeal, since OBCs can be found in almost all states of the country. But the parties claiming to champion the cause of OBCs have confined their ideological positions to the specific context of their respective states.<sup>144</sup> Yet, one cannot dispute the fact that these parties cover a very significant ideological terrain. Castes and Tribes have relevance both at the all-India and the state levels. An ideology based on those factors may on the surface appear to have an all-India status. However, in actual practice, such an ideology is tending to become

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<sup>142</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," Retrieved from [http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas\\_Palshikar\\_democracy\\_regional\\_parties.pdf](http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas_Palshikar_democracy_regional_parties.pdf)

<sup>143</sup> *ibid*

<sup>144</sup> *ibid*

relevant and significant only in specific contexts. The term peasantry castes have a very wide canvas, ranging from middle castes, like Jats and Marathas; or peasant OBCs, like Yadavs and Malis. No wonder, parties professing to be anti-casteist are often forced to adopt state-specific or regionalised positions.

### ***Regional Political Parties' and Social Support in India***

Initially after the rise of regional parties in 1996, politics appeared to be becoming triangular (see table 2.4). Since the Congress and BJP entered into a competition in many states, observers felt that a bipolar situation was about to emerge<sup>145</sup>. The growth of regional parties also upset the established patterns of voter preferences. Not only new segments of voters were ushered into the electoral arena, but traditional loyalties too, were put under strain. The regional parties succeeded in mobilizing greater share of votes. Congress was the obvious loser in most states; notably in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Kerala, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. This argument captures only one aspect of the reality. The other aspect is the fragmentation of the non-Congress and non-BJP votes. This has happened in Bihar, Karnataka and U.P., where the so-called Janata Dal was divided into regional fragments.<sup>146</sup>

Yet another issue of more recent vintage is the alacrity of regional parties to have electoral tie-ups with the BJP, rather than the Congress. Many regional parties had a tradition of anti-Congresses and a social base that was rooted on a non-Congress ideological basis. On the other hand, the BJP was for long considered a political untouchable, because of its alleged anti-minorities stance (that made many potential allies apprehensive that they would lose their 'secular' credentials). Such a new found love for the BJP has facilitated the emergence of new social equations. One earth-shaking development has been the breaking of the hold of the Lingayat-Vokkaliga combine in

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<sup>145</sup> Pai Sudha, "The Indian Party System under Transformation: Lok Sabha Elections 1998," *Asian Survey*, Sept. 1998, p.845.

<sup>146</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," Retrieved from [http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas\\_Palshikar\\_democracy\\_regional\\_parties.pdf](http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas_Palshikar_democracy_regional_parties.pdf)

Karnataka - isolating the Vokkaligas and drawing the Lingayats into the BJP fold.<sup>147</sup> In Maharashtra, the NCP went ahead with the consolidation of Marathas in 1999 and enabled the BJP-Shiv Sena to garner OBC votes.<sup>148</sup> In this background, it becomes interesting to locate the exact social territory occupied by different regional parties in their respective states.<sup>149</sup>

The Akali Dal has consolidated its hold on the rural peasantry of Punjab. Even though the party draws support from diverse sections in terms of caste and community, its support base is mostly from those belonging to the Sikh community. Significantly, the social base of the Akali Dal among the Dalits is still weak. Most of the party's support comes from the primary and metric educated voters.<sup>150</sup> From 1989, the Dravidian parties have assumed the power to make and unmake national governments. No wonder, this has changed their perception entirely. As a result, the two main Dravidian parties, DMK and AIADMK, have come to simultaneously adopt nationalistic as well as regional, postures.<sup>151</sup> Both these parties have also started taking interest in religious matters like introducing Tamil (instead of Sanskrit), prayers in temples and encouraging the spread of the Vinayaka cult. On a number of parameters, the two parties appear to be leading two different social coalitions in Tamil Nadu. An instance of the Dravidian parties taking interest in matters of national importance is the way the Tamilnadu Chief Minister, Jayalalitha, strongly opposed the invitation extended to the Sri Lankan President, Rajapakshe, for the swearing in ceremony of Prime Minister, Narendra Modi.

Orissa has been another state where anti-Congress has somewhat established itself. During the period 1967-72, government formations were largely determined by players

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<sup>147</sup> Gould Harold, "The 12<sup>th</sup> General Election in Karnataka: The BJP Achieves Its Southern Beachhead", in Roy and Wallace, *Indian politics and the 1998 election: regionalism, Hindutva, and state politics*, New Delhi: Sage, 1999, pp.183-209.

<sup>148</sup> Palshikar Suhas and Nitin Birmal, "Fragmented Marathas Retain Formal Power", in Wallace Paul and Ramashray Roy (eds.), *Lok Sabha Election: 1999*, New Delhi: Sage, 1999.

<sup>149</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," Retrieved from [http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas\\_Palshikar\\_democracy\\_regional\\_parties.pdf](http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas_Palshikar_democracy_regional_parties.pdf)

<sup>150</sup> *ibid*

<sup>151</sup> Pandian M.S.S, "Tamil Friendly Hindutva", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27 May, 2000, pp.1805-1806.

like Gana Congress (1967-1971) and Utkal Congress and Jharkhand Party (1971-72)<sup>152</sup>. The middle class-upper castes profile of the Oriya political elites appears to have largely triggered the consolidation of region-based politics in Orissa.<sup>153</sup> An important player in the state that has firmly established is the state-level party (Biju Janata Dal), under the leadership of Navin Patnaik, who promptly cozied up with BJP. This decision seemed to have been prompted by two considerations; one, anti-Congress, which drove Navin Patnaik towards the BJP; and two, the other was an aspiration to play a role at the all-India level. It must be emphasized here that the BJD speaks less about regional pride and more on the state's backwardness. Its focus on anti-Congress and accent on the state's progress appear to have endeared it to the middle class voters. Despite its appeal to various social classes, the party has a weak base among the SCs and almost no takers in the state's tribal population.<sup>154</sup>

Just prior to the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, the two prominent allies of the BJP- the Samata Party (mostly Bihar-based) and Orissa's BJD - 'walked out' from the NDA. One major motivator was the desire to maintain a 'secular' image, which they felt was being diluted by their continued association with the BJP-dominated NDA. While in the 2014 elections, the Samata Party performed poorly, the BJD managed to withstand the NDA juggernaut in the state. It performed creditably in both the Lok Sabha and the State Assembly polls which were held simultaneously in the State. The Rashtriya Janata Dal and Samata Party are predominantly Bihar-based parties. Another common feature is that both emerged out of the erstwhile Janata Dal. While RJD has positioned itself as an articulate champion of the interests of the OBCs, the Samata Party, till very recently, cashed in on the anti-Laloo factor-mostly the corruption his regime came to be associated with. The Samata Party was one of the earliest allies of BJP (barring the Shiv Sena) since

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<sup>152</sup> Mohapatra Bishnu, "Politics in Post-Cyclone Orissa", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 15 April, 2000, p.1354.

<sup>153</sup> Mohapatra Bishnu, "Elections and Everyday Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 22 Jan. 2000, p.173.

<sup>154</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," Retrieved from [http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas\\_Palshikar\\_democracy\\_regional\\_parties.pdf](http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas_Palshikar_democracy_regional_parties.pdf)

1996 onwards. The RJD's support-base is mostly confined to Yadavs, Muslims, Low OBCs and SCs.<sup>155</sup>

Enthusiastic supporters of the Samata Party include: a combination of Rajputs and upper castes (who together account for 30 percent of Samata votes), apart from lower OBCs (one third of Samata votes). Thus, till now, it has all been a combination of upper and lower castes. Interestingly, the party had till now enjoyed the endorsement of 65 percent Rajputs and almost 40 percent upper castes voters. While the RJD has been largely identified as an OBC party, the Samata party has the support of upper caste voters as well.<sup>156</sup> However, as already mentioned, the 2014 Lok Sabha election results will force social scientists to have a rethink about the support base of the three main players-the BJP, the Samata Party and the RJD – in Bihar politics. The Congress, at present, appears to be an 'also ran' party in the state.

The Samajwadi Party, like the RJD and Samata Party, originated from the Janata Dal. Despite having a political 'heavyweight' like Mulayam Singh Yadav as its supremo, the party has not been able to spread its roots beyond U.P. This Party is perceived as a party of Yadavs and Muslims.<sup>157</sup> In recent times, UP has been ruled by either the SP or the BSP, almost in rotation.

The spectacular showing of the BJP in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections (winning 71 out of the 80 seats from Uttar Pradesh) and the declining popularity of the Akhilesh Yadav's Samajwadi Party government (due to issues like the spate of communal riots and the increasing crime rate in the State) may impact the ensuing Assembly elections in the State.

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<sup>155</sup> Sanjay Kumar, "New Phase of Backward Caste Politics in Bihar", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21-28 August, 1999, pp.2477-78.

<sup>156</sup> Singh V.B, *Support bases of Political Parties: A Study of Bihar Elections 1995*; Paper presented at a Seminar on State Assembly Elections, New Delhi: ICSSR,(unpub.), 1995,

<sup>157</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?", in Ajay K. Mehra, D.D. Khanna and Gert W. Kueck (eds.), *Political Parties and Party Systems*, New Delhi: Sage publications, 2003, p.321

For a very long time, the Congress Party was almost the only party of significance on the political scene of Maharashtra. Resistance, if any, came mostly from the dissidents in the party. Regional parties like PWP, RPI and even the Shiv Sena did not count for much. Ironically, Shiv Sena shot into prominence after it temporarily put its regionalism agenda on the backburner and started projecting itself as a Hindu party. Yet, the party seeks to identify itself with 'Marathi' people in the Mumbai-Thane-Konkan region. In 1995, the party came to power in the state along with the BJP. Bal Thackeray had for long remained the undisputed head of the Shiv Sena. He was a towering figure in the political life of Mumbai, courted by even his bitterest political foes when they were faced with embarrassing situations. The most noticeable instance of this was when the film actor, Sanjay Dutt, got embroiled in court cases, his father, himself a celebrated film personality and the sitting Congress MP, approached him for help. However, during the later years of Thackeray's life, family squabbles tended to dent the hold and image of the party. The culmination point was the establishing of the MNS Party. The death of Bal Thackeray seems to have robbed the Shiv Sena of a charismatic leader and powerful orator. Today, the party does not have a leader of even a third of Thackeray's stature. It only remains to be seen whether the party would continue to be an influential political player in Maharashtra politics, or slowly find many of its members moving over the other parties like the BJP, or even the Congress.

The Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), headed by the Maratha strongman, Sharad Pawar, appears to be an enigma. It largely emerged from the Congress Party on the 'foreign origins' issue of Smt. Sonia Gandhi. However, it had not compunctions with sharing power with the Congress Party, headed by Smt. Sonia Gandhi, both at the centre and in the state. The support base of the NCP is somewhat similar to that of the Shiv Sena.<sup>158</sup> The emergence of the TDP heralded the beginning of the era of regional parties entering the centre stage of national politics. From the very beginning, the TDP emerged as the rallying point for Andhra's peasant OBCs, even though it does not openly play the OBC uplift card. N. T. Rama Rao's (NTR) charismatic appeal and populist policies, earned

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<sup>158</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?", in Ajay K. Mehra, D.D. Khanna and Gert W. Kueck (eds.), *Political Parties and Party Systems*, New Delhi: Sage publications, 2003, p.323.



popularity for the party among the poor, rural voters, especially the women. It was also supported by SCs and OBCs.<sup>159</sup> Observers of Andhra politics have noticed the alienation of OBCs from the Congress since the early 1980s.<sup>160</sup> A major reason for this appears to be the perceived pro-Dalit policies of the Congress.<sup>161</sup>

Since the Left Front had been in power in West Bengal from the late 1970s till very recently, politics in the state at that time had revolved around Left and anti-Left poles. During the period of the Left Front's almost total domination of the state, it was felt that the front's success was due to the typically Bengali identity acquired and nurtured by Left parties. In this sense, politics in West Bengal had already become regionalized. The Congress in West Bengal was divided between two factions; one wanting to pursue an anti-BJP strategy; that was in favor of a tacit understanding with the BJP.<sup>162</sup> It is this scenario that the Trinamul Congress (a breakaway faction of the Congress Party) emerged in 1997. The Trinamul Congress may speak up for Bengali nationalism, but identifies itself with minorities and poorer sections of the state. As opposed to the Bhadrak politics of CPI (M), the Trinamul is more focused on the voters on the social and economic fringe.<sup>163</sup> Interestingly, even though Trinamul has reasonably good support among SCs and OBCs, it has not been able to enthrone Muslims to that extent.<sup>164</sup>

The situation, today, in West Bengal is totally unprecedented. The Left Front has since been uprooted from its perch by the Trinamul Congress-both in the number of Lok Sabha and State Assembly seats. Mamata Banerjee is firmly entrenched as the Chief Minister of the State and would have been a major player at the Union level had either of the two

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<sup>159</sup> Srinivasulu K. and Prakash Sarangi, "Political Realignments in Post-NTR Andhra Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21-28 August, 1999, p.2457.

<sup>160</sup> Vakil F.D, "Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh: A Review", in Mathew George (ed.), *Shift in Indian Politics: 1983 Elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka*, New Delhi: Concept, 1984, p.68.

<sup>161</sup> Kohli Atul, "The NTR Phenomenon in Andhra Pradesh: Political Change in a South Indian State", *Asian Survey*, October, 1998, p.997.

<sup>162</sup> Mayers James, "Transformation of Opposition Politics in West Bengal", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 15-22 August, 1998, p.2254.

<sup>163</sup> Bhattacharya Dwaipayan, "Elections 1999: Ominous Outcome for Left in West Bengal", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20 November, 1999, p.3269.

<sup>164</sup> Suhas Palshikar, "The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?," Retrieved from [http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas\\_Palshikar\\_democracy\\_regional\\_parties.pdf](http://democracy-sia.org/Suhas_Palshikar_democracy_regional_parties.pdf)

major alliances-the UPA and the NDA-been unable to win sufficient number of seats in the Lok Sabha.

The present eclipse of the Congress system has seen the growing importance of two major streams in politics. One is the backward caste politics. The other, is the majoritarian politics of Hindu communalism. Earlier, it was the neat division of politics into Congress and Opposition. Now, with the emergence of the BJP, politics has thrown up three options: anti-Congress, anti-BJP and opposition to both Congress and BJP. The backward caste politics is no longer confined to staying under the umbrella of either the Congress or the BJP. Today, they have another alternative-to remain autonomous and redefine politics on their own terms.<sup>165</sup> The new political configurations have also changed the nature of electoral mobilizations. Now there are greater possibilities for mobilization around a single issue, single social section, etc., which has given rise to a new concept, called exclusivist mobilization.<sup>166</sup> More importantly, this mobilization entered the arena of national level politics and became relevant there. Today, increasingly, the theatre for defining the boundaries of political contestations is becoming the state.

However, the caste framework of politics could not have the same type of appeal throughout the country. This is because each state has its own caste-based equations. In a sense, the post-Congress polity is witnessing a fundamental conflict about what constitutes the 'middle ground'.<sup>167</sup> As a result, exclusivist parties are paying more attention on the states. The rise of regional parties is related to the process of democratization in a number of respects. It has been argued that the politics in the 1990s saw greater participation by women, tribals, Dalits, lower castes and the rural voters. Regional parties were perceived as facilitators of this democratic upsurge.<sup>168</sup> During the almost total domination era by the Congress party, regional parties and regionalism were

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<sup>165</sup> Yadav Yogendra, "Electoral Politics in Times of Change: India's Third Electoral System -1989-99", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21-28 August, 1999, pp.2394-95.

<sup>166</sup> Yadav Yogendra, "Reconfiguration in Indian Politics: State Assembly Elections 1993-1995", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 13-20 January, 1996, p.100.

<sup>167</sup> *ibid.*, p.96

<sup>168</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 96-100.

almost treated with suspicion because the prevalent political system of that time placed heavy emphasis on the nation, rather than the states - as the unit of political action. However, in recent times, federalization of the polity is being seen as a positive sign.<sup>169</sup> Coalitions in India at the national level seem to have come to stay because: (i) they cover a broader social, political and territorial canvas; (ii) the polarization of voters on caste, regional and other basis has made it virtually impossible for a single party to hold equal sway in all the regions, forcing parties to join one or the other formation; (iii) the presence of a major party, as the mainstay around which all other parties revolve, ensures a degree of legitimacy and stability to the coalition; (iv) a common programme facilitates policy formulation; and (v) pre-poll alliances oblige parties to remain with the coalition.<sup>170</sup>

### ***Summing Up***

From the above data we can come to a conclusion that regional political parties are great assets for the strengthening of democracy in India because these parties have triggered increased participation by the sections of Dalits, tribes, women and OBCs in the election process-both as candidates and as highly conscious voters. These regional political parties have more effectively articulated the regional needs and problems than the national parties. However, on the other hand, regional political parties are tending to weaken the centre. Moreover, sometimes governments at the Centre have collapsed due to the withdrawal of support by the regional parties. However, on the whole, regional political parties are playing an important role in Indian politics. The next Chapter will profile the regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh.

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<sup>169</sup> Bombwall K.R, "Regional Parties in Indian Politics: A Preview", in Bhatnagar S. and Pradeep Kumar (eds.), *Regional Political Parties in India*, New Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1998, pp.2-12.

<sup>170</sup> Patil, S.H, "India's Experiment with Coalition Government at the Federal Level", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, 62(4), December, 2001, pp.586-93.

## CHAPTER-III

### **Democracy and Region: Regional Parties in Andhra Pradesh**

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The concept of 'region' and 'regionalism' is not related to mere geographical entities, but connotes mainly a mental or psychological aspect. It is born out of continued economic backwardness, consciousness in a distinct community about its own language and culture, leading to the rising sense of its ethnic identity in the midst of the majority people living around in a larger area.<sup>1</sup> During the entire freedom movement, there was the Indian National Congress and some other all-India parties dominating the political field throughout India, despite the fact that they had varying degrees of influence in different parts of the country. The main aim of these parties was directed towards achieving political freedom from the British rule to gain the democratic right for the people they represented. The few regional political parties or organizations which existed in some areas were generally concerned with the social or cultural activities and did not take much interest in political affairs. The phenomenon of regional political parties taking political postures became prominent after independence of India and especially before and after the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh they came to the centre-stage and started becoming influential political forces in the state. These were MIM, TPS and TDP very recent formations were TRS, PRP and YSRCP.

The present chapter deals with the issues of democracy, region and its politics in Andhra Pradesh (AP). In specific, it would describe how the region's identity and regionalism entered into AP politics and what the significant reasons are for this. The formation of AP in 1956, witnessed surfacing of many regional political parties based on region. How far all these regional political parties effectively articulated the regional aspirations? Can we term articulation of these regional aspirations as democratic and to what extent? These are some of the related issues discussed in this chapter in the context of the

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<sup>1</sup> Artatrana Gochhayat, "Regionalism and sub-regionalism: A theoretical framework with special reference to India", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol.8(1), February, 2014, pp.10

erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh-(since bifurcated in the residuary state of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana).

### ***Region and Regionalism: Conceptual Clarity***

According to Rasheeduddin Khan, “A region is a homogeneous area with physical and cultural characteristics and that make it distinct from those of the neighboring areas.”<sup>2</sup> Khan proposed the following criteria for recognizing a region in India: “maximum homogeneity within and minimum identity without where homogeneities are to be established on ten counts: i) language dialect; ii) social composition (communities/jatis), iii) ethnic regions, iv) demographic features, v) geographical area (geographic contiguity), vi) cultural patterns, vii) economy and economy life, viii) historical antecedents, ix) political background, and x) psychological makeup and felt consciousness of group identity”.<sup>3</sup> Regionalism has emerged across the globe based on geographical area, political, racial, ethnic, economic or religious factors. Regionalism, or regional consciousness, basically develops from a sense of identity within a region. People living in a particular region over a period of time tend to develop an identity affiliation with it. According to Lalchungunga, “regionalism can be subjective and objective”. Subjective components of regionalism include customs, traditions, art forms, language, literature, social heritage, beliefs, attitudes, and values related to a particular group of people. On the other hand, the objective components include the territorial region and the accompanied man-environment complex within which the group lives.<sup>4</sup> Misra argues that regionalism is a secular phenomenon in a relative sense because it tends to include caste, faiths, and varied caste affiliations to work together for a common cause.<sup>5</sup> Further, Misra says that the geographical area, history, culture, economic underdevelopment and language are the major constituents of regionalism.

Regionalism can be grouped into three major categories: supra-state regionalism; inter-state regionalism and intra-state regionalism. *Supra-state regionalism* is formed by

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<sup>2</sup> Khan, Rasheeduddin, “The Regional Dimension”, *Seminar* 164, April. 1973,

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Lalchungunga, *Mizoram politics of Regionalism and National Integration*, Mumbai: Reliance Publishing Company, 1984, p.4

<sup>5</sup> Mishra, Madhusudhan, *Politics of Regionalism in India*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication, 1988, p.12

forging an identity by a group of states against other group of states (e.g., South India versus North India on the issue of Hindi language). *Inter-state regionalism* suggests that one state identity or group of states identities are put together against the identities of other states on certain issues that clash with the interest of one another (e.g., the border dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka; the water dispute between Punjab and Haryana).<sup>6</sup> This kind of regionalism is common in India. *Intra-state regionalism* - in this case, a part of the state fights for self identity and self-rule, and expresses a perception of exploitation, underdevelopment, political and economic disparities vis-à-vis other regions of the same state (e.g., Vidharbha region in Maharashtra state, Bundhelkhand region in Uttar Pradesh state are demanding separation from their respective parent states because of intra- state disparities over water and revenue sharing).<sup>7</sup>

Mishra argues that regionalist problems arise only “where there is a combination of two or more such factors as geographical isolation, independent historical tradition, racial, ethnic or religious peculiarities and local economic or class interests”.<sup>8</sup> The regional movement may refer to a movement involving the mobilisation of an ethnic community along a particular geographical space that it claims to be its homeland, pursuing the same demands (e.g., political, economic or cultural) particular to that community. The main concern in this exercise is to eliminate factors contributing to heterogeneity and to bring together factors promoting homogeneity. The crux of regionalism basically lies in economic inequality and underdevelopment of the regions in India.<sup>9</sup> According to Singh, regionalism may be defined as “a counter-movement to any exaggerated or oppressive form of centralisation.”<sup>10</sup> In essence, regionalism is some kind of response to unequal development and sharing the fruits of economic development. The regional movements for separate states arose due to the failure of the governments and political parties at various levels. The government focused on some part of region and neglected other

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<sup>6</sup> Mishra , Madhusudhan, *Politics of Regionalism in India*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication, 1988, p.16

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Singh, Bhavani, *Regionalism and Politics of Separatism in India*, Jaipur: Pint Well, 1993, p.1

regions.<sup>11</sup> Precisely, regional politics started in Andhra based on these aspects and there are some interesting aspects led to separate regional entities and movements.

For a very long time, the Telugu-speaking people were largely spread in both the old multilingual Madras State and the princely State of Hyderabad.<sup>12</sup> On 1 October, 1953, the Andhra divided from the Madras State. Subsequently, in order to form the greater Andhra (Visalandhra), famously known as Andhra Pradesh, on November 1, 1956, the Telugu-speaking districts of Hyderabad State were formally merged with the Andhra State naming Hyderabad as its capital.<sup>13</sup> On 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2014, this state was bifurcated into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The State of Andhra Pradesh was formed after a lot of wrangling by the political elites of the different regions. Even at the time of the formation of the composite state, the three regions of the state - Coastal Andhra, Telangana and Rayalaseema - had uneven levels of economic development due to a number of geographical, socio-economic and political factors. These inter-regional disparities and the subsequent articulation of the regional political identities, especially in the Telangana region, later came to impact the State politics and elections.<sup>14</sup> The Telangana demand is, sometimes, turning into movement dimension and sometimes taking violent form. Generally, there are two different kinds of thoughts that are negotiating to each other with respect to Andhra politics that a section of middle class, upper caste and particularly politicians in Telangana region continued to harbour the grievance that their region is remained backward because of negligence by the successive non-Telangana dominated governments and disproportionate advantages caused by the politicians from coastal region and the other section from coastal Andhra opine that they could have developed much better than the present position, if they were not merged with Telangana region.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> ibid

<sup>12</sup> M. L. Ahuja, *Handbook of General Elections and Electoral Reforms in India, 1952-1999*, New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2000, p.50

<sup>13</sup> Rao, P.R., *History of Modern Andhra*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1988. p.1

<sup>14</sup> M. L. Ahuja, p.50

<sup>15</sup> Narayana Rao, K.V, *The Emergence of Andhra Pradesh*, Bombay: Popular Prakasan, 1973, p.24.

### ***Ecology and Demography of Andhra Pradesh***

As per as culture and geography of both Andhra Pradesh and Telangana are concern, together they form a major link between the northern and southern parts of India. In fact, the Andhra Pradesh is situated in the tropical region between the latitudes 13° to 20° North, and the longitudes 77° to 85° East. It is bounded by the Bay of Bengal in the east, Orissa in the northeast, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra in the north, Karnataka in the west and Tamil Nadu in the south. AP has rich as well as second longest coastline in India (972 km), running from Ichchapuram in Srikakulam district in the north to Sriharikota in Nellore district in the south. AP has seven working ports which include one major port at Visakhapatnam and two relatively minor ports at Kakinada and Machilipatnam. The state of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh state experiences a tropical-monsoon type of climate. Generally, all most all the parts of Telangana and coastal Andhra receive appropriate rain fall, except Rayalaseema which is a zone of scanty rainfall. Coastal Andhra has natural calamities like cyclones and floods which damages standing crops leading for economic problems in the region in great amount.<sup>16</sup> The anicuts across the Godavari, the Krishna, and the Penna, described as ‘poems in concrete’, were built more than a century ago. Due to these irrigation projects, both the rivers Krishna-Godavari tracts had experienced an ‘agrarian revolution’, which has brought about phenomenal changes in the social and political organization of this region. In the last two decades, sharing river water is becoming a contentious issue between various regions of the State. In India, Andhra Pradesh is one of the rich states in having minerals, the most important of them are coal, limestone, natural gas, barytes, manganese, mica and iron ore and so on. Further, much of the industrial growth of this state, in terms of mining and industries are depending upon these minerals.<sup>17</sup>

The population of the composite state of Andhra Pradesh stood at 8.46 millions in 2011 Census of India, accounting for 7 percent of India’s population, 7.4 percent in 2001 Census. Literacy rate in AP raised 7.9 percent from 61.11 per cent in 2001 to 67.66 percent in 2011. There is huge difference pertaining in literacy between rural and urban,

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<sup>16</sup> Suri, K.C, *Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, London: Overseas Development Institute, Working Paper 180, 2002, p.6.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p.7



tribals and non-tribals, socially backward caste and the upper caste, and male and female.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, the data on workforce distribution indicates a high level of labour depend on agriculture which is 80%. The proportion of agricultural labourers in AP is the highest among all the States in India. Their proportion tends to be even higher in the agriculturally advanced areas of the State.

### ***Political Economy of Andhra Pradesh***

The formation of AP in 1956 was based on two pacts agreed between coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema leaders: Sri Bagh Pact of 1937 and Gentleman's Agreement of 1956 between Telangana leaders and Andhra leaders.<sup>19</sup> Since the formation of AP, the elites from the three regions have had mutual suspicion vis-a-vis each other and this suspicion kept resurfacing at varied points in time, as an instance, the separate Telangana and Andhra movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s and the formation of Rayalaseema Vimochana Samiti in the Eighties. The Telangana movement of the late Sixties broke out over the issues related to employment within the public sector, the distribution of regional surpluses, canal irrigation and their usage<sup>20</sup>, and therefore the solutions have continuously been political, with revived promises to implement equitable regional development (e g, the 6-point formula in the 1970s).

The creation of Mandal administrative structures under the TDP rule led to the elite exodus from rural Telangana that intern created a powerful OBC base for TDP in the Telangana rural areas. This group was able to improve agricultural growth considerably, with the green revolution and tube well irrigation up to late Nineteen Nineties.<sup>21</sup> The second factor restructuring of Mandal administration, abolition of the village accountant (referred to as *karanam* or *patwari*) system dominated by the upper-caste communities led to a bigger role for elected officers at the village level. The OBCs perceived these changes as providing them with avenues for upward mobility. This attracted them to the TDP, however additional significantly, given their giant share within the population of

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<sup>18</sup> *Census of India, AP, 2001*

<sup>19</sup> Jayadev, A, S Motiram and V Vakulabharanam, "Imagined Problems in Computing Wealth Inequalities", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42, 2007, pp 69-71.

<sup>20</sup> Nag, Kingshuk, *Battleground Telangana: Chronicle of an Agitation*, Noida: Harper Collins India, 2011,

<sup>21</sup> Vakulabharanam, V, "Immiserizing Growth: Globalization and Agrarian Change in Telangana, South India Between 1985 and 2000", doctoral dissertation, Amherst: University of Massachusetts, Economics Department, 2004. p.46

Telangana, provided the sense that a unified AP could accommodate individuals from all the three regions. Urban elites from Telangana failed to keep up with the elites from other regions in terms of accumulation<sup>22</sup>, and once there was a way of cultural and political inequality, a second movement for the separation of Telangana gathered momentum. The Nineties witnessed state retreating its support from agriculture (under structural adjustment), there have been strains in agricultural growth<sup>23</sup> and unrest began to create in rural areas. whereas the competition for economic, political and cultural equality among the regional urban elites continuing, a powerful sense of economic deprivation due to the deepening of neo-liberal policies among the agricultural and urban poor provided a powerful basis for the movement.

So, it is not simply economic deprivation which will make a case for the movement for a separate state in Telangana, though economic factors (e g, excessive dependence on unsustainable groundwater irrigation) are vital but there are strong political and cultural factors too at work. The elites of Telangana have not done yet because the elites of other regions, both politically and economically. The urban professionals could have felt a way of cultural discrimination. The rural middle-strata could have run out of perceived opportunities for mobility that they felt they had in the Eighties and Nineteen Nineties. The poor can be at the receiving end of the neo-liberal economic policies. There has been a coming back along totally different of various forces that then produce a collective sense of discrimination due to different reasons, that produce a powerful impetus to separate or articulate a regional logic of deprivation, that is not visible within the other regions of AP.<sup>24</sup>

Prior to the formation of AP, the social reform movement was robust in coastal Andhra (not in Telangana), however it failed to alter the socio-economic and political structure, though Brahmins in all probability undercut their position within the traditional caste hierarchy. The non-brahmin movement in AP likewise as mobilizations by the Justice

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<sup>22</sup> Damodaran, H, *India's New Capitalists: Caste, Business and Industry in a Modern Nation*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

<sup>23</sup> Vamsi Vakulabharanam and Sripad Motiram, "The Dissolution of 'United' Andhra Pradesh Insights from growth and Distribution Patterns, 1956-2010", *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 24, Vol- XLIX (21) 2014,

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

Party mostly helped the attainment of upward social mobility, education and jobs for better off non-brahmin communities such as Reddies and Kammas and doubtless did not percolate down<sup>25</sup>. Dalits in AP were a part of the Congress or Communist led mobilisation, and solely when the Karamchedu incident in 1985,<sup>26</sup> have taken on a seriously autonomous character. However, this has not led to robust autonomous political formations among OBC-dalit groups. So far, to the extent that there have been political mobilisations, they have not been able to reduce the economic disparities.

Reddies, Kammas, Rajus, Vysyas and Brahmins among the upper caste groups have consolidated their economic and political power over the evolution of the state. Brahmins have preponderantly become professionals in urban areas whereas the others are into either professional activities or activities that involve capitalist accumulation in rural and urban areas. Capitalist class formation in AP has been mostly a delta and Rayalaseema-based upper caste phenomenon: Kammas (who are terribly extremely diversified) from Krishna delta, Rajus (IT, cement, fertilisers) from Godavari delta and Reddies (construction, hotels and contracts) from Penna delta and Rayalaseema, and Vysyas (for example, the GMR group, Bommidala and Majetiin Tobacco and Construction) from Guntur and Srikakulam<sup>27</sup>. This development has taken a large form since the Nineteen Eighties. Within the Telangana region, OBCs have acquired land in villages (mainly attributable to the Telangana armed struggle and also the Maoist movement), at the side of the continued possession to a precise extent by Reddies and Velamas, whereas within the other regions, the “upper” castes have preserved landownership.

Political parties have thrived on vertical-caste alliances. The Congress had the broadest base till 1980 about, however, within the Eighties, the OBCs gravitated towards the TDP in massive numbers. Autonomous OBC/OBC-dalit alliances have merely not emerged in AP in contrast to within the north (e g, Bahujan Samaj Party) or in Tamil Nadu within the

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<sup>25</sup> Ramaswamy, U, “The Belief System of the Non-brahman Movements in India: The Andhra Case”, *Asian Survey*, 18(3), 1978, pp 290-300.

<sup>26</sup> Balagopal, K, *Ear to the Ground: Selected Writing on Class and Caste*, Delhi: Navayana, 2011.

<sup>27</sup> Damodaran, H, *India's New Capitalists: Caste, Business and Industry in a Modern Nation*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008,

south.<sup>28</sup> The OBC and dalit caste groups have been co-opted into elite formations primarily through a “creamy-layer” kind of absorption. Overall, socio-economic change of an egalitarian nature has been countered, though the consciousness to necessitate such a change exists these days. This is often the crisis in caste terms within the sense that whereas greater equality has been achieved in terms of representations of caste within the public sphere, economic and political power has been concentrated in the hands of the upper castes and also a creamy layer of the OBCs and dalits.

The class dynamics of AP will be delineated in terms of 2 radical episodes (roughly, 1930s to 1950s; 1970s to 2000) and one major episode of primitive accumulation that started in 1980s and is continuous even today. the actual variant of capitalist economy that has turn up in AP, owes its character to the particular ways that during which the unconventional episodes were pent-up, permitting capital to emerge. Before the formation of AP, throughout during 1930-50, the communists crystal rectifier anti-feudal (eg, zamindari abolition) and anti-colonial struggles in all regions of the current AP.<sup>29</sup> an interesting example is that the Telangana armed struggle of 1946-51 that is one among the biggest peasant mobilisations in recent history.<sup>30</sup> However, landlords were not absolutely eliminated at the time of formation of the state. The dominant classes were the landlords, rich peasants, urban professionals and also the inchoate capitalist class.<sup>31</sup> The inchoate capitalist class owed its origin to the agro-processing industries in different regions. They were conjointly market intermediaries in milling, money lending, etc.<sup>32</sup> there have been 2 main political parties – the Congress and the Communists. The backbone of the former party was the dominant classes, whereas that of the latter party were workers in rural and urban areas, small peasantry, sections of the rich peasantry and educated urban professionals. Within the early Fifties, there was a balance of power

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<sup>28</sup> Vamsi Vakulabharanam and Sripad Motiram, “The Dissolution of ‘United’ Andhra Pradesh Insights from Growth and Distribution Patterns, 1956-2010”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 24, Vol- XLIX no 21, 2014, p.67

<sup>29</sup> Sundarayya, P, *Telangana People’s Struggle and its Lessons*, Hyderabad: Foundation Books, 1972, p.

<sup>30</sup> Dhanagare, D N, “Social Origins of the Peasant Insurrection in Telangana (1946-51)” in A R Desai (ed.), *Peasant Struggles in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979.

<sup>31</sup> Haggis, J, S Jarrett D Taylor and P Mayer, “By the Teeth: A Critical Examination of James Scott’s the Moral Economy of the Peasant”, *World Development*, 14 (12), 1986, pp 1435-55.

<sup>32</sup> Moore, Barrington (1966): *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

among these forces. However, this balance began to shift in favour of the dominant categories once 1952, and that they scored 2 major victories – the interference of land reforms and also the interference of the formation of cooperative market structures. As results of these victories, a large landless worker population remained intact, with coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema having a considerably higher proportion of the landless.<sup>33</sup>

In the decade of the Nineteen Sixties, capital formation was mainly through the public sector (along national lines); there was but, some private capital accumulation in agro-processing (e g, tobacco, sugar, rice mills, cotton ginning, jute and cotton textiles, etc). Rich peasants and urban professionals became ambivalent (and even hostile) to communist/radical politics. Communists themselves split, and also the erstwhile radical parties entered a period of low intensity activism.<sup>34</sup> The interference of egalitarian policies (land reforms and the formation of cooperatives) and drought resulted in agricultural stagnation and low growth in general. Mild decline in inequality was witnessed in rural areas due to the prevalent progressive forces.<sup>35</sup> The problems of agricultural stagnation and droughts were resolved through the institution of green revolution technologies (a national policy) by late Nineteen Sixties, particularly within the delta parts of coastal Andhra; these technologies and practices subtle and their lagged effects became visible in other regions in a very decade. As a result, agriculture grew but this growth heightened rural inequality.<sup>36</sup> To counteract these effects, at the national level, the government led by Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi adopted populist policies, which brought a major proportion of the agricultural workers to the side of the Congress<sup>37</sup>.

During the late 1960s/early 1970s a second radical episode began, viz, the Maoist movement (in Srikakulam). The Maoist movement itself was pent-up during this region, however this movement, and also the residuals of the first radical episode, resulted in a

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<sup>33</sup> Maringanti, A, V Vakulabharam, S Motiram and S Sujatha, “Tragedy of the Commons Re-visited (I): Granite Quarrying in Telangana”, *Economic & Political Weekly*, XLVII (42), 20 October, 2012.

<sup>34</sup> Ram, Mohan, *Indian Communism: Split Within a Split*, Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1969, p.

<sup>35</sup> Banerjee, S, *In the Wake of Naxalbari*, Calcutta: Subarnarekha, 1980.

<sup>36</sup> Frankel, F, *India's Green Revolution: Economic Gains and Political Costs*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

<sup>37</sup> Balagopal, K, “Indira Gandhi: An Attempt at a Political Appraisal”, *Economic & Political Weekly*, XX (12), 1985, pp 496-503.

marginal implementation of land ceilings, thereby inflicting the migration of the rural elites (large landlords) and their investments to urban areas.<sup>38</sup> Apart from this, private capital formation continued in agro-processing industries. However, public-sector capital still drove industry, which grew further<sup>39</sup>. Green revolution raised the agrarian surpluses of the rich peasants (mostly Kammas and Rajus) in coastal Andhra. These surpluses were not all reinvested in agriculture, and there was gradual migration of capital to the non-agricultural sector. Landed groups and rich peasantry (such as Reddies), particularly within the Nellore and Rayalaseema regions conjointly used civil contracts to urge ahead. The rich peasant class became impatient with the slow growth of investment opportunities within the prevailing structure. Other groups (urban professionals and incipient capital) conjointly became impatient with the slow growth of employment and other opportunities in the urban areas. Whereas landlords and the agricultural worker population continued to support Congress, other groups questioned its dominance.<sup>40</sup>

There was considerable increase in violence in all the regions of AP with different dynamics in different regions. In Rayalaseema, it absolutely was a residual of the previous polegar<sup>41</sup> styled factional violence that resurfaced in the Seventies and Eighties, typically between the established aristocracy and rising elites. In coastal Andhra, it was the battle for provincial assertion among the made peasant communities (such as Kammas, Reddies and Kapus), and between the rich peasant communities and the politically more conscious Dalits. In Telangana, it cavitied the Maoists (working with small peasants, landless workers, tendu (beedi) leaf workers and tribals) against the state and ruling classes. In the town of Hyderabad, it was the assertion of communal violence with new entrants from all regions.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Police Killings and Rural Violence in Andhra Pradesh*, New York: Human Rights Watch/Asia, 1992,

<sup>39</sup> Rao, H, "Industrial Development" in R S Rao, V Hanumantha Rao and N Venugopal (ed.), *Fifty Years of Andhra Pradesh: 1956-2006*, Hyderabad: Centre for Documentation, Research and Communication, 2007,

<sup>40</sup> Griffi n, Keith B, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: An Essay on the Green Revolution*, London: Macmillan, 1979,

<sup>41</sup> Balagopal, K, "Andhra Pradesh: Beyond Media Images", *Economic & Political Weekly*, XXXIX (24), 2004, pp 2425-29.

