

Seeker of Scientific Truth

Volume - II



INNAIAH NARISSETTI

INDIAN POLITICS

- Births and Deaths of Political Parties in India
- Political History of Andhra Pradesh
- Chief Ministers I Met

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The Birth and Death of Political Parties in India

(A Real Case of Academic Torture)

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INTRODUCTION

Political parties are a recent phenomenon in India. Since the birth of Indian National Congress in 1885, nearly 200 parties have been born and not all of them are alive today. Some parties which were born before independence survived after 1947, but extinguished soon. The only party which withstood the odds of Indian scene and still continues to prolong its existence is the Indian National Congress. The next major party is the Communist Party of India. Which is still strong in two or three states. The third major party, born in 1930 is the Congress Socialist Party, tried to live through several other parties but ultimately met its end. Similarly the Forward Bloc founded by Subhas Chandra Bose in 1940 could not which survive anywhere after independence except in Bengal. The Radical Democratic Party started by M. N. Roy in 1940, converted itself into a movement in 1948. Several of its members joined various other parties. The religious oriented parties like Rama Rajya Parishad, Hindu Maha Sabha, Muslim League are still continuing, though they have not influenced the whole of India.

After independence several parties emerged both at national and regional level. All political parties had one thing in common. They want power to implement their ideology. The parties come out with a policy, programme and during the elections they prepare manifestoes. People are supposed to vote after discussing the merits and demerits of the respective manifestoes. Gradually manifestoes have become a formality. They were replaced by leaders. Voters were asked to vote for so and so leader. During 1980 elections personalities played a very

prominent role. People were asked to choose among Indira, Jagjivanram, Morarji Desai, Vajpayee, Charan Singh. Chandrasekhar. etc.

Before independence all the political parties competed to enrol members, to build cadre, to develop cells, to organise study camps, to convene conferences and to contact people. They used to publish accounts, number of members and periodical elections inside the party was the order of those days. Only the Communist party kept the information secret as a disciplined and closed party.

All the major political parties organised front organisations among the industrial workers, students, youth. women, artisans and poets. The workers, at least some of them were the “Whole time” workers in political parties. They were paid to meet their day to day expenses. Those workers carried the message of the parties to the nooks and corners of the country. Whenever their leaders called for action, the workers were ready to sacrifice for the sake of the party, the flag and the ideology. Often heated discussions ended in severe clashes and these were common during elections. Several workers laid their lives down for their leaders and became martyrs.

After independence also this trend continued for some time. There is a qualitative change in the orientation before independence and after independence. Power for the sake of power has become the main target after independence, whereas before independence power was the remote aim. Congress party tasted power in 1937 for a short period. But that was a limited power under the Britishers.

Before independence elections were held to local bodies with limited franchise. Naturally propertied sections dominated the political arena. A few people manoeuvred for votes. But that

was not so after the independence. In the first general elections held during 1951-52 adult franchise came into vogue. But the percentage of literate was 20% and the parties appealed to the emotions, and sentiments of masses rather than to reason. That is how all parties competed in mobocracy. Parties propagated the inevitability of their existence, as all people cannot rule themselves in day to day administration. Several parties were born but in due course either they merged with some other party or liquidated. The party, supposed to be inevitable, had gone and some other party came into existence.

After independence all the political parties faced split without exception. The split was either due to ideology, or power game or personality clashes. Parties started rationalising the split. Similarly when a party merges with another party, they refuse to call it defection. Defections are justified and taken for granted.

People were respected only during elections because the sovereign voter has to elect his representative. Once the vote is cast, the elected representative cannot be called back inspite of his undeserving acts. He may change parties, join any party he likes, take any position suitable to him but the voters have no right to recall him. Hence the representatives have become irresponsible towards their voters. The elected representatives mortgage their delegated power to their party leaders who in turn play the game of politics as they like.

An argument was developed and to some extent practised saying that the parties are not necessary in local bodies. If that is so, why not extend it to State level or Central level? The formal democracy which is practised today through party governments did not come to stay. It can be dispensed with. The very fact that so many parties were born and died is a proof of their futile nature. In fact, political parties have become a hindrance to

parliamentary democracy. Parties have very cleverly used it for perpetuating their power. The party in power wants to continue in power so that it may implement the policies and the period given to it (five years) is too short for fulfilling all the promises. As they can never achieve the policies, they would like to continue in power for the sake of people". There is no party by and of people. Every party is for people only. This is onethird democracy.

Political parties are burdensome to people. The whole-timers are a menace to the tax payer. Parties collect huge amounts from people through various means. The money was never accounted for. Why should people pay for these parties when the parties are not inevitable? Party life has become a license to thrive on others. Each party protects its workers, however anti-social they may be. That is inherent in the party system itself. This sort of party behaviour encourages lawlessness because parties are treated above law in practice. Parties are anti people, so to say. Parties exist for themselves and not for people. In the scramble for power, all the parties sacrifice people the voters.

In a party democracy people are at discount for the sake of "People's democracy". The communist party killed thousands, of "Class enemies". In turn the Communist workers too died not only due to police firings and "encounters" but also due to Intra party rivalry. Similarly every party sacrificed several workers when they take up agitation, though leaders are always safe as Vanguards!

Parties are free to take birth and die. During their existence, parties are extra-constitutional, though they are recognised in legislative bodies. Nothing was mentioned about parties in the constitution. The so called house leader in Assembly or Parliament is not elected by the house. The majority party elects

the leader. This incongruous practice is in vogue due to formal democracy.

Whenever general elections are announced several parties emerge to gain power. Prominent persons who fail to get seats either for themselves or to their group form a party. Similarly coalitions also are formed during elections which are unholy alliances. Unholy because they don't see eye to eye in ideology but they come close or unite either to get power or to defeat a common powerful enemy.

Many parties claim all India character but most of them are confined to a few states only. A party that belongs to one state names after All India Party (for Example: AIADMK). Some of these parties play crucial role in coalition Governments. Indira Gandhi had the support of the CPI, the CPM, the DMK when she was weak in Centre. But when once she gained absolute majority, the role of other parties became futile. At state level too some parties played an important role - both positive and negative. The Krishikar Lok Party co-operated with Rajaji in 1952 and thus prevented the Communists to form coalition Government in Madras. Several congress stalwarts failed to gain seats when Sanjiva Reddy was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. That led to the formation of Socialist Democratic Party. Very soon that party was liquidated. Regional feelings created parties like Telangana Praja Samithi in 1970. When Indira Gandhi swept the entire country with her influence. Praja Samithi defeated her candidates and won 10 seats for Lok Sabha, soon after the party merged with the Congress, because with 10 seats they could do nothing.

In any case this book is not an attempt to write the history of political parties in India. That is a task to be fulfilled separately. This book is aimed at exposing the undemocratic nature of

political parties. Even if all the membership of all the political parties put together, it may not exceed $1/20$ of the population. These parties play with people, rob the sovereignty and victimise the Voters. This has to be abhorred.

In preparing the script my wife Komala and my son Raju helped me constantly. I am thankful to my friends M. V. Rama Murthy, and P. Satyanarayana for their advice. Of course, the writings of M. N. Roy are my inspiring guides throughout and continue to be so.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(1885-1969)

The Congress like Hinduism absorbed everything from Marxism to Jan Sangh and in the process annihilated every major party.