<sup>42</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Police Killings and Rural Violence in Andhra Pradesh*, New York: Human Rights Watch/Asia, 1992,

The deeper significance and consequences of this violence need to be understood. It is the way primitive accumulation of capital took place, thereby resulting in the creation of the private capitalist class in AP that became dominant (without being hegemonic) by the Nineties. The factionalist mode of violence in Rayalaseema led to the creation of a class of individuals, who have engaged in huge capital accumulation since mid-1990s, and are a vital element of the largest capitalists in AP. These factional groups fought battles to acquire control over mining (eg, barites) and government (civil) contracts. The liquor economy permeated every kind of accumulation, political careers, and acted because the chief vehicle for the redistribution of wealth from the poor to the rich and the state<sup>43</sup>.

In coastal Andhra, inter-caste violence was aimed toward suppressing any dissent in villages and towns (the dalits were mostly supporters of the Congress, and were recuperating education, and changing into more conscious of their own rights). The coastal region conjointly saw the emergence of another element of the big capitalist class that had one foot in the rural areas and another in the urban areas, to start with, which captive resolutely to the urban areas later (while still holding on to rural land). This conjointly resulted in a rise in occupancy during this region.

In the Telangana region, Maoist violence was aimed toward ending the persistent feudal structures in Telangana however it absolutely was conjointly hostile the processes of primitive accumulation all across AP, and the counter-violence of the state aimed toward repressing this resistance. For the whole state, this was the second major radical episode. Third part will be characterized as “neo-liberal populism” – a brand new phase of rapid capital accumulation through surplus extraction, primitive accumulation, combined with a populism that is not sustainable. Varied populist schemes (eg, Aarogyasri, educational subsidies) end up promoting and sustaining private institutions whereas inflicting a neglect of public institutions and conjointly injury the government treasury to a state of bankruptcy<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> Balagopal, K, “Slaying of a Spirituous Demon”, *Economic & Political Weekly*, XXVII (46), 1992, pp 2457-61.

<sup>44</sup> Ilaiah, K, “Telangana Is Wicked Plan of Feudal Lords”, *The Hindu*, May 14, 2013.

Overall, then, one can argue that there is a crisis from a class viewpoint in the sense that the majority has been neglected of the story of rising prosperity in the development of AP. Regional political parties are playing a significant role in Indian democracy by articulating regional aspirations and feel that they have not been given a fair deal in the existing frame of dominant politics. It is well established truth that the regional political parties generally hold some sway in a particular region or sub-region.<sup>45</sup> However, the critics of regional parties say that regional parties have a narrow or tunnel vision and tend to ignore the national perspective. Balanced view of regionalism defends that it need not be regarded as unhealthy or anti-national, unless it takes a militant, aggressive turn and encourages the growth of secessionist tendencies and certainly, national unity will not be endangered if the people of a region are proud of their language and cultural ethos. According to Lewis P. Fickett, the politics of regionalism is a manifestation of a continent of many communities united through shared experiences but powerfully motivated by parochial and regional considerations.<sup>46</sup>

### ***Regional Aspirations in Colonial Andhra and Hyderabad State: Historical Antecedents***

Before India became free, there was a big difference in the way the two regions of Madras Presidency, Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema, and the independent state of Hyderabad was ruled. The Hyderabad state was not directly under the British rule, whereas the Madras Presidency was directly ruled by the British and was administered in accordance with the laws made by the British parliament. The administration of Hyderabad was carried on under the laws made by the native state<sup>47</sup>. The official language of Madras Presidency was English, whereas it was Urdu in the Hyderabad state. All the revenue and other records of the Hyderabad state were maintained in the Urdu language, whereas the records of the Madras Presidency were maintained in English. Urdu was also a compulsory subject in the state of Hyderabad and almost all educated people of the state knew Urdu. Moreover, being an independent state, Hyderabad had its own financial, military, judicial, police, and general administration, public works and

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<sup>45</sup> Lewis P. Fickett, Jr, "The Politics of Regionalism in India", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 1971, p.193

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Kodanda Ram. M, "Movement for Telangana State: A Struggle for Autonomy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 2, Jan. 13-19, 2007, p.90



revenue departments. Thus the Telangana region was the part of the independent native state ruled by the Nizam of Hyderabad under British protection.

Though there were 568 Indian native states ruled by the erstwhile royal dynasties of those states, Hyderabad state was the most important and a rich native state which was administered directly by the Governor General of India. The ruler of Hyderabad state was thought as the most superior native Indian ruler by the British. At that time, Hyderabad state consisted of Telangana region where mostly the people speaking in Telugu lived in 4 Kannada districts of Gulbarga division (now in Karnataka) and 4 Marathi districts in Aurangabad division (now in Maharashtra).<sup>48</sup> In contrast, the Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra regions followed the administrative systems of the British rulers in India. The administrative system of Hyderabad State was a typical system derived from the Moghul administrative system with, of course, changes made from time to time.<sup>49</sup> So we find both the ethnic and administrative differences between the regions of the Hyderabad state, on the one hand, and the regions of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema area, on the other. Rayalaseema and Telangana, were not part of the Andhra Pradesh until November 1, 1956.<sup>50</sup> Before independence, the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions were part of the Madras Presidency which was a province of the British India at that time.

With the establishment of British rule in India, the country acquired a homogeneous political structure and the British acquired convenient hold not only on internal administration but they created a new political geography by redrawing the boundaries as the 'Princely States' 'Provinces' and 'Presidencies'. Historically, the British mooted the idea of formation of states on linguistic basis in the Government of India Act of 1919, popularly known as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi were in favour of the idea. The Nagpur Session of All India Congress Committee, in 1920, adopted a resolution expressing support for the formation of states on linguistic grounds. The Motilal Nehru Report, 1928 also supported the idea of the formation of

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<sup>48</sup> Sukdev Singh, "How Andhra Pradesh came to be formed on November 1, 1956 – a brief history. 2001", Retrieved from <http://www.indiastudychannel.com/resources/146068-How-Andhra-Pradesh-came-be-formed-November.aspx> on 08/05/13. p.1

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Narayana Rao, K.V, *The Emergence of Andhra Pradesh*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1973, p.3

states on linguistic grounds. Thus it can be seen that the Indian National Congress favoured the idea of linguistic states in the pre-independence period.<sup>51</sup> Konda Venkatappayya, the Father of the Andhra Movement, encouraged the Telugu people to demand a separate linguistic province from Madras State. “Sri Bagh Pact 1937” forged unity between the Circars and Rayalaseema regions. However, the Dar Commission recommended the postponement of the reorganization of Indian states on linguistic basis. From 1946 to 1950, the Andhra leaders were preoccupied with intra-party squabbling and paid little attention to the issue.<sup>52</sup>

The early 1950s saw the growing popular demand for a separate state of Andhra. The ceded districts of Madras Presidency, known as Coastal Andhra, put forward their case for a separate state in 1950 on the ground of growing domination of Tamils in employment and industry, and negligence and discrimination of people belonging to Andhra by the Tamils. Vaikuntam contends that the main aims and objectives of the Andhra movement were to remind the Andhra people of their great past, including the linguistic unity, and also to remind them of their present backwardness.<sup>53</sup> Further, he says that the prominent leaders of the Andhra movement in Madras Presidency felt that the Telugu people were getting a raw deal in every sphere and losing their cultural identity and advancement. It was often, emphasized that the Telugu identity was lost in Madras Presidency. Wahid Khan says that separate Andhra movement came for promoting their own distinct culture.<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile, Gandhian worker, Sri Potti Sreeramulu, went on a fast unto death in October, 1952, demanding a separate state of Andhra for the Telugu speaking people. Sreeramulu demanded inclusion of all Telugu speaking areas under one state. Jawaharlal Nehru strongly opposed the demand of linguistic states. Despite being a true democrat to the core of his heart; he did not yield to Sreeramulu’s demand even after two months.<sup>55</sup> After two months of fast unto death, Sreeramulu passed away on December 16, 1952. There

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<sup>51</sup> *ibid.* p.36

<sup>52</sup> Hanumantha Rao V, *Party politics in Andhra Pradesh*. Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, p.5

<sup>53</sup> Vaikuntam, Y, *Studies in Socio-cultural and Political History: A Modern Andhra*, Hyderabad: Karshak art printers, 2004, p.138-139

<sup>54</sup> Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, “Brief History of Andhra Pradesh”, *State Archives*, Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1972, p.113

<sup>55</sup> Ramachandra Guha, “The battle for Andhra”, *The Hindu*, March 30, 2013.

was a violent reaction after Sreeramulu's death. Jawaharlal Nehru's government had to concede the demand for creation of the Andhra state. In ensuing elections all the parties, including the Congress, committed to the formation of linguistic states in 1952 elections. However, the Congress could not fulfill the promise and Telugu speaking people thought a lesion to the Congress in this election. The Congress won only 152 out of 375 seats in the entire Madras State. In Andhra, out of 140 seats, it could secure only 43, while the Communists won 41. Many of the important Congress leaders were defeated. Tanguturi Prakasam and N.G. Ranga, the two powerful leaders of Andhra, had greatly weakened the Congress by leaving the party and established their own separate parties (KMPP and KLP). In the Telangana area of the Hyderabad State the Communists managed to capture 46 out of 175 seats.<sup>56</sup>

However, no single party was able to form the government on its own in this elections 'all the groups in the State agreed that a coalition government was the only solution. The problem was solved when the Congress attracted Prakasam, the President of the Praja Socialist Party (a new party formed with the merger of KMPP and Socialists), by offering him the post of Chief Minister and N. Sanjeeva Reddy became the Deputy Chief Minister. The choice of the capital brought the differences between people of the Circars and Rayalaseema to the fore. The Rayalaseema legislators demanded that the capital should be in Rayalaseema as it was mentioned in the Sri Bagh Pact. The Krishikar Lok Party also demanded the location of capital at Tirupati (in Rayalaseema) on the same ground. The Communists favoured Vijayawada, their stronghold. The others feared that the choice of Vijayawada might strengthen the Communists. The Congress, PSP and KLP legislators met at Madras and chose Kurnool as the temporary capital. The Andhra State Bill was discussed in July, 1953 and the KLP changed its stand. G. Latchanna moved an amendment to locate the capital in Chittoor district, but in vain. The Communists proposed an amendment to substitute Guntur- Vijayawada for Kurnool. This too was lost by a single vote. The state came into existence on October 1, 1953, with Kurnool as the capital. Guntur became the location of the Andhra High Court set up on July 5, 1954.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Hanumantha Rao. V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, p.5

<sup>57</sup> Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, "Brief History of Andhra Pradesh", *State Archives*, Hyderabad:

The controversy over the location of the state capital brought the Reddy and Kamma the two dominant castes/classes rivalry to the forefront. The KLP, which had initially supported the coalition and allowed its leader Latchanna to join the Ministry, withdrew its support on the issue of location of the capital. Latchanna had pleaded for Visakhapatnam as capital at a later stage, but when Kurnool was finally declared as the capital, he resigned from the ministry. This was a major jolt to the newly formed coalition ministry and only the Congress and the Praja Party were left with the support of a few independents. It was opposed by the powerful Communists, KLP and PSP members. This situation was exploited by the KLP members. They gathered the communal or caste oriented forces from the Congress. On the issue of Ramamurthi Committee Report on prohibition, the opposition introduced a no-confidence motion against the government. The government was carried by a majority of one vote on November 4, 1954(69 votes to 68). The precarious coalition ministry headed by Prakasam resigned after 13 months. On November 1954, the Assembly was dissolved by the Governor and President's rule was imposed.

Great political significance was attached to the mid-term elections of Andhra in 1955 as the Communist Party was expected to form the next Andhra ministry. However, the Congress could manoeuvre an electoral alliance with KLP and KMPP to form a United Congress Front (UFC) to fight the Communists. An alliance between the PSP and the Communist Party did not succeed.<sup>58</sup> The Congress party centered its campaign upon the issue of Communism as a danger to democracy and won with a comfortable majority.<sup>59</sup> The Congress, with its electoral strategies, succeeded with a resounding victory, obtaining 119 seats, whereas Communists were 'surprisingly defeated'. As against 41 seats secured in 1952, the Communists secured only 15 seats. KLP and Praja Party suitably increased their strength due to an alliance with the Congress and vice-versa. PSP won 13 seats, from Visakhapatnam district itself it won 9 seats, where P.V.G. Raju's

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Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1972, pp.113-114.

<sup>58</sup> Linga Murthy. V, "Election in Andhra", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.XVI, No.2, April-June, 1965, p.58.

<sup>59</sup> Bhaskara Rao. N, *The politics of Leadership in an Indian state (Andhra Pradesh)*, Vijayawada: Bharath Publishers, 1969, p.8

hold on the electorate was well known. It is important to note that the Congress polled 39.35 percent votes and won 60 percent of the seats. On the other hand, the Communists polled 31.31 percent votes, but won only 7.7 percent of the seats. Paradoxically, there was a rise in the number of votes polled by the Communists, though there was a fall in the number of seats won. The main reason for the Congress victory and the Communist defeat was the formation of UCF, which led to many straight or triangular fights. On March 28, 1955, B. Gopala Reddy formed the second Andhra Ministry, with N. Sanjeeva Reddy again as the Deputy Chief Minister, including K L P and Praja Party members.<sup>60</sup> At the time of India attained independence on August 15, 1947, Nizam of Hyderabad princely state which was dominated by Telugu speaking people wanted to be declared as an independent country blatantly refused to join the Indian Union. As such, the Nizam made all out efforts to spoil the efforts of the Indian government to make him agree to join the Indian Union. He even went to the extent of approaching the United Nations and made a plea to recognize Hyderabad state as a separate independent country. The negotiations of the Indian government with the Nizam did not yield any positive result since the Nizam was adamant on not merging Hyderabad with the Indian Union. With no alternative left, the government of India resorted to 'Police Action,' code named 'Operation Polo,' on September 13, 1948. The forces of Nizam could not match the offensive launched by the Indian forces, the Nizam surrendered within five days on September 18, 1948. Thus, the merger of Hyderabad with the Indian Union was completed with an official announcement.<sup>61</sup>

The demand for creation of other linguistic states gained further momentum after the formation of the Andhra State and the Government of India appointed the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) in December, 1953, under the chairmanship of Saiyed Fazaal Ali. Andhras hoped that their dream of Visalandhra would be "realised by unification with the Telugu" people of Hyderabad State. Some people demanded the formation of a separate Telangana State. However, there was no unanimity in the Congress. On the other hand, the Communists strongly supported the formation of

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<sup>60</sup> Hanumantha Rao. V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, p.8

<sup>61</sup> Ravi Narayana Reddy, "Veera Telangana: Naa Anubhavalu-Gyapakalu", Vijayawada: Vishalandhra Publishing House, 1997, p 106.

Visalandhra. After lifting the ban on Communists in 1952 elections, they played a vital role in Telangana area. B. Rama Krishna Rao, one of the advocates of Visalandhra became the Congress Chief Minister of Hyderabad. The demand for Visalandhra increased after the appointment of the S.R.C., though K.V. Ranga Reddy and M. Chenna Reddy changed their original stand and advocated a separate Telangana State.<sup>62</sup> The S.R.C., which submitted its report on September 30, 1955, recommended the disintegration of Hyderabad State and summed up the advantages of Vishalandhra by merging Telangana area with the Andhra State.<sup>63</sup> Regarding a separate Telangana State, the Commission made some observations.<sup>64</sup> After examining the case for Vishalandhra and separate Telangana, the Commission felt “the advantages of the formation of Visalandhra are obvious” and that “nothing should be done to obstruct the realisation of this goal.”<sup>65</sup>

The SRC report disappointed the advocates of Vishalandhra, but was hailed by the advocates of separate Telangana. The main advocates of Visalandhra, the Communists, gave an ultimatum that they would resign from their seats and contest the elections on the issue. This stand was also accepted by Telangana Congressmen and 7 out of 10 District Congress Committees supported Visalandhra. In the Hyderabad Assembly, 147 out of the total 174 members expressed their views. Of them, 103 supported the idea of Vishalandhra, 29 were in favour of a separate state of Telangana and 15 remained neutral.<sup>66</sup> In Andhra, all the leaders, except N.G. Ranga, favoured Vishalandhra. Borugula Rama Krishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad State, convinced the Congress High Command about the benefits in the formation of Vishalandhra. However, the advocates of a separate Telangana State struck to their demand. The High Command arranged a meeting of the leaders from the Andhra and Telangana regions to come to a compromise on February 20, 1956. Four leaders from either region, all from the Congress

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<sup>62</sup> Hanumantha Rao, V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, .p.9

<sup>63</sup> *The States Reorganisation Commission Report*, (1955.56), pp.104-5

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p.105, paras 375 to 378

<sup>65</sup> *The States Reorganisation Commission Report*, (1955.56), para 382, p.106,

<sup>66</sup> Hanumantha Rao. V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, p.10

Party signed the accord, popularly known as “Gentlemen’s Agreement.”<sup>67</sup> The ‘composite’ state of Andhra Pradesh was inaugurated by Pandit Nehru on November 1, 1956, with N. Sanjeeva Reddy as the Chief Minister and C.M. Trivedi as the Governor.<sup>68</sup>

### ***Regional Movements and Emergence of Regional Parties in Andhra Pradesh: A Profile***

Although the formation of the Andhra Pradesh state made it a geographically unified unit of Telugu speaking people but unevenness in their socio economic disparities continued to be of three distinct regions, i.e., Telangana, Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. The economic and political life of Andhra Pradesh has faced a number of upheavals at various points of time. The noticeable ones during the first two decades of its formation were: the “Jai Telangana”, movement in 1969 and the “Jai Andhra” movement in 1973.

### ***Jai Telangana Movement***

During this period, misgivings were expressed about the implementation of the “Gentlemen’s Agreement”, signed at the time of the formation of the state. Of the fourteen points included in the Agreement, three points were considered to be of immense political and socio-economic importance. These points were: (i) the political issues relating to representation of Telangana in the power sharing structure; (ii) the socio-economic issues relating to the utilisation of revenue surpluses/apportioning of budget for the Telangana region; and (iii) proper sharing of employment and educational opportunities in the state. It may be worthwhile to mention here that the implementation of the Agreement itself started on a weak footing. The provision for the institution of position of Deputy Chief Minister (or Chief Minister) for the Telangana region was totally ignored by the signatory to the Gentlemen’s Agreement and the Chief Minister from Andhra area, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy (who became the first Chief Minister of the united Andhra Pradesh) in 1956. It is believed that he even went to the extent of calling it an “unwanted sixth finger of the hand”.<sup>69</sup> In due course, issues such as the sharing of waters and irrigation resources, land management, etc., also became sore points. The

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<sup>67</sup> Kodanda Ram. M, “Movement for Telangana State: A Struggle for Autonomy”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 2, Jan. 13-19, 2007, p.91

<sup>68</sup> Hanumantha Rao. V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, p.10

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.19

induction of K.V. Ranga Reddy from Telangana as the Deputy Chief Minister in the second ministry, formed January 11<sup>th</sup> 1960, under the leadership of D. Sanjeevaiah was seen as a means to diffuse simmering tensions. However, once Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy came back as Chief Minister, he stuck to his earlier stand and dispensed with the appointment of Deputy Chief Minister. The provision of Chief Minister/Dy. Chief Minister was revived only after the 1969 “Jai Telangana” agitation.

In this context, an agitation began in Telangana in January, 1969 following a High Court judgment holding that the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board did not come under the purview of the Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957. The agitation and discontent of the people at large surfaced when a student in Khammam went on a hunger strike in January, 1969. Soon, the agitation spread to other districts and students too got involved in the movement. However, there were differing opinions on the issue. One section of the students demanded full implementation of “safeguards”. The other section wanted nothing short of bifurcation of the state. The non-gazetted officers from Telangana joined the movement. Their demand was that about six thousand Coastal Andhra employees occupying posts in the Telangana region immediately repatriated to where they belonged. In some areas, the agitation took a violent turn. The state government’s response was to convene a meeting of leaders of all political of the state on January 18-19, 1969. The two most contentious issues for the Telangana people, namely, the repatriation of Coastal Andhra officials from Telangana and the quantum of surplus revenue of Telangana were discussed. It was announced that the quantum of Telangana surpluses would be decided by a senior officer appointed for the purpose and the Coastal Andhra officials would be repatriated by providing jobs in the Coastal Andhra area.

The police firing on the agitating students on January 20, 1969, aggravated matters. On January 22, the agitation became violent all across Telangana, resulting in heavy damage to public property. The agitation, spanning nearly a year from December, 1968, to November, 1969, resulted in huge damage to public and private property, loss of precious lives and injury to several people across the districts. Estimates varied on the extent of



damage and loss of life and in order to bring the situation under control, the Government issued a Government Order (G.O) assuring to remove/move all non- mulki<sup>70</sup> officials from their current positions by February 28, 1969.<sup>71</sup> The State government also expressed its resolve to extend the Mulki Rules to the Andhra Pradesh Electricity Board as it was funded by the state. It was also announced that the Comptroller and Auditor General of India would be deputing a senior executive to determine the Telangana surpluses. These decisions, particularly the one pertaining to repatriation of employees of Coastal Andhra/Rayalaseema from the Telangana region, may have assuaged the feelings on the Telangana side, but had a negative reaction in Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions. During this period, Telangana Students Action committee gave a call to the students of Telangana to boycott classes till a separate state was formed. In these turbulent times, the Supreme Court granted an injunction on the State Government's announcement of "Non-Mulki employee repatriation by February 28, 1969". Subsequently, the order was declared by the Supreme Court to be ultra-vires of the Constitution. This led to the intensification of the agitation for a separate statehood.<sup>72</sup>

### ***The Five Point Formula of 1972***

On November 21, 1972, nine persons were killed in police firing on Telangana protesters. Eventually, on November 27, the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, announced a Five-Point Formula. She declared that the Mulki Rules would be time-bound and would not be extended beyond 1977 in respect of Hyderabad city and 1980, the rest of Telangana. The formula consisted of the following points:

- (i) The Mulki Rules would be applied for recruitment to non- Gazetted posts up to the level of Tehsildar, Civil Assistant Surgeon and Assistant Engineer throughout Telangana;
- (ii) The Mulki Rules would apply to every second vacancy out of every three direct recruitment vacancies in the non-Gazetted posts in the case of composite offices like the Secretariat;

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<sup>70</sup> Non-Mulkies means outside people from Telangana and Mulkis means those are natives of Telangana.

<sup>71</sup> B .N. Sri Krishna Committee Report, December 31<sup>st</sup> 2010, p.31. Retrieved from <http://mha.nic.in/pdfs/CCSAP-Appendix-060111.pdf>, p.31, accessed on April 21, 2014

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*, p.32

- (iii) Various service cadres up to the first or second Gazetted level would be regionalised;
- (iv) Educational facilities in Hyderabad and Secunderabad would be improved to accommodate Andhras; and
- (v) A composite police force, drawn from both the regions, would be organised for Hyderabad and Secunderabad.<sup>73</sup>

This formula was condemned and described as favourable to Telangana. Opposition leaders in Andhra channelized the protest against the Centre. The movement was more against the Central Government than the State Government. Telangana leaders made a demand for full implementation of Mulki Rules, whereas Andhra leaders strongly protested against the provisions made to Telangana. The daily life in both the regions was totally paralyzed. The situation turned bad, when the Andhra non-gazetted employees went on an indefinite strike on December 7, and turned worse when nine Ministers resigned from the twenty-nine members from P.V. Narasimha Rao's cabinet. On January 17, 1973, the latter resigned as Chief Minister as directed by the Prime Minister. President's rule was imposed in AP on January 18, 1973, and the State Legislature suspended. This was the first instance of President's rule in Andhra Pradesh.

### ***Jai Andhra Movement***

The Jai Andhra agitation was started in 1972, a reaction and sequel to the Telangana agitation, which contributed to a mood of deep frustration in Andhra, resulting in political violence. The immediate cause of the Andhra agitation was the Supreme Court Judgment of October 1973 validating the Mulki Rules. The Andhra Pradesh Government appealed to the Supreme Court against the earlier decision of the Andhra Pradesh High court invalidating the Mulki rules. The Chief Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao stated that this was the final decision on the matter. This infuriated the Andhra sans students started an anti-Mulki agitation. They demanded the scrapping of the Mulki Rules. The Judgment of the Supreme Court turned the tables on Andhras who thus began demanding separation from Telangana. The Andhras argued that if the Mulki rules were enforced and the Andhras

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<sup>73</sup> Prasana Kumar, *Andhra Pradesh Government and Politics*, Bombay: Sterling Publishers, 1994, p.89

denied employment in the state services in the Capital city, there was no longer any reason to keep the state intact. Indeed, two states could well be created.<sup>74</sup> Interestingly, the Telangana movement activists supported the Jai Andhra movements because it meant bifurcation of the Andhra Pradesh state.

The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with the active involvement of Umashanker Dixit, KC. Pant and other prominent leaders at the Centre, persuaded the warring groups to accept several alternative proposals and agreed to lift the President's Rule only within the realm of an integrated Andhra Pradesh. Finally, the Andhra and Telangana leaders veered around and 'affixed' their signatures to a formula presented to them by K.C. Pant on September 20, 1973. This formula, popularly known as 'Pant Plan,' became famous as the "Six Point Formula" which ultimately restored normalcy in the State. Telangana Praja Samithi leaders agreed to this Formula and TPS was merged into Congress party.

#### **The provisions enumerated in the Six Point Formula**

- (i) "The setting-up at the state level of a planning board, as well as sub-committees, for backward areas.
- (ii) Institution of uniform arrangements throughout the state, enabling adequate preference being given to local candidates in the matter of admission to educational institutions and establishment of a new "Central University at Hyderabad" to augment the existing educational facilities;
- (iii) Subject to the requirements of the State as a whole, local candidates should be given preference in specified extent in the matter of direct recruitment to:
  - (a) Non-gazetted posts (other than in the secretariat, offices of Heads of Department, other State level offices and institutions, and Hyderabad City Police);
  - (b) Corresponding posts under the local bodies; and
  - (c) In order to improve their promotion prospects, service cadres should be organised to the extent possible on appropriate local basis up to specified gazetted level, first or second as may be administratively convenient;
- (iv) A high power administrative tribunal should be constituted to deal with the grievances of services regarding appointments, seniority, promotion and other allied matters. The decisions of the tribunal should ordinarily be binding on

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<sup>74</sup> Myron Weiner, *Sons of soil, Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978, p.249

the State Government. The constitution of such a tribunal would satisfy limits on recourse of judiciary in such matters;

- (v) In order that implementation of measures based on the above principles does not give rise to litigation and consequent uncertainty, the constitution should be suitably amended to the extent necessary, conferring on the President enabling powers in this behalf;
- (vi) the above approach would render the continuance of Mulki rules and Regional Committee unnecessary”.<sup>75</sup>

Although the Six point Formula has brought some amount of peace in Telangana region but, the simmering discontent and suspicion continued. Many pro-Telangana leaders expressed their reservation about the provisions in Six Point Formula. They argued that, these provision have denied and scrapped many existing safeguards to Telangana and they listed their grievances as:

- Mulki Rules were made redundant and removed,
- Abolition of Telangana Regional Committee,
- No reports on separate budget spending details for Telangana,
- Domicile rules changed from 15 years to 4 years.<sup>76</sup>

### ***Emergence of Regional Political Parties in Andhra Pradesh: A Profile***

Some approaches to the study of parties say that “it is through parties people get access to government; seek to fulfill their individual, group, sectional or collective interests and get a feeling that they are able to control and change governments”.<sup>77</sup> According to Duverger, “parties bring people into the political arena, give the common man a voice in politics and make it possible to become a part of the ruling elite.”<sup>78</sup> Against this backdrop, let us try to evaluate the role of Regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh. Political parties in India, on the whole, have facilitated democratic transformation in the country. These parties have sought to strike a balance between the ideals of equality and

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<sup>75</sup> Kishtaiah , M, *Sub-Regionalism in India: A Study of Elite Reaction towards the Six Point Formula for Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: Pragathi Art Printers, 1997, p.38

<sup>76</sup> Jayashankar, Kothapally, (2004), *Telangana Movement: A Historical Perspective* in A. Satyanarayana and G. Vent Rajam (eds), *Retriving the Past: History and Culture of Telangana*, National Seminar, Department of History, Hyderabad: Osmania University, 2004, p.73.

<sup>77</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, working paper-180, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.25

<sup>78</sup> Duverger, Maurice, *Political Parties: Their Organisation and Activity in the Modern State*. New Delhi: B.I. Publications.1964, p.12

freedom among the people and the extreme demands for individual liberty and social equality. Some parties have established themselves by using planks like caste, region and religion and, in the process, heightened social divisions and tensions for serving their narrow ends. However, such parties have, in a way, facilitated greater social cohesion by articulation the concerns of hitherto unrepresented sections.<sup>79</sup> The brief profile of regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh will help us in understanding the regional aspirations and their regional identity by forming various regional political parties in the composite state of Andhra Pradesh. The main purpose is to develop a general understanding and examine the cultural plurality, which is leading to the formation of the regional political parties in the state.

### ***Telangana Praja Samithi: Political Articulation of Region***

Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) was a regional party, formed to 'safeguard the interests of Telangana people' and to demand a separate Telangana State. The agitation was sparked off when the "Gentlemen's agreement was totally ignored by successive Chief Ministers who hailed from Andhra Region. This provided the spark for the separate Telangana agitation in 1969 and the birth of the TPS in December, 1970.<sup>80</sup> A. Madan Mohan, who was the convenor of the Telangana Peoples Convention, became the first President of the TPS in February, 1969 and at the peak of the agitation, he stepped down to accommodate M. Chenna Reddy as the President. Chenna Reddy succeeded in providing political respectability to TPS. After the first phase of violent activity, the TPS had its first taste of victory in the elections to the Legislative Council. Its candidate won against a Congress candidate. Later, it won two by-elections to the Legislative Assembly from Khairatabad constituency in Hyderabad City (Nagam Krishna) and Siddipat (Madan Mohan). The victory of the TPS in the two by-elections confirmed that it already become a political organization and could win any election in Telangana region.

Konda Laxman, who was a Cabinet Minister, resigned and actively participated in the agitation and ultimately joined the TPS. V. B Raju and V. Ramachandra Reddy, the two

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<sup>79</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.26

<sup>80</sup> Ram Reddy, G, "Uni Party - Dominance in Centre-Stat Relations - Andhra Pradesh Experience", in B.L. Maheswari(ed.), *Centre-Sate Relation in the Seventies*, Calcutta: The Minerva Associates, 1973, p.16

Congress leaders, who were known to be highly calculative, also joined the TPS. It received support from the Congress trade Union leaders like Anjaiah and Venkataswamy. Swatantra Party supported the TPS demand for a separate Telangana State. This was followed by the SSP and the Republican Party. The members of the Legislative Assembly and Council, who were sympathetic to the cause of Telangana, formed as Telangana United Front (TUF) representing the TPS and sat on the opposition benches. V. B. Raju assumed the leadership of the United Front in the Assembly. The other important members of the Front in the Assembly were K. Achuta Reddy, T. Anjaiah, R. Bhima Rao, M. M. Hashim, Jagannadha Rao, M. Manik Rao, P. Narasinga Rao, G. Raja Ram N. Rama Chandra Reddy, A. Madan Mohan and M. Srinivasa Rao, V. B. Raju was latter elected to the Rajya Sabha as a nominee of the TUF. Considerable number of Congress members of the Council also supported the TPS and formed the TUF. They were: 1. Lingaiah, M.R. Shyam Rao, G. V. Sudhakar Rao, K. Kanakaratnam, M. Venkatram Reddy, Narsi Reddy, S. Lakshmi Reddy and T. Govinda Singh.<sup>81</sup>

At the first Telangana Conference in Secunderabad on January 10 and 11, 1970, various aspects were discussed to convert the TPS into a full-fledged political party.<sup>82</sup> Chenna Reddy was reluctant to accept the proposal at the initial stage. Later in June 1970, a Committee of 22 members was formed to decide the matter. The Committee entrusted the task to a sub-committee of 11 members with B. Sathyanarayanana Reddy as its convener. On December 12, 1970, the sub-committee unanimously decided that the TPS should be converted into a political party for achieving the separate Telangana State. Thereafter, it was not possible for the members of Swatantra, SSP and RPI to play the dual role of being in the TPS and also in their respective parties to mobilize public support. Hence, a rival Telangana Praja Samithi was formed at a convention of the SSP in Hyderabad on January 10, 1971. The convention rejected the leadership of Chenna Reddy in the movement. By a resolution, it appealed to the people of Telangana not to be misled by the Samithi headed by Chenna Reddy and condemned the decision of that organisation to convert itself into a political party. It charged Chenna Reddy with joining hands with the

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<sup>81</sup> Hanumantha Rao. V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, pp.158-9

<sup>82</sup> "Telangana Praja Samithi", *Indian Express*, January 11, 1970

ruling Congress, and “betraying the cause of Telangana.”<sup>83</sup> Even before that, the TPS was formally converted into a political party by winning the by-elections and starting the enrolment of members programme on August 8, 1970 by Chenna Reddy.”<sup>84</sup>

Meanwhile, the Congress leaders visualised a political danger if the TPS contested against the Congress in the mid-term Lok Sabha elections in 1971. The Congress High Command tried to persuade the TPS leaders to refrain from contesting against the Congress. Some of the important leaders, including Chenna Reddy, were invited to Delhi for discussions to avoid confrontation in the election between TPS and Congress party and for evolving a formula for the settlement of the Telangana issue. In the course of discussion of December 31, 1970 and January 1, 1971, Indira Gandhi, PM stressed on three aspects, viz., 1) the TPS should not contest elections from Telangana 2), the Prime Minister’s eight point programme should be given a trial until 1977, and 3) a two-third majority of Telangana legislators would have the option to demand separate statehood for Telangana region in 1977.<sup>85</sup> Chenna Reddy and other TPS leaders came back to consult their party colleagues. The rank and file of the TPS on January 4, 1971 strongly objected to the very nature of talks with the Prime Minister, rejected her proposal and suspected that Chenna Reddy might sabotage the entire movement. They wanted nothing short of immediate division of the state or to facilitate the formation of the separate Telangana state after the 1972 assembly elections if majority of the Telangana MLAs voted in favour of a separate Telangana state.<sup>86</sup> Thus, the possibility of negotiations between the TPS and the Congress were thwarted.

The TPS released its election programme outlined by Chenna Reddy, aimed at the development of the Telangana region. However, it was a single line manifesto demanding a separate state of Telangana. The mid-term Lok Sabha polls in 1971 in Telangana were, in fact, a confrontation between the TPS and the Congress. The TPS contested all the

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<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> T. Tirupati Rao, “Telangana Praja Samithi”, in G. Ram Reddy and B.A.V. Sharma (eds.), *State and Government and Politics: Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1979, p.378.

<sup>85</sup> G. Ram Reddy and B.A.V. Sharma, *Regionalism in India: a study of Telangana*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1979, p.64

<sup>86</sup> *Indian Express*, January 5, 1971

fourteen seats of the region, while the Congress contested only thirteen leaving the Hyderabad constituency. The people of Telangana expressed their verdict in favour of the TPS which won 10 out of 14 seats and secured 49 per cent of the voted polled.<sup>87</sup> M. Chenna Reddy was re-elected as president of the TPS after the elections. The second annual conference, which was held on April 2 and 3, 1971, felt that the massive support of the people enhanced the responsibilities of the party and sought no further support of the public for early formation of a separate Telangana state.<sup>88</sup>

The party released its constitution, formed its own flag and asserted that it would make all efforts to achieve separate statehood for Telangana region. Within a short period, the party reached every nook and corner of the Telangana region and rose to the status of the only popular party. However, the sudden rise also contributed to its sudden fall. The overwhelming majority obtained by the TPS in the region irked the Congress High Command. The latter decided to solve the Telangana issue and merge the TPS with the Congress. The discussions between the Congress and the TPS resulted in the evolution of Six point formula. The TPS leaders insisted on the resignation of Brahmananda Reddy as CM and the Congress High Command accepted it in principle. It was alleged that Chenna Reddy ignored the rest of the TPS leaders and independently decided to merge the TPS with the Congress.

### ***Emergence of AIMIM: Local based Party and Promotion of Minorities***

AIMIM popularly known as Majlis, is a Muslim political party. The party incorporates a robust presence in the old city of Hyderabad.<sup>89</sup> The party's aim was to work for the educational, social political and cultural rights of the Muslim community.<sup>90</sup> The party was formed by nawab Mahmood Nawaz Khan Qiledar of Hyderabad State on the recommendation of Mir Osman Ali Khan, the Nizam of Hyderabad, in 1927 as a pro-

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<sup>87</sup> T. Tirupati Rao, "Telangana Praja Samithi", in G. Ram Reddy and B.A.V. Sharma (eds.), *State and Government and Politics: Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1979, p.382-3

<sup>88</sup> *Indian Express*, April 3 and 4, 1971

<sup>89</sup> Hanumantha Rao V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, p.

<sup>90</sup> "The grip of the Majlis-e-ittihadul Muslimeen on the community remains strong, despite minor dents", *The Hindu*, April 27, 2003.



Nizam party.<sup>91</sup> The MIM advocated the institution of a Muslim dominion instead of integration with India.<sup>92</sup> It soon acquired a political complexion and became aligned with the Muslim League in British India.

In 1960, AIMIM won the Malleshwari ward of Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. In 1962, Salahuddin Owaisi won from Patharghatti assembly seat as an independent candidate and later from Charminar constituency in 1967.<sup>93</sup> In 1972, he won from Yakutpura and later in 1978, again from Charminar. In 1984, AIMIM emerged victorious in the election to the Hyderabad Lok Sabha seat and sultan Salahuddin Owaisi represented Hyderabad until 2004. Since then, Salahuddin's elder son, Asaduddin Owaisi, has been the Lok Sabha M.P. from Hyderabad.<sup>94</sup> Mohammad Majid Hussain of the AIMIM was unanimously elected as the Mayor of greater Hyderabad on January 2, 2012. On 12 November 2012, Asaduddin Owaisi announced the withdrawal of support to the UPA government citing communal policies of the then Congress led government.<sup>95</sup> AIMIM created its entry into Maharashtra state by winning 20 seats in the Nanded-Waghala city municipal council polls held on October 2012.<sup>96</sup> AIMIM created its entry into Karnataka state by winning 35 seats in Karnataka local body elections held in March 2013. MIM established as pro-Nizam, local based and Muslims safeguarding party but as years goes on its expanding its area of influence and ideological perspectives.

### ***Emergence of Telugu Desam Party: A force of Oneness of Telugus***

It is very essential mention the TDP because of emergence of Telugu Desam Party created a strong bond through Telugu Culture and pride. The party used the same rhetoric that was largely seen during the Vishalandhra movement, which included the restoration

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<sup>91</sup> Munner Ahmed Khan, "Majlis and Muslims Politics in Hyderabad", in G. Ram Reddy and B.A.V. Sharma (Eds.), *State and Government and Politics: Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1979, pp.390-4.

<sup>92</sup> Hanumantha Rao V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, p.

<sup>93</sup> Rasheeduddin Khan, "Charminar: Colonial Politics and Electoral Behaviour in Hyderabad City", *Political Science Review*, January-March. 1969, p.399

<sup>94</sup> "Salar bids goodbye to elections", *Times of India*, March 26, 2004

<sup>95</sup> "Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen withdraws support to Andhra Pradesh government and UPA", *The Economic Times*, November 13, 2012.

<sup>96</sup> MIM shows good performance in Nanded city Municipal polls", Retrieved from <http://twocircles.net/2012oct16/mim-shows-good-performance-nanded-city-municipal-polls.html>, accessed on August 8<sup>th</sup> 2013.

of dignity, self-respect and past glory of the Telugu people. The rise of TDP in 1983 mainly on the basis of self-respect or “*atma-gauramu*” of the Telugu people reinforces the belief that language plays a dominant role, if not the sole basis, for integrating the people. During this time, there was instability in the state politics because the Congress party changed state chief ministers very frequently. Andhra Pradesh took rapid strides towards industrialisation in the late-seventies and eighties, which seems to have brought about this renewed feeling of linguistic regionalism. In other words, the Telugu Desam’s spectacular rise to power can be attributed to the rapid strides of industrial progress that the state witnessed in that period. The TDP was a regional party drawing on a common Telugu sentiment led by the charismatic film hero N.T. Rama Rao (NTR) who was immensely popular in all the regions of AP. The rise of NTR created a Telugu unity, ‘oneness,’ among the people. The Telangana movement remained dormant during his regime.

During NTR’s Chief Ministership, the State Assembly discussed the cause of Telangana seriously in 1989. Replying to the debate, Rama Rao promised to redress the grievances of Telangana for which he accused ‘Congress regimes’ were responsible. He also agreed to send non-eligible Andhra personnel in government service back to Andhra region. Consequently, his government on December 30, 1985 issued G.O.610 acting on this promise.<sup>97</sup> The Telugu regional identity was so articulated that the Telangana identity got submerged in the larger Telugu identity. The self-respect of Telugus which TDP raised as an important issue obviated the Telangana identity for the time being. The rhetoric of pan-Telugu identity resulted in the eventual subjugation of other regional identities within Andhra Pradesh<sup>98</sup>. It had always been the case that such subsuming forms of identity politics – instead of negotiating with the sub-identities, left the space and scope open for aggressive re-emergence of sub-identity politics. The rise of Telangana identity in the late 1990s was a part of this social and political dynamic of societal change.

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<sup>97</sup> Hanumantha Rao V, *Party politics in Andhra Pradesh*. Hyderabad: ABA Publication, 1993, p.

<sup>98</sup> Haragopal.G, “The Telangana People’s Movement: The Unfolding Political Culture”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. xlv, no.42, October 16, 2010, p.55

### ***Emergence of TRS: A Hope of Telangana***

The Telangana movement had a gap between 1969 and 1996 because some of the students, teachers, engineers, farmers and others, who have participated in 1969 Telangana agitation, moved towards the Naxalite movement. This is probably the reason for most of the Naxalites coming from the Telangana region. The initiation of the second phase of Telangana movement indicates that the safeguards, which were promised provided to Telangana through various formulas, packages and promises, were not implemented fully. Many political parties and social groups that emerged for the cause of separate Telangana statehood either vanished over time or changed form to exist as marginalised forces. The Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) is the existing pro-Telangana political parties. It was formed exclusively on the demand of achieving Geographical Telangana (defined as those districts that were part of the Hyderabad state). It is different from the earlier TPS, which abandoned the very cause of its emergence, in order to merge with the Congress despite its unprecedented victory in elections.

The second phase of Telangana movement might have started in the wake of a statement by H.D. Deva Gowda, the then Prime Minister, in early 1997 that a separate state of Uttarakhand would be carved out of the state of Uttar Pradesh. Discussions on a separate Telangana state started during the same period again. In the same year, the A P Bhartiya Janata Party had passed a resolution in Kakinada in support of a separate state of Telangana. In 1998, during the legislative assembly elections it campaigned on the slogan 'one vote, two states'. In 2001, the BJP led NDA government (National Democratic Alliance) announced the formation of three new states, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand carved out from Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh states respectively. At that time, though the TDP supported the NDA government, the TDP president and Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu, did not favour the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh.

The second phase of the movement not only highlighted the economic and political injustices to Telangana, but also the intellectuals highlighted the cultural exploitation through their literature, songs, seminars, etc. This phase saw the formation of different

forums like Telangana Vidya Vantula Vedika, Telangana Journalists forum, Telangana Sangharshana Samithi, etc. This phase of the Telangana movement was first led by intellectuals, rather than politicians. Many University teachers from Kakatiya University in Warangal spearheaded this phase. An important factor in this phase was the emergence of the Telangana Rashtra Samiti Party (TRS).

In 1997, the intellectuals had an active role in the separate Telangana movement and an organisation, called Telangana Forum, was formed to intensify the movement for a separate Telangana. The Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, K. Chandrasekhar Rao, in a press statement, criticised the Chief Minister, Nara Chandrababu Naidu, for the short supply of electric power to the people, particularly the farmers of Telangana. The members of the forum requested KCR to take over the leadership of Telangana movement. He came out of the Telugu Desam Party and started a separate political party, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi, on April 20, 2001.<sup>99</sup>

The party first won one third of Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituencies (MPTC) and one quarter of Zilla Parishad Territorial Constituencies (ZPTC) in Siddipet within sixty days of the formation of the party.<sup>100</sup> In the 2004 assembly elections, TRS formed an alliance with Congress and won twenty six state assembly seats. The party conjointly won five parliament seats at the national level. It joined the governments at both state and central levels.<sup>101</sup> In September 2006, the party withdrew support to the central government on the grounds of indecision by the government over the delivery of its electoral promise to create Telangana, which was conjointly a part of the Common Minimum Programme (CMP) of the UPA. The party repeatedly assured the people of Telangana that the formation of the new state was on the cards and could happen any moment. Once the Central government failed to deliver Telangana, the party withdrew support from the government. On 13 September 2006, Rao triggered a by-election in his Lok Sabha constituency of Karimnagar, claiming provocation from one among the

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<sup>99</sup> Tom Lansford, *Political Handbook of the World 2014*, New Delhi: Sage, 2014, p.632

<sup>100</sup> Ranbir Vohra, *The Making of India: A Political History*, New York: Rutledge, 2013, p.379

<sup>101</sup> Mahendra Singh Rana, *India Votes: Lok Sabha & Vidhan Sabha Elections 2001-2005*  
New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2006, p.146

Congress MLAs. He won the subsequent by-election with a thumping majority.<sup>102</sup> All TRS MLAs and MPs resigned their positions in April 2008, when the Central government did not meet their demand for a separate state. The by-elections were held on May 29, 2008. In the bye-elections, 2008, TRS won 7 out of the 16 assembly segments and 2 out of the 4 Lok Sabha seats, a major defeat for the party. TRS chief, K. Chandrasekhar Rao, offered to resign when he lost a number of seats in the by-elections, however was convinced to stay in office.

On January 31, 2009, it was announced that TRS officially joined the “Grand Alliance” headed by Telangana Desam Party and as well as the Third Front and various left parties, in forthcoming Assembly and Lok Sabha elections. At an equivalent time, it was declared that the Talli Telangana Party, led by the actress, Vijayashanti, had merged with the TRS.<sup>103</sup> However, when the elections in Andhra Pradesh were completed, TRS switched allegiance to the NDA, with Rao proclaiming that his party had been stabbed in the back by Congress after giving them oxygen in the 2005 elections. TRS lost 16 of its 26 seats in the Assembly, falling to fourth place with less than 4 of the statewide Assembly vote; and lost three of its five seats within the Lok Sabha. On June 19, 2009, Rao resigned for a brief period of time when personal attacks created against him by dissident TRS leaders in wake of the party’s electoral defeat. TRS was not able to gain much popular support till 2009 because of the rule of YSR Reddy was very popular in rural Telangana.

**Lok Satta Party** was founded by Jaya Prakash Narayan, on October 2, 2006.<sup>104</sup> The political agenda of the party includes: political, economic, and social equality for all people, creating citizens the centre of governance, and to reform the government to make it less corrupt and additional accessible and awake to the needs of the people.<sup>105</sup> The party has the whistle as its election symbol.<sup>106</sup> In the recently held 2014 elections to the

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<sup>102</sup> “Telangana isn’t scary”, *Hindustan Times*, July 28, 2013.

<sup>103</sup> “TRS joins TDP-led Grand Alliance in Andhra”, *Rediff.com News*, January 31, 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.rediff.com/news/2009/jan/31trs-joins-tdp-led-grand-alliance-in-andhra.htm>. Accessed on 08 August 2013.

<sup>104</sup> “Lok Satta sees silent revolution”, *The Hindu*, March 4, 2009.

<sup>105</sup> “About Lok Satta Party”, Retrieved from [http://www.loksatta.org/cms/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=86&Itemid=59](http://www.loksatta.org/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=86&Itemid=59), accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

<sup>106</sup> “Lok Satta releases fourth list”, *The Hindu*, March 28, 2009.

Lok Sabha and also the State Assemblies in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, the party drew a blank. Its chief, Jayaprakash Narayan, lost the election to the Malkajgiri Lok Sabha seat. C. Malla Reddy of the TDP won from this constituency.

***Praja Shanti Party*** was launched by evangelist K. A. Paul, on Sunday, October 12, 2008. ‘The purpose of starting Prajashanti Party is to redeem people from slavery, promote equality among all people and all faiths and all castes and to establish true democracy’.<sup>107</sup> Even though India has been a democracy since it got independence, the spirit of democracy has been devalued with family politics remaining in power for long. This party didn’t influence the Andhra Pradesh politics it simply fadeout from the political scene.

***Telangana Sadhana Samithi*** was formed in 2001 by A. Narendra MP from the Medak constituency broke away from BJP and Narendra became the president of TSS president.<sup>108</sup> TSS main goal is working for statehood for the Telangana region.<sup>109</sup> In February 2002, TSS won one seat out of 100 in the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad elections. It had contested all seats<sup>110</sup>. In August 2002 TSS merged with Telangana Rashtra Samithi<sup>111</sup>.

***Telangana Rashtra Party*** (Telangana Nation’s Party), was another party formed with the aim of securing a separate Telangana state. TRP was founded on October 11, 2002 by G. Innaiah, who had been the district secretary of People’s War Group and the general secretary of Telangana Rashtra Samithi.<sup>112</sup>

***Telangana Janata Party*** (Telangana Peoples Party) was another party working for statehood for the Telangana region. TJP was existed in March 2004 by rebel Telangana

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<sup>107</sup> “Paul launches Praja Shanti Party in Andhra”, retrieved from <http://prajashantiparty.blogspot.in/2008/10/paul-launches-praja-shanti-party-in.html>, October 12, 2008, accessed on January 6, 2014

<sup>108</sup> “TSS to observe Nov. 1 as protest day”, *The Hindu*, October 15, 2001

<sup>109</sup> Nag, Kingshuk, *Battleground Telangana: Chronicle of an Agitation*, Noida: Harper Collins India, 2011, p.124

<sup>110</sup> “TSS to contest all seats”, *The Hindu*, December 29, 2001

<sup>111</sup> “TRS, TSS formally come together”, *The Times of India*, August 12, 2002.

<sup>112</sup> “Telangana Rashtra Party”, Retrieved from <http://www.encyclo.co.uk/define/Telangana%20Rashtra%20Party>, accessed on August 15, 2013.

Rashtra Samithi leader, Muralidhar Rao Deshpande. TJP joined the Telangana Rastra Sadhana Front soon after existence.<sup>113</sup>

***Telangana Rashtra Sadhana Front***, a front of dissident pro-Telangana statehood parties in Andhra Pradesh, formed ahead of the 2004 general elections. The member parties of Telangana Rashtra Sadhana Front were at that time Telangana Rashtra Party, Telangana Janata Party and Telangana Communist Party. The convenor of Telangana Rashtra Sadhana Front was Katakam Mruthyunjam. G. Innaiah of Telangana Rashtra Party was the co-convenor<sup>114</sup>.

***Backward Castes United Front*** was founded in February 2004 in the state of Andhra Pradesh by P. Ramakrishnaiah. Party works for reservations and rights for Backward Castes and additionally reservations for BC-women. In the legislative assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh 2004 BCUF had put up seven candidates, out of whom nobody was elected. However, in Kodad, the party candidate secured 1,187 votes (0.76 per cent). During the 2005 elections to local bodies BCUF contested the elections to the Meboobnagar District Council (1 candidate, from Bhoothpur, secured 150 votes, 0.72 per cent), Chittoor District Council (1 candidate, from Irala, 51 votes, 0.17 per cent) and the Kapada Municipal Corporation (4 candidates secured 83 votes).

***The Bahujana Communist Party*** (BCP) was founded in 2006 in Andhra Pradesh by Pochaboina Srihari Yadav. The ideology of the Bahujan Communist Party (BCP) is “Social Transformation and Economic Emancipation” of the “Dalitha Bahujan Samajam”, that includes the scheduled Castes (SCs), the scheduled Tribes (STs), Backward classes (BCs) and religious Minorities such as Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Parses’ and Buddhists and account for over eighty five per cent of the country’s total population.

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<sup>113</sup> “Telangana Janata Party”, Retrieved from <http://en.cyclopaedia.net/Telangana-Janata-Party>, accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

<sup>114</sup> “Telangana Rashtra Sadhana Front”, Retrieved from <http://www.encyclo.co.uk/define/Telangana%20Rashtra%20Sadhana%20Front>, accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2013

**The Rajyadhikara Party** is established in 2007 in Andhra Pradesh, by V.G.R. Naragoni as its Founder-President. The party, representing 94 castes of Backward Classes (BC), this party main aim is to get political power to the OBC's in the state because they are not getting their share in the socio- economic and political sphere.

**Mana Party** (Our Party) was founded by MLC Kasani Gnaneswer in 2007, the BC kula Aiykya Vedika is the main platform for emergence of the party<sup>115</sup>. Mana party seeks to represent backward caste interests.<sup>116</sup> Kasani Gnaneswer was earlier with the TDP and former Chairman of Ranga Reddy Zilla Parishad. He quit TDP, after differences with T. Devender Goud of the same district and launched Mana Party, which the party represents over 90 BC castes in the state. Mana party had a tie-up with Praja Rajyam Party in 2009 Assembly Elections in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>117</sup> This can draw a conclusion that Mana Party came to exist based on two reasons; one is differences or rivalry with same party leader and another one is to establish a platform for the OBC communities because of half of the population from the BC communities only but they didn't get proportional representation according to their population.

**Nava Telangana Party** (NTP) was founded by T Devender Goud, the former leader of Telugu Desam Party, formally launched 'Nava Telangana Praja Party' on July 11, 2008<sup>118</sup> by unveiling a vibrant flag of the party, declare that the formation of Telangana state was the main goal of the party and to provide a political platform of their own people of Telangana to fight for justice and their rights.<sup>119</sup> Charging the main political parties, particularly the Congress and the TDP, with ignoring the issues and sufferings of the Telangana people and sidelining their issues, NTP merged with Praja Rajyam Party<sup>120</sup>. Mr. Goud later integrated his party with the TDP on sixth August, 2009. Once

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<sup>115</sup> "Mana Party launched", *The Hindu*, August 21, 2007.

<sup>116</sup> "Mana Party predicts 'BC Rajyam'", *The Hindu*, March 14, 2008.

<sup>117</sup> "Mana Party ties up with Praja Rajyam", *The Hindu*, March 27, 2009.

<sup>118</sup> "Ex-TDP leader Devender Goud launches new party", *Rediff.com News*, July 11, 2008. Retrieved from <http://www.rediff.com/news/2008/jul/11goud.htm>, accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

<sup>119</sup> "Nava Telangana Party for Telangana state", *New India Express*, May 14, 2012

<sup>120</sup> "Goud's NTP to merge with PRP", *Times of India*, February 23, 2009.



asked to comment on this decision, he cited the explanation for the merger as a thought taken from all his supporters<sup>121</sup>.

### ***Emergence of PRP: A cause of Social Justice and for Socio-Telangana***

Praja Rajyam Party was launched by the popular Telugu cinema actor, Chiranjeevi, on August 26, 2008 in Tirupathi.<sup>122</sup> Actor-turned-politician Chiranjeevi, who with a lot of fanfare had launched the Party as “an alternative to the Congress and Telugu Desam Party” in Andhra Pradesh and “to defend the poor, uphold social justice and fight corruption”, its aims include: secular, pro-poor by being a part of backward and weaker sections, farmers, labourers, and women. According to the party supremo, ‘it will be able to fight for social justice and can take Andhra Pradesh towards economic development and prosperity and industrial development and also for the cause of socio-telangana’.<sup>123</sup> It can create the state a Santosha, Chirunavvula and Ananda Andhra Pradesh. This party had a huge popularity and support in 2009 assembly elections but it not turned as a vote bank, only 18 seats get in the assembly and zero Lok Sabha seats. Chiranjeevi did a volte-face and announced the party’s merger with the Congress “without any pre-condition or inconsiderate motives”.<sup>124</sup>

During the 2009 elections, all political parties, except the Congress, faced bitter defeat. The Congress retained its political power. YS Rajashekar Reddy who was elected as the Chief Minister (CM), emerged as the most powerful leader in entire AP. Due to these political developments, the Telangana movement slowed down once again. The Telangana issue remained unsolved due to the continuous betrayal of its people by its own political leaders.

And also Chandra Babu Naidu had developed a centralised style of political and economic management that was continued by his successor, the congress Chief Minister

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<sup>121</sup> “Devender Goud to rejoin TD on Aug 6”, *New India Express*, August 4, 2009

<sup>122</sup> “About Praja Rajyam Party”, Retrieved from <http://www.prajarajyamonline.com/Features/About-Praja-Rajyam-Party.htm>, accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

<sup>123</sup> “Praja Rajyam Party: The superstar’s stars may let him down”, Retrieved from [http://www.ganeshaspeaks.com/Praja\\_Rajyam\\_Party\\_The\\_Superstars\\_Stars\\_May\\_Let\\_Him\\_Down\\_1812.action](http://www.ganeshaspeaks.com/Praja_Rajyam_Party_The_Superstars_Stars_May_Let_Him_Down_1812.action), accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

<sup>124</sup> Balaji. J, “Praja Rajyam merges with Congress”, *The Hindu*, February 7, 2011

Y.S. Rajsekara Reddy.<sup>125</sup> The strategy employed by both Naidu and YSR involved keeping a tight rein on dissent and power challenges within their grassroots support while overseeing programmes of economic reforms. It is no coincidence that the Telangana demand took a more dramatic turn during the political vacuum that emerged after YSR death in a helicopter accident in September 2009.<sup>126</sup>

### ***Regional politics in Andhra Pradesh after Demise of YSR***

Things took a sudden turn after the death of YSR. The exit of YSR paved the way for the revival of the Telangana demand. K. Chandrashekar Rao (KCR) undertook a fast unto death in December 2009 to press his demand. He started the indefinite hunger strike for statehood at Siddipet (Medak District) on 29th November 2009, and the police arrested him and shifted him to Khammam District. Later, he was shifted to Nizam Institute of Medical Sciences (NIMS) when his health deteriorated. KCR's fast drew tremendous sympathy and response and brought the Telangana issue to the centre stage.<sup>127</sup> After footage appeared that purported to show KCR breaking his fast by accepting a glass of juice, he was pushed to maintain his fast by angry student protest at Osmania in Hyderabad, and Kakatiya University in Warangal.

The movement expanded to all the ten Telangana Districts and found its biggest support base among college students and government employees. The Osmania (OU) and Kakatiya University (KU) students formed JACs (Joint Action Committees) in support of the Telangana cause and also supported KCR's hunger strike. Later, the OU and KU JACs clubbed together and formed the Telangana Students Joint Action Committee (TSJAC). The OU and KU students took active interest in the Telangana movement. The OU students were constantly involved in protracted protests against police oppression against them. Participation of girls in this movement is significant. Many students were injured in police firings and lathi charges. In Hyderabad and Warangal cities, the protests

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<sup>125</sup> Suri, K.C, "Andhra Pradesh: Fall of the CEO in Arena of Democracy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 51 December, 18-24, 2004, p.5494

<sup>126</sup> Anant Maringanti, "Telangana: Righting Historical Wrongs or Getting the Future Right?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol-XLV(4), January 23, 2010, p. 37

<sup>127</sup> *The Hindu*, November 30, 2009. p.1

often turned violent.<sup>128</sup> The movement spread to rural areas of Telangana as a result of meetings, known as Dhoom Dham, conducted by artists, known to spread the message of the need for a separate state through songs and speeches. Thus, the movement was characterised by a strong cultural flavor with music and dance part of most protests and rallies<sup>129</sup>.

The OUJAC and TS (Telangana students) JAC called for an Assembly march on 9<sup>th</sup> December 2009 to protest against the delaying tactics followed by the Central Government in announcing formation of the Telangana state. In December 2009, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, K Rosaiah called for an all party meeting to elicit the views of the parties.<sup>130</sup> The TDP, CPM (Community Party Marxist) and BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) promised to extend full support if the Congress set in motion the process for formation of the Telangana state. On his part, the TRS chief, K Chandrasekhar Rao, agreed to call off the indefinite hunger strike if the union government announced the formation of Telangana state.

On 9th December 2009, the then Union Home Minister, P. Chidambaram, announced that “the process for Telangana state formation would be initiated”.<sup>131</sup> This statement of Chidambaram was met with delight in Telangana. KCR called off his fast and students celebrated.

Soon after Andhra and Rayalaseema leaders, irrespective of their political background came together to oppose the Telangana state and resigned from, their MP and MLA membership. Andhra capitalists, businessmen, and industrialists too opposed the separate state. The Seemandhra (Rayalaseema and Andhra) leaders and students formed the JAC (Joint Action Committee). They did not agree to the bifurcation of the Telugu-speaking state, and protested against the union government’s decision on Telangana, and formed the Samkyaandhra (United Andhra State) JAC.

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Haragopal.G, “The Telangana People’s Movement: The Unfolding Political Culture”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. xlv, no.42, October 16, 2010, p. 59

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Louise Tillin, “Statehood and the Politics of Intent”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVI, no.20, 2010, p.37

The Union Home Minister, P. Chidambaram, must have realised the political fallout of his statement of 9<sup>th</sup> December and issued another statement on 23<sup>rd</sup> December that toned down the pro-Telangana position. This U-turn by the Centre saw the people of Telangana protesting strongly and this resulted in the formation of a common Telangana political JAC. All political parties like the TRS, BJP, and Congress party were part of this JAC. The political JAC chairman Kodandaram is a professor in political science from Osmania University. After that many JACs, like Gaddar Praja Front and Vimalakka Telangana United Front and Telangana Prajasangala Samithi, and BC Kulalaikya Vedika, were formed. Local political observers suggest that, had YSR been alive the situation may not have developed in this fashion, but in the political vacuum that followed his death, the central government became directly involved in a debate about state creation<sup>132</sup>.

Nevertheless, we might still agree with Yogendra Yadav's verdict that clumsy intervention by the UPA government at the centre reflects a paucity of political judgment: "the UPA's handling had all the elements of a poverty of politics: bad faith, poor timing, indecision, shoddy choices and loss of nerve".<sup>133</sup>

The story of a decline in political judgment in this context seems, however, to be connected to the parallel process documented by Yogendra Yadav and Suhas Palshikar of the increasing autonomy of state politics from national politics.<sup>134</sup> The enhanced autonomy of state level politics has diminished the ability of national politicians to accurately predict the outcome of their actions within states, and vice versa for regional politicians to predict their impact at the national level. Certainly it may have encouraged politicians to discount their future impact at other levels of the federal system, or the likelihood that their action will draw a response from within another arena.

***Telangana Praja Front*** established by balladeer Gaddar on October 3, 2010<sup>135</sup> to carry forward the separate Telangana movement involving all sections<sup>136</sup> and Telangana Praja Front would work with the aim of introduction of a bill in Parliament for the formation of

<sup>132</sup> Louise Tillin, "Remapping India: New State and their Political Origins", New Delhi: OUP, p.187

<sup>133</sup> Yadav, Y oendra "Decline of Political Judgment", *Seminar*, 2011, 617, p.617

<sup>134</sup> Yadav, Y and Suhas Palshikar, "Ten Theses on State Politics in India", *Seminar*, 2008, 591, p.519

<sup>135</sup> Prabhanjan Kumar Yadav, "Socio-Political Movements & Communication: A reflection of Telangana Movement", retrieved from [http://www.telangana.com/Articles/SocioPolitical\\_movement\\_Tel\\_PrabhanjanYadav.pdf](http://www.telangana.com/Articles/SocioPolitical_movement_Tel_PrabhanjanYadav.pdf), p.8

<sup>136</sup> Staff Reporter, "Gaddar planning to float new party", *The Hindu*, October 29, 2011.

separate Telangana.<sup>137</sup> As many people in Telangana believe TRS is mostly used by K.Chandra Sekharrao family for advance of its political interests, the Telangana Praja front viewed by those people that it would bring a new dynamics into the demand for Telangana state hood<sup>138</sup> because Gaddar took part in 1969 Telangana agitation. With the resurgence of Telangana movement, he once again started to express his support for the cause of Telangana and expressed his strong vocal support for all those fighting for a separate Telangana state with the motive of empowerment of masses. Gaddar is the first Telangana intellectual who established a link between the productive masses and the literary text and, of course, that text established a link between the masses and educational institutions. His songs cut across the barriers of region, religion, dialect, caste and social status.<sup>139</sup>

Gaddar said though employees fully involved themselves in the ongoing separate Telangana movement, all the political parties failed to utilize them properly in consolidating their strength. Telangana Praja Front is not a party but a political front<sup>140</sup> involving every section of the society and carry forward the movement until separate Telangana becomes a reality.<sup>141</sup>

**YSR Congress Party** (Yuvajana Sramika Rythu Congress Party) is a regional political party in Andhra Pradesh. Its leader is by Y.S. Jaganmohan Reddy<sup>142</sup>, the son of former Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Y.S. Rajasekara Reddy<sup>143</sup> who died in a helicopter crash in September 2009<sup>144</sup>. Jaganmohan Reddy, the incumbent MP from Kadapa, started an Odarpu Yatra (condolence tour) across Andhra Pradesh, supposedly to console the

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<sup>137</sup> "Telangana Praja Front to Work for Statehood: Gaddar", *OUTLOOK*, October 10, 2011.

<sup>138</sup> Prabhanjan Kumar Yadav, "Socio-Political Movements & Communication: A reflection of Telangana Movement", retrieved from [http://www.telangana.com/Articles/SocioPolitical\\_movement\\_Tel\\_PrabhanjanYadav.pdf](http://www.telangana.com/Articles/SocioPolitical_movement_Tel_PrabhanjanYadav.pdf), p.8

<sup>139</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> "Telangana Praja Front to Work for Statehood: Gaddar", *OUTLOOK*, October 10, 2011.

<sup>141</sup> Staff Reporter, "Gaddar planning to float new party", *The Hindu*, October 29, 2011.

<sup>142</sup> "YSR Congress is now Jagan's party", *Times of India*, February 16, 2011.

<sup>143</sup> "Jaganmohan Reddy acquires YSR Congress Party from worker", *India Today*, February 17, 2011.

<sup>144</sup> "YSR dead, body recovered from crash site in Andhra", Retrieved from <http://news.in.msn.com/national/article.aspx?cp-documentid=3202913>, accessed on 13<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

families of those who had committed suicide or died of shock when the death of his father.

After accusative the Congress of ill-treating him and making rifts in his family by luring his uncle YS Vivekananda Reddy (younger brother of YSR) with a state ministerial berth, Jagan and his mother YS. Vijaya Lakshmi resigned from the Kadapa Lok Sabha and Pulivendula Assembly constituencies severally and conjointly as members of the Congress in November 2010.<sup>145</sup> Several Congress leaders loyal to Jagan also quit the Congress and joined the YSR Congress. The main goal and agenda of the YSRCP is to take forward his father (YSR) introduced policies for the welfare of the people of Andhra Pradesh<sup>146</sup>. This resulted in the weakening of the strength of the Congress Party in both the State Assembly and the Lok Sabha, necessitating by-elections. In the succeeding bi-elections, the YSRCP won most of the vacated seats with record breaking margins, with many of the Congress and the Telugu Desam (the main opposition) candidates losing their deposits<sup>147</sup>.

### **Srikrishna Committee Report**

To resolve the issue of separate Telangana state, the central government announced on 3<sup>rd</sup> of Feb 2010 the constituting of a committee, headed by former justice Srikrishna, to look into the situation in Andhra Pradesh and consider the justification for a separate state of Telangana.<sup>148</sup> The Srikrishna committee submitted its report to the government of India on 30th December 2010. The committee gave six options for Telangana:

- i. "Maintain status quo
- ii. Bifurcation of the State into Seemandhra and Telangana; with Hyderabad as a Union Territory and the two states developing their own capitals in due course
- iii. Bifurcation of State into Rayala-Telangana and coastal Andhra regions with Hyderabad being an integral part of Rayala-Telangana

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<sup>145</sup> "Jagan quits Congress, to float 'YSR Congress'", *Zee News India*, November 30, 2010. Retrieved from [http://zeenews.india.com/news/nation/jagan-quits-congress-to-float-ysr-congress\\_671102](http://zeenews.india.com/news/nation/jagan-quits-congress-to-float-ysr-congress_671102), accessed on 13<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

<sup>146</sup> "Jagan is national president of YSR Congress Party", *The Hindu*, February 22, 2011.

<sup>147</sup> "Jagan quits Congress, Kadapa Lok Sabha seat", *The Hindu*, November 29, 2010

<sup>148</sup> Louise Tillin, "Statehood and the Politics of Intent", *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVI, no.20, 2010, p.38

- iv. Bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into Seemandhra and Telangana with enlarged Hyderabad Metropolis as a separate Union Territory. This Union Territory would have geographical linkage and contiguity via Nalgonda district in the south-east to district Guntur in coastal Andhra and via Mahboobnagar district in the south to Kurnool district in Rayalaseema.
- v. Bifurcation of the State into Telangana and Seemandhra - with Hyderabad as the capital of Telangana and Seemandhra to have a new capital.
- vi. Keeping the State united by simultaneously providing certain definite Constitutional/Statutory measures for socio-economic development and political empowerment of Telangana region -creation of a statutorily empowered Telangana Regional Council.”

The committee itself said that only three options were possible, but there was no clear cut answer for Telangana. The people of Telangana opposed the Srikrishna committee outright, and claimed the committee was influenced by Andhra capitalists.

The TRS and BJP party legislators to protest against the attitude of the Central government towards the students who sacrificed a lot (some even committed suicide) for the cause of a separate state of Telangana. In the by-elections in the Telangana region, the TRS won all the posts, the TDP and Congress parties were defeated, and, in fact, many candidates even lost their deposits<sup>149</sup>.

The Telangana Congress formed a separate Congress committee on Telangana. The Congress MPs went on hunger strike for withdrawal of cases against Telangana students. The Telangana political JAC actively worked for the movement and gave calls for Telangana bandhs, and rail rokos. The Telangana JAC called for Telangana march on Tank bund. The march was very successful in drawing hundreds of Telangana activists. During this Tank Bund march, several statues of non-Telangana poets/kings were destroyed by the crowd.<sup>150</sup> This created a negative image among the public, particularly,

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<sup>149</sup> Srinivasulu. K and Satyanarayana, “By-elections and Telangana Agitation”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. xlv, no.33, August 14, 2010, p.12

<sup>150</sup> “Million March In Hyderabad: Statues on Tank Bund Demolished”, Hyderabad News on *Fullhyderabad.com*. March 10, 2011. Retrieved 13 January 2012.

in Hyderabad city. In some ways, this violence on tank bund proved to be a setback for the Telangana movement, as it was condemned by most political parties.

**Telangana Communist Party** (TCP) is founded by S Vekata Swamy in April 2011. He is a member of Telangana Ratra Sadhana Front.<sup>151</sup> TCP declared aim was to work for the creation of a separate Telangana state. TCP was registered to participate in the 2005 municipal elections in Andhra Pradesh. It was allotted the 'cake' as its electoral symbol. The State Committee of Telangana Communist Party has hailed the decision of the MCPI (U) State Committee member, Mr Kantham Madhava Reddy, and executive committee members of Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy districts to quit the MCPI (U) following its opposition to separate Telangana State and join the Telangana Communist party to spearhead the movement for the Telangana State.<sup>152</sup>

The period April till June, saw a lull in the movement.<sup>153</sup> Different parties gave their own reasons and set fresh deadlines to renew the agitation. In July, 81 of 119 Telangana MLAs in the state, 12 out of 15 Telangana ministers in state, 13 out of 17 Telangana MPs in Lok Sabha, 1 Rajya Sabha MP (Congress), 20 MLCs resigned in protest over the delay in the formation of Telangana. On July 20, 30-year-old Yadi Reddy was found dead 100 yards from Parliament House in Delhi. An eight-page suicide note said that the young driver from greater Hyderabad region of Telangana was upset that the government was not creating a new state for his homeland. The Speaker of the AP Assembly summarily rejected the resignations of all 101 MLAs, citing that these were made in an emotionally surcharged atmosphere. All Telangana MPs who earlier submitted their resignations and were boycotting the parliament session also decided to attend the parliament monsoon session, citing Sonia Gandhi's ill health.<sup>154</sup>

During last decade, Telangana demand has reached to its peak level. Further, it not only gaining support from all walks of life, but also being articulated its demand in a political

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<sup>151</sup> "KCR is diluting Telangana cause", *The Hindu*, May 9, 2004.

<sup>152</sup> "TCS hails MCPI-U activists for quitting party for Telangana", Retrieved from *Hyderabad Circle*, April 23, 2011.

<sup>153</sup> "Telangana movement set to enter crucial phase", *Hindustan Times*, June 30, 2011.

<sup>154</sup> "T-MPs on goodwill mode", *The Times of India*, August 5, 2011.



force which played very significant role in the general elections of both 2004 and 2009. Subsequently, the kind of consolidation that emerged from all stakeholders of Telangana region has shown strong consensus for the demand of Telangana state. In fact, these kinds of impressive demonstrations have not been taken place in both Andhra and Rayalaseema regions ever. Moreover, the demand for Telangana state has shown a tremendous impact on the politics of AP state in a large scale.<sup>155</sup>

The primary reason for the emergence of TRS is Telangana statehood. In order to achieve it, it has joined the coalition with the congress party in 2004 and with TDP in 2009. During the election time, both the political parties have accepted the Telangana demand with the intention of coming to power. Further, Telangana demand was the leading issue during these two general elections and these parties have put this demand in their election manifestos as well. In order to counter to this demand, there were no attempts from either political elite or civil society organizations of the remaining two regions. Ironically, both Dalit and civil rights activists in coastal Andhra have been consistently supporting the demand – Telangana, with the view that this would significantly reduce the dominance of two communities Reddys and Kammas domination in politics which may lead for deeper democratization of Andhra politics.<sup>156</sup> Since there was no internal opposition from these two parties to the demand of the Telangana, it expresses a view that the recent mobilisation against Chidambaram's announcement, in the name of the so-called *Samaikya* (unified) Andhra is the creation of the political as well as business people of the coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions. The subsequent mobilization which is very important appears to have resulted as dumping lot of money and creating insecurity among both students and unemployed communities who are looking Hyderabad as a source of employment opportunities.

In September-October 2011, the T-JAC chairman Kodandaram and other JAC leaders gave calls for a *sakaljanulasamme* (non cooperation to government) against the delay in the government decision on separate Telangana. Almost all government employees in the Telangana region participated in this movement. In Hyderabad and the Telangana districts, work was affected and educational institutions remained closed for weeks due to

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<sup>155</sup> Srinivasulu. K and Satyanarayana, "By-elections and Telangana Agitation", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. xlv, no.33, August 14, 2010, p.12

<sup>156</sup> *ibid.*

this spontaneous protest. However, the central government remained unmoved even in the face of such mass protests.

On 13 September, there was huge protestation from people like government employees staying away from their duties, lawyers boycotted courts<sup>157</sup> and 60,000 coal miners of Singareni Collieries (SCCL Ltd.) also joined the strike.<sup>158</sup> Further, people like government teachers, state road transport corporation employees and electricity board employees also joined the movement.<sup>159</sup> Finally all sections of people joined the movement.<sup>160</sup> On 2<sup>nd</sup> October, JAC leaders, leaders of employee unions and TRS leaders met the Prime minister to explain the situation in Telangana and requested him to expedite the decision on the statehood demand.<sup>161</sup> The strike led for unprecedented power crisis in the state, impacting both the industry and agriculture as well.<sup>162</sup>

In month of January, BJP's state president Kishan Reddy commenced 22 days Telangana "Poru Yatra", across 88 assembly constituencies focusing on the need of separate Telangana.<sup>163</sup> Even though, the attempts successfully exhibited the party's stand towards Telangana stance, it could not gain as much support as expected, because of the political differentiation of TRS and TJAC. In fact, the 'reluctance' of the TRS to declare its support to Kishan Reddy's yatra resulted in the growing differences between the two parties.

On March 18, bye elections were held for six assembly seats in Telangana region. TRS won four out of five seats that was contested with majorities ranging from 15,024 to 44,465. The ex-TDP MLA, Nagam Janardhan Reddy, won from Nagarkurnool constituency as an independent with the support of TJAC and the Congress candidate lost even his deposit in one of the constituency and the TDP candidates in three constituencies.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> "Telangana: Administrative work affected due to strike for Telangana", *Out Look*, September 13, 2011.

<sup>158</sup> "Strike at Singareni Collieries may hit power production". *The Hindu Business Line*, September 13, 2011.

<sup>159</sup> "Govt teachers join hands for Telangana", *The Times of India*, September 17, 2011.

<sup>160</sup> "People power driving Telangana agitation", *India Today*, September 30, 2011.

<sup>161</sup> "Telangana issue: PM steps in, meets KCR and says working on solution". *The Indian Express*, October 3, 2011.

<sup>162</sup> "Telangana stir, energy crisis could hit economy of Andhra Pradesh". *The Times of India*, October 5, 2011.

<sup>163</sup> "Gadkari flags off BJP's Telangana Yatra", *Deccan Herald*, January 19, 2012.

<sup>164</sup> "In Andhra Pradesh by-polls, pro-Telangana TRS scores big", *ndtv.com*, March 21, 2012.

On June 12, bye-polls were held for 18 Assembly seats and 1 Parliamentary seat. The YSRCP has won 15 assembly seats and the one Parliament seat in Seemandhra region. The candidate of TRS managed to win the Parkal seat with a slight majority of 1562 votes over YSRCP candidate Konda Surekha. Further, TDP candidate stood at third position with 30,000 votes retaining at least deposit. However, both the BJP and Congress parties have lost their deposits.<sup>165</sup>

In September 2012, Sushil Kumar Shinde, the then home minister reiterated that the Telangana demand needs to be handled carefully since similarly smaller states have been experiencing extremist problems.<sup>166</sup> MIM president Asaduddin Owaisi addressing a public gathering in Nizamabad district said that formation of a separate Telangana state is not feasible. Further, he also said that Muslims would not accept this kind of demand.<sup>167</sup>

On day, 14<sup>th</sup> August, 2012, KCR gave a deadline to the central government to declare statehood within two weeks failing which lead to launch another round of agitation.<sup>168</sup>

Later on, he declared that he got feelers that a positive announcement will be made by the end of Eid.<sup>169</sup> In another interview after Eid, he remarked that Sonia Gandhi has always been in favour of Telangana and the central government will call his party for discussions within a “few weeks or so”<sup>170</sup> On September 6, KCR left for Delhi and announced that the issue will be resolved by end of September. After his 23 days stay in Delhi, KCR returned to Hyderabad hoping that a final round of talks with the Congress leadership would be happened and his meet with several leaders in Delhi became fruitful.<sup>171</sup>

Later on, he set another deadline as September 30<sup>th</sup> to central government to announce the Telangana state formation and if it did not happen then, the TJAC threatened to organise a ‘Telangana March’ in Hyderabad on the light of the ‘Dandi March’.<sup>172</sup> In fact,

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<sup>165</sup> “Parkal warning forces Telangana Rashtra Samithi to stir up T again”, *Times of India*, June 18, 2012.