The Indian National Congress was born in the year 1885. This was the first major All India Party which was identified with all shades of opinion in the country. Curiously, the founder of the Indian National Congress was Octavian Hume, a British civil servant. He left the civil service in India and after feeling the pulse of the natives started the Indian National Congress. Madras Native Association, National League, National Conference were already formed by then. The first Indian National Conference was held on 28th December, 1885 at Gokul Das Tejpal College in Bombay. 72 representatives from various parts of the country attended the first meeting and ignited the movement for the rights of the natives. W.C. Benerjee was the first President of the Indian National Congress. The meeting was held for 3 days. At that time the Congress was not opposed to British rule as such. They wanted only some reforms and opportunities to the natives in services and so on. Some of the stalwarts who participated in the first meeting were Dada Bhai Nowrojee, Feroz Shah Mancharjee Mehata, Kashinath Trimbuk Talang, Dinshah Aduljee Wacha, Rangaiah Naidu, Subrahmanya Ayyar, Ananda Charyulu, Veera Raghavacharya, etc. The meeting ended with cheers to Her Majesty, the Queen Empress.

The INC (Indian National Congress) originated and met annually at various places. The number of delegates increased

gradually and the message of the Congress spread throughout the country. Though it took time it became a Mass Party.

By 1904 the Congress was divided into two major groups, namely, the moderates and the extremists. The first differences were seen at the Benaras Congress in 1905. Balagangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Roy, Bipinchandrapal, Arvind Ghosh, Khaparde were known as the extremists at that time. Surendranath Benerjee, Feroz Shah Mehta, Dada Bhai Nowrojee, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Madan Mohan Malaveeya, Gokhale, Ras Bihari Ghosh and several others were in the camp of moderates. In 1906 the Calcutta Congress witnessed the open difference between the two camps which deepened and ended in bitterness. The Extremists who could not have their own way at the Calcutta Congress had to run away from the pandals at one stage. Four resolutions were passed regarding self-government, colonial lines, national education, boycott of foreign goods and encouragement of the use of native goods.

The 23rd session of the INC was held in December, 1907 at Surat where in the extremists wanted again to pass four resolutions. The struggle started between Lala Lajpat Roy and Ras Bihari Ghosh over the appointment of the President. On 26th December, 1907, when the session began, the extremists and moderates fought under some pretext or the other. There were slogans and demonstrations when Surendranath Benerjee was not allowed to speak, the session was postponed to the next day. And on 27th December, 1907 slippers and sticks were used by the members creating pandemonium and the session was adjourned sine die. Thus after 23 years the Congress was split and there was a stalemate for almost a decade. Surat Congress created bitterness among the rank and file as well as the leaders. The moderates tried to continue the annual sessions but the enthusiasm was missing. Many eminent persons either retired or left the country while some others re-mained passive.

The two groups once again came together in 1916 when INC conference was held at Lucknow. This was the 31st INC conference where the Hindus from both the groups of moderates and extremists and also the Muslims came together for the first time. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Ras Bihari Ghosh, Surendranath Benerjee, 'Madan Mohan Malaveeya, Tilak and Anne Beasant were some of the prominent luminaries present at the Lucknow Conference. From then onwards Gandhi triumphed against the extremists and gradually became the whole and sole of the party. By 1921 Gandhi adopted the new political techniques like noncooperation, Satyagraha against the British rule. He created tempo throughout the country by the end of 1921, which gave him confidence to announce that he would attain total independence to the country within a year. Later Gandhi had to confess that he committed a Himalayan blunder in doing so. No Tax Campaign and the Civil Disobedience movement failed bringing discouragement all over. The Congress was heading towards the second split. Elections to the councils were fast approaching. Leaders like C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Sreenivasa Ayyangar wanted to fight the election and come to the council to wreck the constitution from within. Soon after the demise of C. R. Das, the Swaraj Party leader Motilal joined Congress main stream and always followed Gandhiji inspite of his differences and different way of life. Gandhiji was also grateful to Nehru family for their faithful following. These were called pro-changers. The others, led by Gandhiji were called non-changers. The pro-changers started the Swarajya Party and gained tremendous success in the elections. M. N. Roy was in correspondence with C. R. Das from Moscow and encouraged Das to go left and radicalise the Congress. But in Gaya Congress no-changers under the leadership of Gandhi gained the upper-hand. From 1920 to the day of attaining independence. Gandhiji's

voice dominated the Congress Party. There were many ebbs and tides within the party but ultimately those who opposed Gandhiji had to leave the party. Gandhiji gave a religious touch to the political movements and roused the consciousness of the people. He spoke people's language and took up constructive programmes to build up the party. From 1930 onwards the country witnessed the birth of the Socialist units all of which together formed the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 and functioned from within the broad frame of the Congress Party. The question of council entry came up once again in 1934 but this time the Swarajya Party was firm under the leadership of M. S. Aney and it received Gandhiji's blessings.

Gandhiji left the Congress Party in 1934 but that was only a formality. Virtually he was the leader and the dictator though formally he was not even an ordinary member. In spite of the initial opposition to the elections, later to the acceptance of the office by the Congress Socialists, the party not only participated in the elections but also got tremendous success. It also accepted the offices after much discussion. Within the Congress Party there was always a group intact to support Gandhiji's views but among the rank and file the strength of the leftists increased to such an extent that they could defeat Gandhiji's candidate for the Presidentship of the party. Subhash Chandra Bose was elected twice as the President, once at Haripura Congress Session of 1938 and a second time at Tripura Congress Session. Gandhiji proposed Pattabhi Seetharamaiah as his candidate and deemed Pattabhi's defeat as his own. Gandhiji and his followers refused to co-operate with the President elect. Moreover Govind Vallabh Pant moved a resolution stating that the working committee should be formed as per the wishes of Gandhiji. Bose had to resign the Presidentship as well as the party membership. He was not allowed to organize protest meeting against the

prevailing attitude: That was the way of democracy followed by Gandhiji. A little later another resolution, which aimed at throwing out all the leftists from the Congress, was moved by Govind Vallabh Pant and the Communists, Royists and other leftists had to leave the party with the exception of the Socialists. Gandhiji had the absolute grip over the party along with his loyal followers. Jawaharlal Nehru, inspite of his leftorientation remained with Gandhiji. Rajendra Prasad, Abul Kalam Azad. Sarojini Naidu. Vallabh Bhai Patel, Govind Vallabh Pant, Pattabhi Seetharamaiah, J. B. Kripalani, C. Rajagopalachari stood by Gandhiji. After playing the historic role during the war, the Congress Party, despite loosing grip over trade Unions and Kisan Sabhas, gained much from the people's point of view.