<sup>166</sup> “Naxalite fear stalling Telangana state, claims Shinde”, *IBN Live*, September 13, 2012

<sup>167</sup> “Separate T-state not possible: Asad”, *Times of India*, September 12, 2012.

<sup>168</sup> “Decide in 14 days: KCR to Centre”, *The New Indian Express*, August 15, 2012.

<sup>169</sup> Sudhir, “With Delhi silent, Telangana parties to get into agitation mode”, *First Post*, August 20, 2012.

<sup>170</sup> “Got positive signals from UPA for Telangana state but readying contingency strategy: KC Rao, TRS”, *The Economic Times*, August 27, 2012.

<sup>171</sup> “Telangana: TRS wants more talks with Congress”, *IBN Live*, October 4, 2012.

<sup>172</sup> “Telangana Political Joint Action Committee plans ‘Dandi March’ like agitation for Telangana”, *The Times of India*, September 13, 2012.

there were anticipation of violence and possible attack on properties of Andhraites.<sup>173</sup> Therefore, the police initially refused permission to the march which was scheduled around that time on the eve of Ganesh Nimmajjan on September 29 and UN Conference on Bio Diversity on October 1. There were obstacles for organizing the movement like formal checking by Police department particularly buses and trains to prevent the entry of outside youth who were trying to enter the Hyderabad city to participate in the protest. Further, they arrested people whom they feel problematic and arrested some pro-Telangana activists. This thing happened why because Police anticipated the situation as threat to law and order and protesters might damage properties of people of Seemandhra people.

On September 28, after a long discussions between JAC leaders and ministers from Telangana region, the state government by ignoring warnings about possible breakdown of law and order, gave permission for the March. The JAC leaders gave a written assurance to the government that the agitation programme will be conducted in a peaceful and “Gandhian” manner from 3pm to 7pm.<sup>174</sup> Due to this situation, Indian Railways cancelled several train services in and around Hyderabad based on Police advice.

30<sup>th</sup> September, the day of march, Police blocked entry to students at Osmania University and to other protestors at several places in the city when they were moving in rallies towards the march. In this process, politicians like Congress MPs from Telangana were arrested at Chief Minister’s office when they staged a dharna as they were not allowed to meet him.<sup>175</sup>

Even though Police blocked all the roads, around 2 lakh protestors, including various party leaders and their supporters, reached the venue. According to the Police, the protestors torched two police vehicles at People’s Plaza on the Necklace Road.<sup>176</sup> Further, the mob also set fire three police vehicles, a couple of media broadcasting vans, machinery and a temporary cabin room of a construction company. Moreover, there were

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<sup>173</sup> Francesco Brunello Zanitti, “Telangana issue sparks more turmoil”, *Asia Times Online*, October 19, 2012.

<sup>174</sup> “Andhra Pradesh government gives permission for Telangana Million March”, *NDTV.com*, September 29, 2012. Accessed from <http://www.ndtv.com/article/cities/andhra-pradesh-government-gives-permission-for-telangana-million-march-273491>. Retrieved on March 17, 2013.

<sup>175</sup> “Violence mars ‘Telangana March in Hyderabad’”, *The Indian Express*, September 30, 2012.

<sup>176</sup> “Pro-Telangana activists defy prohibitory orders in Hyderabad”, *The Hindustan Times*, September 30, 2012.

reports saying that the protesters tried to set on fire a local train at Khairatabad station and at the Hussainsagar railway junction, around 1,000 Telangana supporters went on a rampage overpowering over 100 uniformed men stationed in the area and burnt down the cabin after manhandling the railway staff causing signal damage loss of around Rs. 60 lakh.

The same situation is continuing that after 7pm, the TJAC leaders violated the deadline and refused to leave the venue till the government was announce the statement. Finally, due to heavy rain and injured supporters, at midnight, the JAC called off the March. The very next day, the police registered 15 cases against Kodandaram and others for violating the permitted time period in the name of march. Further, railway police also registered cases against unidentified persons for damaging signal system at Lakdikapul. Moreover, cases were registered against the students' leaders of TSJAC, OUJAC, Telangana Vidyarti Parishad and TVV. Consequently, the bandh had little response in Hyderabad and partial in Telangana districts.<sup>177</sup>

Eventually, on 28<sup>th</sup> December, 2012, Sushilkumar Shinde, the then Union Home Minister, hold a meeting to discuss the Telangana issue in which eight political parties from AP have participated. After deliberation of all the parties, the Home Minister said the government will come up with a decision within 30 days. In this meeting both MIM and CPI (M) opposed the demand for Telangana state, whereas YSR Congress remained neutral requesting the central government to take a decision. There was a split in Congress party support that one group supported the division and the other opposed it.<sup>178</sup> As per as TDP stand is concerned, it gave a letter to Pranab Mukharjee in 2008 in support of Telangana state. However, since there was no clarity from TDP, Telangana JAC demanded clear stand from TDP.

On January 27, 2013, Shinde said, "On Telangana, the consultation process is on. It may take little more time to reach a final decision."<sup>179</sup> This did not placate the pro-Telangana activists and the protests intensified in the region. On March 21, The Telangana JAC, 2013, organised a road blockade of National Highway. Hundreds of agitators were

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<sup>177</sup> "Little response to Telangana bandh; students-police clash at Osmania University", *The Economic Times*, October 1, 2012.

<sup>178</sup> "Little Andhra Parties Want Early Decision on Telangana", *Out Look*, December 28, 2012.

<sup>179</sup> "Hyderabad simmers as Congress puts off Telangana call", *The Times of India*, January 28, 2013.

arrested by the police.<sup>180</sup> On April 29, 2013, five Congress MPs started a 48 hour sit-in protest at the entrance of Parliament. On the same day, Telangana political-JAC began its 'Sansad Yatra', rally at Jantar Mantar, Delhi, to highlight the movement in the national capital.<sup>181</sup>

The Congress High Command decided to give separate Telangana after prolonged discussions with all parties from AP and the appropriate bills was drafted and amended in CWC meeting. The Central Cabinet forwarded the bill to the President of India and he sent that bill to the state Assembly. The state assembly passed the bill with mujuvani vote and sent to Parliament here also passed with mujuvani vote and finally Telangana Bifurcated in June 2, 2014 as 29<sup>th</sup> state of India.

**Indian Christian Secular Party (ICSP)** was launched at Nizam Collage ground in Hyderabad on February 21, 2014.<sup>182</sup> Renowned writer Kancha Ilaiah, Dalit leader Katti Padma Rao, All India Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation leader Waman Meshram, several bishops from both the Protestant and Catholic Churches participated in the meeting. The party fought in the ensuing elections on the 'trumpet' symbol that the election commission has allocated to it.<sup>183</sup> Objective of the party is to serve our nation with spirit of love concern for equality and with a strong sense of justice. Through educating all the citizens enlightening about their rights namely birth rights/human rights/ constitutional rights and also the duties as the citizens of the country. By organizing people into a united socially conscious society with a deep commitment and concern for the upliftment of all the oppressed, exploited, ill-treated, persecuted, socially handicapped and disadvantaged sections of the society like women, S.C, S.T, most backward castes, marginalized and the minority communities.<sup>184</sup>

**Mahajana Socialist Party** is founded by Manda Krishna, who established the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) and championed the cause of categorisation of Scheduled Castes, launched a new political party Mahajana Socialist Party on April 2,

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<sup>180</sup> "Sadak Bandh: 8 T-leaders sent to jail", *The Times of India*, March 22, 2013.

<sup>181</sup> "T- Sentiment echoes in Delhi", *The Hindu*, April 30, 2013.

<sup>182</sup> Ch. Susil Rao, "New political party launched in Hyderabad", *The Times of India*, February 22, 2014.

<sup>183</sup> "Christian political party launched", retrieved from <http://mattersindia.com>, February 23, 2014, accessed on March 21, 2014

<sup>184</sup> "Indian Christian Secular Party", retrieved from <http://www.icsparty.in/partyvision.php>

2014 with the promise of crusading for social, economic and political justice for the weaker sections.<sup>185</sup> Krishna's unveiled the party flag in the presence of differently-abled persons against the backdrop of the 'Vikalangula Hakkula Porata Samithi' (VHPS) that he founded in 2007. The primary motive of the new party would be to ensure justice to the weaker sections and achieve a truly socialist society by empowering them and making them a part of governance. Krishna released a 'charge-sheet' with 20 points slamming the Government and the Opposition party for their failure on various counts. He accused them of being callous in implementing SC categorization.<sup>186</sup> Other points included lack of focus on the minorities, including Muslims and Christians, welfare of physically challenged, 'anganwadi' workers, lands to the landless, helping the unemployed, focus on education and health.<sup>187</sup> This party fielded the candidates in 2014 assembly and parliament elections but get very low percent of votes only.

***Jai Samaikyandhra Party*** (JSP) started by former chief minister Kiran Kumar Reddy on March 10, 2014 and declared that it would strive to merge the two states once again. Displaying a piece of the Berlin Wall that was torn down in 1989 paving the way for the merger of the two Germanys, Kiran said at a press conference that the memento was the inspiration for his political party.<sup>188</sup> Jai Samaikyandra Party contested in 2014 elections but didn't get single seat in two states because of lack of people's faith on them and the situations prevailing in the movement.

***Jana Sena Party*** is launched by cine actor Pawan Kalyan, brother of Union minister K. Chiranjeevi at HICC (Hyderabad International Convention Centre) Madhapur on 14 March 2014.<sup>189</sup> Pawan was heading Yuva Rajyam, the youth wing of Praja Rajyam Party (PRP), floated by his elder brother Chiranjeevi before 2009 elections. After PRP's disappointing performance in the polls, Chiranjeevi merged PRP with Congress.

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<sup>185</sup> Special Correspondent. "Manda Krishna launches Mahajana Socialist Party", *The Hindu*, January 5, 2014, accessed on April 3, 2014.

<sup>186</sup> "Mahajana Socialist Party", Retrieved from [http://mahajana.in/mahajana/?page\\_id=68](http://mahajana.in/mahajana/?page_id=68)

<sup>187</sup> Special Correspondent, "Manda Krishna launches Mahajana Socialist Party", *The Hindu*, January 5, 2014, accessed on April 3, 2014.

<sup>188</sup> "Kiran launches Jai Samaikyandhra Party with united Andhra motto", *The Times of India*, March 11, 2014

<sup>189</sup> "Jana Sena Party Launch", *Eenadu Telugu News Daily*, March 15, 2014

Addressing his followers on the occasion, Pawan, said he was not after power or positions but vexed at “seeing spineless politicians” who could not raise their voice against the Congress high command. He was also not against his elder brother Chiranjeevi but was agitated at the way the Congress high command had bifurcated the state.<sup>190</sup> The actor-turned-politician gave a call for ‘Congress hatao desh bachao’ (Remove the Congress, save the nation). With the emergence of Jana Sena party, TDP and BJP were gained because he didn’t contest the elections but supported the TDP and BJP and also highly critical on YSR Congress.<sup>191</sup> Because of his stand and speeches people of Kapu community, youth, rural masses were changed their preference from YSRCP to TDP and BJP and Jana Party played a critical role in wining of TDP in Andhra Pradesh.

As the saying goes, much water has flown in the Musi since late 2013. Maybe with an eye on the 2014 elections both to the Lok Sabha and the state Assembly/Assemblies, the UPA government finally completed all formalities for creation of a separate state of Telangana before the model code of conduct for elections came into force. However, the Congress Party performed very badly in the elections. In the residuary state of Andhra Pradesh, the party was ‘punished’ for breaking up the state. In the Telangana region, the voters tended to give full credit for creation of the new state to the TRS. Thus, as in most other states, the Congress has ended up in a ‘lose-lose’ situation.

### ***Critical view on Democracy and Regionalism/ Regional Politics in AP***

From the above discussion, we can draw the conclusion that regionalism in Andhra Pradesh can be grouped into two major categories. One is supra-state regionalism and other one, intra-state regionalism. *Supra-state regionalism* aspect could be seen in the manner in which the Andhra state was carved out of Madras state, based on Telugu language. *Intra-state regionalism* could be identified after the formation of Andhra Pradesh state, especially in the demand for a separate statehood for Telangana. This separate statehood movements came for self identity and self-rule, and it expressed a

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<sup>190</sup> “Congress hatao and Desh bachao”, *Sakshi Telugu News Daily*, March 15, 2014

<sup>191</sup> “Jana Sena won’t field candidates in AP polls to avoid vote-spilt”, *Indian Express*, March 28, 2014.



perception of exploitation, underdevelopment, political and economic discrimination vis-à-vis the other regions of the Andhra Pradesh state.

The Telugu speaking people of the erstwhile Madras State demanded a separate State. After the Sri Bagh Pact, 1937, forged unity between the Circars and Rayalaseema, the Andhra State was formed on October 1, 1953. According to the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission, the Telugu speaking Telangana area of the erstwhile Hyderabad State was merged with the Andhra State after a Gentlemen's Agreement and the composite State of Andhra Pradesh was formed on 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1956. It is interesting to note that though all the above three regions, namely, Circars, Rayalaseema and Telangana have the same language and culture, under unavoidable economic grounds, Rayalaseema and Telangana united to form a united Telugu State of Andhra Pradesh only after they obtained safeguards under the names of Sri Bagh Pact, 1937, and Gentlemen's Agreement, 1956, respectively. The differences among the political leaders at the time of formation of Andhra State in 1953 regarding the choice of the State Capital and other issues surfaced later on. Similarly, the differences that arose within the Andhra leadership and the Telangana leaders after the formation of the Unified state of Andhra Pradesh ultimately led to two violent Telangana and Andhra agitations. While there was a huge up swell in support of the Telangana movement in urban and rural Telangana, there have been some problems that still need to be discussed. Most of these issues concern the TRS and its position on these. The TRS has not made clear what difference will the separate state make to Adivasis, Muslims, Women, Dalits and other deprived sections of society.

The Telugu Desam had also used the Telangana issue as their vote fetching plank and was generally not interested in conceding the Telangana state. It is clearly visible that being the opposition party it was not supporting the Telangana cause, though in its rhetoric it had been promising Telangana within 100 days of assuming the power. The people of Telangana had become sceptical of most political parties who were seen as only fighting for selfish gains. Most of the political parties have been perceived as using the Telangana issue for their electoral benefits only.

The two major flashpoints of the movement have been the 1969 and 2009 agitations. The 1969 protests were more violent with more loss of lives due to use of police force. In

comparison, the 2009 struggle has seen more restraint by the police and losses of lives were few. Even then, the number of suicides by young students in the second phase of the agitation had been as high as over 300. Another major difference between the two phases is that in 1969 economic disparities were the major issues for protest, while in 2009 the rallying point of the movement was the projection of the cultural difference through Telangana identity. Both the phases of the movement witnessed the politics played by the dominant political parties - Congress, TRS, BJP, and TDP to earn political mileage.

The re-emergence of a popular constituency in favour of statehood for Telangana reflected perceptions that economic development in and around Hyderabad since the mid-1990s has been exclusionary. A powerful sense that the new economy has been dominated by caste and kinship networks originating in coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema, linked closed to international migratory and capital flows, and that urban oriented growth strategies have neglected the fate of a struggling country side, gave a new lease of life to earlier framings of the Telangana demand which drew on the need to protect the jobs and land of 'local' Mulki, communities from outside competition.

The renewed agitation that began in late 2009 in Telangana built upon many of the themes seen in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but in the context of more recent trajectories of economic growth driven by IT sector expansion and the growth of real estate market in the 2000s. Statehood claimants complained that development in Hyderabad has favoured those from outside the Telangana region, and that the region has been subject to a form of internal colonialism, in which rural areas have long been discriminated against, especially in the provision of irrigation. The Srikrishna Committee, commissioned by the central government to report on the case for statehood for Telangana, reported that one point of view expressed to the committee was that patterns of investment in and around Hyderabad under the TDP and congress governments of Andhra Pradesh since 1982 have not favored local population.

During this period, large areas of resourceful land, including *wakf* land in and around Hyderabad, were acquired at much cheaper prices for and by "outsiders" (persons not belonging to Telangana region) at a great advantage to them ignoring the interests of the locals. Although the industrial and economic developmental base that was created by these "outsiders", using this lands, contributed to general economic and industrial growth

and incidental employment benefits, the higher end divided in terms of incomes and jobs and other similar avenues in these attractive efforts were taken away again by the “outsiders” leaving the locals with lower-end jobs and less opportunities.<sup>192</sup>

According to SKC, there are some issues need to be understand and to implement in a time bound manner those are 1) administrative measures that need to be taken ; and (ii) relating to constitutional and legal steps to be initiated and the framework to be put in place. And also fruits of development must be spread across the state if not happened this equitable distribution and arrangements, surely Rayalaseema will be another Telangana in Andhra Pradesh in close proximity of time.

These suggestions have been made with a view to provide good governance and to ensure equitable regional development. Time bound action is imperative as undue delay or tardiness in approach will only further agitate the minds of the general public. Additionally, timely action will satisfy the people’s emotions and sentiments.

Finally Regional political parties are democratizing the polity in different aspects: 1) the regional political parties played a major role to articulate local needs and aspirations through participating in general elections, 2) articulating and aggregating the aspirations of the people in the Lok Sabha and State Assembly, 3) Channelizing the people’s views in to unified thoughts and actions, 4) through deliberative discussions with regional and national parties in the country, 5) through peaceful rallies, bandh’s, strikes and 6) through conducting seminars, debates and discussions.

### ***Summing Up***

It can be said that the growth of regional political parties in A.P in the post -independent period is essentially a product of its diversity and historical antecedents. Further, ethnicity is the major concern of most of the regional parties in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Rivalry of leaders, factions in the parties, caste and region were also a major cause. The social justice is also played a role in the formation of regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh. Some parties came into existence based on the political context prevailed in

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<sup>192</sup> Committee for consultations and the situations in Andhra Pradesh, ‘Report of the Srikrishna Committee, New Delhi, 2010, p.43

period. It can be concluded that the monolithic character of the Congress, the failure of the State and Central Government to satisfy the regional aspirations of the people and the inability of the opposition parties to provide an effective and viable alternative to the Congress, both at the State and Central, have been mainly responsible for the growth of regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh. The regional parties play prominent role in a unique heterogeneous political system like India which includes several different types of political parties- regional as well as national. In such a system, regional parties might conceivably prove to be more responsive and realistic political mechanisms for India as well in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>193</sup> The politics of regionalism may well constitute a necessary and salutary phase of political development for a society as diverse as that of India.

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<sup>193</sup> Lewis P. Fickett, Jr, "The Politics of Regionalism in India", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 1971, p210

## CHAPTER-IV

### **Democracy and Caste Politics in Andhra Pradesh**

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Democracy and caste are totally opposed. One is based on equality, and the other, on inequality of birth. The one is actuated by the principle of social inclusion, the other by the principle of social exclusion. Democracy tries to impart universal education so that class/caste consciousness can vanish. Caste considerations tend to restrict education only to the governing classes. Caste and democracy are fundamentally opposed, since both are based on incompatible considerations. Despite its negative characteristics, the caste is playing a very important role in contemporary Indian politics. Caste plays a significant role in politics of Andhra Pradesh state, as well as in other states in India. This chapter will seek to explore the interplay of democracy and caste politics in Andhra Pradesh.

Political assertion of intermediate castes against the upper castes began with the formation of linguistic reorganization of states. Consequently, the political power has shifted from upper to intermediate castes in many states. Later, political power has largely come into the hands of the backward castes in many states and the Dalits in Uttar Pradesh. However, the transfer of power is uneven, since upper and intermediate castes continue to dominate state politics. Andhra Pradesh was the second state to witness the rise of intermediate castes -Reddys and Kammas. They have remained unchallenged even after five decades of formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The backward castes and Dalits in Andhra Pradesh are yet to assert themselves in politics like their counterparts in North Indian states. In the context of competing political parties Congress, TDP, TRS and YSRCP in the state, led by intermediate castes - Reddys, Kammas and Velamas - the present chapter will specifically examine the role of caste in political formations and electoral mobilization. It will explain the continuing dominance of two caste groups in politics and also the social formations that support these parties. The study will also attempt to explicate the role of caste in the state politics, by analyzing the social profiles of elected representatives in Assemblies, Legislative Council, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha from the State, State Cabinets and caste profile of party

presidents. The chapter will also explore the issue whether the authoritarian and undemocratic caste system has become a veritable foundation and sustainer of our democratic system. Another area of interest is whether caste politics of Andhra Pradesh is hampering democracy and other aspects of development.

The relationship between caste and politics in India after 1947 has been the dominant theme of various studies conducted by cultural anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists. The assumption of some traditional leaders that caste is a social evil or an institution which perpetuates social inequality is generally regarded as a normative statement. On the strength of empirical surveys, it is asserted that caste is not only playing a very useful role in democratizing and secularizing the polity, but also providing meaningful content to the political processes. In spite of that, more often than not, leaders of all political parties denounce and denigrate caste and speak of a “casteless” society as an ideal of the Indian politics. But no one has cared to analyze how an institution, which is thoroughly authoritarian and undemocratic, has become a veritable foundation and sustainer of our democratic system.<sup>1</sup>

The contemporary caste system is a complex phenomenon. Having practically no relation with *Varna Ashram* of the scriptures; it defies a precise and clear-cut definition. In the presence of a large number of castes (Ghurye says that there are about 200 in every linguistic area), it is exceedingly difficult to assess the exact role of each and every caste and sub-caste in the political life of the country. It will be more difficult if one takes into account the fundamental attributes of caste - endogamy, hierarchical gradation, food taboos, heredity, division of labour, notion of pollution, etc. - in comprehending the interaction between caste and politics.<sup>2</sup>

Andhra Pradesh is the second state to witness the transfer of power from the upper caste Brahmins to the intermediate castes, Reddys and Kammas. Formation of the state led to the consolidation of Reddys under the Congress party. Kammas, who were marginalised

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<sup>1</sup> Moin Shkir, *Politics of Minorities: Some Perspectives*, Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1980, p.47

<sup>2</sup>ibid. p.48

with the decline of Left parties, gained prominence in politics with the emergence of Telugu Desam Party (TDP) in 1980s.<sup>3</sup> Since then, the governments at the state level are generally formed by either Reddys, through the Congress, or Kammas, through the TDP. The power has not gone further downwards to backward and scheduled castes. They are yet to assert themselves in politics like their counterparts in North India, where the backward castes and Dalits have become the ruling castes. However, both Reddys and Kammas later started facing challenge from the Velamas in the Telangana region with the re-emergence of Telangana movement led by Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS). Recently, the emergence of Yuva Jana Shramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP) led to the consolidation of Reddys outside the Congress fold. At the same time, the merging of Praja Rajyam Party (PRP) led by Kapus in Congress party resulted in regrouping of Kapus. Now both dominant parties: Congress and TDP: did find a challenge from TRS in Telangana and YSRCP in Coastal Andhra. In this process, caste is playing a significant role in the politics of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

### ***Significance of Caste in Politics***

After independence, many qualitative changes were introduced in the political system. Democratic polity, based on the principle of adult franchise, was perhaps the most crucial factor which reinforced caste with a lot of vigour. But one cannot ignore the dual role of caste in the post 1947 era, which was is democratizing the system and hampering the rise of revolutionary class organizations. The type of mass politics operating after independence is radically different from that of British India. The compulsions of the democratic system, to mobilize the illiterate people, who cannot understand politics in terms of class interests, make it imperative to appeal to the caste sentiment because it pays dividends. In the absence of clear-cut class-based parties or because of weak communist and socialist movements in the country, factors other than ideology and class are bound to be more effective. It activates primordial institutions. Thus caste, religion, etc., have become relevant inputs in the mass politics of India.

Rudolph and S.H. Rudolph, in this context, have categorized three types of mobilization

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<sup>3</sup> Chatterjee, Anne Vaugier, "Two Dominant Castes: The Socio-political System in Andhra Pradesh", in Christophe Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar (eds.), *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009, p.281

based on caste: vertical, horizontal and differential. “Vertical mobilisation entails the enlisting of political support by traditional notables in local societies. These societies are organised and integrated by rank, mutual dependence and the legitimacy of traditional authority. Horizontal mobilisation involves the garnering of political support mostly by class or community leaders. The third type of mobilisation, i.e., Differential mobilisation, encompasses “the enlisting of direct or indirect political support by political parties (and other integrative structures) from viable but internally differentiated communities through parallel appeals to ideology, sentiment and interest”.<sup>4</sup> Political implications of this development are: recruitment of leaders, provision for political personnel, legitimisation of the traditional authority pattern and creation of group consciousness and divisions along narrow sectarian lines.

However, a regional perspective is essential to understand the dynamics of this relationship. In Western and South India, the castes-in-politics played a vital role in ending the domination of the higher castes in politics. The numerical superiority of the non-Brahmins struck a fatal blow to the political supremacy of the English educated and urban-based high-caste politics. The newly won victory in politics opened new avenues in the administrative and economic arena. This was not achieved by any single caste, but by a combination of the various lower castes. It may not have been a revolutionary step, but it was certainly a progressive one. By breaking the monopoly of the higher castes, the combination of the lower castes consolidated its strength and found it to be the “dominant” one. But the process of becoming “dominant” reveals not only the numerical strength, but also the assertion of economic power.

The primary function of caste in politics has been to transfer authority from the higher to the middle castes. Those who were the lowest of the low-untouchables, landless, peasants, and rural poor - were not benefited by this new political arrangement. The class interests of the emerging rural elite- could best be protected through an alliance with the urban bourgeoisie. Thus adult franchise, “caste in politics” principle, democratic

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<sup>4</sup> Rudolph, Lloyd I, and Susanne H. Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, pp. 30-31.



decentralisation, Panchayati Raj institution have, in practice, helped the ruling classes in consolidating their rule. The new rural and urban elites have developed a vested interest in the perpetuation of “caste in politics”. Irawati Karve rightly points out that politician who enjoys privileged positions aim at perpetuating the operation of caste to seek sanction for their power in a social system which possesses great inequality in status, worldly goods and opportunities. In the rural context, “caste in politics” has been the instrument of mobilisation, a channel of communication, representation and leadership which links the electorate to the new democratic process.<sup>5</sup> This inter-relationship frees the lower castes from, exploitation and victimisation by other castes.

Another political function that the caste performing is of integrative nature. It is no more a divisive factor. The fear of the Hindu revivalists that raising the anti-Varna slogan is an attempt to divide the people is largely unreal. Their suggestion is that it is not equality, but harmony, that should be the guiding principle of the Hindu nation. They blame the secular leaders for exploiting caste for political purposes. Balraj Madhok holds that the concessions given to the lower castes create artificial distinctions based on discrimination between two sets of people. They are the cause of schism and cleavage in Indian society.<sup>6</sup> Even if it is accepted that the caste in politics is responsible for accentuating “communal consciousness,” these development cannot be termed as communal. Andre Beteille’s remarks regarding the backward classes and tribals are quite significant. The growth of communal consciousness need not be viewed necessarily as an unhealthy or disrupting force. It may, on the contrary, be a precondition for the integration of the tribals into the wider body politics for the measure of the integration lines-not so much in a passive acceptance of the rules through which divergent interests are organised and articulated.

The style of functioning of the various political parties proves the validity of the caste factor. The selection of the candidates at the time of elections, formulations of campaign strategies and manipulation of votes show that they are not interested in banishing casteism, but are pragmatic enough to make the political processes intelligible to the

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<sup>5</sup> Irawati Karve, *Hindu Society: An interpretation*, Poona: Deshmukh Prakashan, 1968, p.116.

<sup>6</sup> Balraj Madhok, *Indianization*, Delhi: S. Chand, pp.45-47.

overwhelming majority of the electorate. They are realistic to accept that the stress on caste should be more at the Gram Panchayat level and less on the State level and negligible at the national level. It should, nevertheless, be noted that no one single caste, even if it is numerically superior, can afford to ignore the other castes' interests. It is either the "caste cluster," or a multi-caste combination, which includes political authority as it is "impossible for a faction seriously interested in obtaining power to restrict its membership to particular social groups."<sup>7</sup> Andre Beteille, on the basis of his study of a village in Tanjore district, concluded that political power has, to some extent, detached itself from caste, that the balance of power is unstable, and that factors other than caste play an important part in maintaining it and changing it from day to day.<sup>8</sup>

The findings of the various electoral studies also suggest that the voting behaviour of the electorate is not governed by one single caste factor. In fact, the influence of caste affiliation upon voting varies from place to place; that it is never the sole influence; but has to contend with economic interest, ideological commitment, attachment to individual leaders, and other factors".<sup>9</sup> The economic factor, in more than one sense, weakens the strength of caste in politics. The poorer members of the dominant caste and economically backward caste are always at a disadvantage. The domination by one caste is quite deceptive and is a vital reality of socio-economic life.

The conditions of the so-called untouchables are even worse, even after the constitutional guarantees about jobs in administration and in elective offices. Their participation in the political process, on the basis of their caste, has not delivered goods.<sup>10</sup> Various studies conducted on the problems of Scheduled Castes, or the Dalits, clearly show that they do not get a "fair share" in the services, their representation in higher categories of administration is negligible; and their political representation does not confer "effective form of power". L. Dushkin holds that "the kind of power that will be respected in the

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<sup>7</sup> Paul Brass, *Factional Politics in Indian State: The Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965, p.148.

<sup>8</sup> Andre Beteille, *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Pattern of Stratification in a Tanjore Village*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965, p. 200.

<sup>9</sup> Philip Mason, "Cohesion and Diversions in Indian elites", in Philip Mason (ed.) *India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. p.256.

<sup>10</sup> *Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1961-62*, New Delhi, 1963, p.6.

long run will, have to be generated outside the legislatures and beyond the devices of protective discrimination".<sup>11</sup>

The scheduled castes problems are significant to understand caste-politics phenomenon. Their participation in the political process has been quite vigorous. The percentage of voting in that community is perhaps the highest compared to other communities. The politics and the economics of the concessions given to the Scheduled Castes indicate the willingness of the ruling class to integrate them into the system. What one notices is their faster pauperization, since they constitute the bulk of the "have-nots" in the rural areas, and the political and economic power is monopolised by the caste Hindus. Thus, the caste factor does not explain the whole reality of Indian politics. It is one of the factors and more vital and the stronger factors seem to be language and class. Not that caste is thoroughly irrelevant but, as we have described above, it plays a progressive, not a revolutionary role.

The emphasis of the protagonists of "caste in politics" seems to be misplaced. To argue that critics of "caste in politics" are really looking for a sort of politics which has no basis in society or stressing the need to nurture caste with care, develop it further and make it strong,<sup>12</sup> is a plea for a pluralist polity which may not be truly democratic and revolutionary. The experience of the last thirty years also proves that the ruling classes in India are interested in caste-politics and not in that sort of politics which goes beyond caste. Class-based organisations are being weakened with the help of caste.

It is to be noted that political relationship among various social groups cannot be governed by caste consideration; this again is a limiting factor. F.G. Bailey says that caste is not a principle by which "political-economic groups are recruited, nor does it organise relations between political groups; but is an organising principle within social groups".<sup>13</sup> But it cannot operate as a permanent organising principle even within a social group.

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<sup>11</sup> Lelah Dushkin, *Scheduled Castes Politics* in J. Machael Mahar (ed) *The Untouchables in Contemporary India*, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1972, p.2226

<sup>12</sup> Rajani Kotari, *Caste in Indian Politics*, New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1973, p.4

<sup>13</sup> Bailey, F.G, "Closed Social Stratification in India", *European Journal of Sociology*, IV(1), 1963, p.118

Perception of incompatible economic interests, political and economic inequality, existence of the gap between the rich and the poor of the same social groups is bound to create factions and political cleavages which will render caste more and more ineffective. Without the economic foundations, caste may remain relevant in the social sphere, but not in the political and economic life of the people.

### ***Caste Composition in Andhra Pradesh: A Profile***

It is well known that the caste factor is an important determinant of the character and fabric of Indian society and politics. There are some scholars who feel that the caste factor has been given undue importance in the political system in India and that the voters in this country have been casting their votes on considerations other than caste. Still, one cannot deny the pivotal role of the caste factor in Indian politics. Due to a number of reasons, which include: changes in social relationships and elections now being conducted in a more transparent manner, the nature of caste identities and inter-caste relations in Andhra Pradesh have radically changed in recent years. Till now, the research on the sociology of Indian politics in the post-Independence period has largely concentrated on the manner in which the dominant castes have almost come to monopolise politics. However, in recent times, the scenario has changed and the more articulate elites from the backward and Scheduled Castes have been effectively campaigning for their 'legitimate' share in the power structure and succeeded in their mission. This is evident from the way the established political parties have been providing more elbow space to these new elites in the higher echelons of the party and public/political offices.

### ***Upper Castes***

According to Sri Krishna Committee (SRK) Report 2010, the upper and intermediate castes constitute 22 percent of the state population in Andhra Pradesh. Within upper castes, even though the brahmins constitute only 3 percent of the state population, they have been ritually placed at the top of the caste pyramid and had been dominating the social, cultural and economic life. The educational, administrative and economic

opportunities provided by the colonial rule hastened their move to urban areas.<sup>14</sup> They were able to access English education and consequently occupy important positions in the British administration in Madras Presidency. No wonder, they were able to exploit the initial advantages of colonial rule and dominate the political sphere during the freedom struggle and in the early years of Independence.<sup>15</sup> As a result, they are found more in urban areas. On the other hand, the assertion of lower castes and peasant movements against their social position and privileges made them to leave rural areas in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As a result of the peasant-caste consolidation and articulation, Brahmins came to slowly mobilised in the politics.<sup>16</sup> Komatis who claim Vaishya status, comprising 1-2 percent of the population, are almost equally distributed in all districts. Their primary occupation has been business: textile, grain, banking, money-lending, grocery, shop-keeping, pawn-broking, etc.

**Table-4.1: Distribution of Social Groups**

Caste		Population
Upper castes	Brahmin	22.0
	Vaishya	
Intermediate Castes	Kamma	
	Kapu	
	Raju	
	Reedy	
	Velama	
Backward castes		44.5
Scheduled castes		16.2
Scheduled Tribes		6.6
Muslims		9.2
Other minorities		1.7

Source: Census 2001 and NSSO 64<sup>th</sup> round in SRK report (2010), p.360

<sup>14</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.2

<sup>15</sup> Suri, K.C., *Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Working Paper 180, Overseas Development Institute: London, 2002, p.10.

<sup>16</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.3.

### ***Intermediate Castes: The Dominant Power Elite***

Reddys, Kammas, Kapus, and Velamas belong to Shudra community in the Varna hierarchy. Their numerical strength, land control and access to political power have led to their becoming a very powerful social group. The renowned social scientist, M. N. Srinivas, has termed them as the dominant caste. The power and prestige enjoyed by them during medieval times and the early British period, was almost similar to that enjoyed by the Kshatriyas in the north.<sup>17</sup> The economic and educational advancement of these castes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century enabled them to challenge the domination of Brahmins in cultural and political spheres.<sup>18</sup>

The two dominant communities in the state are the Reddys and Kammas. They comprise 6.5 percent and 4.8 percent of the state's population respectively. However, they have pockets of influence and are not influential in the other parts. For instance, the Reddys are more concentrated in Telangana and Rayalaseema, while the Kammas have a marked presence in Krishna, Guntur and Prakasam districts and have only a marginal presence in other regions of the state.<sup>19</sup> The unification of Hyderabad and Andhra states provided Reddys the much needed numerical strength. This becomes the advantage for Reddys over Kammas in the struggle for political dominance in the state.<sup>20</sup> However, Kammas were able to counter the numerical strength of Reddys by their economic power. They are advanced economically because of their control over land in the delta area of Krishna and Godawari rivers. After abolition of the Zamindari system, they became the land owners. Earlier, they were the tenants to Brahmin landlords. They led the anti-Brahmin movement in the early period of the 20th century against the monopoly of Brahmins in bureaucracy and education. They are dominant in the film industry, transport, real estate, liquor business, contracts, trade and commerce.

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<sup>17</sup> Suri, K.C, *Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Working Paper 180, Overseas Development Institute: London, 2002, p.10.

<sup>18</sup> Chatterjee, Anne Vaugier, "Two Dominant Castes: The Socio-political System in Andhra Pradesh", in Christophe Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar (eds.), *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009, p.278

<sup>19</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.3.

<sup>20</sup> Chatterjee, Anne Vaugier, "Two Dominant Castes: The Socio-political System in Andhra Pradesh", in Christophe Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar (eds.), *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009p.290.

Among other peasant castes, the Velamas and Kapus (they are known as under different names such as Telaga, Naidu, Balija and Munnuru Kapu) comprising 3 percent and 9 percent of the state's population.<sup>21</sup> Even though they constitute a small percent of the state population and are confined to small pockets, they have been major players in the state politics. The Velamas are politically influential land-owning community mostly active in northern Telangana and northern coastal Andhra. On the other hand, Kapus are mostly confined to the East and West Godavari districts.<sup>22</sup> In fact, a large number of Zamindars were Velamas in Coastal Andhra, while they were feudal landlords and pillars of the feudal order in Telangana during the pre- independence period.<sup>23</sup> However, Velamas could not become a strong political force in Telangana as they constitute a small percentage in the population and are distributed in a few districts.<sup>24</sup> However, a Velama, J. Vengal Rao, had been the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh during the period 1973 to 1978 and the present Chief Minister of the newly created state of Telangana, K. Chandrasekhar Rao, too belongs to this community.

### ***Backward Castes***

According to Sri Krishna Committee, Backward Castes constitute 44.5 per cent of the state population. The list of backward Castes has been increased over a period of time, without the percentage of reservations being enhanced. The list has increased from 93 to 129 between 2008 and 2011. In fact, before the 2009 elections, 28 castes were included between 2008 and 2009, and 5 castes in 2011 in the list.<sup>25</sup> The reasons for inclusion of more castes in backward castes list is political as well as the increasing demands from every castes of the general category. But the percentage of reservation in education and employment has remained the same. They are mainly engaged in service, artisan and agriculture occupations. The major castes are: Munnur Kapu, Padmashali, Goud,

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p.279.

<sup>22</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.3.

<sup>23</sup> Suri, K.C, *Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Working Paper 180, Overseas Development Institute: London, 2002, p.11.

<sup>24</sup> Chatterjee, Anne Vaugier, p.278.

<sup>25</sup> Census of India, 2011.

Mudiraj, Yadav, Kuruma/Shepherd, Kamsali (Vishwabrahnnin), Kammari, Kummari, Rajaka (Chakali), Boya, Vaddera, Uppara, Medara, Mangali, Perika, Gandla and Bhatraju. Among these castes, Padmashali and Kamsali regard themselves as superior to other castes. Yadavas and Gouds are engaged in cultivation.<sup>26</sup> Gouds, Yadavs, Munnur Kapus and Padmashalis have improved their social and economic status and are placed in a better position in education, employment and politics in recent years.<sup>27</sup>

### ***Scheduled Castes***

Scheduled Castes (SCs) constitute 16.2 percent of the state's population, according to 2001 census. There are 59 sub-castes in SCs, and one new caste neo-Buddhist was added in 1990. Sub-castes are direct or indirect offshoots of two major castes: Mala and Madiga. Both Malas and Madigas together constitute 80 percent of the SCs.<sup>28</sup> Madigas constituted 49.2 percent, while Malas 42.8 percent, of the total SC population.<sup>29</sup> Madiga population is predominantly concentrated in Telangana and Malas in Coastal Andhra. They had traditionally followed occupations like agriculture and leather work and have comprised the bulk of the agricultural labour force.<sup>30</sup> Apart from this, they are also engaged in scavenging and the low-paid menial jobs. However, the prosperity of the coastal region has conferred certain natural advantages on Malas with regard to education and employment.<sup>31</sup> It is because of efforts by Christian missionaries and Colonial rule. As a result, though, numerically Madigas are slightly more than Malas, it is the latter who are better placed in terms of education, urban employment and political opportunities.<sup>32</sup> The unequal development between these two castes led to Madigas

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<sup>26</sup> Suri, K.C, *Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Working Paper 180, Overseas Development Institute: London, 2002, pp.11-12.

<sup>27</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.3. p4.

<sup>28</sup> Ratnam, K.Y, *The Dalit Movement and Democratisation in Andhra Pradesh*, Working Paper 13, Washington: East-West Centre, 2008, p.6

<sup>29</sup> Sri Krishna Committee (2010), *Report of the Committee for Consultation on the Situation in Andhra Pradesh* (SKC Report), New Delhi: December, p.369.

<sup>30</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.4.

<sup>31</sup> Ratnam, K.Y, *The Dalit Movement and Democratisation in Andhra Pradesh*, Working Paper 13, Washington: East-West Centre, 2008, pp.6-7.

<sup>32</sup> Suri, K.C, *Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Working Paper 180, Overseas Development Institute: London, 2002, p.12.



demand for sub-categorisation of SC reservations of in public employment and education.

### ***Scheduled Tribes***

According to 2001 census, Scheduled Tribes (STs) constitute 6.6 percent of the total population of the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh, i.e. prior to its bifurcation into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The predominant tribes of the 33 recognised tribes in Andhra Pradesh are: Banjarai Lambada, Gond, Koya, Chenchu, Yerukala, Konda Dora, Konda Reddy, Savara, and Yanadi. They mostly inhabit the exclusive tribal tracts in northern coastal-Andhra and Telangana.<sup>33</sup> Both Lambadas and Yerukalas in Telangana region were given ST status in 1976.<sup>34</sup> Before it, they were included in backward castes. They are concentrated more in Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam, Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar, Nizambad of Telangana and Vizianagaram, Vishakhapatnam and Nellore districts of Coastal Andhra. The Lambadas are more visible in politics compared to other tribal groups as they are more in number.

### ***Minorities***

Muslims constitute 9.2 percent of the state's population. They are concentrated almost equally in Rayalaseema (12.5 per cent), Telangana (12.4 per cent) and are dominant in Hyderabad (41.2 per cent) (See Table: 4.2).<sup>35</sup> They are distinctively active in the urban and semi-urban unorganised service sectors in Telangana, Rayalaseema and parts of Coastal Andhra and are influential players in the politics of these regions.<sup>36</sup> The highest concentration of Muslims (over 40 per cent of the city's population) and particularly in old city area of Hyderabad becomes a political advantage for the AIMIM, which claims to represent the interests of Muslims in the state. Christians constitute 1.6 percent in the state population. They are more in coastal Andhra, 2.1 percent and Hyderabad, 2.4

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p.12

<sup>34</sup> Sri Krishna Committee (2010), *Report of the Committee for Consultation on the Situation in Andhra Pradesh* (SKC Report), New Delhi: December, p.373.

<sup>35</sup> Sri Krishna Committee (2010), *Report of the Committee for Consultation on the Situation in Andhra Pradesh* (SKC Report), New Delhi: December, p.381.

<sup>36</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, pp.4-5.

percent.<sup>37</sup> Their number may be more if the Dalit converts are included.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Caste and Politics in Andhra Pradesh***

Caste assumes an important role as the basis of political grouping and the enlisting of political support in the state.<sup>39</sup> It decides distribution of tickets, allocation of nominated posts in the party and government, distribution of resources and contracts. No party can afford to ignore the importance of caste in politics. Even the Constitution of India recognised caste as a criterion for reservations in Parliament and Legislative Assemblies, education and public employment. The adoption of adult franchise and representative form of government had politicised the numerical strength of different castes which are located bottom of the society. Caste legitimised the ritual dominance over the lower castes and provided them social and economic privileges. The same caste also became advantage for assertion by the lower castes, based on their numerical strength.

The political changes introduced after independence were geared in favour of the agrarian castes as the political power of brahmins declined.<sup>40</sup> Further, the combination of state policies, as well as the party politics, contributed to the erosion of the political hold by of the upper castes, especially the Brahmins. It almost coincided with the rise of peasant castes, the Reddys, Kammas, Kapus and Velamas.<sup>41</sup> However, the dominance of the peasant castes is not equal in terms of their representation in the political parties, governments, Legislative Assemblies and Panchayati Raj institutions, due to unequal distribution of these castes and numerical strength in the state.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Sri Krishna Committee (2010), *Report of the Committee for Consultation on the Situation in Andhra Pradesh* (SKC Report), New Delhi: December, p.381.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p.384.

<sup>39</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.3.

<sup>40</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.9.

<sup>41</sup> Reddy, G. Ram, "The Politics of Accommodation: Caste, Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh", in M. S. A. Rao R. and Frankel, Francine (ed). *Dominance and State Power in India: Decline of a Social Order. Volume 1*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, pp.265-321.

<sup>42</sup> Gundimeda, Sambaiah, "Dalits, Praja Rajyam Party and Caste Politics in Andhra Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 May: Vol. 44, 2009, p.52-53

### ***Marginalisation of Brahmins and the Political Rise of the Reddys***

Though, brahmins are numerically small (about 3 percent of the state's population), they were heavily represented in Congress and Communist parties until the early 1950s. But within a decade after independence, the political leadership was taken up by intermediary land-owning classes, the Reddys and Kammas.<sup>43</sup> Though the representation of brahmins in the State Assembly marginally declined from 6.6 percent in 1957 to 4.6 percent in 1962, the decline should actually be seen as substantial. Before the state of Andhra Pradesh was formed, both Andhra and Hyderabad states had Brahmin Chief Ministers.<sup>44</sup> It appears that the formation of the state hastened the decline of Brahmins and the rise of land-owning castes, especially Reddys and Kammas in the state politics.

Reddys competed for the leadership in Congress with Brahmins, who were dominant in the party, as well as government, in the early 1950s. They succeeded in replacing the leadership of the Brahmins in the party during the mid 1950s and then onwards, they continued their dominance. The politics of accommodativeness used by these castes helped to consolidate their power and continue to remain in power. The possession of state power through the Congress party is a key factor which allowed the party to employ the same method and remain its dominance in state politics. The policies of the Congress government helped the Reddys to consolidate their power in rural areas. The implementation of land reforms and establishment of Panchayati Raj system during the tenure of Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy in 1957 enhanced the party's political power in the state.<sup>45</sup> The land reform policies, instead of distributing lands to landless labourers, actually became tools for the dominant castes to acquire cultivable and uncultivable land. This led to the homogenization of peasant castes in terms of land-holding. As a result, even Kammas and Kapus, who benefitted from the land reform policies, became core supporters of the Congress party. On the other hand, Panchayati Raj helped Reddys to

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<sup>43</sup> Chatterjee, Anne Vaugier, "Two Dominant Castes: The Socio-political System in Andhra Pradesh", in Christophe Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar (eds.), *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009, p.286.

<sup>44</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002,

<sup>45</sup> Gundimeda, Sambaiah, "Dalits, Praja Rajyam Party and Caste Politics in Andhra Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 May: Vol. 44, 2009p. 52

expand their power to rural areas. Panchayati Raj now became a new source of power and prestige for upper castes, in general, and Reddys, in particular, and it has also accommodated their political aspirations.<sup>46</sup>

These communities have been able to almost monopolise economic and political power due to their control over the agrarian resources, such as land and water. A number of factors have contributed to their having almost total control of the political life in the rural areas. The green revolution has helped them to diversify into other spheres of the economy like business, transport, contracts and industry.<sup>47</sup> Thus they have diversified their sources of income. According to Chatterjee, there are two main reasons for the transfer of political power from the upper castes, especially Brahmins, to the two major intermediary peasant castes, Reddys and Kammas. One was the land reforms undertaken by the Congress Government and two, the undermining of the prestige of the Brahmin elite by the strong anti-Brahmin sentiments that prevailed in all the southern states in the decades after independence. Their control over land was the most important source of their power.<sup>48</sup> Since the 1950s, the struggle between Reddys and Kammas for political power continued. However, the dominance of Reddys remained unchallenged until the formation of Telugu Desam Party (TDP) by N.T. Ramarao (known as NTR) film star turned politician, from the Kamma community.

### ***Kammas Rise to Power***

Kammas, who were neglected in Congress party and marginalized by the decline of Left parties, came to prominence in the state politics by the formation of TDP in 1982. The TDP is seen as a party of Kammas antagonizing the Reddys who monopolized power through the Congress Party. It is true that despite the rise of their economic power in several sectors: agriculture, industry, cinema and the liquor business, they could not

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<sup>46</sup> Gundimeda, Sambaiah, "Dalits, Praja Rajyam Party and Caste Politics in Andhra Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 May: Vol. 44, 2009p.53.

<sup>47</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002p.3.

<sup>48</sup> Chatterjee, Anne Vaugier, "Two Dominant Castes: The Socio-political System in Andhra Pradesh", in Christophe Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar (eds.), *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009, p.292.

achieve political power for decades. This discrepancy between their economic and financial power, on the one hand, and political power, on the other, made them rally behind the TDP founded by NTR, who provided hopes for them to realise their political aspirations.<sup>49</sup> He changed the balance of power in the state significantly and brought the Kammas to the position of dominance that they hold today.<sup>50</sup> Since then, political power has alternated between these two castes through their respective parties. In the process, the single party dominance in the state was transformed into a two party system. However, the TDP faced a challenge from the TRS in Telangana after the re-emergence of the Telangana movement in the last decade.

#### ***Velamas: Accommodation to Assertion***

TDP and Congress were able to rule the state by accommodating the Telangana leaders. However, the dominance of both Reddys and Kammas was challenged by members of the Velama caste in recent years by the TRS party, formed in 2001 by K. Chandrasekhar Rao. The Telangana movement, led by the TRS, damaged the prospects of TDP in the region in 2004 elections. The entry of TRS in the state politics was one of the main reasons for the defeat of TDP in the elections. The statement on Telangana by UPA-II in December 2009 and developments after the announcement led to the consolidation of TRS in the region. This has further diminished the prospects of the TDP in the region.

#### ***Kapus: Assertion to Accommodation***

The Kapus are relatively late comers in challenging the dominance of Kammas and Reddys. Yet, they were unsuccessful. The attempt to emerge as independent political force begun in 2008 under the leadership of K. Chiranjeevi, film star turned politician. His newly formed party PRP contested the 2009 elections and emerged as the third largest party in the state. Yet, he merged the party with the Congress in 2011. The assertion of Kapus independent of Congress and TDP lasted for less than three years. Though, the new party did not lead to the consolidation of Kapus against Kammas and Reddys, the party

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<sup>49</sup> Chatterjee, Anne Vaugier, "Two Dominant Castes: The Socio-political System in Andhra Pradesh", in Christophe Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar (eds.), *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009, p.292-4.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. pp.305-307

damaged the prospects of TDP in the 2009 elections. In fact, anti-incumbency against the Congress government was split due to the entry of PRP. As a result, Congress retained power and later brought the Kapus into the Congress fold. Though Kapus were less successful in asserting against Kammas and Reddys in the state politics, more number of Kapus were given ministerial berths in the Congress government.

### ***Backward Castes: Accommodation and Co-option***

The backward castes, comprising half of the population in the state, have always been under-represented in the State Assembly in proportion to their population. Their representation has increased from 9.3 percent in 1957 to 19 percent in 2009 in the Assembly; they are far behind in their proportion to total population. Yet, their under-representation had not led to emergence of political force from them. However, an attempt was made by T. Devender Goud, a backward caste leader, who defected from the TDP, to form the Nava Telangana Party in 2008. It was unsuccessful as he merged his party with the PRP before the 2009 elections and later returned to the TDP. The backward castes are co-opted and accommodated by mainstream parties which have prevented the emergence of an independent political force from the backward castes.<sup>51</sup>

### ***Dalits: Autonomous vs Accommodation***

Autonomous Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh is relatively not as strong as in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Yet, Dalits attempt to emerge as independent political force through the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) since 1990s has been less successful. Despite the emergence of an assertive Dalit movement after the massacre of Dalit in Karamchedu and Chundur, Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh remained confined to social movements. Even Dalit movements got fragmented on sub-caste lines. Dominant political parties are successful in accommodating Dalit leaders in the party organizations, legislative bodies and governments. The articulation and representation of Dalit issues by mainstream parties blocked the emergence of autonomous Dalit politics. Due to the failure of Dalit parties and organisations to resolve the conflict within Dalits

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<sup>51</sup> Reddy, G. Ram, "The Politics of Accommodation: Caste, Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh", in M. S. A. Rao R. and Frankel, Francine (eds). *Dominance and State Power in India: Decline of a Social Order. Volume( 1)*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.316.

and mobilise the Dalits against the ruling parties, Dalits continue to support mainstream parties. BSP is still in the process of mobilizing Dalit middle class and the party is yet to reach Dalit masses. In contrast, the mainstream parties have implemented some social welfare schemes which could benefit Dalit masses and secure their support.

### ***Caste Profile of Members in Legislative Bodies***

There have been very few studies on the caste profile of legislative members. Even these studies do not provide exact caste-wise data about the members. It means many members were grouped together under one broad category. For instance, many castes in backward castes are put together in one category.<sup>52</sup> The data is available till 1985 for Assembly as well as Cabinet and till 1980 for Lok Sabha. In another study, the backward castes were divided into two groups: peasant OBC and Other BC.<sup>53</sup> The study is limited to Assembly and Cabinet, and data is available till 2004 and 1992 respectively. In fact, the data on cabinet does not show the representation of individual castes. Further, SCs, STs, OBCs and Minorities were grouped in one category. Both the studies had time limit. The present study gives data for each caste in all broad categories for the Legislative Assembly, Legislative Council, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

### ***Caste Composition of Assembly Members***

So far twelve elections were held for the Andhra Pradesh Assembly. Representation of upper castes has decreased from 10.3 percent to 3.7 percent. For instance, that of Brahmins has decreased from 8 percent to 1.4 in the present Assembly. Intermediate castes maintained their dominance throughout the decades and represented more than half of the Assembly. In fact, barring Reddys, all the castes within this category witnessed a decrease in their representation. Yet, Reddys maintained their dominance by constituting one fourth of members in all Assemblies. But, small castes such as Lingayats, Okkaligas, Nagaralus, Lodhs, Bondilis and Mudalirs, who were not listed in backward castes until

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<sup>52</sup> Reddy, G. Ram. "The Politics of Accommodation: Caste, Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh", in M. S. A. Rao R. and Frankel, Francine (eds). *Dominance and State Power in India: Decline of a Social Order. Volume( 1)*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.318

<sup>53</sup> Chatterjee, Anne Vaugier, "Two Dominant Castes: The Socio-political System in Andhra Pradesh", in Christophe Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar (eds.), *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009, p.307

2008, have faced a decline of their presence over a period of time. In the 2009 Assembly, they did not have representation at all. Backward castes were always under-represented despite the emergence of opposition party to Congress since 1983.

Though, they have improved their presence from 9 percent to 19 percent, they are very far from reaching their proportionate representation. After delimitation of constituencies, the reserved seats for Scheduled Castes increased from 39 to 48. As a result, they increased their representation from 13.3 percent in 2004 to 16.3 percent in 2009. Similarly, the reserved seats for Scheduled Tribes increased from 15 in 2004 to 19 in 2009. The percentage has increased from 2.3 percent in 1957 to 6.5 percent in 2009. Their representation has been increased after Lambadas in Telangana were given Scheduled Tribe status in 1976. In fact, prior to that, Lambadas were never elected to the Assembly from general constituencies. In fact, STs have been winning at least one general seat in each election since 1983. The representation of Muslims has remained unchanged with 3.7 per cent of the seats. Despite the presence of MIM led by Muslims, they are under-represented in all Assemblies.



Table 4.2: Caste Composition of Assemblies since 1955-57(%)

Caste	1957	1962	1967	1972	1978	1983	1985	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009
<b>Upper Caste</b>	<b>10.3</b>	<b>10.3</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>7.0</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>3.7</b>
Brahmin	8.0	8.0	4.5	6.3	4.4	2.4	1.7	1.4	0.3	1.0	1.0	1.4
Komati/Vysya	2.3	2.3	1.7	0.7	1.0	1.4	1.7	1.4	0.7	1.7	1.4	2.4
<b>Intermediate Castes</b>	<b>59.3</b>	<b>55.0</b>	<b>56.4</b>	<b>50.5</b>	<b>53.7</b>	<b>57.8</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>59.5</b>	<b>59.5</b>	<b>54.8</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>50.3</b>
Kapu	9.0	7.0	7.7	6.6	7.1	6.1	6.1	7.8	7.1	7.1	7.8	6.5
Kamma	12.0	12.7	13.6	11.1	13.6	17.0	17.3	11.6	18.0	14.6	11.9	9.2
Reddy	25.0	28.0	25.1	22.6	24.8	26.5	25.5	32.0	26.2	25.5	32.0	28.6
Raju	5.3	2.7	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.8	3.4	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.4	2.4
Velama	5.3	3.3	4.5	4.9	2.7	3.4	5.1	5.1	5.1	4.8	3.7	3.7
Others	2.7 <sup>a</sup>	1.3 <sup>b</sup>	1.4 <sup>c</sup>	1.0 <sup>d</sup>	1.4 <sup>e</sup>	-	0.7 <sup>f</sup>	0.3 <sup>g</sup>	-	-	0.3 <sup>h</sup>	-
<b>Backward Castes</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>18.1</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>16.0</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>19.7</b>	<b>17.0</b>	<b>19.0</b>
Arya Kshatriya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.7	-	0.3	-
Besta, Gangaputra	-	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.3	1.0	0.3	1.0
Boya, Valmiki	-	0.3	0.7	1.0	-	-	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	-
Chakali, Rajaka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	0.3	0.3
Gandla	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	-	-	-
Gavara	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.3
Goud	1.7	2.0	3.1	1.7	4.1	1.7	2.7	2.7	2.0	2.7	2.7	3.4
Kalinga	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.4	1.0	0.3	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.0
Koppula Velama	2.0	2.0	2.8	2.4	2.4	3.7	4.8	3.4	4.1	3.4	2.4	2.0
Mudiraj	0.7	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.7	1.4	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.7	1.0
Mera, Rangaraj	-	-	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	-	0.3	-	-	-
Munnuru Kapu	0.7	1.0	1.4	1.0	1.4	0.7	1.0	1.7	1.7	3.7	2.0	3.1
Padmashali	1.3	0.3	1.7	2.1	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.4	0.7	1.0	1.7	2.0
Patkar	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	-	0.3	-	-	-
Perika	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	0.3	-	-	-	0.7	0.3	-	0.3
Reddika	-	0.3	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	-	-	-
Surya Balija	-	-	0.3	0.7	-	-	0.7	0.3	-	-	-	-
Yadav, Kuruma	-	0.3	-	2.4	3.4	3.4	1.4	1.4	2.4	3.1	2.0	2.4
Turpu Kapu	1.0	1.7	1.0	1.7	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.7	1.4	1.7	2.4	1.7
Vishavakarma	-	-	-	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	-	-
Uppara	-	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	-
Others	-	-	-	0.3 <sup>i</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3 <sup>j</sup>	0.3 <sup>k</sup>
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>	<b>15.0</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>13.3</b>
Madiga	5.7	4.7	5.6	5.2	5.4	4.4	6.1	6.8	8.2	6.5	5.4	7.8
Mala, Mala Dasari	9.0	9.7	8.7	10.1	9.2	9.2	6.8	6.8	5.1	6.8	7.3	8.2
Others	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	0.3 <sup>@</sup>	-	-	-	0.3 <sup>@</sup>	0.3 <sup>@</sup>
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>6.5</b>
Muslims	3.7	2.7	3.1	4.9	3.1	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.7	3.7
<b>Other Minorities</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>0.3</b>
<b>Unidentified</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>
Total	n=30 0	n=30 0	n=28 7	n=30 0	n=28 7	n=29 4	n=29 4	n=29 4	n=29 4	n=29 4	n=29 4	n=29 4

Source: *Compiled by Author*

**Note:** Kapu includes Balija, Ontari and Telaga. Besta includes Agnikula Kshatriya, Gangaputra. Goud includes Ediga, Shetti Balija and Srisayana. Koppula Velama includes Polinati Velama. Padmashali includes Devanga, Swakulasali and Thogata. Madiga includes Bindla and Mochi.

a=Bondili-1, Lingayat-5, Mudaliar-1, Nagaralu-1; b=Bondili-1, Lingayat-2, Nagaralu-1; c=Lingayat-2, Nagaralu-2; d=Lingayat-2, Nagaralu-1; e=Lingayat-1, Lodh-2, Nagaralu-1; f=Lingayat-1, Okkalig-1; g=Lingayat-1; h=Lingayat-J; i=Vaddera-J; j=Krishna Balija-1; k=Vaddilu; @=Adi-Andhra

### ***Legislative Council***

The Legislative Council, abolished during TDP government in 1985, was revived by the Congress government in 2007. It was aimed to provide political accommodation to some of Congress leaders. Though, the members are elected by MLAs, Local Bodies, Graduates, and Teachers and nominated by Governor.

**Table 4. 3: Legislative Council in February 2013(%)**

Caste		%	Total
Upper castes	Bramhmin	6.7	8.9
	Vysya	2.2	
Intermediate castes	Kapu,Baliya	6.7	46.6
	Kamma	10.0	
	Raju	3.3	
	Reddy	23.3	
	Velama	3.3	
Backward castes	Besta	1.1	25.0
	Bhatraiu	1.1	
	Boya Valmiki	1.1	
	Gandla	1.1	
	Gavara	1.1	
	Goud	5.6	
	Koppula Velama	2.2	
	Kummari	1.1	
	Munnuru Kapu	4.4	
	Padmashali	1.1	
	Perika	1.1	
	Raiaka	1.1	
	Yadav,Kuruba	2.2	
	Turupu Kapu	1.1	
Scheduled castes	Madiga	2.2	10.0
	Mala	7.8	
STs	ST -Lambadi	1.1	1.1
Muslim	Muslim	7.8	7.8
Grand Total		99.9	N=90

Source: <http://www.bctirnes.org/mlcs.php>

According to the table 4.3, the upper castes and intermediate castes together constituted more than half of the members in the Council. Backward castes got one fourth representation. Within backward castes, two numerically small castes: Bhatraju and

Kummari: got the representation. Scheduled Castes are under-represented and Tribes are marginally represented. Muslims got nearest representation compared to their population.

***Caste Profile of Lok Sabha Members from the State***

So far fourteen general elections were held after formation of the state. The caste profile of Lok Sabha members is given in Table: 4. 4 the representation of upper castes, particularly Brahmins, has decreased from 16.3 percent to 2.4 percent. In fact, the Vysyas were not represented in many Lok Sabhas. At the same, Backward Castes improved their presence from 7 percent to 23.8 percent. Though, percentage of backward castes members has increased at the cost of upper castes, they are yet to reach their proportionate representation. The intermediate castes maintained their dominance throughout the decades and represented more than half of the members, except in the second Lok Sabha.

Within Scheduled Castes, Malas always got more seats than Madigas. SCs representation in Lok Sabha has been commensurate to their population. Twice SCs won general seat: Mala candidate from Bapatla in 1989 and Madiga candidate from Malkajgiri in 2009. In fact, the Congress party gave tickets to SCs for Bapatla general seat in 1984, 1991, 1996 and 1999 elections. The reason may be the predominance of Dalits in the constituency. The percentage of Muslims has come down from 7 percent to 2.4 percent. Within Scheduled Tribes, the Lambada community started getting representation since 1976 and even won the seats in general constituencies: 1996 (TDP), 1998 (TDP) and 2004 (TRS). One ST Independent candidate from Muka Dora community won the second seat from Parvathipuram double member constituency in 1957 against V.V. Giri of the Congress. This made the Congress government to abolish the double member constituencies since the third general elections.

Table 4.4: Caste Profile of Lok Sabha Members from the State

Caste	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009
<b>Upper Castes</b>	<b>23.3</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>17.1</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>2.4</b>
Brahmin	16.3	9.3	9.8	4.9	4.8	4.8	2.4	4.8	2.4	4.8	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
Vysya	7.0	7.0	7.3	4.9	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	2.4	-	-	-
<b>Intermediate</b>	<b>41.9</b>	<b>53.5</b>	<b>53.7</b>	<b>56.1</b>	<b>54.8</b>	<b>59.5</b>	<b>66.7</b>	<b>54.8</b>	<b>54.8</b>	<b>50.0</b>	<b>59.5</b>	<b>57.1</b>	<b>57.1</b>	<b>45.2</b>
Kamma	9.3	16.3	19.5	14.6	16.7	19.0	21.4	9.5	14.3	14.3	11.9	23.8	9.5	11.9
Kapu	2.3	2.3	2.4	7.3	7.1	9.5	7.1	7.1	7.1	11.9	7.1	7.1	14.3	4.8
Raiu/Kshatriva	7.0	7.0	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	-	4.8	2.4	2.4	2.4
Reddy	18.6	20.9	22.0	26.8	21.4	21.4	28.6	28.6	26.2	23.8	33.3	21.4	26.2	23.8
Velama	4.7	7.0	2.4	2.4	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	2.4	-	2.4	2.4	4.8	2.4
Lingavat	-	-	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Backward Castes</b>	<b>7.0</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>12.2</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>9.5</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>19.0</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>19.0</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>23.8</b>
Boya, Valmiki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	2.4	-	2.4	2.4	-	-
Gavara	-	-	-	2.4	2.4	2.4	2~4	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	-
Goud	-	-	-	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	4.8	4.8	4.8	-	2.4	2.4	7.1
Kalinga	2.3	2.3	-	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	2.4
Koppula Velama	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.8	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
Mera	-	-	-	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mudiraj	-	-	-	-	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murmur Kapu	2.3	-	-	-	-	2.4	-	-	-	-	2.4	-	-	-
Padmashali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.8	-	2.4	4.8	2.4
Perika	-	-	-	-	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	-	-
Yadav, Kuruma	2.3	2.3	2.4	-	-	-	2.4	-	4.8	2.4	2.4	4.8	2.4	2.4
Turpu Kapu	-	-	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	2.4	-	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.8@
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>19.0</b>
Madiga, Mochi	2.3	4.7	4.9	2.4	2.4	2.4	-	2.4	4.8	4.8	4.8	9.5	7.1	7.1
Mala, Mala Dasari	11.6	9.3	9.8	12.2	11.9	11.9	14.3	14.3	9.5	9.5	9.5	4.8	7.1	11.9
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>7.2</b>
Konda Dora	2.3	-	-	-	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
Koya/Doli Kova	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	-	-	2.4	2.4	-	2.4	-
Jatapu	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lambada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	2.4	-	2.4	4.8
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.4 #	2.4 #	-	-	2.4*	-	-
<b>Muslims</b>	<b>7.0</b>	<b>7.0</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>2.4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>N=43</b>	<b>N=43</b>	<b>N=41</b>	<b>N=41</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>	<b>N=42</b>

Source: Compiled by the Author

**Note:** Kapu includes Balija, Ontari and Telaga. Goud includes Ediga, Shetti Balija and Srisayana. Koppula Yelama includes Polinati Yelama. Padmashali includes Devanga. Kond Dora includes Muka Dora and Konda Reddi; Koya includes Bhagata. @=Bondili-l, Lingayat-l ; #=Yerukala; \*=Yalmiki;

### ***Rajya Sabha***

Unlike the Lok Sabha, the election of Rajya Sabha members completely depends on the mercy of political parties. So, the members need to be loyal to the respective parties from which they are elected. Out of eighteen Rajya Sabha members from the state, intermediate castes constitute half of the members. K.Chiranjeevi, actor turned politician from the Kapu community was given Rajya Sabha seat in return for merging his Praja Rajyam Party in Congress. TDP party nominated one Goud (Devender Goud) candidate for the Rajya Sabha in 2012. Interestingly, he came out from the party before the 2009 elections and formed the Nava Telangana Party. Later he merged his party with PRP just before the elections. After losing elections from PRP, he returned to the TDP. Apart from caste, money has been playing a major role in the Rajya Sabha elections since parties have been nominating rich people for the Rajya Sabha as they give party fund. The TDP nominated one Kamma candidate and openly admitted that the party was given funds by him.

Table No: 4.5 **Rajya Sabha Members in 2013 (%)**

<b>Caste</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Upper Caste-Brahmin</b>	<b>5.6</b>
<b>Intermediate Caste</b>	<b>50.1</b>
Kamma	16.7
Kapu	5.6
Reddy	16.7
Velama	11.1
<b>Backward castes</b>	<b>22.3</b>
Goud	5.5
MunnuruKapu	5.6
Padmashali	11.2
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>	<b>11.6</b>
Madiga	5.7
Mala	5.9
<b>Scheduled Tribes-Yerukala</b>	<b>5.3</b>
<b>Muslim</b>	<b>5.1</b>
Total	100(N=18)

Source: <http://www.bctimes.org>

### ***State Executives***

The accommodation of different social groups from the regions in the cabinet is balanced accordance with their strength in the Assembly. The denial of berths in the Cabinet and denial of Chief Minister post may lead to exclusion of some social groups from the party. This may lead to formation of new parties. Thus, the ruling parties always maintain a balance among social groups while distributing positions in order satisfy emerging leaders. This section will analyse the composition of the cabinet and caste profile of the successive Chief Ministers. It will also try to explain the politics behind the distribution of positions and making of Chief Ministers. It will also focus on the caste background of party presidents and chiefs.

### ***Caste Profile of Chief Ministers***

Except Reddys and Kammas, the appointment of Chief Minister from other communities was accidental. They were appointed temporarily in order to find consensus candidatures for final appointment. For most of the time, only Reddys and Kammas held the position of Chief Ministers. Thirteen Chief Ministers have been Reddys who held the position for a total period of thirty years and one month. They were succeeded by Kammas who held the post for a total period of sixteen years and three months. Though members of other communities also became Chief Ministers, they were in office for short periods only. A Dalit (D. Sanjeevaiah) held the Chief Minister post for two years and two months, a Brahmin (P.V.Narasimha Rao) for one year and three months, Velama (J.Vengal Rao) for four years and three months, and Vysya (K. Rosaiah) for one year and two months. Interestingly, all the Reddy Chief Ministers have come from the Congress party. So far, no backward caste candidate was made Chief Minister. Interestingly, most of the presidents of Pradesh Congress Committee belonged to the backward castes. Yet they were never considered for the position of Chief Minister. The appointment of Kiran Kumar Reddy as the state Chief Minister in 2011 represents the dominance of Reddys in Congress. Congress party is yet to emerge from the control of Reddys.

Table No: 4.6 **Caste wise Tenure of Chief Ministers**

<b>Caste</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Years</b>	
<b>Upper Caste</b>		2.5	
Brahmin	From 30/09/1971 to 18/01/1973	1.3	
Vaishya	From 03/09/2009 to 24/11/2010	1.2	
<b>Intermediate Castes</b>		50.7	
Kamma	From 09/01/1983 to 02/12/1989	6.1	16.3
	From 12/12/1994 to 13/05/2004	9.5	
Reddy	From 01/11/1956 to 10/01/1960	3.3	30.1
	From 12/03/1962 to 29/09/1971	9.6	
	From 06/03/1978 to 08/01/1983	4.1	
	From 03/12/1989 to 12/12/1994	5.0	
	From 14/05/2004 to 02/09/2009	5.3	
	From 25/11/2010 until.....	2.3	
Velama	From 11/12/1973 to 05/03/1978	4.3	4.3
<b>Backward Castes</b>		-	
<b>Scheduled Castes- Mala</b>	From 11/01/1960 to 11/03/1962	2.2	
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>	-	-	
<b>Muslims</b>	-	-	
<b>President Rule</b>	From 18/01/1973 to 10/12/1973	0.11	
Grand Total		56.1	

Source: *Compiled by the Author*

### ***Caste Representation in TDP Cabinet***

TDP came to power in 1983, yet the data on Cabinets formed during TDP government were given between 1994 and 2004. Unlike Congress, which used to give less representation to Kammas in the cabinet, TDP give importance to Reddys. In fact, the party which talked much about social justice to weaker sections, never gave more than one fourth of cabinet positions to backward castes. However, the representation of backward castes increased from 21.9 percent to 28.2 percent. The representation of SCs and STs is not proportionate to their population. Vysyas never got ministerial berths, whereas intermediates castes maintained their dominance by holding more than half of the cabinet positions.

**Table 4.7: TDP Cabinets between 1994 and 2004 (%)**

<b>Caste</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>Upper Castes</b>	3.1	3.7	-	-	2.7	2.6
Brahmin	3.1	3.7	-	-	2.7	2.6
<b>Intermediate Castes</b>	59.4	51.9	53.1	54.1	54.1	51.3
Kamma	21.9	18.5	15.6	16.2	16.2	15.4
Kapu	12.5	7.4	6.3	5.4	8.1	5.1
Raju	3.1	3.7	3.1	5.4	5.4	5.1
Reddy	18.8	18.5	21.9	21.6	18.9	20.5
Velama	3.1	3.7	6.3	5.4	5.4	5.1
<b>Backward Castes</b>	21.9	22.2	25.0	27.0	27.0	28.2
Basta,Gangaputra	-	-	-	-	2.7	2.6
Gavara	3.1	-	-	-	-	-
Goud,Ediga	3.1	7.4	6.3	8.1	5.4	5.1
Mudiraj	3.1	-	-	2.7	2.7	2.6
MunnurKapu	3.1	-	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.6
Kalinga	3.1	3.7	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.6
Koppula Velama	3.1	3.7	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.6
Padmashali,Devanga	-	3.7	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.6
Yadav,Golla	3.1	3.7	3.1	2.7	5.4	5.1
Turupu Kapu	-	-	3.1	2.7	-	2.6
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>	9.4	14.8	15.6	13.5	10.8	12.8
Madiga	6.3	7.4	9.4	8.1	8.1	7.7
Mala	3.1	7.4	6.3	5.4	2.7	5.1
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>	3.1	3.7	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.6
<b>Muslim</b>	3.1	3.7	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.6
<b>Total</b>	N=32	N=27	N=32	N=37	N=37	N=39

Source: *Compiled by the Author*

### ***Caste Profile of Congress Cabinets***

The Congress Party, unlike the TDP, never gave importance to Kammas in the cabinet. The Reddys got always the lion's share in cabinets and, in fact, their representation increased from 22.6 percent in 2004 to 31.7 percent in 2012. By merging of PRP with Congress, the representation of Kapuas increased from 7.5 percent to 12.2 percent. Backward castes were given more representation compared to their representation in Assembly. However, they are under-represented compared to their population. Except for a brief period between 2009 and 2010, Scheduled Castes were given representation in proportion to their population, whereas Scheduled Tribes have been under-represented. The representation of Muslims has reduced as the two incumbent ministers lost the elections in 2009.



Table 4.8: Congress Cabinets between 2004 and 2012 (%)

Caste	2004	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012
<b>Upper Caste</b>	6.5	4.2	2.4	5.6	5.7	5.0	4.9
Brahmin	3.2	-	-	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
Vysya	3.2	4.2	2.4	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
Intermediate Castes	41.9	37.6	46.3	47.2	45.7	50.0	48.8
Kamma	3.2	4.2	7.3	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
Kapu	6.5	8.3	7.3	5.6	5.7	7.5	12.2
Raju	3.2	4.2	2.4	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
Reddy	22.6	20.8	26.8	33.3	31.4	35.0	31.7
Velama	6.5	-	2.4	2.8	2.9	2.5	-
<b>Backward Castes</b>	19.4	25.0	26.8	30.6	31.4	25.0	24.4
Baste,Gangaputra	-	-	2.4	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
Chakali	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	2.4
Gavara	3.2	4.2	2.4	-	-	-	-
Goud	-	-	4.9	8.3	8.6	5.0	4.9
Munnur Kapu	6.5	8.3	7.3	5.6	5.7	5.0	4.9
Polinati Velama	3.2	4.2	2.4	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
Padmashali	-	-	2.4	2.8	2.9	-	-
Yadav	3.2	4.2	2.4	5.6	5.7	5.0	4.9
Turupu Kapu	3.2	4.2	2.4	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>	22.6	20.8	17.1	11.1	11.4	15.0	17.1
Adi-Andhra	3.2	4.2	2.4	-	-	-	-
Madiga	9.7	8.3	9.8	5.6	5.7	7.5	7.3
Mala	9.7	8.3	7.3	5.6	5.7	7.5	9.8
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>	3.2	4.2	2.4	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
<b>Muslim</b>	6.5	8.3	4.9	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.4
<b>Total</b>	N=31	N=24	N=41	N=36	N=35	N=40	N=41

Source: *Compiled by Author*

### ***Social Background of Party Chiefs/Presidents***

The dominance of intermediate castes, especially Kammas and Reddys, in the party organisations has been continuing, especially at the president or general secretary level. The social background of current presidents or secretaries of all parties reflect the dominance of these intermediates castes. Out of nine parties who had representation in

the Assembly, TDP, LSP and Left parties have been headed by Kammas, BJP and YSRCP by Reddys, TRS by Velama, Congress by Turupu Kapu and MIM by Muslim. The secretary of CPI (M) was elected for fifth term. The PRP which was merged with Congress was headed by a Kapu. Only Congress party has had a person belonging to a backward caste has its president. Earlier also, the party appointed Dalits and backward caste members as its presidents. Left parties which talk of working class politics and draws support from Dalits and Backward castes never appointed its general secretaries from these castes. Even BJP also appointed Kuruma from Backward Castes as state president and Dalit as national president. There is no chance of Dalits and Backward castes to become presidents of TDP, YSRCP and TRS.

**Table 4.9: Caste Background of Party Chiefs/Presidents (2005-13)**

Caste		Party	President/Secretary	
<b>Upper Caste</b>		-	-	-
<b>Intermediate Castes</b>	Kamma	CPI	K. Narayana	2005
		CPI(M)	B.V. Raghavulu	1997
		LSP	Jayaprakash Narayana	2006
		TDP	N. Chandra Babu Naidu	1995
	Reddy	BJP	G. Kishan Reddy	2010
		YSRCP	Y.S Vijayamma	2011
	Velama	TRS	K.C.R	2001
<b>Backward Castes</b>	Turupu Kapu	Congress	Botcha Satyanarayana	2011
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>	Madiga	BSP	M. Balaiah	2010
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Minorties</b>	Muslim	MIM	Asaduddin Owaisi	2008

Source: *Compiled by the Author*

### ***Critical view on Democracy and Caste Politics in AP***

It can be seen that both in theory and practice, caste is playing a vital role in democratising the polity and providing space for the marginalised sections to come forward and participate in the political process. Political society in Andhra Pradesh is fully modern. Caste is now publicly discussed not as a claim for status but as an indicator

of favoritism or inclusiveness.<sup>54</sup> Before and immediately after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Brahmins were dominating and controlling the politics but intermediate caste especially Reddys checks to Brahmins domination because of economic advancement combined with numerical strength led to the consolidation and continuance dominance of Reddys in state politics. After the emergence of TDP, Kammas rose to power and started challenging the Reddy domination. Economic advancement and accommodation of emerging backward castes in the Telangana region helped the Kammas to remain in contention for securing political power in state.<sup>55</sup> The implementation of welfare schemes for the weaker sections by successive governments helped the ruling castes in mobilising the support of weaker sections.<sup>56</sup> Ever since the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh, the marginalised sections, especially Dalits, started getting their share in Assemblies and in Lok Sabha, but did not get positions as party presidents, Secretaries and Chief Ministers. Only D. Sanjivaiah got the opportunity to become Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh for two years. Many Regional political parties are talking about providing good positions for Dalits and OBCs, but this is not happening in practice.