In 1946 Gandhiji unusually supported the candidature of Rajagopalachari for the Chief Ministership of the Madras Presidency. Prakasam boldly opposed this dictatorial attitude of Gandhiji and got elected in a democratic way. But he was removed from that position after a year due to the maneuverings of the Congress Party which makes a different story altogether. After the assassination of Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru inherited the leadership of the Party. Opinions differed between him and other stalwarts like Rajendra Prasad, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Purushotham Das Tandon. Nehru gained upperhand in the party after Patel and those who disagreed with him either left the party or remained reticent. Nehru with his leftist slogans aslmost killed the leftparties in India. He sought the co-operation of the Socialists for nation building. He introduced planning stating that the Socialistic pattern of Society was the aim of the Congress. Kripalani, Rafi Ahmed Quidwai, Ajith Prasad Jain left Congress and Patel died. Nehru became the "Democratic Dictator" of the party. The party and the Govenment became identical from 1955 onwards where Congress adopted Socialistic pattern of society

as its goal. Nehru's non-alignment Policy with Panchsheel attracted the world's attention. The Congress Party from the time of Gandhiji's leadership had enrolled membership, conducted elections and maintained democracy within the party. This trend continued as long as Nehru was there.

Another great achievement during Nehru's regime was the introduction of three tier Panchayat Raj System based on the recommendations of Balvanth Roy Mehta Committee. Elections to the local bodies helped the party in power to strengthen its position which was earlier lost within the party. At the same time Nehru in his last days introduced Kamaraj Plan. Whenever he felt like removing some persons Nehru used to ask for resignations enmasse. He accepted the resignations of undesired persons and retained others. Kamaraj Nadar came very close to Nehru and advised him to adopt this method. That was why the plan was named after him. Many stalwarts like Rajagopalachari and N.G.Ranga left the Congress Party and formed the Swathantra Party in 1959. Though the Congress Party was perturbed with the emergence of the liberal conservative party it was not shaken badly. The Congress received a terrible setback during Indo-China boarder war where India faced many reverses. This was also a personal shock to Nehru who, in turn, sacked the late Krishna Menon, then the Minister for Defence. With the demise of Jawaharlal Nehru on 27th May, 1964, the Congress Party faced a grave question 'After Nehru, who'. By that time the syndicate emerged from Congress and selected Lal Bahadur Shastri as the leader. This syndicate consisted of Kamaraj Nadar, Nijalingappa, S.K.Patil, AtulyaGhos, Snajeeva Reddy, Sadiq Ali, K. C. Abraham, Morarjee Desai, Hitendra Desai, C. B. Gupta etc. The death of La! Bahadur Sastri in Tashkent after only 18 months of his Prime Ministership, gave another opportunity to the syndicate to play their role. Mr. Morarjee Desai claimed the

leadership but ultimately, Indira Gandhi won as a candidate of Kamaraj Nadar. In the political circles there was strong belief that just before his death, Nehru made Kamaraj look after the political future of Indira Gandhi. Kamaraj kept his promise but Indira soon parted company with Kamaraj.

1967 elections gave a big jolt to the Congress Party especially in the States. At the Centre the party emerged as the single largest one. Stability was at stake. Nevertheless Indira Gandhi faced the opposition, of course, with less courage. But gradually rightist forces within the Congress Party started consolidating under the leadership of Syndicate. Conflicts came out openly and Indira Gandhi clinched the issue in the Bangalore Congress Session. This session met in 1965. By then Zakir Hussain died. The Congress Party had to select a candidate for Presidentship. Indira Gandhi proposed the name of Mr. Jagjeevan Ram where as the Syndicate (the so-called High Command) selected Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy as the official candidate. To slap the syndicate on the face Indira Gandhi proposed Nationalisation of Banks and other reforms in the economic sphere. There were continuous verbal battles between the Prime Minister's camp and the Syndicate. Mrs. Gandhi proposed the name of Sanjeeva Reddy as she was officially obliged to do so. But she wanted the party members to vote as per their conscience. She decided to support Mr. V. V. Giri. She released Morarji Desai from Finance portfolio.

In the Presidential election V. V. Giri won defeating Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy, Syndicate's candidate. Nijalingappa, in his capacity as President of the Congress, asked for explanation from Indira Gandhi and others. A series of incidents took place and all the efforts to unite both the factions failed. Ultimately Indira Gandhi was removed from the party. But that was not the end, in fact, that was the beginning of the death of the Congress Party. Indira Gandhi and her followers requisitioned for AICC Session.

November 12th, 1969 was the historic day in the annals of the Congress Party where the great split occurred. At the juncture the followers of Mrs. Gandhi met in New Delhi on November 22nd and 23rd, 1969, where 440 out of 706 AICC members were present. That day onwards this Congress was called Congress (R). They removed Nijalingappa as the President of the Congress along with eleven working committee members who were with him. Mr. C. Subramaniam was the President of Congress (R). The other group was called Congress (O).

The prominent followers of Mrs. Gandhi were Jagjeevan Ram, Y. B. Chavan, Fakruddin Ali Ahmed, Sardar Swaran Singh. Kotha Raghu Ramaiah, M. L. Sukhadev, V. P. Naik, Kasu Brahmananda Reddy, B. P. Chaliha. G. M. Sadiq, S. C. Shukla, Y. S. Parmar, D. Sanjeevaiah, D. P. Mishra, Guljari Lal Nanda, Shankar Dayal Sharma. H. N. Bahuguna. Umashankar Deekshit, Govind Menon, Satyanarayana Sinha, Dinesh Singh, Bansilal, Subhadra Joshi, Shashi Bhushan. Omprakash Bahl etc.

The prominent members on the Syndicate side were Nijalingappa. Kamaraj Nadar, Ram Subhag Singh, Pendekanti Venkata Subbiah, K. C. Abraham, Sadiq Ali, Hitendra Desai. Morarjee Desai. C. B. Gupta, Atulya Ghosh, S. K. Patil, Sanjeeva Reddy, S. N. Mishra etc.

The glory of the Indian National Congress which began in 1885 ended after a period of 84 years. From then on the Congress Party was identified with the personal charisma of Mrs. Gandhi and the rival group lost its identity.

The party maintained, the Democratic traditions through organisational elections, from village to Delhi level, enrolled membership and thus retained the formal democratic norms. With the split of 1969 democracy in the party disappeared. Adhocism has been systematically adopted by both the groups

The President of the party with the aid of Parliamentary Board and Working Committee, nominated all the bodies at the State level namely, the President of the P.C.C, Executives and election committees. Since the last ten years there has been no effort to enroll membership, to conduct elections at any level in the party. Decisions are being made at the Centre and thrust upon, at all levels.