For centuries, the Dalits have been the oppressed group in society.<sup>57</sup> The economic backwardness and divisions within them are main obstacles for the emergence of backward and Dalit politics in the line with that of North Indian states. The merging of the economically and politically backward Telangana region with the more advanced regions for formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh became the obstacle for the political empowerment of weaker sections.<sup>58</sup> The under-representation of backward castes in legislative bodies reflects the economic backwardness of these castes. The re- emergence of Telangana movement has helped to revive the dominance of Velamas in the region.<sup>59</sup> It is being hoped that since the separate state of Telangana has now been created, this will

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<sup>54</sup> James Manor, "Epilogue: Caste and Politics in Recent Times," in Rajni Kothari *Caste in Indian Politics*, Delhi: Oxford University Press,

<sup>55</sup> Srinivasulu, K., *Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories, Working paper*, London: Overseas Development Institute, 2002, p.3.

<sup>56</sup> Suri, K.. C, "Caste Politics and Power Structure in India: The Case of Andhra Pradesh," in Subrata Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy (eds), *Political Science Annual*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep, 1996,

<sup>57</sup> Ratnam, K.Y, "*The Dalit Movement and Democratisation in Andhra Pradesh*," Working Paper 13, Washington: East-West Centre, 2008, p.7

<sup>58</sup> Sri Krishna Commission Report, 2010.

<sup>59</sup> *ibid*

lead to political assertion of backward castes and Dalits in the long run. Caste in politics is providing a huge space for the marginalised sections to in articulate and mobilise themselves and minimal in high political positions. It would be observed in the 2009 elections, large numbers of candidates were from the same castes as the party leaders- dominant caste Reddis, Kammas, and Kapus. The Congress allocated half of its tickets to members of these castes, followed closely by the Grand Alliance, continuing the historical pattern of local power in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>60</sup>

### ***Summing Up***

According to K.Y. Ratnam the caste system and its institutionalized discrimination has distorted and affected the very working of Democratic System. In its very foundation of caste remains central obstacle in the path of democratic redistribution of power in Andhra Pradesh. The Dalit movement and political consciousness against this distortion, invoked the democratization process.<sup>61</sup> Later the Dalits political mobilization and legitimate demand for equal opportunities influenced the political parties but somehow the caste ridden and dominant castes like Kamma, Reddy, Kapu, Velama and Brahmin are dominating the politics and dalits and OBCs are marginalized in accessing the master key (Political power). KCR promised that “a Dalit will be a first chief minister of separate Telangana” before elections 2014. After elections, he forgotten the promise and he became the chief minister of Telangana State. Chandra Babu Naidu also used same vote bank politics in many times as 100 seats for OBCs and prominent political position for OBCs. Still dalits and socially and economically marginalized sections are carrying the Litter (pallakies).

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<sup>60</sup> Carolyn Elliott, “Political Society, Civil Society, and the State in India: An Ethnographic Narrative of the 2009 Assembly Election in Andhra Pradesh,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 52, No. 2, March/April 2012, p357

<sup>61</sup> Ratnam, K. Y., “*The Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh*,” Working Paper 13, Washington: East-West Centre, 2008, p.39

## CHAPTER-V

### **Democracy and Role of Regional Political Parties in Andhra Pradesh: A Case of Telugu Desam Party**

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Regional political parties are playing a predominant role in Indian political process. The emergence of regional political parties facilitates more political socialisation, articulation and aggregation of all sections in society. Numerous regional political parties came to the surface and played a significant role in democratisation of politics in Andhra Pradesh. The main focus of the present chapter is to find out the role of regional political parties in strengthening democracy in Andhra Pradesh, with special emphasis on the TDP. In specific, to explore how regional political parties are playing a role in political socialisation, articulation and aggregation of the people. It also explains the ideological positions of TDP and the changes that have come over time. to see how far ideology is relevant in shaping and working of the party, the social and electoral support bases of party, the changes/shifts in that and how these have come about. The chapter also deals with the formal structures of party organisations, the degree of democracy in their internal functioning and how much parties diverge in this aspect, the leadership styles of the party. And also look at role of formulating policies, as an opposition and alliances with other parties in democratic transformation of AP's polity.

Regional political parties are playing a vital role in democratising the polity in Andhra Pradesh, as well as at the all-India level. The Congress Party was the dominant party in the State until the formation of the TDP in 1983<sup>1</sup>. The position in Andhra Pradesh, as far as the Congress Party is concerned, has been more favourable than in most other states. In this state, the party domination was not effected even during the 1977 Janata wave<sup>2</sup>. In fact, the Congress Party actually improved its position during this election. As far as regional parties and issues are concerned, barring the formation of the Telangana Praja Samiti in the late 1960s to look after the specific interest of the Telangana region, no

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<sup>1</sup> Tom Lansford, *Political Handbook of the World 2014*, New Delhi: Sage, 2014, p.633

<sup>2</sup> Hanumantha Rao V, *Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad:ABA Publication, 1993, p.

other significant development took place. Even the Telangana Praja Samiti ultimately got absorbed in to the Congress party after a brief existence<sup>3</sup>. It is against this background that the formation and emergence of the Telugu Desam Party, as a major regional party within a short span of nine months, has added significance. Despite being a party with no political history and at a time when there were no major regional issues prevalent in the state, the Telugu Desam Party almost overnight reduced the Congress Party to the level of a minor opposition party within the state.

### ***Ideological base***

In the pre-independence days, the ideologies of the political parties were largely based on perception on how the country could get freedom from the foreign rulers. From the 1920 onwards, and even today, the main planks of the Congress Party have been nationalism, socialism, secularism and democracy.<sup>4</sup> In course of time, linguistic and regional pride became contentious issues. As language and region coalesced, regionalism took the form of linguistic nationalism.<sup>5</sup> To satisfy the stipulation of the Election Commission, ‘on paper’, all political parties in India are secular, socialist and democratic. However, in actual practice, many parties impart their own meanings to these terms.<sup>6</sup>

The Telugu Desam party was founded in 1982 with the avowed aim of protecting the political, economic, social and cultural interests of the Telugu speaking people in the country. Its other planks have been to ensure food, shelter and clothing to the common man at affordable and sustainable prices and achieve empowerment of women, youth and all backward segments of society in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>7</sup> “Society is a temple and people are the deities,” NTR had asserted repeatedly. Also high of the agenda of the party has been to fight against corruption in public life exemplified by the Congress Party. For a long time, the party has been the forerunner in attempting to establish a cohesive and workable coordination with all non-Congress opposition parties in the state, as well as

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<sup>3</sup> Nag, Kingshuk, *Battleground Telangana: Chronicle of an Agitation*, Noida: Harper Collins India, 2011, p.54

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, p.15

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*, p.18

<sup>6</sup> *ibid*, p.19

<sup>7</sup> Mahendra Singh Rana, *India Votes: Lok Sabha & Vidhan Sabha Elections 2001-2005*, New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2006, p.141

rest of the country. Promoting minority welfare and taking the administration to the doorsteps of the people were also the guiding principles of Nara Chandrababu Naidu ever since he became the party head in 1995.<sup>8</sup>

### ***Salient features of Telugu Desam Party***

Main features of the Telugu Desam Party, as laid down by NT Rama Rao founder of TDP and his successor, Nara Chandrababu Naidu, are as follows:

- ❖ “Promote all round recognition for Telugu culture, literature and language.
- ❖ Promote agriculture as a profitable and revenue-making activity in villages with adequate support of technology, finances, subsidies and marketing.
- ❖ Provision of remunerative prices for agriculture produce with MSP for many staple and commercial goods.
- ❖ Preservation of natural resources like water minerals, green cover, environment protection for benefit of future generations.
- ❖ Youth empowerment through skill training for educated rural youth, cultural and sports activities in rural areas to wean them away from left wing influence and also village factions.
- ❖ More financial powers to Local self bodies from Village to Mandals - Zilla Parishads - Municipalities - Municipal corporations.
- ❖ Farmer focused welfare and development programmes for all round development of villages with institutional support, rural electrification, rural roads and rural health care.
- ❖ Promote value added education system to make future citizens not only well informed, but also prepared for the tasks ahead with private participation.
- ❖ Empowerment of women to become instruments of economic activity in rural areas - with 50 percent reservation in elected and constitutional bodies.
- ❖ Housing programmes for the rural and urban poor with subsidies and promotion of wage labour and input components.
- ❖ Cheap rice to provide two meals a day to below poverty line families besides essential commodities at subsidised rates through the National Public Distribution System.
- ❖ Electoral reforms - anti defection law - root out black money in elections and ensure a corruption free India.

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<sup>8</sup> ibid

- ❖ Administrative reforms - to usher in e-governance to regulate and streamline - rationing, pensions, scholarships - cheap loans to women, farmers and self-employed.
- ❖ Youth promotion in sports, skill development, political training classes - cultural and grass root development programmes.
- ❖ Empowerment of traditional artisans, weavers and other rural occupational communities with finance and training in skills.
- ❖ Promotion of minor and medium irrigation, micro irrigation to benefit farmers in dry and arid regions of the state.
- ❖ To introduce a comprehensive health care system in the government sector to enable access to super specialty treatment for the rural poor.
- ❖ Equitable share in budget allocation for Muslim and Christian minorities for their all round growth in education, health, employment and culture”.<sup>9</sup>

### *Area of influence*

Till very recently, the State of Andhra Pradesh was divided into three regions, namely, Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana. These three regions are having different kind of socio-economic and political backgrounds. The areas of influence of regional political parties of the then Andhra Pradesh were different from party to party, depending on the ideology of that party. National parties, namely, Congress, BJP, CPI, CPI (M) and BSP have a national perspective and have been contesting elections for the Assembly, as well as parliament, and have been influencing the entire state of Andhra Pradesh. However, of these parties, only the Congress has had a strong hold in Andhra Pradesh. TDP is a regional party and has had a strong presence in all the three regions of the composite state of Andhra Pradesh and has also been playing a key role in national politics. However, the TRS has been a sub-regional party of the state. Its main focus had been the separate statehood of Telangana. No wonder, its area of election participation has all along been limited to Telangana but had been influencing the state politics of Andhra Pradesh and also Indian politics.

MIM is primarily a Hyderabad based party. Its area of influence is limited to Hyderabad city only, but it is trying to expanding its area of influence. Lok Satta is a party with some

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<sup>9</sup> TDP Election Manifesto 2014 & also see, “About Telugu Desam Party”, Retrieved from [http://telugudesam.org/tdpcms/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=28](http://telugudesam.org/tdpcms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=28), accessed on September 20, 2013.



presence in the state of Andhra Pradesh. YSRCP started as a party with some say in the entire state of Andhra Pradesh. However, once the process of creation of the separate state of Telangana started taking shape, YSRCP started opposing the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh. No wonder, the party lost its support base in the Telangana region. This was amply reflected in the very poor showing of the party in Telangana in the 2014 elections. Even though the party performed creditably in Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra, it could not justify the predictions of many poll pundits that it would come to power in the residuary state of Andhra Pradesh.

### ***Social base***

“Political parties are known for drawing their support largely from specific social groups. When the support from one group is not sufficient to cross the threshold to win an election, they strive to keep the primary base of the party intact, and win elections with the support of others”.<sup>10</sup> In Andhra Pradesh, with different regions at different stages of development, the continuous redefining of social relations, the presence of Dalits and Adivasis in substantial numbers, identities based on caste, the large number of OBCs makes the picture a bit complex.

Table 5.1 Political preferences of various caste/community groups

Caste/Community	Congress	TDP	YSRCP	TRS
Upper Caste	15%	33%	28%	10%
Reddy	17%	14%	51%	13%
Kamma	20%	59%	10%	3%
Kapu	26%	30%	22%	-
Other Backward Castes	17%	37%	18%	18%
Mala	18%	9%	59%	7%
Madiga	17%	29%	10%	30%
Scheduled Tribes	21%	23%	19%	19%
Muslim	26%	19%	26%	13%

Source: *Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013*

<sup>10</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.20

Since the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the social bases of parties had radically been transformed. Today, caste seems to be an important factor to understand the social bases of parties. The situation, now, is that no party with votes from merely one caste can aspire to come to power. It has to seek support from other castes or other parties with following in other castes, in order to secure a working majority in legislatures. That is the reason why we find attempts by parties to co-opt persons from different castes, especially the numerically large castes. According to table 5.1, most of the upper caste people were prepared in TDP with 33 percent and next 28 percent with YSRCP. 51 percent of Reddies willing to vote to YSRCP because it is the Reddy community party, before emergence of YSRCP this caste affiliation were with Congress.

The Congress received support from all the castes, communities and classes for almost three decades after Independence. All their tradition vote banks were turned to YSRCP. The Congress Party started being associated with Reddys, the TDP with Kammas and the top leadership of TRS with Velamas. 59 percent of Mala's were willing to vote for YSRCP and 59 percent of Kamma were opted to vote for TDP. And a sizable proportion of Tribes, Madiga's and OBC's were likely to vote because these caste groups were actively participated in these separate Telangana movement. They were the aspirants of Telangana.

**Table 5.2: Electoral Preferences of Various Social Groups**

Social Group	Congress	TDP	YSRCP	TRS
Farmers	18%	27%	28%	14%
Rural Youth	17%	29%	22%	15%
Urban Youth	15%	34%	20%	16%
College Students	14%	23%	29%	23%
Urban Women	15%	28%	30%	12%
Rural Women	16%	24%	33%	16%
Poor	22%	21%	36%	8%
Urban Men	15%	37%	20%	14%

Middle Class	14%	40%	19%	10%
Old aged	18%	20%	35%	9%

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

According to Table 5.2 pre-poll Survey- 2013, conducted by *Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS)* a high proportion of farmers, collages students, rural and urban women, poor and old aged people are willing to support YSR Congress party because of YSRCP is showing themselves as dedicated to extend the policies and programs introduced by the YSR former chief minister of AP. TDP get high proportion of support from all social groups comparatively with Congress, YSRCP and TRS. Congress and TRS likely to get support after TDP and YSRCP.

### ***Organisational base***

According to Duverger and Michels, organisational structure is playing a vital role in political parties. Parties are being regarded as organisations that perform a wide range of functions. However, one characteristic that distinguishes party from alternative organizations, as Weber pointed back then, is “voluntary adherence of members there to”.<sup>11</sup>

To be registered with the EC, parties are required to have constitutions and bye-laws based on democratic principles. However, the leaders and supporters of most parties do not always adhere to such stipulations. It is also possible that some parties may not even be locate duplicate copies of their constitution and bye-laws. In many parties, the party presidents may start acting in an authoritarian manner and unilaterally load their party committees with their favourites.<sup>12</sup>

We find that most parties in Andhra Pradesh are leader-centred, the leader exercises, to use Weber’s term, charismatic authority, or ‘glamour’ to have his or her say. This is

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<sup>11</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.22

<sup>12</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.22

applicable to both regional and national parties. The topmost authority in such a party is the star performing artist for the party. “His/her words are commands within the party; the party image is co-terminous with his/her image. The whole party, legislative wing, and following revolve around him/her. The chief has the ultimate say altogether in party matters and disputes”.<sup>13</sup>

A “charismatic party”, as defined by Panebianco, “does not need a well-built party organisation. Actually, the supreme leader would not enable any institutionalization of party machinery or the committees, as he tends to examine these as several impediments within the exercise of non-public power”.<sup>14</sup> It is seen that, in recent times, many parties are having strong leaders, but a weak party organisation. Also, one can find a steady decline in the quality of party organisations. Most parties revolve around only a few persons. There are also occasions, when the party organisation is most vocal and articulate only when the party is in the opposition.<sup>15</sup>

We are also finding instances of legislators and even party functionaries being totally dominated by the party leaders – sometimes in New Delhi. Earlier, such an ‘undemocratic’ practice was found only in the Congress Party. Unfortunately, this malaise has spread to regional parties (like TDP, YSRCP, TRS and AIMIM) in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana

In public, most of the party leaders declare that their mission is to serve the public. In practice, they endeavour to ensure that their relatives get prominent positions in the party, often by ignoring senior leaders. In an ideal situation, party positions should be filled through the democratic process and that there should be adequate representation for the minorities. It remains to be seen whether the political parties are adhering to the guidelines.

Democracy is not about stifling dissent, scaring dissidents and ‘sanitising’ the party. Wherever there is a high-down approach, parties tend to be less democratic.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p.25

<sup>14</sup> Panebianco, Angelo, *Political Parties: Organization and Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p.38

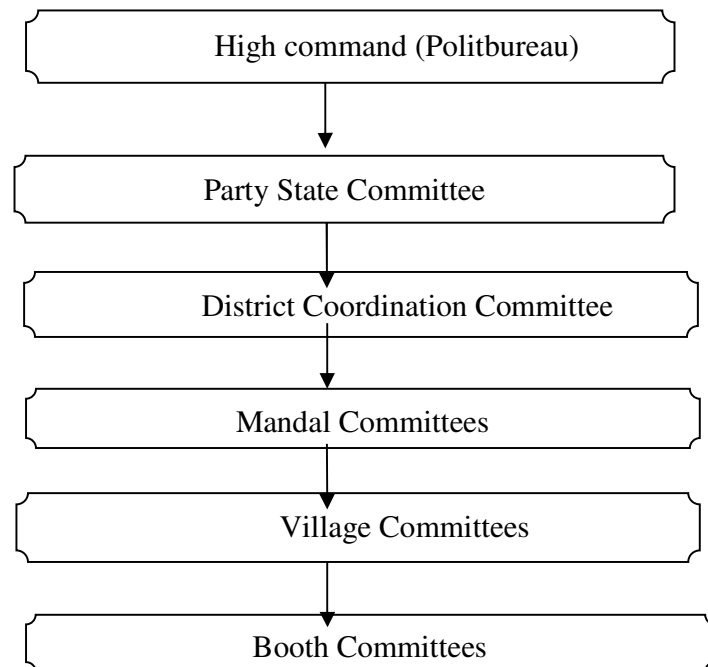
<sup>15</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.24

<sup>16</sup> Suri, K.C, *Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Lokniti, 2005, p.25

### ***Current Organisational Structure of TDP***

Politbureau is a top body of TDP. It will look in the core and important issues and decisions. After politibureau, party state committee is the main body to look in the state level matters; state committee main members are party president, General Secretary, Treasurer and also women's wing, youth wing also part of the state committee. In the same way district, Mandal and village level committees are working.

Telugu Desam Party structure is following at various levels<sup>17</sup>:



### ***Electoral performance of the Telugu Desam Party***

The emergence of TDP served to check the dominance of Congress in Andhra Pradesh, as well as the Central Level. After he became the Chief Minister, he introduced numerous welfare schemes in AP. TDP was in power in 1983 (with 198 seats), 1985 (with 202

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<sup>17</sup>“Party Committees”. Retrieved from [http://telugudesam.org/tdpcms/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=75&Itemid=72](http://telugudesam.org/tdpcms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=75&Itemid=72), accessed on September 20, 2013.

seats), 1994 (with 219) seats and 1999 (with 179 seats). The party was in the opposition in 1989 (with 73 seats), 2004 (with 47 seats) and 2009 (with 90 seats).

**Table No: 5.3: Results of Assembly Elections: Seats won and percentage of votes secured by major political parties in the Assembly elections in AP, 1983-1999.**

Year	1983	1985	1989	1994	1999
<b>Name of the party</b>					
<b>Congress</b>	60 33.6	50 37.5	182 47.2	26 33.6	91 40.6
<b>TDP</b>	198 46.3	202 46.2	73 36.6	219 44.1	179 43.8
<b>BJP</b>	3 2.8	8 1.6	5 1.8	3 3.9	12 3.7
<b>Left Parties</b>	9 4.8	22 5.0	13 5.2	43 6.5	2 3.3
<b>Others</b>	2 2.6	3 0.9	6 1.3	3 3.2	4 3.8
<b>Independents</b>	22 9.9	9 8.8	14 6.1	12 8.7	5 4.8

*Source:* Suri K.C, “Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh,” London: Overseas Development Institute, working paper 180, 2002, p.75

**Table No: 5.4: Results of Lok Sabha Elections: Seats won and percentage of votes secured by major political parties in the Lok Sabha elections in AP, 1984-1999.**

Year	1984	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999
<b>Name of the party</b>						
<b>Congress</b>	6 41.8	39 51.0	25 45.6	22 39.7	22 38.5	5 42.8
<b>TDP</b>	30 44.7	2 34.5	13 32.8	16 32.0	12 32.0	29 39.9
<b>BJP</b>	1 2.2	0 1.5	1 9.9	0 5.7	4 18.3	7 9.9
<b>Left Parties</b>	2 3.6	0 4.3	2 4.4	3 5.3	2 5.5	0 2.7
<b>Others</b>	2 2.3	1 2.3	1 3.1	1 13.0	2 4.0	1 3.3
<b>Independents</b>	1 5.4	0 6.5	0 4.2	0 3.8	0 1.7	0 1.4

*Source:* Suri K.C, “Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh,” London: Overseas Development Institute, working paper 180, 2002, p.75

NTR organised the first Mahanadu (general conference) of the Telugu Desam Party workers through a public meeting held at Nizam College grounds in Hyderabad on April 11, 1982. His roles in films endowed him with a certain amount of charisma. His prosperous and flourishing caste men saw in the Telugu Desam a hope for a Kamma to become the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Even the electorate was in search of an alternative leader, who could rid the state of the Congress culture. Uncontrolled factionalism, corruption and political instability caused by the Congress elite for several decades had drawn the State towards the Telugu Desam Party. It was in this changed political scenario, the Seventh Assembly elections were held in Andhra Pradesh in January 1983. A significant feature in the elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly in 1983 was the nature of alliances of parties and their elites.

The Congress was on one side and on the other, five parties: the Communist party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Janata, Lok Dal and Republican Party of India: formed an alliance and contested 176 seats.<sup>18</sup> The TDP contested 289 seats in the State. The Telugu Desam Party mainly sought to cash on N.T.R's cine glamour and the years of misrule of the Congress (I) Party. N.T. Rama Rao in his election campaign claimed that the party was launched with the objective of reviving the lost prestige and glory of the Telugu people.

NTR also promised that he would provide a clean and honest government if he came to power. Banning political defections, guaranteeing freedom of the press, striving for the prosperity of villages and agriculturists, supply of rice at Rs.2/- per kilogram, completion of the Polavaram project on schedule, full protection for women and providing property rights to them, eradication of unemployment, providing mid-day meal to school going children, establishing Women University were among the main election planks of the Telugu Desam Party.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Sathrugna, M. "Emergence of regional Political Parties in India: A Case of Telugu Desam," in George Mathew, *Shift in Indian Politics: 1983 Elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnatak*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1984, p.98

<sup>19</sup> Narayana Rao, K.V, "N.T. Rama Rao in power in Andhra Pradesh 1983-89: a Review" in Angarala Eswara Reddy and D. Sundar Ram. *State Politics in India: Reflections on Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi: M.D Publications, 1994, p.76

**Assembly Elections of 1983** have created a landmark in the political annals of Andhra Pradesh by bringing a new Regional Political Party, i.e., Telugu Desam Party to power. The nine-month old Telugu Desam Party penetrated much deeper into the Congress heartland. The Telugu Desam Party secured an average of 45.92 per cent of votes and won 201 of 289 contested assembly seats. The Congress (I) had to be content with only 60 seats securing 33.56 per cent popular votes, which was the lowest ever. The five party alliances contested for 176 seats, but could secure only 10 seats, i.e., CPI-4, CPI (M)-5, and Janata- 1. Another interesting aspect of this election was that a newly formed party, Sanjay Vichar Manch, with an electoral alliance with TDP won 4 of the 5 seats it contested. It was the first time that a non-Congress Government came to power in Andhra Pradesh and Andhra voters shifted their loyalties from Amma to Anna.

The Congress party secured the lowest percentage of votes (33.56 per cent) even in the electoral history of Andhra Pradesh. The Congress assumed, for the first time in A.P., the role of the opposition in the Assembly and outside. Commenting on the elections, the *London Times* observed, "The people voted against Mrs. Gandhi's determination to install her own creatures as Chief Ministers". *The Guardian* noted that the electorate had duly warned their Prime Minister that in dynamic politics, an arrogant and centralist desire to reward friends and punish enemies will not hold good.<sup>20</sup> As pointed by a member of the Congress (I) Parliamentary Board, the party in Andhra Pradesh had its grave dug by four of the political elites, viz., Chenna Reddy, T. Anjaiah, Bhavanam Venkataram and Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, (all former Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh). It follows that the Congress party in the State lost its significance due to the attitude of five political elites of the Central and the State cadres. An assessment of the rise of Telugu Desam Party throws up some inferences. First, the trend of single-party domination, lasting for over thirty years, had come to an end with the rise of a regional political party. Secondly, the process of social polarisation; poor and rich, which has been set right from 1970 and 1980, has been blurred with the rise of Telugu Desam Party.

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<sup>20</sup> Sathrugna, M. "Emergence of regional Political Parties in India: A Case of Telugu Desam," in George Mathew, *Shift in Indian Politics: 1983 Elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnatak*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1984, p.100



However, the political elite and masses belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes continued to be with Mrs. Gandhi. But there seems to be a division among the backward classes elite and masses, which have gone out of the Congress. The forward classes and a section of the Backward Classes and Women voters, rural youth, and unemployed became the centre of support for the TDP. As witnessed earlier, the role of intermediaries, opinion leaders and middlemen, totally disappeared in influencing the decisions of the electorate. Women constituted a critical variable in the electorate of 1983 in Andhra Pradesh. It is believed that women overwhelmingly voted for T.D.P because of the film glamour and image of N.T. Rama Rao.<sup>21</sup> In terms of party and organisational structure, there seems hardly any difference between Congress (I) and T.D.P. Both are largely individual-based parties, rather than cadre based organisations.

In addition, factors like poverty, unemployment, high prices and frustration also contributed to the desire for a change. N.T.R's entry into politics also altered the traditional caste calculus in the state's electoral politics. The Kamma caste, which has come to play a dynamic role in the State economy, could never secure a Chief-ministership during the Congress regime though there were six Chief Ministers belonging to the rival Reddy caste. N.T.R., being a Kamma, could become a rallying point for the Kamma groups by providing them with an opportunity to realise their immense political ambitions and demonstrate their potentialities. He tried to create a support base among the backward castes, rural poor, and women by means of several populist policies and by facilitating their accommodation in the power structure as never before.<sup>22</sup>

In August 1984, when NTR was in the United States undergoing heart surgery, the state finance minister Nadendla Bhaskara Rao split the party and formed the government with the help and support of the opposition Congress (I). However his government lasted only 31 days, as he did not command a majority in the Assembly. NTR was reinstated to

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<sup>21</sup> Sharma, Sadhna. *State Politics in India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1995, P.83

<sup>22</sup> Atul Kohli, "The N.T.R Phenomenon in Andhra Pradesh: Political Change in a South Indian State" in Angarala Eswara Reddy and D. Sundar Ram. *State Politics in India: Reflections on Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi: M.D Publications, 1994, pp.48-9

power on September 16, 1984.<sup>23</sup> The mid-term elections of 1985 gave a clear mandate to NTR and his TDP, which on its own contested 249 seats, rode back to power by winning 202 seats. It was more than two-thirds of all the seats in the Assembly.

Of the 45 seats contested by its allies, they won 34, The Communist Party of India improved its position from 5 to 11, the Communist Party of India (M) from 4 to 11, the B.J.P. from 4 to 8 and the Janata Party from 1 to 2. Two independents supported by the Telugu Desam also won the elections.<sup>24</sup> It is worth noting that N. Bhaskara Rao, who had enjoyed the position of the Chief Ministership of the State for a month during August and September 1984, established the Democratic Telugu Desam Party and contested 222 seats in the 294 members Assembly. His humiliation at the hustling was complete. All the candidates set-up by him lost their security deposits, and he himself was defeated by Indrasena Reddy of BJP, an electoral ally of N.T.R's Telugu Desam by well over a margin of 17,000 votes, in Malakpet Constituency, which had a predominant population of Government employees and Muslims. The Congress (I) could manage to get only 49 seats against 60 in the dissolved House. The most crushing defeat for Congress (I) was in the Telangana area, where it polled only 34 percent of the votes and got 14 seats. In 1983, it had polled 50 per cent of the votes and bagged 43 seats. In fact, Ramayampet and Sattupalli, the home constituencies of former Chief Ministers, T. Anjaiah and J.Vengal Rao, respectively, fell to Telugu Desam and its allies. In Coastal Andhra, the Congress (I) secured 20 out of 135 seats it contested, polling 39% of the votes. Compared to its performance in Telangana, its showing in Coastal Andhra was better.

It is important to analyse the important reasons for the defeat of the Congress party and the landslide victory for the T.D.P. in the elections of 1985. In spite of the tragic death of Mrs. Gandhi and the sympathy it evoked in the minds of the electorate, the people preferred the T.D.P. to Congress (I). If the sympathy wave that followed Mrs. Indira

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<sup>23</sup> Lingamurthy, V, "The Seventh General Elections to the Legislative Assembly in Andhra Pradesh: End of an Era" in Angarala Eswara Reddy and D. Sundar Ram, *State Politics in India: Reflections on Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi: M.D Publications, pp.227-8

<sup>24</sup> Shatrugna, M, "Andhra Pradesh: Repeat performance," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 20, No.11, March 16, 1985, p.442

Gandhi's assassination did not reach Andhra Pradesh in 1984, it was largely because of 'the Bhaskara Rao factor', which also played a role in the 1985 Assembly election held soon after the Lok Sabha polls. The election results showed that while the upper castes as well as most of the Scheduled Castes were the mainstay of the Congress (I), the backward castes and a section of the Scheduled Castes were the chief supporters of the T.D.P. The Backward Castes support to T.D.P., which began in 1983, continued in spite of the allegations that N.T. Rama Rao was anti-B.C.

Since the Assembly elections were held immediately after the Lok Sabha poll, the Congress (I) did not find time to rejuvenate itself and it accepted the impending defeat in the elections much before the polls, while the Telugu Desam Party faced the elections more confidently.<sup>25</sup> It is believed that the implementation of the subsidised rice scheme and the abolition of the age-old village officers system in Telangana have attracted many towards the Telugu Desam Party. Above all, as in the Lok Sabha elections, N.T.R. powerfully championed the regional cause, even it was only rhetoric. In his campaign, N.T.R. repeatedly stressed upon the lack of resources for the State Governments and their dependence on the Centre for the implementation of welfare programmes.<sup>26</sup> In the politically more articulate Coastal Andhra, the voters saw in Telugu Desam Party a champion of regional development and more powers to the States. In Rayalaseema, though the issue of the under-development of the region figured prominently, the promise of N.T.R. that he would improve the lot of the people of the area within the framework of an integrated State appeared to have worked.

**Assembly Elections of 1989:** The party was in the opposition in 1989 (with 73 seats), The Congress bounced back to power and Marri Chenna Reddy was sworn in for his second term as Chief Minister on December 3, 1989.<sup>27</sup> The Congress lasted in power until the elections of 1994 (Table 5.3). During the period 1985-89, the Congress was able to regain some lost ground by attacking the functioning of N.T. Rama Rao and his T.D.P.

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<sup>25</sup> K.V.Narayana Rao and D.Sunder Ram, "Politicized Developments in Andhra Pradesh 1978-89: A study," *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 51, No. IV, October-December, 1990, p.558.

<sup>26</sup> Shatrugna,M., "NTR Ratham grinds to a halt," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 24, No. 49, December 9, 1989, pp.2696 - 2697

<sup>27</sup> Angarala Eswara Reddy and D. Sundar Ram, "The Era of One Party Dominance System in Andhra Pradesh: A study of the Congress party Politics" in Angarala Eswara Reddy and D. Sundar Ram, *State Politics in India: Reflections on Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi: M.D Publications, 1994, p.37

The following were some of the major causes for the defeat of the T.D.P. in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>28</sup>

First, N.T.R's anti-people policies alienated his party from various sections of the people the prominent one being the anti-NGO policy, affecting over eight lakh State government employees.

Secondly, sacking of all his 31 Ministers en-masse overnight and reconstituting the ministry with 21 new faces had increased discontent within the party. Thirdly, more and more centralisation of power in the hands of N.T.R and the frequent interference of N.T.R's two son-in-laws in the day-to-day affairs of the government and the party turned the people against the T.D.P.

Fourthly, the growth of extremist Naxalite movement and the ineffectiveness of the government in dealing with the law and order situation worsened the position in the State. Finally, unemployment and failure of the government to solve the problems of students had pitted the youth against the T.D.P. The N.G.Os and the unemployed youth, particularly the new voters in the age group of 18 to 21, seemed to have stood by the Congress in the 1989 elections and tilted the scales against the T.D.P.<sup>29</sup>

**The 1994 Assembly** elections restored the Telugu Desam Party to power once again. Out of the total of 294 seats in A.P. Assembly, elections were held to 292 seats in two phases on December 1 and December 5, 1994 and elections to two seats were countermanded. The Telugu Desam party contested 251 seats and won 219 seats (getting 42.9 per cent votes), while the C.P.I polled 3.45 per cent votes in 21 constituencies and won 19 seats, while the C.P.I. (M) polled 3.07 per cent votes in 16 constituencies and won 15 seats. The Telugu Desam and its allies Communist Party of India and C.P.I (M) have together polled 51.32 per cent of the votes. The Congress (I), which contested all the 292 constituencies, polled 33.56 per cent of the votes. There was a difference of 11.23 per cent in popular vote between T.D.P. and the Congress (I). As a result, the T.D.P. bagged three-fourth majority and the Congress (I) was forced to be content with less than one-tenth of the

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<sup>28</sup> K. Ramachandra Murthy, *Parties, Elections and Mobilization*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2001, p.57

<sup>29</sup> K.V. Narayana Rao and D. Sunder Ram, "Political Developments in Andhra Pradesh 1978-89-A study," *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 51, No. IV, October-December, 1990, p.558.

seats. In a way, the 1994 elections signified a repeat performance of the T.D.P. in 1983 and 1985.<sup>30</sup>

There were many reasons for the failure of Congress and the success of the T.D.P in 1994 Assembly elections. Though the Congress party came back to power, it did not seem to have learnt anything from its past mistakes. It continued with the old culture of internal bickering and factional conflicts, resulting in frequent change of Chief Ministers. These factors, in a significant sense, contributed to the T.D.P's comeback to power in the 1994 elections. T.D.P's overwhelming victory in the 1994 Assembly elections could be attributed to the promises like prohibition of sale of liquor, subsidised rice, allotment of house sites and the supply of subsidised Janata cloth. These promises could enthuse the weaker sections, especially the S.C.s and O.B.Cs. Factors such as statewide women's movements against arrack and the Congress (I)'s propaganda that the subsidised rice scheme cut into developmental expenditure did not cut much ice. In any case, benefits from developmental programmes are not likely to be as tangible as those from welfare schemes. That most of these subsidy expenditures were extracted from the excise revenues and that there could be a difficulty in continuing either the welfare schemes or N.T.R's new slogan for total prohibition, did not register in the minds of voters. In the 1994 elections, there was also a clear shift of Muslim votes from the Congress to the T.D.P. It could be because the Muslims in the State felt that the Congress (I) and the B.J.P were equally responsible for the demolition of the Babri Masjid. Added to this, N.T.R's earlier tenure as Chief Minister (1983-89) was remarkable for its maintenance of communal harmony.<sup>31</sup>

TDP won 214 seats in 1994 Assembly elections contesting 249 seats on its own, while the Congress (I) won only 26 seats with 33.81 per cent of votes. It is evident from this that there has been a swing of votes in favor of Congress-(I) and away from TDP from

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<sup>30</sup> K. Srinivasulu and Prakash Sarangi, "Political Re-alignment in Post-N.T.R. Andhra Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXIV, No.34-35, August 21 -28, 1999, pp.2451 -2452.

<sup>31</sup> Subramanyam. P and B. V. ChalapathiSource, "Regional Political Parties in Andhra Pradesh," *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 67, No.3, July –September, 2006, p.509

1994. The Congress (I) in Andhra Pradesh secured 22 seats each in the Lok Sabha elections in 1996 and 1998<sup>32</sup>.

In the elections of 1994, N.T. Rama Rao's Telugu Desam Party advocated prohibition in response to a women's movement on the issue. He had then recently married his second wife, Lakshmi Parvati. Nara Chandrababu Naidu became the state Revenue Minister when the TDP was voted back to power in 1994. Soon after the formation of the government, to counter the growing influence of Lakshmi Parvati on NTR, Chandrababu Naidu convinced a majority of the TDP MLAs to elect him as the chief minister. Since most of the legislators had gone over to his side, the anti Defection Law did not apply and the Telugu Desam Party label passed on to the Chandrababu Naidu faction.. Chandrababu Naidu's TDP won the next election of 1999 and was the Chief Minister for 9 years until 2004 when it was defeated by the Indian National Congress, whose state leader Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy became the chief minister.

Table 5.5: Results of Vidhan Sabha & Lok Sabha Elections: Seats won and percentage of votes secured by major political parties in AP, 2004-2009

Party/ Year	Vindhana Sabha		Lok Sabha	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
<b>Congress</b>	185 49.10	157 36.5	29 41.56	33 40.1
<b>TDP</b>	47 41.24	90 23.8	5 33.12	6 29.9
<b>TRS</b>	26 33.89	10 4.0	5 6.83	2 5.4
<b>CPI</b>	6 36.86	4 1.3	1 1.34	-
<b>CPI(M)</b>	9 34.74	1 1.8	1 2.41	-
<b>BJP</b>	2 29.72	2 3.0	0 8.41	-
<b>AIMIM</b>	4 45.64	7 36.8	1 1.17	1 1.6
<b>PRP</b>	--	18 16.1	--	-

<sup>32</sup> M. L. Ahuja, *Handbook of General Elections and Electoral Reforms in India, 1952-1999*, New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2000, p.65

<b>Lok Satta</b>	-	1	--	-
<b>Others</b>	15	4	0 1.84	-

Source: Compiled with National Election Commission data

**General Assembly Elections 2004:** A new party called Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) was formed with the single point agenda of securing a separate Telangana state, with Hyderabad as its capital. Kalvakuntla Chandrasekhara Rao, popularly known as KCR, was (and is) the leader of this party. For the 2004 Assembly and Parliament elections, the Congress party and the TRS entered into an electoral alliance. The Congress came to power in the state and formed a coalition government at the centre. TRS joined the coalition government in 2004 and was successful in getting the issue of a separate Telangana state included in the common minimum programme (CMP) of the coalition government. However, in September 2006, peeved at the indecision of the central government on creation of a separate state of Telangana, TRS withdrew support for the Congress led coalition government at the centre

Under Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy, the Indian National Congress party, in alliance with the TRS, won the 2004 elections. While the Congress bagged 185 seats, the TRS got 16 seats in the Telangana area. The TDP could win only 47 seats in AP (Table 5.5). During the run-up to the 2004 elections, Rajasekhara Reddy was able to ensure almost total unity within the Andhra Pradesh Congress Party.

There were many reasons for the defeat of TDP in the 2004 assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh. These included:

- One, the TDP had neglected the farmers and concentrated on IT sector. Because of this, many farmers committed suicides because of farming debts.
- Two, the introduction of privatisation policies.
- Three, famines and lack of rains.
- Four, YSR's padayatra (foot walk) over the entire Andhra Pradesh and his promises on farmer's welfare schemes and the emergence of TRS.

**General Assembly Elections 2009:** There were some important reasons for the success of the Congress and defeat of the Mahakutami (Grand Alliance). TRS and the Left parties had an alliance with TDP in 2009 general elections but this alliance could not make much impact because of implementation of welfare schemes in Andhra Pradesh by the Congress government in the period 2004-09. These schemes included: free electricity to farmers, building of large and small water projects (because of which, YSR came to be known as “AP Bhagiratha”), fee-reimbursement for colleges students, pavalu vaddi loans for farmers at 25 paisa interest, introduction of various medical facilities like Arogya Sree, Arogya Mitra, 108 and 104 medical police and fire services. The vision of YSR and the Congress for the 2009 Assembly election was to create a “Haritandra Pradesh”. Another reasons for the defeat of TDP in 2009 elections was the emergence of Praja Rajyam by Chiranjeevi. This party diverted many TDP supporters towards the Praja Rajyam in the entire state. Because of this split of votes, the Congress got a simple majority. If the Praja Rajyam had not emerged at that time, the TDP had all possibilities to win that election with help of Grand Alliance (Mahakutami). TRS lost its strength from 26 seats to 10 seats because of the huge following of YSR in the Telangana Region. Also, the demand for a separate state of Telangana was also very weak at that time, because of YSR’s charisma and his welfare schemes.

### ***Leadership Style of TDP***

When we think of the evolution of the party over these years, we find two distinct phases: one was when NTR headed the party during 1982-1995 and the other after Chandrababu Naidu, his younger son-in-law of NTR assumed the leadership of the party. During the first phase, the party relied mainly on the charisma of NTR. The party tried to mobilise support by showcasing the performance of the TDP government. The two leaders of the party during these two phases - NTR and Chandrababu - presented contrasting styles in leading the party and the government.<sup>33</sup>

NTR strode over the party and government like a colossus (a person of immense power). He termed all party leaders and activists as his younger brothers (tammullu) and sisters

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<sup>33</sup> Suri, K.C, “Telugu Desam Party Rise and Prospects for Future”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 14/15, April. 3-16, 2004, p.1483.



(adapaduchulu). Although NTR had the opportunity to build a party on democratic lines, he moved in the opposite direction. NTR criticised the Congress for lack of inner-party democracy in it.<sup>34</sup> N Bhaskara Rao, who was the cofounder of the TDP, split the party in 1984 to become the CM for a short while, with the support of the Congress Party. Srinivasulu Reddy leveled serious charges against NTR and Chandrababu for running the party like family property. Some important leaders who supported NTR in the initial years got gradually disappointed. Upendra, the leader of TDP in Parliament, Mudragada Padmanabham, and an influential leader from the Kapu community, Jana Reddy, Vasanta Nageswara Rao, Renuka Chowdhury and some others left the TDP or were expelled from the party for anti-party activities.<sup>35</sup>

NTR style of functioning in the government was no different. NTR did not care much for these happenings. TDP went through its worst crisis in August 1995, when NTR was removed from power and party position in a revolt against him within the party. The ouster of NTR was the tragic outcome of NTR politics itself.<sup>36</sup> No wonder, out of 216 MLAs of the party, about 190 had supported Chandrababu in his game plan. Most of the district and local level party leaders too sided with Chandrababu in this event. The removal of NTR and the assumption of the twin offices of CM and party president by Chandrababu was a major turning point in the history of the TDP. As a Congress leader and minister he had an inside view of how the Congress Party functioned.<sup>37</sup> Unlike NTR, he was a realist. His theory and practice of democracy are different from that of NTR.

Unlike NTR, he mustered support of the MLAs and ministers by offering them relevant motivators. Unlike NTR, Chandrababu gave more importance to civil servants than his own party functionaries. In a way, the personalised attacks of the Congress Party against Chandrababu also helped him to remain the central figure in state politics, even though Chandrababu is not a charismatic leader like NTR. Chandrababu had another advantage which NTR never had. NTR, throughout his tenure as the CM, had to face the antagonistic Congress government at the centre, while Chandrababu has always had the

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<sup>34</sup> Narasimha Rao. C, *N T Rama Rao: A Psycho-Political Analysis* (in Telugu), Vijayawada: Nani International, 1988, pp.15-16

<sup>35</sup> Suri, K.C, "Telugu Desam Party Rise and Prospects for Future", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 14/15, Apr. 3-16, 2004, p.1484.

<sup>36</sup> Balagopal, K, "The Man and the Times", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(26), 1999, p.1655.

<sup>37</sup> Suri, K.C, "Telugu Desam Party Rise and Prospects for Future", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 14/15, Apr. 3-16, 2004, p. 1484.

benefit of a favourable non-Congress government. Organisationally there is an inbuilt advantage for any state party. TDP's pyramid stops in the state itself, unlike national parties where the central leaders foster factionalism below or warring factions at the state level look for support from the central leaders. Despite the distinct leadership styles of NTR and Chandrababu, we find one common aspect: power in the party and government under both of them was highly centralised.<sup>38</sup>

If it was democratic dictatorship under NTR, it is democratic centralism under Chandrababu. Under Chandrababu, like under NTR earlier, the TDP continues to revolve around one leader, whose authority is hardly disputed. There is no No. 2 in the party. Earlier people asked the question, after NTR who? The 1996 Lok Sabha elections settled the competing claims between the NTR TDP led by Lakshmi Parvati, widow of NTR, and that of TDP led by Chandrababu, for the legacy of NTR.<sup>39</sup> The marginalisation of NTR TDP was complete in the 1998 Lok Sabha elections, by which time most of the leaders who remained with NTR when he was toppled, had shifted their allegiance to Chandrababu's party. Some joined other parties. People might have chosen to forget the 1995 coup as time passed and as he appeared to be doing his best for the development of the state. Thus, Chandrababu, as chief minister and party president, has demonstrated his leadership qualities in outwitting his rivals in inner-party struggles, managing the party affairs and keeping the Congress out of power. He entrenched himself in power not just because he was the son-in-law of NTR, although it gave him a great initial advantage vis-a-vis his rivals in the party when NTR was alive, as he commanded free access to NTR and NTR relied on him for advice and assistance.<sup>40</sup>

### ***Formulating Policies: Welfare schemes***

What is more interesting is how Chandrababu had moved away from the policies of NTR's regime and the way he sought to gain legitimacy for them. TDP did not have any well-worked out ideology in the beginning. When NTR formed the party, he offered

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<sup>38</sup> *ibid*, p. 1485

<sup>39</sup> Srinivasulu, K and Prakash Sarangi, "Political Realignments in Post-NTR Andhra Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34 (34-35), 1999, pp. 2452-53.

<sup>40</sup> Suri, K.C, "Telugu Desam Party Rise and Prospects for Future", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 14/15, Apr. 3-16, 2004, p. 1485-86

varied policies that appealed to different classes and sections of society. Among other things, the TDP manifesto for 1983 elections promised to provide a clean, corrupt-free and efficient government and policies that aimed at liberal industrial growth and pro-peasant agricultural development. It sought to “remove the meaningless and unrealistic restrictions on industrialists and thus attract capital from outside the state and encourage the enterprising industrialists within the state”.<sup>41</sup> In the immediate context, NTR borrowed heavily from the experience of the neighbouring state, Tamil Nadu. His role model was M G Ramachandran (MGR). Like MGR, he too launched some populist schemes such as mid-day meals for schoolchildren. Other schemes, such as supply of rice, cloth, construction of pucca houses for the poor and backward communities, and supply of electricity to the farmers at subsidised rates were implemented on a large scale during 1983-89. But TDP was defeated in 1989 elections even though it implemented many programmes and also gained its strength in 1994 elections.<sup>42</sup>

In the 1994 assembly elections, he promised to restore the Rs 2 a kilo scheme, supply electricity to farmers at subsidised rates and enforce prohibition of liquor in the state. NTR maintained that it was the responsibility of the government to provide the basic needs, namely, food, clothing and shelter, to the people. He questioned the theory of development that opposes welfare schemes for the poor. He claimed that development for him was the welfare of the poor, while development for the Congress meant enrichment of the rich and the party leaders. Although NTR was one of the richest persons in the state, he could project himself as the champion of the interests of the poor, disadvantaged and the weaker sections. The Congress Party was no match to NTR's populism. Once again, it was an NTR wave. If Indira Gandhi had upstaged her rivals with the slogan of ‘garibi hatao’ and her radical postures, NTR upstaged the Congress with the slogan of providing the ‘basic needs to the poor’.<sup>43</sup>

It is interesting to note that immediately after it came to power in the 1994 assembly elections, the TDP pursued the same liberalisation policies with gusto, the very policies it attacked while in opposition. As soon as it came to power, the TDP government invited

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p.1486

<sup>42</sup> ibid

<sup>43</sup> ibid

private investments and quickly entered into MoUs with several companies for power production, including the ones it had opposed earlier. It declared that markets should be given a large place by lowering the extent of government involvement, encourage private initiative in infrastructure building and that it would consider the option of privatisation seriously.<sup>44</sup> This change in the direction of policies in favour of liberalisation and market-reforms became complete with Chandrababu assuming office of the CM in August 1995.<sup>45</sup> He appealed for a “paradigm shift in our thinking on growth and development”.<sup>46</sup> TDP government said that the huge expenditure on welfare programmes, subsidies, salaries and losses in public sector undertakings had made the state finances precarious, diverted scarce public resources away from productive use in economic and social infrastructure and had consequently inhibited private investment and curtailed growth.<sup>47</sup> Chandrababu wanted to “transform the role of government from being primarily a controller of economy to that of a facilitator of private sector activity and investor-friendly environment; from that of a provider of welfare to that of an enabler.” Commentators described it variously as an attempt to sail with the times<sup>48</sup> or a different kind of populism in the era of neo-liberalism.<sup>49</sup> A large loan was taken from the World Bank for economic restructuring of the state. His critics accused him of toeing the line of the World Bank to the detriment of the interests of the state and its people. But he told the Congress that he was only following the policies initiated by Manmohan Singh. During the 1998 Lok Sabha elections, he openly debated with the opposition parties about the need for these reforms and the TDP’s performance was reasonably good in that

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<sup>44</sup> Government of Andhra Pradesh (1995), Budget Speech of AP finance minister in the Legislative Assembly for the years 1995-96, available from [www.andhrapradesh.co](http://www.andhrapradesh.co).

<sup>45</sup> Srinivasulu, K, “Party Competition and Strategies of Mobilisation: An Analysis of Social Coalitions in Andhra Pradesh” in Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy (ed), *India’s 1999 Elections and 20th Century Politics*, New Delhi: Sage, 2003, p.145.

<sup>46</sup> “Vision 2020”, Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1999, available from [www.andhrapradesh.co](http://www.andhrapradesh.co).

<sup>47</sup> “Pattern of Expenditures on the Welfare Sector”, Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1996, available from [www.andhrapradesh.co](http://www.andhrapradesh.co).

<sup>48</sup> Balagopal, K, “The Man and the Times”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(26), 1999, p. 1656.

<sup>49</sup> Krishna Reddy, G, “Neo-Populism and Liberalisation: Regime Shift under Chandrababu Naidu in AP”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37(9), March 2-8, 2002, p.87.

elections.<sup>50</sup> But Chandrababu always maintained that vigorous pursuit of market reforms would not mean abandonment of welfare programmes.

During the few months prior to the 1999 elections, he introduced a number of schemes, purportedly for the welfare of the backward castes, Dalits, tribal people, minorities, women, handicapped and what not. If he appeared pragmatic in his advocacy of fiscal prudence and downsizing the government earlier, he appeared equally pragmatic in his fiscal profligacy on the eve of elections. Of course, there was a difference between NTR's populism and Chandrababu's welfarism. NTR did not have any well worked-out policy framework. He just responded to the situation and assumed himself to be the saviour of common people. Welfare schemes for Chandrababu were only a matter of political expediency taking a step backward or sideways from logic of economic market to meet the compulsions of the electoral market.<sup>51</sup>

Regarding centre-state relations also, there was a difference between NTR and Chandrababu. NTR went to the extent of saying that the centre was a 'conceptual myth'. The relationship between the centre and the state were highly confrontationist during the time of NTR, and this could be largely due the fact that Congress was in power at the centre during his period. Chandrababu had always a friendly government at the centre. Chandrababu believed in bargaining federalism, where he could get maximum benefit from the central government by maintaining friendly relations with it.<sup>52</sup> But one thing should be said here. TDP, despite its emphasis on Telugu culture and pride, never entertained the idea of secession like DMK or Akali Dal in their early years. Telugu people have exhibited this tendency, since the beginning of the 20th century, of finely mixing the Telugu national pride with that of Indian nationalism. NTR said that the TDP was a 'regional party with a national perspective.' For some time he even entertained the idea of becoming the Prime Minister of the country, by floating an all-India party called 'Bharata Desam'.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Suri, K.C, "Telugu Desam Party Rise and Prospects for Future", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 14/15, Apr. 3-16, 2004, p.1486.

<sup>51</sup> Suri, K.C, "Andhra Pradesh: From Populism to Pragmatism," *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, 15 (1 and 2), January- June, 2003, pp.45-78.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid*, p.1487.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*. p.1487

Janmabhoomi programme was introduced by Chandrababu Naidu, it has three main goals: 'Prajala Vaddaku Palana' (administration to the doorsteps of the people), 'Shramadanam' (donation of labour) and 'Micro-level planning'. Among these goals, the first two have been in existence at the time of start of Janmabhoomi programme on January 1st, 1997, with the inclusion of Micro-Level Planning.<sup>54</sup>

Prajala Vaddaku Palana (PVP) Programme was launched in October 1995 to bring administration closer to people and bridge the gap between the individuals and the officials concerned in the state administration. This programme enables the officials to contact the people directly to understand their problems and in the same way provides an opportunity to the individuals to express their problems and grievances to the officials. In a way, the programme is collaborative and participative in nature.<sup>55</sup> The significant aspect of PVP programme is that it mobilizes the entire state administration; including the ministers, the district collectors, the revenue officers and the development functionaries on large scale to meet the people in Gram Sabhas, discuss their problems, receive representations regarding community problems and individual grievances and find solutions. Before its merger with Janmabhoomi programme, PVP was implemented thrice in November-December, 1995 and February, 1996. The important objective of this programme is to build confidence among people towards state administration and government by visiting the villages regularly.<sup>56</sup>

Shramadanam, the second facet of Janmabhoomi programme has been considered as the coherent outcome of PVP. It was inaugurated in January, 1996. The government, while conducting village tours under PVP programme, observed that the people at large showed considerable interest to participate in the execution of works identified by them through contribution of labour and donations. Eventually, 'Shramadanam' programme was started

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<sup>54</sup> Chalapathi, B.V, Subramayam. P, and Raghavulu, "Janmabhoomi Programme of Telugu Desam Party- Astudy", in Dasarathi Bhuyan, *Role of Regional Political Parties in India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publishers, 2007, p.79

<sup>55</sup> "Good Governance," retrived from <http://telugudesam.org/cbn/prajalavaddakupalana.html>, accessed on February 3, 2013

<sup>56</sup> "Objectives of Janmabhoomi Programme in Andhra Pradesh," October 4, 2010, retrieved from <http://helloap.com/objectives-of-janmabhoomi-programme-in-andhra-pradesh/>, accessed on March 2, 2013

and gained immense importance.<sup>57</sup> The programme attracted spontaneous response from the people all over the state as they participated actively in the works like reparation of irrigation canals, school buildings, roads, silted water tanks, construction of compound walls. This programme was implemented in two rounds in January and July, 1996 before its merger in Janmabhoomi programme.

Micro-Level Planning, the third facet of Janmabhoomi programme was included in the inaugural phase of Janmabhoomi in January, 1997. The main purpose of this programme was to enable people to acknowledge, identify and prioritize their problems through conducting Gram Sabhas. With the experience gained from the implementation of PVP and Shramadanam programmes, it was felt to prioritize the problems in terms of their significance and cumulative benefits with reference to the estimation of available local resources, both manpower and material. The TDP government released a booklet while inaugurating Janmabhoomi programme by referring to some of the relevant constitutional efforts towards Micro-Level Planning. It said, “strengthening of local self institutions through 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendments has underlined the necessity of Micro-Level Planning strategies”.<sup>58</sup> The Janmabhoomi programme emphasizes that peoples’ participation is essential for all the developmental activities. It was felt that there is a need to internalize the values of sacrifice, hard work, discipline, diligence, sincerity, self-respect and the quest for excellence by the people and institutions.

In just a few years, Hyderabad has been transformed from a provincial backwater into a significant player in the global economy. Naidu has initiated an exercise to define “Vision 2020” for the state of Andhra Pradesh. According to Naidu, “Our vision of Andhra Pradesh is a State where poverty is totally eradicated; where every man, woman and child has access to not just the basic minimum needs, but to all opportunities for leading a happy and fulfilling life; a knowledge and learning society built on the values

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<sup>57</sup> Chalapathi, B.V, Subramayam. P, and Raghavulu, “Janmabhoomi Programme of Telugu Desam Party-Astudy”, in Dasarathi Bhuyan, *Role of Regional Political Parties in India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publishers, 2007, p.80

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. p.81-82

of hard work, honesty, discipline and a collective sense of purpose.”<sup>59</sup> This vision reflects Naidu's forward looking perspective on the state's development and the details of the vision are proposed to be fine-tuned in consultation with the people on a continuing basis.<sup>60</sup> The Vision 2020 document became an important scale by which the government had charted the road map of progress of the State with the Centre for Good Governance playing the vital role in monitoring and evaluation of policies, programmes and setting benchmarks in the domain of performance. Another goals are universal, low-cost education and healthcare, Rural employment and Replacement of small investors with large corporations. Vision 2020 is a long term goal of TDP government.

The DWACRA scheme has been highly successful in Andhra Pradesh in enhancing the economic status of rural women by boosting their self esteem and confidence. It has inculcated the habit of saving among women.<sup>61</sup> At present, around two million women are part of DWACRA. Their combined savings constitute an impressive some of Rs. 115 crores and they operate a corpus fund of Rs. 230 crores. The government has taken up an important initiative for the empowerment of minority women by forming a numerous self-help-groups by covering thirteen thousand women through the Andhra Pradesh Women's Co-operative Finance Corporation Limited. The self-help groups are likely to be extended to urban areas as well. In rural areas, the single largest self-help-group is DWACRA and in urban areas it is DWACUA. There are around 4,36,500 self-help-groups all over the State. Their combined savings constitute around Rs 1,400 crore and in the process became the most unique example for all development countries in the world. The DWACRA/DWACUA women produce, sell and even export ample varieties of goods ranging from food items like pickles, fruit jellies and other processed eateries to clothes, foot wear, handicrafts and artifacts.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Loraine Kennedy, *The Politics of Economic Restructuring in India: Economic Governance and Spatial Rescaling*, New York: Routledge, 2014, p.68

<sup>60</sup> “Vision 2020”, retrieved from <http://telugudesam.org/cbn/vision2020.html> accessed on December 20, 2013

<sup>61</sup> “Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas”, retrieved from [http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/sereport/ser/maker/mak\\_cht2c.pdf](http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/sereport/ser/maker/mak_cht2c.pdf) , accessed on February 14, 2013

<sup>62</sup> “Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas,” retrieved from <http://telugudesam.org/cbn/dwakra.html>, accessed on February 9, 2013



In the year 2000, a new dimension was added to Self Help-Groups by 'Velugu' (light), a programme introduced in six districts, with the amount of \$111 million aided by the World Bank. Under Velugu programme, additional funds were provided to SHGs to enable them hire skilled manpower instead of their dependence on NGOs for free services. This has taken empowerment one step further. Velugu is a focused programme to tackle poverty through Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty.<sup>63</sup> This aim can be achieved only by involving the poor as active partners in the process of social change. The unique feature of the Velugu project is that the poor have a significant role in all project strategies and interventions, including policy making as stake holders.

TDP government headed by Chandrababu Naidu realised the enormous potential of Information Technology and IT-enabled services (ITES) and pronounced a policy aimed at putting the State on the fast track. The main aim of the policy was large scale generation of employment and creation of wealth.<sup>64</sup> Andhra Pradesh today offers a state-of-the-art communication infrastructure, including bandwidth along with incentives such as subsidies on investment and rebate on power tariff and land cost. The Hitech City in Hyderabad alone has more than 19 lakh sq. ft of built-up IT space in Cyber Towers, Cyber Gateway and Cyber Pearl. A number of IT joints have created added space of nearly 3.5 million square feet. It is no wonder that Hyderabad has achieved an extraordinary growth rate of over 300 per cent in ITES, making it the number one destination for investment in the country. Andhra Pradesh is one of the first states in the country to set up a Comprehensive Citizen Service Portal ([www.andhrapradesh.gov.in](http://www.andhrapradesh.gov.in)) and one of the earliest in the world. The entire government structure, people, ministries and departments, top bureaucracy, roles and responsibilities, schemes, e-mail for all government employees was achieved through the portal.<sup>65</sup>

Andhra Pradesh has introduced Rythu Bazars with a view to shun the influence of middlemen and facilitate the farmers to sell their produce directly to the consumers at reasonable prices fixed every day. The scheme is advantageous for both the farmers and

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<sup>63</sup> "Velugu," retrieved from <http://telugudesam.org/cbn/velugu.html#>, accessed on March 4, 2013

<sup>64</sup> "I.T. Revolution," retrieved from <http://telugudesam.org/cbn/itrevolution.html#>, accessed on February 3, 2013

<sup>65</sup> *ibid*

the consumers. The regulated market yards for fruits and vegetables are presently functioning only in few centres. The marketing system for fruits and vegetables is now in the hands of middlemen. Middlemen exploit the farmers in various ways through malpractices in weighing, handling and payments. They exist at different levels between the farmers and the consumers. As such the majority of small and marginal farmers are unable to bargain effectively for better price in the market.<sup>66</sup> Ineptness in the wholesale markets results in array of intermediaries, multiple handling, loss of quality and increase the gap between the producer and consumer prices. The majority of small retailers, who handle small quantities, create high overheads leading to high margin on produces.

The Neeru Meeru programme of the state emphasizes on creation of awareness among people to ensure their participation in land and water resource management. Prioritization of the areas has been carried out to execute the water conservation & soil moisture retention activities based on the field data furnished by the state ground water department.<sup>67</sup> Based on the availability of ground water, the 'stress mandals' have been identified in the state for giving priority to the areas experiencing huge scarcity of drinking water. Various activities in a mission mode have been taken up to create added space for storing water and recharging ground water. As part of the massive campaign led by Chandrababu Naidu, activities such as building continuous contour trenches (CCT), staggered trenches, check-dams, percolation tanks, bunds in fields, farm ponds, digging pits, desilting and restoration, were taken up.<sup>68</sup>

A detailed study of these shifts in policy framework, changes in public policies and the way they are articulated and legitimated would be interesting. The way changes in policies were effected in contradictory directions by the TDP leadership at different periods and the way the leaders managed these switches showed that public policies do not merely emanate from objective conditions. Political leaders have a large role to play in articulating a specific course among the available ones under the given circumstances and shaping the policy framework depending upon their own perceptions, electoral

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<sup>66</sup> "Rythu Bazar," retrieved from <http://telugudesam.org/cbn/rythubazar.html#>, accessed on March 7, 2013

<sup>67</sup> "Neeru Meeru," retrieved from <http://telugudesam.org/cbn/neerumeeru.html>, accessed on March 12, 2013

<sup>68</sup> *ibid*

compulsions, and the status of their parties, i.e., whether the party is in power or in the opposition.

### ***Role of the Opposition as a watchdog***

In any democratic system, political parties are expected to serve as critical watchdogs for the public. The adversarial relationship between the major parties ensures that the party out of power will keep a close eye on its opponent in power and notify the public of any wrongdoing or policy misstep.<sup>69</sup> The role of the watchdog is to scrutinise and analyse everything the political party in power does. For instance, right now a party in power and the other are analyzing everything they do. TDP played a very vital role in Andhra Pradesh in the opposition in 1989 with 73 seats, in 2004 with 47 seats and in 2009 with 90 seats. The main points are as follows:

A no-confidence motion moved by the Opposition TDP in the State Assembly was defeated after a three-day acrimonious debate. The no-confidence motion was bound to be defeated as numbers did not favour TDP which had just 45 MLAs in the 294 member House. However, the Opposition party used the floor to highlight the alleged omissions and commissions of the Rajasekhara Reddy government, mainly focusing on corruption, nepotism, irregularities in irrigation and housing programmes, land allotments to the Chief Minister's relatives and farmers' issues.<sup>70</sup>

The Telugu Desam Party, headed by Chandrababu Naidu, started a programme called *Eruvaka* for the sake of farmer's welfare. At that time, he fought for appropriate prices for Paddy, Cotton, Mirchi, Groundnut, Dal, Sugarcane and Sweetcorn with the state and central government. On two occasions, he went to Delhi to meet the Prime Minister to discuss the condition of farmers.<sup>71</sup> He demanded that 1000/- for one quintal paddy should fetch a price of Rs. 1,000 and suitable prices for remaining crops because of lack of good prices to crops, farmers were committed suicides. Central government appointed Dr. Swaminathan Committee for the prevention of suicides of farmers. The Committee

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<sup>69</sup> "Role of Political Parties". Retrieved from <http://www.shmoop.com/political-parties/role-political-parties.html>, accessed on December 2, 2013.

<sup>70</sup> "No confidence motion against Cong govt in AP defeated," *The India Today*, April 3, 2008

<sup>71</sup> *Eenadu Telugu Daily Newspaper*, February 2, 2008.

recommended nine points for the welfare of farmers. First recommendation was providing suitable and appropriated prices for crops, but the state government was not caring the farmers so that they were committing suicides for that he strongly critics the Congress government about not implemented the Dr. Swaminathan Recommendations for the welfare of farmers. As a whole, in the Eruvaka programme, he attracted the farmers and promised to them on various aspects, to give loans at 10 paisa interest for agricultural development and to write-off all agricultural loans and also to establish a golden Andhra Pradesh for the betterment of farmers.<sup>72</sup>

In the Telugu Desam Party's 'Rythu Garjana, the party leadership employed all possible means to make the event a memorable one for the crowds, as well as for the participating national leaders of the United National Progressive Alliance (UNPA).<sup>73</sup> Samajwadi Party President, Mulayam Singh Yadav, and leader, Amar Singh, Indian National Lok Dal leader, Om Prakash Chautala, National Conference patron, Farooq Abdullah, AGP leader, Brundavan Goswamy, CPI-affiliated All India Kisan Sabha leader, Atul Kumar Anjan, and UNPA Convenor, Chandrababu Naidu, addressed the gathering.<sup>74</sup> This TDP Raithu Garjana meeting conveyed two kinds of signals to the country and to Andhra Pradesh. One, the UNPA was an alternative to the Congress at the national level, and particularly TDP in Andhra Pradesh and their major support and focus would be the welfare of farmers. When the Congress came to power, they relaxed and forget the issues of farmers. Chandrababu Naidus openly accepted that when he was in government, he concentrated on IT and neglected the farmers but now his whole focus would be on welfare of farmers only.<sup>75</sup>

Jana Chaitanaya Cycle Yatra was initiated by the Telugu Desam Party leader, Tummala Nageswera Rao, at Khammam district to meet the farmers and to know their problems. A large number of people of Kammam District participated in the event.<sup>76</sup> In this Yatra, Tummala Nageswara Rao criticised the Congress government on various aspects. First,

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<sup>72</sup> *Vaaritha Telugu Daily Newspaper*, February 1, 2008.

<sup>73</sup> Ravikiran. G, "Stage set for TDP 'Rythu Garjana'", today, *The Hindu*, November 24, 2007.

<sup>74</sup> *Vaaritha Telugu Daily Newspaper*, November 25, 2007.

<sup>75</sup> *Eenadu Telugu Daily Newspaper*, November 25, 2007.

<sup>76</sup> *Eenadu Telugu Daily Newspaper*, December 29, 2007.

the Congress always claimed that it was pro-farmers government, but in practice, it's failed to solve the problems of farmers, especially preventing suicides by farmers, providing good rates for crops, and commissioning the water irrigation projects within the stipulated time. He said that most of the people welfare programmes were launched when his party was in government. However, the Congress government has been robbing the state and has not been able to continue the welfare programmes. In this Yatra, Chandrababu Naidu asserted, "Farmers and poor are high on our agenda. In future, our struggle would be for the welfare of them".<sup>77</sup>

The Telugu Desam Party organised BC Garjana meeting at Warangal to mobilise support of the Backward Castes. In this meeting, Chandrababu Naidu promised to allot 100 seats to the BCs. The meeting turned out to be grand success.<sup>78</sup> Chandrababu Naidu initiated a programme, called Mee Kosam, from 21<sup>st</sup> April 2008 to 15<sup>th</sup> August 2008.<sup>79</sup> The main purpose of this programme was to know the conditions of the marginalised sections and to give hope to them. In this programme, Chandrababu Naidu mingled with the people and tried to know their problems. This programme covered 10339 km in Andhra Pradesh and was spread over 117 days.<sup>80</sup> Yuva Garjana meeting was held at Guntur to revive the party and to criticise the Congress government on all fronts. The entire Guntur town was decorated by Telugu Desam banners and flags, so that whole town was appeared as yellow town. The speeches of Nadamuri Balakrishna, Harikrishna and Chandrababu were the highlights of that meeting.<sup>81</sup>

Telugu Desam Party pitched in to help the flood victims of Kurnool, Krishna, Guntur, Mahaboobnagar, Nalgonda and Vijayawada Districts. True, the Congress government had introduced numerous projects in Andhra Pradesh, but these projects did not significantly improve the lot of the people. Indeed the growing perception was that only the contractors and Congress party functionaries benefitted from these projects.

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<sup>77</sup> *Eenadu Telugu Daily Newspaper*, January 7, 2008.

<sup>78</sup> *Andhra Jyothi Telugu Newspaper*, January 21, 2008

<sup>79</sup> A. Devarajan, "Naidu to launch 'Mee Kosam' tomorrow," *The Hindu*, April 20, 2008

<sup>80</sup> "Mee Kosam Radha Yatra Highlits," retrieved from

<http://www.telugudesam.org/tdpcms/programs/meekosam/index.html>, accessed on June 21, 2013

<sup>81</sup> "New Strength in party cadre," *Eenadu Telugu Daily Newspaper*, November 7, 2008

Chandrababu Naidu criticized that Congress government for not taking flood control measures in advance and not providing adequate relief to the flood victims.

The Telugu Desam Party collected money to help flood victims and organised flood relief camps in all flood affected districts.<sup>82</sup> Chandrababu also wrote letters to the PM and CM and suggested that immediate steps be taken for rehabilitation of the flood victims. He also demanded that this flood should be declared a national disaster so that 90 per cent subsidies would come to the state. His other demands included: the state government should immediately cancel the debts of farmers (*Runa mapi*), provide fresh loans, provide seeds at 90% subsidy, build new houses for those who lost their houses in the floods and to provide all items of daily need for two months to the poor people. Babli was a controversial project built by Maharashtra government on the river Godavari. Maharashtra Government constructed illegal gates to the dam. It was feared that because of these gates, Andhra Pradesh, especially the Telangana districts, would be deprived of water for its irrigation and other needs.<sup>83</sup>

Chandrababu undertook an eight day hunger strike for the sake of farmers. During the past six years, the state had suffered from natural disasters happened and many farmers had committed suicides. Farmers were also agitated over the un-remunerative agricultural prices. Against this backdrop, Chandrababu Naidu started a hunger strike. In the hunger strike, Chandrababu Naidu demanded remunerative rates for crops, pesticides for subsidy rates, to clear the all debts of farmers and all other related demands. He continued his hunger strike, even when he was shifted to the hospital.<sup>84</sup> There he was force fed.

Telugu Desam Party organised a meeting called Rythu Kosam at Guntur on 30<sup>th</sup> December 2010 for Rythu Kosam (for farmers). After its defeat in the 2004 elections, TDP concentrated on the issues of farmers to get their support. This program gave a

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<sup>82</sup> "TDP call to help flood victims," retrieved from

<http://www.telugudesam.org/tdpcms/programs/floddvictims/>, accessed on June 30, 2013

<sup>83</sup> TDP fight on Babli," retrieved from <http://www.telugudesam.org/tdpcms/babli/>, accessed on June 30, 2013

<sup>84</sup> "Open letter to farmers," retrieved from

[http://www.telugudesam.org/hungerstrike/cbn\\_openletter\\_people\\_191210.pdf](http://www.telugudesam.org/hungerstrike/cbn_openletter_people_191210.pdf), accessed on August 6, 2013

positive support to the party. The Telugu Desam Party organised Vastunna Meekosam programme under the leadership of Chandrababu Naidu on the plank of its vision of a poverty-less society, Social Justice, welfare of the farmers, employment for the Youth, empowerment of women and good governance. Chandrababu Naidu visited 1253 villages by foot. He covered 2817 km in 208 days in all the three regions, namely, Telangana, Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra. He criticised the Congress government for its failure on all fronts and reminded the people of the good governance provided by him when he was in power.

On 25.01.2014, Nara Lokesh, son of TDP President, Nara Chandrababu, participated in the Yuva Chaitanya Sadassu with IT professionals at KPHB Colony in Hyderabad. He gave a call to the youth to participate in active politics to make Andhra a corruption-free State.<sup>85</sup> He reminded that systems were changed in many countries in the world due to the participation of youth. He wanted them to work with the goal of making Chandrababu Naidu as the Chief Minister. He called upon the people to drive the Congress party and its stepson (in a reference to Jagan). Former IPS officer, Ravulapati Seetharamanjaneyulu and Vijayawada former Mayor, Anuradha, was among those present. The main motto and slogan of the Yuva Chaitanya Sadassu was 'Bring Chandrababu Back'.<sup>86</sup>

Telugu Desam Praja Garjana meetings were focused on Andhra especially in Uttarandhra (North Andhra) to get support from the public and to launch an attack on YSRCP and UPA, because of in these areas, TDP lost its credibility before the formation Telangana. Therefore, Chandrababu Naidu started Praja Garjana meeting at all main places of Andhra regions like Tedepalligudem, Guntur, Vijayawada, Bobbili, Vijayanagaram, Nellore, Kurnool, Kadapa, Tirupathi. He also addressed meetings in Telangana region like Warangal, Kamam, and so on. Telugu Desam Party president N. Chandrababu Naidu addressed Praja Garjana public meeting in Kadapa municipal stadium on the evening of April 7. The public meeting sought to expose YSR Congress president and Kadapa MP, Y.S. Jaganmohan Reddy's, dubious stand on bifurcation of the State and

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<sup>85</sup> "Nara Lokesh held meet with IT professionals at Yuva Chaitanya Sadassu", Retrieved from *Andhra News. Net*, January 25, 2014. Accessed on March 20, 2014.

<sup>86</sup> "Wooing youth", *The Hindu*, January 26, 2014, Accessed on March 20, 2014.

corruption charges being faced by him. He addressed a press conference at the district party office in Kadapa. He informed that the TDP was forging an alliance with the BJP for safeguarding national integrity as the country was in difficult situation.<sup>87</sup>

Praja Garjana of TDP held at Open Ground opposite AIR station in Kurnool on 21<sup>st</sup> March, 2014. A large number of people attended this meeting.<sup>88</sup> TDP Praja Garjana was held in Tirupati. Marching throughout the city in their bright yellow uniforms, members of the Telugu Nadu Students Federation (TNSF) and the Telugu Yuvatha raised slogans against the ‘corrupt’ Congress government and said that the dissent of people against the ruling party was clear in the five State elections.<sup>89</sup> All the Praja Garjana meetings of the TDP succeeded in attracting a large number of people.

### ***Alliance with Other Parties***

Alliance with other parties is also an important factor for understanding the role of regional political parties in the state politics of Andhra Pradesh. Possible reasons for alliances are to prevent splitting of votes and also to gain from the popularity of the alliance partners. Of the regional parties, both the TDP and TRS had, at times, entered into other parties. The story was different with the YSRCP, which till 2014, did not contest full scale elections to the state assembly. Its outstanding success in a few by-elections in the residuary state of Andhra Pradesh gave it overconfidence that it would sweep the polls in the 2014 assembly elections. Even though the party performed reasonably well (faring much better than the Congress Party), it could not withstand the TDP-BJP wave in Andhra Pradesh and had to be satisfied as an opposition party.

Initially, the TDP was criticised as a ‘Kamma party’ by Congress leaders, who even termed it as ‘Kamma Desam’. In the 1983 general assembly elections, 5 parties had alliance with TDP. These were: Communist party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Janata, Lok Dal and Republican Party of India. These parties were searching for an alternative to the Congress party in Andhra Pradesh, as well as in the rest of India.

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<sup>87</sup> “Naidu’s Praja Garjana will target Jagan: C.M. Ramesh”, *The Hindu*, April 4, 2014.

<sup>88</sup> “TDP Praja Garjana in Kurnool on March 21”, *The Hindu*, March 18, 2014.

<sup>89</sup> “TDP ‘Praja Garjana’ paints temple town yellow”, *The Hindu*, December 30, 2013.



At that time, NTR was perceived as having popular support from all sections of society. The alliance partners decided to cash in on the huge popularity of the TDP and formed an alliance in the 1983. These partners achieved some elector gains in the bargain.<sup>90</sup>

Congress leaders realised the gravity of the situation. The central and the state Congress leaders, who had dominated the political scene in the state for more than three decades, could not easily reconcile to the changed reality. Encouraged by the central leaders, as the Congress was ruling at the centre, and using the institutions of the governor and judiciary, they tried their best to put spokes in the functioning of the TDP government, to embarrass, defame and create troubles for NTR. It successfully used the caste and sub-regional divisions against the TDP, especially in weaning away the Kapu community. Naturally, the TDP and the Congress held divergent views on the place and role of regional parties.

Congress harped on the same old theme that regional parties were dangerous for the unity of the country, as they represented fissiparous tendencies. On his part, NTR too was hostile towards the Congress. His language against it was always caustic and vituperative. NTR attacked the Congress for depriving the states of both powers and finances for the development of states' economy and people's welfare. He maintained that a regional party alone was capable of fulfilling the aspirations of the people. NTR incurred the wrath of the central Congress leadership for convening a conclave of all the opposition parties in May 1983 at Vijayawada, the first of its type in Indian politics, ranging from the BJP to the Communist parties.

The Congress Party almost openly encouraged the dissident TDP leader, Bhaskara Rao, to split the party, used the governor to pull down the NTR's government and installed Bhaskara Rao as the CM in August 1984. This was the first major crisis for the TDP, as a party and government. But it helped NTR to emerge much stronger. The TDP and the non-Congress parties launched a 'Save Democracy Movement'.<sup>91</sup> NTR called it 'dharma yuddham', a war against the authoritarian and autocratic Congress rule at the centre. Frightened at the massive anti-centre, anti-Congress upsurge, the Congress gave up its attempts to prop up the rebel TDP government, recalled the governor, and finally

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<sup>90</sup> Suri, K.C, "*Telugu Desam Party Rise and Prospects for Future*", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No.14/15, Apr.3-16, 2004, p.1487.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. p.1487

reinstated NTR in office. It was the only instance in the political history of India when a dismissed CM was reinstated, in the face of an angry, but peaceful, mass agitation.

However, after the 1983 elections they saw a strong anti- Congress force in the TDP and moved closer to it. TDP and all the non-Congress parties had the golden era of friendship during the years 1984-85. NTR performed the superb feat of forging electoral alliances with both the BJP and the Left parties. In those happy days, they were called ‘mitra pakshalu’ (friendly parties).<sup>92</sup> However, the relations with the non-Congress parties turned sour soon.

In 1986, CPI fell out with NTR, as it felt that the consecutive electoral victories in 1983, 1984 and 1985 elections made him extremely arrogant and intoxicated with power. It called him a representative of the bourgeois landlord forces and characterised his government as anti-people and anti-democratic. It came to an ‘irrevocable’ conclusion that NTR was a reactionary, obscurantist and tyrannical leader. The BJP too became critical of the TDP as it no more saw any distinction between the Congress and the TDP. NTR too paid back the criticism in the same measure saying that these parties merely survived on the crumbs thrown by him. He felt that all other parties, except the Congress, became irrelevant in AP.