Mrs. Gandhi emerged as the national leader in the mid-term elections of 1971 which she held immediately after the formation of Bangladesh. Congress (O) was reduced to a skeleton party where as Congress (R) got 350 seats in the Lok Sabha. The wavering position of 1967 continued no more. Mrs. Gandhi did not need to depend upon the Sympathies of the CPI, the CPI (M), the DMK and Akali Dal which she needed between 1967 and 1971. But strength alone was not the criteria. Throughout 1974-75 the entire country witnessed agitations bordering on violence. Gujarat started the flame which was caught up by Bihar and other areas. Jaya Prakash Narayana took the lead. At that juncture the Allahabad High Court set aside the election of Mrs. Gandhi to Lok Sabha. Immediately on 26th June, 1975, Indira Gandhi declared 'Emergency' and got many national leaders arrested. No party was allowed by her to continue its activities except her own. Her fame and name got tarnished rapidly. When she lifted the emergency and declared elections on January 18, 1977, the country was in a different mood. Four opposition parties merged into one Janata Party under the leadership of Morarjee Desai. On 2nd February, 1977 Jagjeevan Ram resigned from the Union Cabinet and the Congress Party and formed the Congress for Democracy which H. N. Bahuguna too got associated with. Raj Narayan defeated Mrs. Gandhi from Ray Bareille Constituency. The Janatha Party formed the Government at the Centre. In May, 1977 the Congress Party elected Mr. Brahmananda Reddy as the

Chairman. As a protest against this election Mr. J. Vengala Rao, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and Kotha Raghu Ramaiah resigned from the party and later Mr. Vengala Rao withdrew his resignation at the instance of Mrs. Gandhi. On 18th December, Indira Gandhi resigned from the Congress Working Committee and cleavages again started in the party. Several members resigned along with Indira Gandhi and formed another party which was named, this time as Congress (I) popularly known as Indira Congress.

Indira Gandhi emerged as the National leader once again in 1980 general elections. Janata was split and opposition was routed in the Centre. Indira Gandhi adopted her adhocism once again and nominated the Chief Ministers, PCC Presidents etc. There is no cadrebased elections or enrollments of membership. Indira Gandhi started depending upon her son Sanjay Gandhi for rallying the youth and controlling the party affairs. Unfortunately Sanjay died in a helicopter crash on 23rd June, 1980 in Delhi. Gradually Rajiv Gandhi entered Congress politics and contested for Lok Sabha from Amethi. Thus the hereditary political tradition is continued in the Congress Party. Leadership was imposed from above. Everywhere authoritarianism is rampant. Democracy has a namesake existence. Parties are using democratic form for their own ends. This is more so in the Congress. There is no attempt to educate voters in between the elections, upstarts are ruling the people and claiming leadership.

In July 1981, the election commissioner declared Cong-I as the recognised Indian National Congress. By that time Congress (U) led by Devraj Urs was on decline and also divided. Jagjivan Ram led his own faction in Congress (U) and a meeting was held on 5th August, 1981 at Delhi. Anyhow, the party remained with few leaders and the followers defected to Cong-I. In some states like Andhra Pradesh, Cong-U practically annihilated and its

office also was occupied by Cong-I workers. Congress (U) converted itself as Congress (S). The election commissioner derecognised it as real Congress party.

Legally Cong (I) is the Indian National Congress. But it has lost all credibility as a political party. At every level only adhoc bodies remained and nominated committees continued. Personality cult has become the criteria instead of party.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (1920-1964)

The Communist party of India was inspired by Russian Revolution. It had its roots in Soviet Union. The party was born in Tashkent in 1920 as the brainchild of M.N. Roy. It can be rightly called an emigree party with a handful of Muslim pilgrims from India. The founder members were M.N. Roy, his first wife (American) Evelyn Trent, Mohammad sadiq, Abani Mukherjee, his Russian wife Rosa Fittingof, Musood Ali Shah, Abul Rab. Trimul Acharya, Shoukat Osmani, and Abdulla Jafdar. M.N. Roy trained these people along with other pilgrims in Tashkent. Later Roy took some of these persons to Moscow where he taught them advanced courses in Communism. While leaving Tashkent to Moscow, he sent a few Communist trainees to India. From that time Roy continuously poured literature and letters into India. He contacted some persons in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and established party friendship with them helping them with his ideas as well as money from Moscow. He also started a journal called "The Vanguard of Indian Independence" and dispatched it to various persons. He established contacts with Ram Charanlal Sharma in Pondichry which was ruled by the French at that time. But Sharma. while pretending to be a Revolutionary knocked away much of the money sent by Roy. This apart, many letters of Roy were seized by the British Intelligence Department. Inspite of these preliminary handicaps since 1920 Roy had been able to establish a network in India which resulted informing the Communist party groups. The pioneers of these groups were Sripat Amrut Dange (Bombay), Muzafar Ahmed (Calcutta), Malapuram Singaravelu Chettiyar

(Madras). Gulam Hussain (Lahore), and Shoukat Osmani (U.P.). The Communists could legitimately claim as the second largest All India Party after the Indian National Congress. The party encroached into the labour movement which was all through neglected by the Congress party. In 1922 Gandhiji suspended the non-cooperation movement which became a blessing in disguise to the newly formed communist groups. The Communist party of India was formed inside the country on 1st September, 1924 with 78 members. The first conference of the party was held at Kanpur in 1925 but it ended with a split. Satya Bhakta who organized the conference in the last week of December wanted the party to be independent of International Communist Party. As that was not agreed to, he had to leave the conference. The party established its headquarters in Bombay. M.N. Roy wanted an illegal organization so that even if the Communist party was banned by the government, the illegal party could function in India. Soon after Roy had to go to China and the British Communists took charge of guiding the Indian Communist Party. The Britishers were suspicious of the CPI and had the trial of several Communist leaders in the conspiracy cases of Kanpur, Peshawar, Meerut and other places. The Communist Party not only opposed the mass movements of the Congress Party but vehemently attacked its leaders and the rank and file. Though the Communist Party gained strength in the trade union movement, it alienated itself from the masses due to its antinational policies. The party opposed Gandhiji's civil disobedience movement and Salt satyagraha but it organized a series of strikes and educated the workers. From 1928 onwards M.N. Roy moved away from the Soviet Communist Party and became a target of attack by the Indian Communist Party, with the direction of the Soviet Party. The CPI dubbed the Indian National leaders as 'Bourgeois'. Many leaders of the CPI were imprisoned after trials in various conspiracy cases and by 1934 the Communist Party was banned in India.

Fortunately in 1934 the Congress Socialist Party was born and gave an opportunity to the Communists to enter the CSP and strengthen themselves. At that time even the top leaders of the Congress and the CSP were not aware of the Communist tactics. M.N. Roy, who knew them well, was in jail from 1930. B.T. Randvie and S.V. Deshpandey fought furiously regarding the party policies. Fighting between these groups literally took place on 18th December, 1930 in front of a cotton mill in Bombay.

The Communist party took maximum advantage of the CSP and strengthened its cadre especially in the South. When **M.R.** Masani revealed, on the basis of a document, the sabotage plans of the CPI the leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan were wavering about the discipline action against the CPI members. The CSP resolved not to admit any more communists into its fold. By that time the CPI not only entrenched into the CSP but entered into the Congress party too. The CPI tried to capture the CSP executive but missed it narrowly. The CPI continued in the CSP until 1940 when in Ramgarh session the CPI was expelled from the CSP. The CPI could take almost all the units of South India and large chunks even in Bengal and the Punjab. In the front organisations the CPI had firm hold on the Students, Federation, Kisan Sabha and Trade Union Congress.

During the second World War the CPI changed its attitude towards the Britishers, followed by the incidents that took place in Russia. In the beginning they called the war as the Imperialist War and when Germany had a pact with Russia, the Communists swallowed the bitter pill of fascism. A little later Germany attacked the Soviet Union and therefore the communists termed it 'peoples War'. This volte face debunked the communists within the country.

The CPI did not support M.N. Roy at Ramgarh session when he contested against Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad for the Congress Presidency. Similarly, the CPI did not give its support to Bose when he appealed for the Leftist Unity at Tripuri session. But it extended its support to the left consolidation committee which however did not last longer.

The CPI started attacking the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru during 1940 and alienated themselves from the main stream. The party had to adjust to all with the international communist response. When the moderates in the Communist Party, under the leadership of P.C. Joshi went to underground during the war, the stalwarts of the party were detained at Deoli. There was no communication between these two groups of the CPI regarding war policy. But in February, 1942, the CPI came out in support of people's war and P.C. Joshi pleaded at that time for the unity of the Congress and the Muslim League. The CPI dubbed the Congress as Hindu organization and P.C. Joshi propagated this as a tactical measure. The ban on the CPI was lifted in July, 1942 and the Communists were released from prisons. To curtail the advancement of the Japanese, the CPI was allowed to organize red army. The Congress Party had given the slogan 'Quit India' by the middle of 1942. The Britishers banned the Congress Party and jailed the foremost leaders. The CPI took this opportunity and captured the entire political arena in the absence of major political parties from the field. P.C. Joshi with his remarkable organizational capacities strengthened the CPI during the war period. He, as the General Secretary of the CPI evolved major tactical lines to consolidate the party. The CPI Opposed 'Quit India' policy of the Congress. This was not liked by the rank and file of the party. The party's attack of Gandhi, Bose and Jaya Prakash Narayan made it very unpopular among the people and brought it closer to Muslim League. Anti-Communist feelings spread within the Congress and

having sensed this, P.C. Joshi tried for reconciliation through correspondence with Gandhiji while praising the Congress and its leaders. But Gandhiji cornered the CPI with his pointblank questions. The CPI failed to pacify the Congress. Immediately after the war the high level committee recommended a show cause notice to be issued to the CPI. Thereby the CPI asked all its members to resign from the Congress Party.

P.C. Joshi as the General Secretary of the CPI moulded its tactics and strategies for 13 years. His moderate line was opposed by Ranadive, Ajaya Ghosh and Adhikari. In 1945-46 immediately after the war, elections were held for legislatures in the Centre and States. The CPI had to face the hostile public during elections and at several places the party members were assaulted. It continued its attack on the Congress. When the election results were declared the CPI won only 8 seats in 4 provincial legislatures. That was the first election where the CPI participated when only 14 percent adult population had the right to vote. The Congress Governments formed Ministeries and the CPI was involved in riots in many a place. A cleavage in the CPI was growing between the moderates and the extremists. P.C. Joshi proposed loyal opposition where as others wanted revolutionary measures. The CPI leaked out certain top secrets of the British Government in India which resulted in a series of country-wide raids on the Party offices. Many leaders were arrested on the eve of Independence. While the country was heading towards independence, the CPI suffered from infighting. When there was peasant unrest in Nizamas' domain the CPI under the leadership of P.C. Joshi, did not avail of the opportunity. B.T. Ranadive incessantly attacked P.C. Joshi's policies. The CPI rallied round Jawaharlal Nehru when the Soviet Union was attacking Nehru's policies. Ranadive very soon took the place of P.C. Joshi as the General Secretary of the party at Calcutta Party Congress in 1948.

Ranadive adopted the Yugoslavia line and inspired a series of urban guerilla fights in West Bengal. But the Andhra leaders, under the guidance of Chandra Rajeswara Rao, supported the Chinese line of action and backed insurrection in Telangana. P.C.Joshi attacked the adventurist lines of Ranadive and Rajeswara Rao. The party was banned in several States., and the underground activity of the leader, and the cadre increased. In Telangana the intensified fight helped the communists to liberate a number of villages in Nalgonda and Warangal Districts. Nizam lifted the ban on the C.P.I but the Government of India occupied Nizams' domain and suppressed the communists who tried to fight back even the Indian Army. Thousands of workers lost their lives in this fight. At all India level Rajeswara Rao replaced Ranadive as General Secretary but the failure in Telangana was attributed to the wrong policies of Rajeswara Rao. Dange and others too attacked Rajeswara Rao. Four leaders of the CPI had been to Soviet Union to seek the advice of Stalin on Telangana Guerilla issue.. But they returned with confusion worse confounded. Then Ajay Ghosh became the General Secretary and tried to bring reconcilliation among the factions.

Between 1948-51 the Communist Party of India had a number of insurrection movements which became abortive in due course. While thousands of workers lost their lives, several families made sacrifice for the sake of the movement. B.T.Ranadive who followed the example of Yugoslavia and SovietUnion. had to concede his failure very soon. Yugoslavia itself left the Soviet Block and ceased to advise Ranadive group. The differences between Andhra and Telangana leadership also contributed to the disruption and disorganisation of the movement in Telangana. The leaders revealed in their private conversations what happened in Moscow when they sought the advice on Telangana Movement. Stalin asked for the map of India where in

the Telangana region was pointed out. He put a straight question to the leaders. As Telangana was surrounded by independent India, as there was no coastal area to escape, how can they expect the guerilla movement to be a success? S.A. Dange, Ajay Ghosh, Rajeswara Rao, and Basava Punnaiah who were present before Stalin remained dumbfounded. They approached Stalin with such awe and wonder that they could not utter a single word in reply. It was Stalin who made it easy for them to face him on the other hand the Soviet Union while approving the adoption of the Chinese method in India gave indications for new tactical methods, with Ajay Ghosh as General Secretary, the Communist Party faced the first general elections, as the party was banned in many parts of the country, they alligned with likeminded parties and groups. United progressive Blocks were formed in many States and the party appealed to the voters to favour the Communist sponsored United Fronts. The CPI won 16 seats in Lok Sabha and stood second among the parties though numerically its strength was negligible. The party tried to form the Government in Madras but the Governor Sree Prakasha invited Rajgopalachari to form the Government. In Hyderabad too, the party emerged as the second largest one. It tried to form government in Travencore-Cochin. During elections the CPI could not secure the co-operation of the Soviet Party. But after the elections the Left Socialists under the leadership of Aruna Asaf Ali and the Revolutionary Socialist Party merged with the CPI. The party in its election manifesto promised people's democracy to replace Nehru's government. The CPI met at Madhurai from 27th December, 1953 to 4th January, 1954 where they did not do postmortem to their objectives and failures. Mr. P. Rama Murthy proposed the united front with the Congress party as Nehru's Government was turning left in internal and external affairs. But the CPI rejected the thesis of Rama Murthy. Throughout 1954 and 55 the CPI was involved in factional fights inside the party. These things came up after the death

of Stalin. Meanwhile there came an opportunity for the CPI in Andhra to come to power through constitutional measures. In early 1955 there was mid-term election in Andhra region where the C.P.S. announced the list of candidates long before the election and even went to the extent of saying that they won the power before elections only. When they were going to polls, the strength of the C.P.I. was 48 in a house of 140. The election results showed that were able to win only 15 out of 196 seats. The CPI was routed never to rise again, not even as the main opposition in Andhra.