A major change in TDP’s relation with non-Congress parties came in 1998, when Chandrababu chose to support the BJP after the Lok Sabha elections as he wanted to prevent the Congress from forming the government at the centre. The Left parties were inclined to support the Congress to prevent the BJP from coming to power. This was not acceptable to the TDP, since the Congress was its principal adversary. While the Left could fight the Congress in West Bengal and Kerala, but cooperate with it at the centre, such an arrangement was not acceptable for the TDP since it is a single-state party. Further, Chandrababu was irritated because the Left parties did not even care to consult him, the convenor of the UF, before making any move to extend support to the Congress. TDP supported the confidence motion in favour of the BJP. That ended the 15-year-old journey of the TDP and the Left parties together in the state.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Suri, K.C, “Telugu Desam Party Rise and Prospects for Future”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No.14/15, Apr.3-16, 2004, p.1487

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, p.1487

On the other hand the BJP, which fought together with the rival TDP faction led by Lakshmi Parvati against Chandrababu's TDP in the 1998 elections, and its leaders, who came out with 100 charges against Chandrababu's government and even threatened to institute an enquiry into the corruption scandals of the TDP regime if the BJP came to power at the centre, became friendly with the TDP. Probably, Chandrababu felt that it was better to sail with the BJP, which was emerging stronger at the centre and throw away the fragmented UF and the weak and wavering Left. He also thought that the best way to contain the potential growth of the BJP in the state was to align with it.

In view of the shift in the policy framework of the TDP and its advocacy of economic reforms, Chandrababu also found it difficult to continue the alliance with the Left parties. Anyway, the blame for breaking the alliance with the Left was not on him, as it was the Left parties that threatened to break the alliance if he supported the BJP and when he did, they snapped their ties. Chandrababu's break with the Left, as well as the UF, which was so divided and fragmented, and forging friendship with the BJP came at the right time. TDP victory in 1999 assembly elections can be largely attributed to this alliance with the BJP. If the BJP had gained at the central level, TDP gained heavily at the state level, and that was what that mattered to both of them. The relations between the TDP and other non-Congress parties, which are national parties, were basically determined by the considerations and compulsions of national politics, rather than the state politics.<sup>94</sup>

For instance, the state unit of the CPI was extremely critical of the TDP till the announcement for the 1989 Lok Sabha elections came, but once the national leaders decided to have a tie up with the UF, the state unit had to fall in line and support NTR. Similarly, the state BJP leaders were very harsh against Chandrababu before and during the 1998 Lok Sabha elections, but turned friendly once the equation was set right at the national level. Also there was no unanimity of views among the non-Congress parties in regard to the TDP. They had their calculations, clash of interests and personalities, and often they were at loggerheads with each other in their attempts to maximise their advantage from their respective alliances with the TDP.

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<sup>94</sup> Suri, K.C, "Telugu Desam Party Rise and Prospects for Future", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No.14/15, Apr.3-16, 2004, p.1487

Relations between the TDP and the Congress during Rajiv Gandhi days continued to be bitter. Rajiv Gandhi maintained that regionalism posed a threat to the unity of the country and called upon the people to join back the national mainstream. NTR accused the Congress for destroying the federal framework and for fomenting troubles in the states wherever it was not in power. He urged the people to "get rid of Congress culture and vindicate Telugu pride, vis-a-vis the arrogant centre".

The TDP-Congress relations remained unchanged even after Chandrababu became the CM. The very genesis of the TDP lies in its opposition to the Congress and its continuation depends upon its ability to keep itself as the only alternative to the Congress Party in the state. But Chandrababu was not as emotional as NTR with the Congress Party and its leaders. He had a Congress background and he is as shrewd as the Congress leaders. He could ward off the attacks from that party or managed to silence some of the Congress leaders by offering relevant motivators to render them harmless. Unlike Karunanidhi and Jayalalitha in Tamil Nadu, who do not want see each other's face, in AP, Chandrababu and Rajasekhara Reddy, the top leaders of the TDP and the Congress respectively, had always been on talking terms.

Like the Congress, the non-Congress opposition parties, especially the Left parties, could not initially understand the significance of the emergence of the TDP. The Communist Party of India (CPI) criticised NTR for raking up a vulgar and vicious type of Telugu chauvinism, while the Communist Party of India- Marxist (CPI (M)) felt that NTR's entry had polluted politics. In 1980-81, they had visions of emerging as an alternative to the Congress Party, but with the rise of the TDP their hopes withered away.

### ***Pre-poll Survey on Party performances in Andhra Pradesh***

Andhra Pradesh Opinion Poll, 2013, was conducted to study the current socio-political trends across the regions of Andhra Pradesh at that time. It was endeavoured to ensure representation of various social/caste groups in the state.

Table 5.6: Political Parties Vote Share and Seat share in Uttarandhra (North Andhra) in 2013

Party	Likely Vote Share(2013)	Seat share -2013	Seat share -2009
Congress-I	27%	12	23

TDP	32%	17	7
YSR Congress	21%	5	--

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

According to Table 5.6, TDP was found to have a strong vote share and seat share in Uttarandra (Northern Andhra), when compared to the 2009 election. It was projected to improve its tally from 17 seats to 34 seats. The Congress was to be in the second position and YSRCP in the third position.

**Table 5.7: Political Parties Vote Share and Seat share in South and Costal Andhra in 2013**

Party	Likely Vote Share(2013)	Seat share -2013	Seat share -2009
Congress-I	27%	25(-35)	60
TDP	30%	32(+3)	29
YSR Congress	29%	32(+32)	--

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

The prognosis was that there would be close three cornered fights between TDP, YSRCP, Congress in South and Coastal Andhra, indicating heavy losses for the Congress, marginal revival of TDP and YSRCP doing well in the coastal districts (see Table5.7)

**Table 5.8: Political Parties Vote Share and Seat share in Rayalaseema in 2013**

Party	Likely Vote Share(2013)	Seat share -2013	Seat share -2009
Congress-I	20%	7(-27)	60
TDP	25%	14(-3)	29
YSR Congress	36%	30(+30)	--

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

Table 5.8 explained that, it was predicted that it would be Jagan wave all the way in Rayalaseema, with TDP a poor second, while the Congress would suffer heavy losses in

the region. It was indicated that YSRCP would get 30+seat share and 36 per cent vote share.

Table 5.9: Political Parties' Vote Share and Seat share in North Telangana in 2013

<b>Party</b>	<b>Likely Vote Share(2013)</b>	<b>Seat share -2013</b>	<b>Seat share -2009</b>
TRS	36%	35(+25)	10
TDP	21%	9(-9)	18
Congress	15%	4(-17)	21
YSR Congress	8%	1(+1)	1
BJP	7%	2(+1)	1

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

It can be seen from Table 5.9 that a strong pro-Telangana sentiment was discerned in North Telangana. The projection was that TRS would gain across North Telangana, at the expense of the TDP (which would suffer losses) and the Congress (which would be 'wiped out' here.

Table 5.10: Political Parties Vote Share and Seat share in South Telangana in 2013

<b>Party</b>	<b>Likely Vote Share(2013)</b>	<b>Seat share -2013</b>	<b>Seat share -2009</b>
TRS	26%	9(+9)	-
TDP	30%	17(-2)	19
Congress	14%	4(-12)	16
YSR Congress	10%	4(+4)	-
BJP	10%	1(+1)	1

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

Table 5.10 had projected a picture slightly different picture in respect of south Telangana, where the Telangana sentiment was not found to be that strong. It was anticipated that there would be a tough fight between the TDP and TRS only. The one consistent prediction was that the poor showing of the Congress. Even the YSRCP and BJP were expected to get 4 and 1 seat respectively.

Table 5.11: Political Parties Vote Share and Seat share in Greater Hyderabad Region in 2013

Party	Likely Vote Share(2013)	Seat share -2013	Seat share -2009
TRS	7%	1(+1)	0
TDP	21%	9(+4)	5
Congress	18%	4(-10)	14
YSR Congress	7%	-	-
BJP	18%	4(+3)	1

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

Table 5.11 explains that political parties vote share and seat share in greater Hyderabad region in 2013. TDP seat share and voted has increased when it compare to 2009. In 2013, it likely to get 9 seats and 21 percent of vote share in the Hyderabad region. Congress decreased from 14 seats to 4 seats in 2009 to 2013. YSRCP is has no deposits in the Hyderabad region. But BJP is going to increase its share from 1 seat to 4 seats in 2009 to 2013. But TRS is going to get only one seat in the region.

Table 5 .12: Political Parties Vote Share and Seat share projection in Parliamentary elections in 2013

Party	Likely Vote Share(2013)	Seat share -2013	Seat share -2009
TRS	10%	9(+7)	2
TDP+	29%	14(+7)	7
Congress	20%	7(-26)	33
YSR Congress	24%	10(+10)	-
MIM	2%	1	1
BJP	5%	1(+1)	0

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

Table 5.12 explains pre-poll survey data on the political parties vote share and seat share projection in the coming parliamentary elections. Even in respect of Lok Sabha seats, almost similar predictions were made in respect of North and South Telangana. However, the anticipation was that YSRCP would sweep Rayalaseema; TDP would gain in North Andhra, Greater Hyderabad and South Telangana. Three cornered fights were anticipated in South and Coastal Andhra regions.

Table 7.13: Provide pro people and welfare government of the party and Provide better governance

<b>Name of the Party</b>	<b>Likely Vote Share in % as Provide pro people (2013)</b>	<b>Likely Vote Share in % as Provide better governance (2013)</b>
YSRCP	34%	32%
TDP	27%	25%
Congress	21%	20%
TRS	10	8%

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013

Table 5.13 explained that, people's views on pro people and welfare government and good governance. A high proportion of people expressed that YSRCP will provide pro people and welfare government and TDP is in second position with 27 percent of votes and congress is in third position with 21 percent of votes and TRS secured 10 percent of votes it was limited to Telangana region.

When it comes to providing good governance in the state, a high percentage of people expressed that YSRCP is best to provide good governance in the state. TDP was in the second position with 25 percent of votes. Congress and TRS were get considerable votes in favour of them.

**Table 5.14: Preference for the post of Chief Minister in 2013**

<b>Name of the Leader</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Likely Vote Share in % (2013)</b>
Y.S Jagan Mohan Reddy	Congress	30%
Nara Chandrababu Naidu	TDP	26%
K. Chandrasekhar Rao	TRS	15%
Kiran Kumar Reddy	Congress	14%
Botsa Satyanarayana	Congress	3%
Chiranjeevi	Congress	3%
S. Jaipal Reddy	Congress	2%
Jaya Prakash Narayana	Lok Satta	2%
D. Purandeswari	Congress	2%
Jana Reddy	Congress	1%

Source: Pre-poll Survey data, CSDS, 2013



An interesting finding of the survey was that the popularity of Chandrababu Naidu broadly corresponds to that of TDP. However, in the case of YSRCP, Jagan Mohan Reddy was found to be more popular than his fledgling party. The ratings for KCR were based on his strong stand on creation of a separate state of Telangana. Therefore, it would be logical to expect him to be highly popular in the Telangana region, but almost unpopular in the rest of the state, as it existed at the time of the survey. As regards the preferred chief ministerial candidate, KCR emerged as the first choice in North Telangana and Chandrababu Naidu was found to be more popular in South Telangana and Greater Hyderabad region. Kiran Kumar Reddy was found to be very popular Congress politician, but his ratings were significantly lower than that of the Congress Party.

### ***Summing Up***

Parties provided avenues for the different social sections to enter the political arena and share power. But they were unable to keep match up to the public; and as parties came under pressure, they kept splitting again and again, or new parties emerged from the rubble. Emergences of regional political parties in AP are creating a platform for political socialisation, articulation and aggregation of the people in high level - particularly with the emergence of TPD in 1982.

Except the TDP (and now the TRS in Telangana), no regional party has formed the government in Andhra Pradesh. The TDP launched several populist welfare programmes like janambhoomi, Prajavala Vaddaku Palana (administration is at door step of people), e-governance, good governance, Vission 2020 and so on because of these programmes grassroots participation level of people was increased and established bridge between people and officials in the administration. When it comes to the role as watchdog while in the opposition, the TDP played a vital role in criticising the government policies and providing needful information for the welfare of the people. TDP ideology was welfare state ideology Under N.T. Rama Rao, the emphasis changed to economic development under the Naidu.

TDP has a strong organisational base down from the state to village level. Main positions in the party are still being decided by the party president and the remaining roles and responsibilities by the politbureau members. Every year, the TDP organises Mahanadu, an annual gathering to take stock of various political issues. While other party functionaries keep changing year-on-year, the hold of the party president remains intact. Here, party president is the supreme and everybody has to follow his commands. Leadership of the TDP was found in two distinct phases: one was when NTR headed the party during 1982-1995 and the other after Chandrababu Naidu. During the first phase, the party relied mainly on the charisma of NTR. In the second phase, the party tried to mobilise support by showcasing the performance of the TDP government. The two leaders of the party during these two phases -NTR and Chandrababu - presented contrasting styles in leading the party and the government. While it was democratic dictatorship under NTR, it is democratic centralism under Chandrababu.

Regional political parties are playing a key role in strengthening democracy in Andhra Pradesh and also in India. On one side, the emergence of political parties is providing space for different sections of people in the political process. However, on the other, it is creating problems by splitting the votes and creating weak governments– both at the central and state levels - till very recently. However, the 2014 Elections seem to have, at least for now, put such a pessimistic view on to the backburner.

## CHAPTER-VI

# Conclusion

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The aim of the present thesis is to understand the role of regional political parties in strengthening the democracy in India and more specifically in Andhra Pradesh. This has been explained and analyzed with suitable concepts and field data in earlier chapters of the thesis. Finally, this chapter summarizes the findings of the thesis.

Political parties are central to a democratic system. The science of political parties of recent origin has, on many occasions, revealed what lies behind the formal governmental structures. Apart from this, knowledge about the functioning of political parties would help us to understand their potential role in initiating, directing and managing social economic and political changes. In the beginning, regional parties in India were conceived as an alternative to the attempts of national political parties to oppose single political party hegemony over the states. However, the growth of regional political parties originated on different planks like regional autonomy, separate statehood, cultural identity or cultural pride.

Officially, the Election Commission of India recognised some of them as regional political parties or state political parties. In fact, there has been no acceptable definition of the term regional political parties so far. For the purpose of this study, an operational definition of what a regional political party is used. Given the phrase region as a geographical term, a regional political party refers to any political party at the district, provincial, or regional level of a country propagating the preservation of certain specific regional interests, as differentiated from the general national interests, and which interests are expressed constitutionally through demands ranging from an aspiration for a separate cultural identity, a separate political identity, or a different level of socio- economic development to an aspiration for an environment or geo-political detachment. For the successful running of democracy, it is necessary to have been vibrant and sustainable political parties that can effectively project the viewpoints of their constituents.

Another, important aspect that has been discussed in the present thesis is that the role of regional political parties in democratization of politics in India. Regional political parties evolved on

different contexts and at different periods. These regional political parties have been strengthening the democratic values and aspirations in India by participating in elections, sending representatives to the parliament and sharing power at central government and highlighting the regional problems at the national level. The post-independent India has witnessed, particularly in the 1970s, mushrooming of a large number of regional political parties, of which some even declined in course of time. Before the 1970s, there was single party domination both at the centre and in the states. Thereafter, dramatic changes occurred in Indian politics with the emergence of regional political parties. These parties become major coalition partners at the centre. Some even formed governments in a few states. Now all national political parties are dependent on the regional political parties because these have good strength in parliament. As a result, the aspirations of federal system in India are being met and political consciousness in the rural masses is being created. All these regional aspirations are promoting the democratic values and national unity and integrity in India through high level participation of Adivasis, Dalits, women and OBC's. on the whole, the rise of regional political parties in India seen as democratic upsurge. According to the CSDS data 2004, 41 percent of the people were expressed their view as regional political parties are better than national parties. From 70s onwards regional political parties' strength is constantly increasing in the Lok Sabha.

*Democracy and Region: Regional Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, dealt with the concept of regionalism and its impact on democracy. Regionalism is not related to mere geographical entities, but connotes mainly a mental or psychological aspect. It is born out of continued economic backwardness, consciousness in a distinct community about its own language and culture, leading to the rising sense of their ethnic identity in the minds of the majority people living around in a larger area. So regional movements and aspirations were repeatedly come to the centre stage of politics in Andhra Pradesh as this regional aspirations and movements lead to form the regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh. After the emergence of regional political parties played a dominant role in articulating the desires and aspiration of the people, these were TPS, TDP, MIM, TRS, and so on. Regionalism has a significant space in regional politics of Andhra Pradesh and it has been influencing the central politics before and after the formation of Andhra Pradesh state. Regionalism or regional politics in Andhra Pradesh has been divided into three stages. These are: 1) Regional Aspirations in Colonial Andhra and Hyderabad State: Historical Antecedents; 2) Regional Movements and Emergence of Regional Parties in Andhra

Pradesh: A Profile; and 3) Regional politics in Andhra Pradesh after Demise of YSR. Regional political parties are democratizing the polity in different aspects: 1) the regional political parties played a major role to articulate local needs and aspirations through participating in general elections, 2) articulating and aggregating the aspirations of the people in the Lok Sabha and State Assembly, 3) Channelizing the people's views in to unified thoughts and actions, 4) through deliberative discussions with regional and national parties in the country, 5) through peaceful rallies, bandh's, strikes and 6) through conducting seminars, debates and discussions.

The growth of regional political parties in A.P in the post -independent period is essentially a product of its diversity and historical antecedents. Further, ethnicity is the major concern of most of the regional parties in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Rivalry of leaders, factions in the parties, caste and region were also a major cause. The social justice is also played a role in the formation of regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh. Some parties came into existence based on the political context prevailed in period. It can be concluded that the monolithic character of the Congress, the failure of the State and Central Government to satisfy the regional aspirations of the people and the inability of the opposition parties to provide an effective and viable alternative to the Congress, both at the State and Central, have been mainly responsible for the growth of regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh. The regional parties play prominent role in a unique heterogeneous political system like India which includes several different types of political parties- regional as well as national. In such a system, regional parties might conceivably prove to be more responsive and realistic political mechanisms for India as well in Andhra Pradesh. The politics of regionalism may well constitute a necessary and salutary phase of political development for a society as diverse as that of India.

*Democracy and Caste Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, discussed the issue in detail. Caste politics has played a significant role in politics of Andhra Pradesh state, as well as in the rest of the country. Many scholars expressed that caste is democratizing the polity, after the emergence of regional political parties caste affiliations were changed a lot. Indian political scientists viewed that emergence of regional political parties are carries of democratic upsurge. After formation of Andhra Pradesh, initially, the Brahmins have dominated and controlled the politics but the political emergence of Reddys led to check the Brahmins domination because of economic advancement that combined with numerical strength has consolidated and continued the dominance of Reddys in state politics. However, the emergence of TDP headed by the Kammas

who raised to political power challenged the Reddys domination. Economic advancement and accommodation of emerging backward castes in Telangana regions helped Kammas to remain in contender for political power in state. This has created a political ground for the Reddys and Kaamas as the dominant mainstream political Kulaks. In the process the backward castes are co-opted and accommodated by these mainstream parties which have prevented the emergence of an independent political force from the backward castes. Although, the marginalized sections especially Dalits have secured their share in Assemblies and in Lok Sabha but they were unable to secure higher position as party presidents, Secretaries, and Chief Ministers.

Autonomous Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh is relatively not as strong as in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Yet, Dalits attempt to emerge as independent political force through the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) since 1990s has been less successful. Despite the emergence of an assertive Dalit movement after the massacre of Dalits in Karamchedu and Chundur, Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh remained confined to social movements. Even Dalit movements got fragmented on sub-caste lines. Very recently, Mahajana Socialist Party was established by Manda Krishna Madiga who is president of MRPS (Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti). As of now it is not influential in politics with compare to dalit movement in 1990s in Andhra Pradesh.

*Democracy and Role of Regional Political in Andhra Pradesh: A Case of Telugu Desam Party*, focused on role of Telugu Desam Party in democratizing the politics in Andhra Pradesh. It taken some measures to examine the role of TDP, those are: 1) ideological base, 2) Area of influence, 3) Social base, 4) Organisational base, 5) Electoral performance, 6) Leadership Style, 7) Formulating Policies and Welfare schemes as a form of Government, 8) Role of the Opposition as a watchdog, 9) Alliance with Other Parties. As a whole, Telugu Desam Party played a vital role in democratizing the politics in Andhra Pradesh.

### ***Findings of the study***

The findings of the study include

- ❖ Cultural plurality is leading to the emergence of regional political parties in Andhra Pradesh as well as in India. The factors include: regional culture, history, language, regional pride and marks of regional identity, demands for formation of state, demand for more autonomy to the state, issues of backwardness, investment and industrial progress, regional identity in terms of religion, regionalism and religious communalism, caste and

anti-caste ideological resources, along with factionalism, rivalry between dominant leaders.

- ❖ Regional political parties have played a predominant role in Indian parliamentary Democracy. The rise of regional parties at the all India level is interrelated to democratisation in three respects.
  - Firstly, greater participation by women, tribals, Dalits, lower castes and the rural voters. Regional parties are seen as carriers of this democratic upsurge.
  - Secondly, both on grounds of plurality and democratic principle, federalisation of the polity has been seen as a positive development. It is further argued that although regional parties are not self-consciously working in the direction of rewriting centre state relations, this is precisely what will result from their attempts to diminish the centre's powers over states.
  - Thirdly, rise of regional parties suggests that the established discourse on nation and nation-building is being challenged. The idea of a homogenised nation and of politics, sanitised by excluding the local elements, is being effectively challenged by the rise of new regional parties around which much of contemporary politics is centred.
- ❖ Regionalism or Regional politics is a democratic right and it is not only the sustainer of democracy in Andhra Pradesh, but is also an aspect of development. It is flaming the desires and aspirations of the people in Andhra Pradesh.
- ❖ Caste in politics is providing a large space for the marginalised sections, especially the Dalits, for articulation and mobilisation in politics and minimal space in high positions. Caste is democratising the polity in this manner but is not proving to be the sustainer of democracy but is an aspect of Development.
- ❖ Emergences of regional political parties are playing a significant role in democratisation of politics in Andhra Pradesh. The emergence of regional political parties is providing for more political socialisation, articulation and aggregation of all sections in the society.
- ❖ Emergence of Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh established alternative politics to Congress.
- ❖ Telugu Desam Party created huge platform for the domination of Kammas in politics and also created a juncture to those who are neglected by the congress.

- ❖ As a form of government, TDP introduced many populist programs in Andhra Pradesh because of them it established and enhanced the grassroots participation and representation of people.
  - Janmabhoomi program established an ideal society, which embodies and cherishes the principles of people's participation, equality, transparency and accountability leading to sustained economic development and excellence in all walks of life.
  - Prajasa Vaddaku Palana (administration to the doorsteps of the people) programme build a more responsible official and active participation of common to represent his problems and needs directly.
  - Call of 'Shramadanam' (donation of labour) channelized the people, by participating in the works like repairing irrigation canals, school buildings, roads, silted water tanks, construction of compound walls.
  - Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWACRA) scheme has been enhancing the economic status of rural women and giving a boost to their self esteem and confidence in their walks of life
  - TDP established the e-governance and good governance through establishment of IT sector in Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh is among the first State in the country to set up a comprehensive citizen service portal ([www.andhrapradesh.gov.in](http://www.andhrapradesh.gov.in)) and among the earliest in the world.
  - Establishment of Rythu Bazars helped to benefits both the farmers and the consumers. It's eliminate the middlemen and arrange facilities for the farmers to sell their produce directly to the consumers at reasonable rates fixed every day
  - The Vision 2020 document became an important scale by which the government had charted the road map of progress of the State with the Centre for Good Governance playing the vital role in monitoring and evaluation of policies, programmes and setting benchmarks in the domain of performance.
- ❖ Internal democracy is very less in Telugu Desam Party because of leader centric party from its inception in Andhra Pradesh. It was democratic dictatorship under NTR; it is democratic centralism under Chandrababu.
- ❖ TDP played a vital role of opposition as watch dog for the betterment of the people and scrutinized the policies and programs of the government.



- ❖ It can be concluded that regional political parties can greatly help in the success of democracy in Andhra Pradesh as well as in the rest of India. On the other hand, they can also impact the stability of government.

Though, the thesis deals with several notions such as regionalism, caste politics, cultural pluralism, democracy, political parties, the central theme of the thesis is limited to Democracy and Regional Political Parties. Altogether, this thesis has attempted to prove that the regional political parties are playing a vibrant role in democratizing the polity in Andhra Pradesh as well as in India through the prism of caste, regionalism and with their active partaking in politics.

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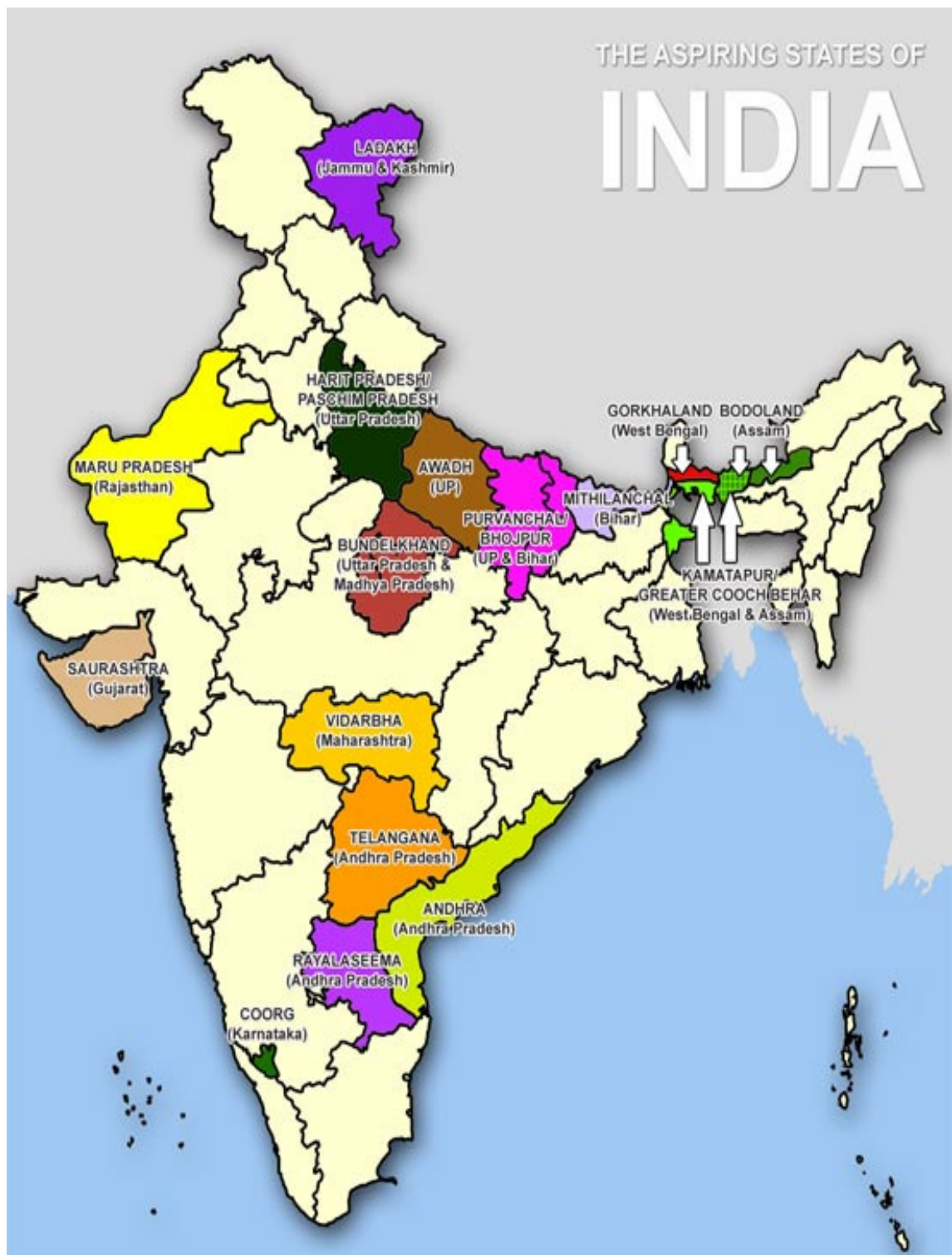
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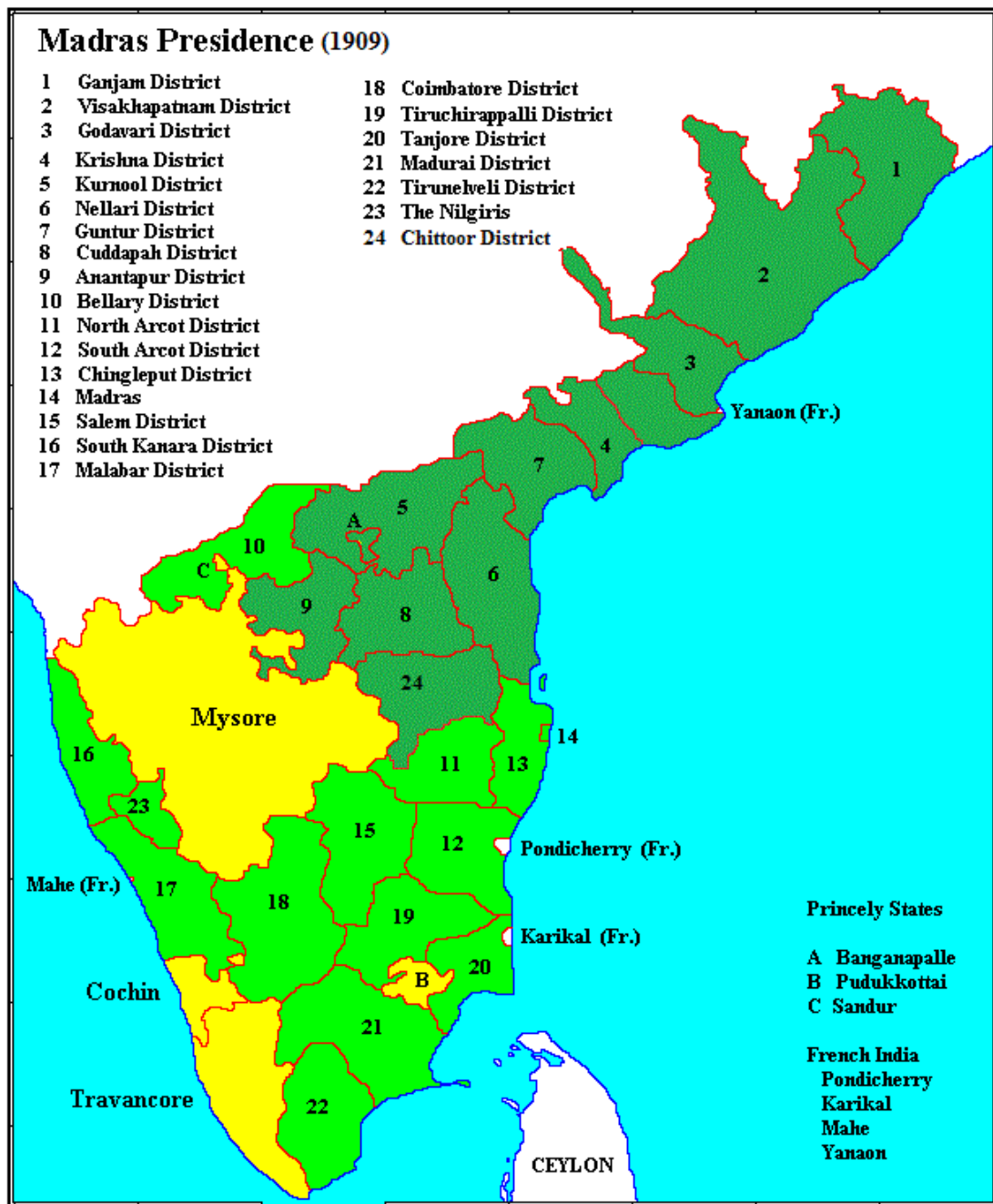
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## Annexure – 1: Regional Aspirations in Indian States

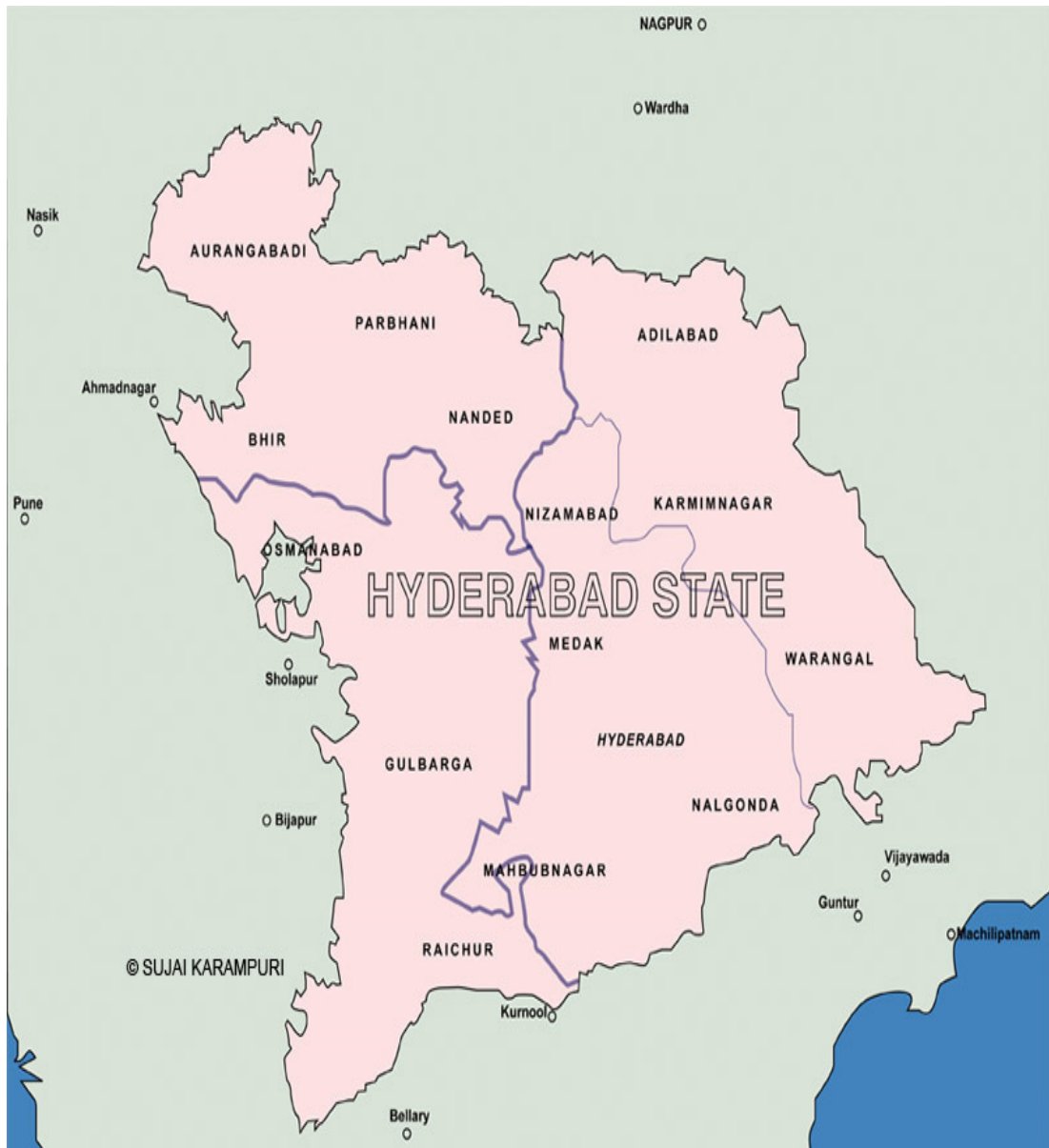




## Annexure – 2: Andhra during Madras Presidency



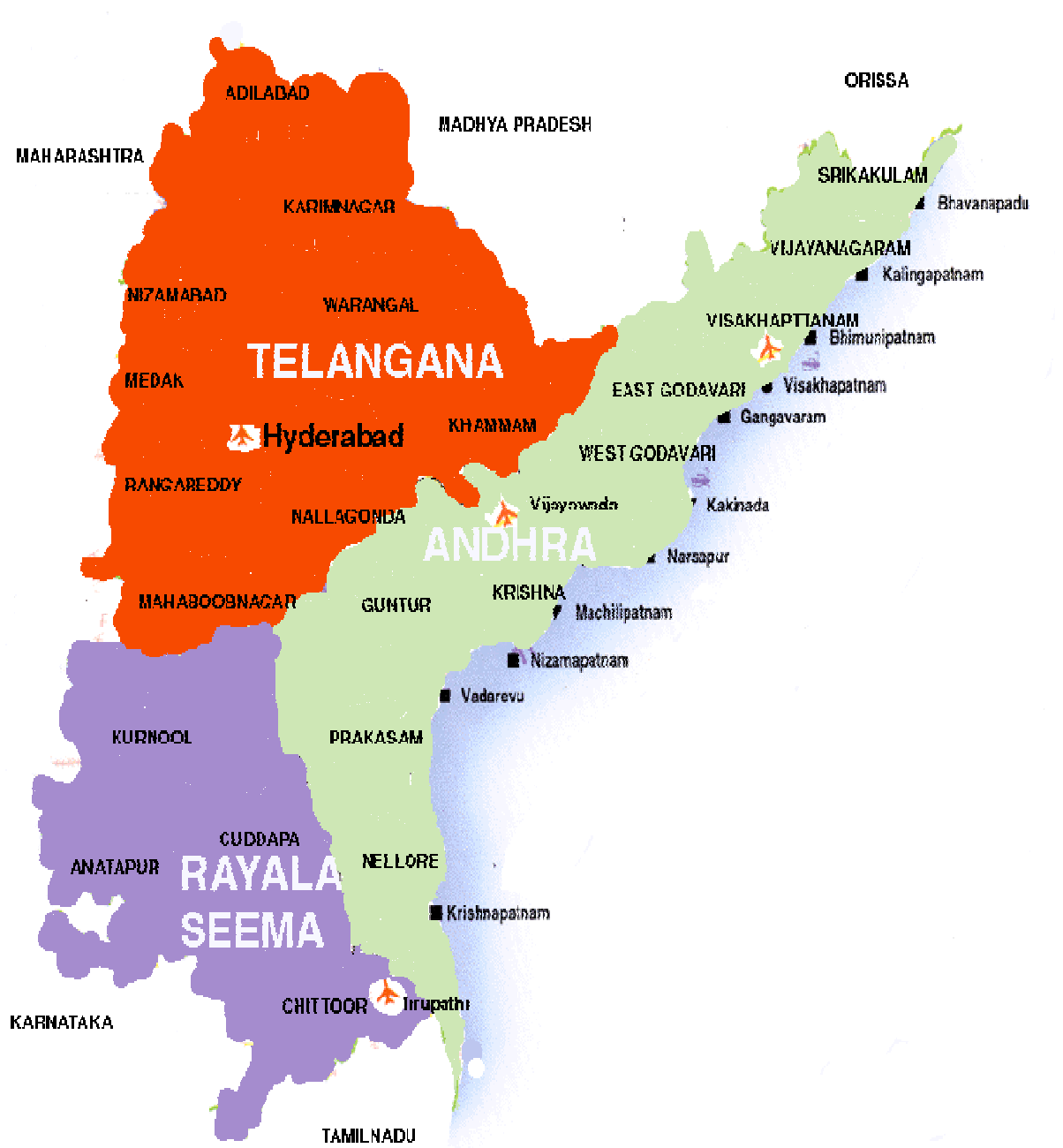
### Annexure – 3: Hyderabad State



Annexure – 4: Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh Political Map



## Annexure – 5: Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh Regional Map



## Annexure – 6: New Telangana and Andhra Pradesh States