There were many changes in the policies of the Government of India by 1955. They had introduced planning on Soviet Model, tried for cordial relationship with China and Russia and announced Socialism as its goal. Under these circumstances the C.P.I. was forced to discuss and change its attitude in many fronts. But there was no unanimity on any single issue in the CPI. The moderates and the extremists were always at logger heads. The CPI held its 4th Congress in April, 1956 at Palghat. The party had to face the second general elections soon and evolve strategy for election purposes. Once again the CPI failed to get co-operation from the PSP but the poll results encouraged the Party's attitude. They got 30 seats in Lok Sabha and their strength in Assemblies increased from 147 to 164. The major achievement of the CPI was it getting 60 out of 126 in Kerala and forming the Government under the leadership of E.M.S. Nambudiripad.

Two important developments occurred during the regime of Nambudiripad, Vinoba Bhave entered the state on a tour, preaching Bhoodan (land gift) Nambudiripad not only welcomed him but also had prolonged discussions and was apparently convinced of the revolutionary purpose of the movement. The Communist Party Congress was held at Amrutsar in 1958 where the parliamentary means of achieving power were endorsed. Nambudiripad, the first democratically elected Chief Minister

of a Communist state was given rousing reception in Amrutsar. But when the Communist Government tried to introduce reforms in the state there was terrible resistance from the religious as well as the communal groups. Violent agitation took place and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as the President of Congress Party, recommended the dissolution of the State Government. Nehru's Government promptly acted and introduced President's rule in Kerala. S.A. Dange condemned the police firing by the Kerala Government during Nambudiripad's time and in his speech in Lok Sabha promised that in case the Communist Government could not restrain the police from resorting to firing, his party would demand the resignation of the Government. Nambudiripad naturally reacted saying that the debate in the Parliament on his government was nothing but an encroachment over the rights of the State, He, thus, initiated the controversial subject, the state-Centre relationship which continues even today. The Communist started mass struggle throughout the country though, at the same time, the conflict between China and India left the communists in a dilemma. Between 1959 and 1962, a series of incidents occurred which culminated in a war between China and India. The Government of India detained all those communists who were known by their sympathies to China. The Indo-China conflict brought out the differences between the two groups of the CPI. The same thing was expressed in the CPI conference held at Vijayawada in 1961. Suslov from Russia had to mediate between these two groups but that was a temporary phase. S.A. Dange openly supported the stand of the Government of India to which the other section sharply reacted. The Ideological conflict continued for two more years until the party met in Calcutta from 31st October to 7th November, 1964 where the CPI (Marxist) was formed. Several Marxist leaders and thousands of workers were detained for their pro-chinese

attitude. Some of them were released in 1964 just before the Calcutta conference.

In 1962 the third general elections were held wherein the Communists got 9.96 per cent of votes out of 55.42 per cent polled.

With the split of the party in 1964, the CPI which had formulated and evolved over a period of 45 years came to an end. The CPI group openly supported the Russian path whereas the CPI (M) endorsed the Chinese line. Each faction claimed majority and strength among the rank and file. Though the CPI (M) had to face further depression in midterm elections conducted in Kerala in 1965, where they could bag 40 out of 133 and among them 28 were won by the candidates who were in the prisons.

The party activated its cadre but it had to face a major crisis very soon. In the 4th General Elections held in 1967 the CPI (M) came out as the single largest party in West Bengal and Kerala. In both the States coalition governments were formed but the conflict between the CPI and the CPI (M) continued. In Kerala the Congress and the CPI joined hands against the CPI (M). In West Bengal mid-term election was forced upon and Jyothi Basu became the Deputy Chief Minister but the Government was not smooth running.

The CPI (M) wanted to discuss its ideological stand regarding the armed struggle to overthrow the Government. When the United Front Government in West Bengal condemned the Naxalbury land reform movement, there was a revolt against the leadership. The CPI (M) met at Madhurai where the conflict was known publicly and a number of persons started criticizing the CPI (M) and they formed into a separate group which was called the All India Co-ordination Committee popularly known as Naxalite group CPI (ML). But, among these Naxalites too atleast

20 groups were formed within ten years, each devising its own tactical line and approach. They were against participating in elections and condemned both the C.P.I. and the C.P.I (M) for participating in parliamentary Democratic elections.

In 1971 general elections the CPI (M) won 25 and the CPI got 23 seats in Lok Sabha. Both the parties extended their support to Mrs. India Gandhi against the Syndicate but the CPI (M) changed its attitude soon after as it found the dictatorial tendencies of Mrs. Gandhi. The CPI continued its support and when Mrs. Gandhi declared emergency in 1975 the CPI welcomed it for a short while. But the CPI (M) condemned the emergency and many of its leaders were imprisoned. After the emergency there was a conflict between Dange's group and Rajeswara Rao's group. While Rajeswara Rao condemned Mrs. Gandhi's policies, Dange saw progressive measures in her programmes. This difference led to further split of the CPI in March, 1981. Dange's followers met in Meerut and formed the All India Communist Party. Naturally Dange was expelled from the CPI. Thus the CPI was reduced to a small faction as its All India Character disappeared in 1964. There are some communists who believe that unity is still possible. One unique feature of this party is that foreign countries directed and led it in India although in the general elections held immediately after the emergency the C.P.I. (M) got 22 in Lok Sabha whereas the C.P.I. had only 7. After the fall of the Janata Government the elections were held again in 1980. The CPI (M) got 35 and the CPI could get only 11. The CPI is reduced to a minority party whereas CPI (M) got the third position in the Lok Sabha. The CPI (M) came to power in West Bengal and Tripura and also joined the left coalition Government of Kerala. During October 1981 Kerala Coalition government lost power.

After the split the Communists were involved in infighting which led to annihilation of each other. This fight was more in

the Communist ruled states like West Bengal and Kerala. After the emergency even some CPI (ML) groups started reconciling with the Parliamentary elections and actually participated in 1977 and 1980 elections. Here and there some candidates won and in Andhra Pradesh the only M.L.A. of CPI (ML) later defected to Congress(I).

The mass movements of the Communists roused the consciousness of the exploited but the latter were gradually lured by the ruling party especially, the charisma of Indira Gandhi mesmerised them.

Thanks to the Naxalite movements, the Governments Commenced certain welfare scheme for the uplift of tribals though it touched only the fringe of the problem.

Another interesting factor is that B.T. Randive. who followed Russian path, gradually drifted to the Chinese way, whereas Ch. Rajeswara Rao who commended the Chinese line in Telangana. condemned the Naxalites for following a similar line.

Mud slinging has become a common feature among the communists, especially after split. A letter which Dange was supposed to have written to British authorities for his release from prison in Meerut conspiracy case was brought to light by Basavapunnaiah and Dange denied it and called it a forgery. Similarly a bitter controversy went on regarding the role of various persons during the armed struggle of 1948 in Telangana. In any case communist Parties remain as regional Parties.

CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY (1934-1977) (S.P.-P.S.P.-S.S.P)

The third major party in India once, the Congress socialist Party with its prolonged illness, decayed and decomposed gradually, inspite of its heroic role in pre-Independence days and historical fight in post Independent India.

The Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was formed in 1934. Some States had already been forming Socialist groups since 1931. Bihar, Punjab, Bombay and Bengal were the States which pioneered the Socialist groups. By that time several leaders and workers who did not like the Gandhian leadership and who were influenced by Marxism and Socialism were craving for identity through an organisation. All such persons rallied round Jaya Prakash Narayan and decided to form the Congress Socialist Party. The first all India Congress Socialist conference was held at Patna on May, 17, 1934. The draft committee consisted of Narendra Dev (President), Jayaprakash Narayan (Secretary), Abdul Bari, Purushotham Das Tricumdas, M.R. Masani, Sampurnananda, C.C. Benarji. F.H. Ansari, Ram Manohar Lohia, Abdul Alim and N.G. Ranga. There were three distinct groups among the leaders, Jaya Prakash Narayan and Narendra Dev were Marxists whereas Ram Manohar Lohia. Achyut Patwardhan were influenced by Gandhian thought. In between these two groups M.R. Masani and Ashok Mehta joined as the Democratic Socialists. The party held its first conference at Ready Money Terrace in Bombay in 1934 (October 21-22) where 150 delegates from 13 provinces participated. They had also started a Central Office at Benares and published the Congress Socialist Weekly under the editorship of Lohia. This party decided to function

inside the Congress Party only. But they had separate programmes and objects to establish the Socialist Society. In the beginning there was not much difference between the ideology of the CSP and the CPI. Jawahar Lal Nehru liked the idea of the formation of the CSP and greeted its first conference though he did not join the CSP. But he allotted funds to the party from the Congress funds and also included Jaya Prakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan and Narendra Dev in the working committee of the Congress Party. Nehru cleverly stayed away from the party perhaps to avoid the wrath of Gandhi. On the other hand Gandhi and his followers hostile to the CSP leaders of the CSP too, especially Jaya Prakash Narayan, vehemently criticised Gandhi's policies. The sharp differences were over the problems like the use of violence, participation in the elections and constructive programmes. Elections were to be held to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1935. The Congress party decided to contest in the election whereas the CSP opposed this line of the Congress stating that it would be compromising with the Britishers. In spite of that the Congress contested in the election and won many seats.

The Communist Party decried the CSP as social fascists and was very hostile to them in the initial stages. As a retort to this attitude, the CSP prohibited admission of any Communist into the party. Meanwhile the Communist International changed its attitude towards the Congress and welcomed the unity fronts. At that time M.N. Roy who was in prison directed all his followers to join the CSP which was welcomed by almost all the leaders of the CSP except M.R. Masani and Purushotham Tricumdas. Many Royists were in the CSP in several States and dominated it in formulating the policies of the party. Charles Mascarenhas thus became the founder member of the Socialist Party along with Jaya Prakash Narayan, M.R. Masani, C.K. Narayan Swamy. Similarly in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Maharashtra, Gujarat,

Punjab and sindh the Royists played a very prominent role from inside the CSP. Some of the prominent people were Rajni Mukherjee from Calcutta, Dharma Das from Bengal, Maniben Kara, V.B. Karnik. Tayab Shaik, V.M. Tarkunde. H.R. Mahajani. G.P. Khare, R.K. Khadelkar, Y.B. Chavan, Thakore Prasad Pandiya, Dasharath Lal Mohan Lol Thakur and A.K. Pillay. In the first conference itself the Royists were successful in their demand to convene a constituent assembly.

The CSP wanted the left wing unity in the country. Thus they invited the CPI in 1936 at its 2nd conference in Meerut. The Communists joined the CSP on individual basis and by April 1936 several Communists were inside the CSP. The Communist party, which was banned in 1934, had very good opportunity to work under the guise of the CSP while maintaining their identity throughout. The CPI was careful enough to camouflage the identity of its members while increasing their membership within the party. Through the CSP, the Communists entered the Congress Party too. E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Sajjad Zaheer became Joint Secretaries of the CSP by 1937. Thus the camel entered the tent. M.R.Masani revealed some documents of the CPI which showed a strategy for capturing the CSP. Immediately in 1937 August the CSP decided not to allow any more CPI members to join them. Mr. Masani found another document which showed that the Royists also planned to sabotage the party, but Rajni Mukherjee and Charles Mascarenhas proved that the document was spurious. Hence the matter ended there. In 1936 Roy was released from jail. Even from the jail he corresponded with the CSP leaders on major policies. Jaya Prakash Narayan met Roy but failed to convince him on many issues. The policies of the CSP were publicly attacked by Roy. By March, 1937 the Royists decided, in New Delhi, to come out of the CSP gradually. Some of the CSP leaders wanted to expel the Royists at once but that was not

agreed to. In spite of that Charles Mascarenhas, M.R. Shetty and Madan Shetty were expelled from the CSP in Bombay. Mani Ben Kara resigned from the CSP. Jaya Prakash criticised Roy for deserting the CSP. Roy wanted to continue in the Congress Party and maintain national unity to achieve independence. He also pleaded for participation in the elections as a tactical move. Similarly on issues like Nationalism, Socialism and acceptance of affiliation of labour and peasant organisations were discussed though they could not come to an agreement. Hence the Royists came out of the CSP in large numbers.

Unlike the Royists, the CPI remained in the CSP under false pretensions and attempted to keep the CSP away from labour movement. After exposing the communist coup within the CSP, M.R. Masani, Ashok and Patwardhan resigned from the executive in May 1939. But Jaya Prakash Narayan hoped against hope to maintain the socialist unity. The CPI tried to capture the entire CSP but was narrowly defeated by the CSP. When the IInd World War broke out the CPI and the CSP came up.

Hitler attacked Moscow, the CPI changed its policy and started scathing criticism against the British rule in India and also the CSP for its soft peddling. In 1940 Ramgarh was the venue for the AICC session. There the CSP expelled the communists and bade good bye to them once for all.

Subhash Chandra Bose contested for the Presidentship of the Congress in 1939. He was opposed by Gandhiji and his followers where as all the leftists including the CSP and the Royists supported him. But Gandhi was not willing to accept the defeat easily. He made his follower Govind Vallabha Pant to move a resolution stating that the composition of the working committee should conform to the wishes of Gandhi. This resulted in the resignation of Bose to the Presidency, and the CSP fell in a

dilemma. In June 1939 a Left consolidation committee was formed with the CSP, the Communists, the Royists and the newly formed party the Forward Block of Bose but it had a short life. As soon as the war broke out each group abandoned the consolidation committee to wither away very soon. The CSP gave up the slogan of the socialist unity. The Royists left the Congress and formed the Radical Democratic Party. Somehow the CSP continued in the Congress. During the war several CSP leaders were put in jail. After their release in 1946, the CSP could not be organised soon. The 1st post war CSP conference was held in Kanpur on 1st March, 1947. In this conference it was decided to drop the word 'Congress' and retain only Socialist Party. Later in August 1947 the General Council of the Socialist Party, adopted its new policy distinguishing it from Communism. By that time Gandhiji realised the importance of the Socialists and wanted them to continue in Congress Party. He went to the extent of proposing Jaya Prakash Narayan as the President of the Congress but he did not survive long to see his dream fulfilled. He was assassinated on 30th January, 1948.

The Socialist Party gave a call to all its members to come out of the Congress and also asked its legislators to resign in 1948. The Congress Party precipitated the matters. They stipulated a condition that a members of the Congress Party should not be a member of any other political party. Thus the Social.

beginning of the end of the Socialist Party. The Marxian Jaya lists were pushed out of the Congress. Perhaps that was the Prakash Narayan gradually changed towards Gandhian thought and de-generated into sarvodaya. M.R. Masani who resigned from the CSP in 1939 remained silent for a long time. Ashok Mehta. Ram Manohar Lohia. Narendra Dev, Achyuta Patwardhan and others continued in the party. They organised Hind Majdoot

Sabha under the leader-ship of Ashok Mehta as a front organisation of trade unionism. In October, 1949, the Socialist Party general council met at Bangalore. Bolshevik Leninist party and Revolutionary Socialist party joined them. Throughout the country, the Socialist party appeared to be the viable alternative to the Congress party and Jaya Prakash Narayan was hailed as an alternate leader to Nehru. In 1951, (July 4th) the general council of the party came out with a programme and prepared to face the first general elections in the country. Jaya Prakash Narayan was attracted towards Bhoodan (Dand Gift) movement of Vinoba Bhave and Sarvodaya movement. The Socialist party contested in the first general elections with high hopes. Out of 489 Seats in the House of the People the Socialist party contested for 255 seats but won only 12 seats. Out of 3,283 Assembly seats the Socialists contested in 1,805 seats but won only 125 seats. The Party's hope to become at least the main opposition to the Congress had also failed. That credit had gone to the CPI. The Socialists consoled themselves saying that in the Parliament they got 11,216,779 votes and in the State Assemblies they secured 10,071,211 votes.

In 1952 the Socialist Party convened a special meeting at Pachmarhi from May 23rd to 27th. Ashok Metha and Prem Bhasin in their reports analysed the reasons for the volte face in elections and blamed the other parties for spending huge amounts towards elections. Narendra Dev did not attend the conference.

Ram Manohar Lohia chaired the meeting. The members differed on many theoretical issues and emotional outburst was exhibited. The Party convention categorically refused to have anything to do with the reactionary and the communal parties.

The Pachmarhi special convention of the Socialist Party evinced sharp differences between Ashok Metha and Ram Manohar Lohia. Ashok Metha wanted co-operation with the ruling

party where as Lohia vehemently opposed any such co-operation, while theoretical discussions flared up there was also an attempt to bring the socialist party closer to Kisan Majdoor Praja Party. A similar attempt was made in vain before the first General Election. A series of meetings were held which culminated in conference at Bombay on 26th and 27th September, 1952, where both the parties merged and the new party was called the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) with J.B. Kripalani as the Chairman and Ashok Metha as the General Secretary of the CSP. This was considered a major turning point in Indian Political Party system.

Jawaharlal Nehru. as Prime Minister, sought the co-operation of the PSP leaders and invited them to a meeting in Delhi. Jayaprakash and Ashok Metha welcomed the suggestion of Nehru and prepared a 14 point programme as an agreement for co-operation. Narendra Dev. J.B. Kripalani and Ram Manohar Lohia refuted the proposed co-operation. Jawaharlal Nehru was not willing to abide by the 14 point programme and therefore in March, 1953 the attempt for co-operation dropped.

From 14th to 18th June, 1953 a special convention of the PSP was held at Betul in Madhya Pradesh. There Ashok Mehta came forward with his theory of political compulsions of backward economy wherein he suggested co-operation with the Congress. Ram Manohar Lohia and his followers bitterly criticised the thesis of Mehta which led to the resignation of Jaya Prakash Narayan, Ashok Metha and a few others to the party. But Lohia somehow persuaded them to continue. Their differences were so strong that the gulf widened gradually between the Lohia group and that of Ashok Mehta. Again the PSP in its first national conference from 29th to 31st December, 1953 opposed the co-operation with Nehru Government. From that time Jayaprakash Narayan moved away from the party towards Phoodan. Kripalani continued as the Chairman and Lohia

became the General Secretary. In the early 1954 the coalition Government in Travencore-Cochin opened fire on demonstrators resulting in the death of 4 persons. Lohia immediately demanded from Allahabad Jail the resignation of the PSP Government in Travencore-Cochin. Majority of the members in the party were against Lohia's demand. Lohia and the rival group exchanged bitter feelings. A special convention of the PSP met at Nagpur between 26th and 29th November, 1954, where Lohia's demand was rejected by the majority vote, but the party moved towards the split. To avert the crisis, the convention elected Narendra Dev as the Chairman but Madhu Limaye and Mahadev Sing refused to co-operate with Narendra Dev, though their leader Lohia remained in the executive. Madhu Limaye went on making allegations against Ashok Mehta which led to his own suspension. Lohia and Madhu Limaye attended the Uttar Pradesh PSP conference against the wishes of National executive where Lohia gave a threat to form a new party, soon. In July, 1955 Lohia too was suspended from the party. Thus came the split in the PSP. Lohia started organising the local units of the Socialist Party.

The Second National Conference of the PSP held at Gaya on 26-29th December, 1955, discussed Narendra Dev's policy statement. Ashok Mehta, Purushotham Dass Tricumdas and Kripalani were critical of the statement regarding collaboration with other parties.

At the same time Lohia convened the Socialist Party meeting at Hyderabad from 28th December, 1955 to 3rd January, 1956 and revived the Socialist Party. He adopted seven year plan to power. In the second General Elections Jayaprakash Narayan pleaded for collaboration with any party except Congress. The PSP held a conference on the eve of elections in Bangalore from 25th to 28th November, 1956. The party agreed to collaborate with opposition parties during elections. The PSP put up 190

candidates for Lok Sabha and 1328 candidates for the State Assemblies. The Socialist Party also put up 37 candidates for Lok Sabha and won 8 seats; 346 for Assemblies and won 52. The PSP got 19 seats in Lok Sabha and 196 in State Assemblies. Thus the PSP and the Socialist parties failed to get at least the second place. After the elections Jayaprakash Narayan formally left the PSP in April, 1957. Narendra Dev died in early 1956.

In spite of the militant postures of Lohia's SP there have been gradual erosions and defections since 1959. P.V.G. Raju with a large number of followers left the party in Andhra in 1959. Anthony Pillai in Kerala and another group in Madras also protested against the dictatorial attitude of the leader and joined other groups in their respective States. Similarly Shibbanlal accused Lohia of using the party for his personal ends and he deserted it in 1963. The Second General Elections were an eye-opener to the S.P. as well as the PSP. Despite the disastrous results, both the parties were on warfront and continued so even in the third general elections. Once again these parties were routed and immediately the rank and file almost compelled the leaders to unite for survival. In U.P. and Bihar the two parties came together and showed the way for unity at all India level. Still the grave differences between Lohia and Ashok Metha continued. The extreme attitude of the SP towards English language was also a major impediment for unity. Prem Bhasim, S.M. Joshi and several others welcomed the unity move whereas N.G. Gore was pessimistic about the merger. Throughout 1962 and, 63 negotiations went on resulting in a conference on 1st and 2nd of June, 1963, at Lucknow. J.P. Kripalani and P.C. Ghosh were empowered to take all necessary steps to unite the PSP and the SP. But Raj Narayan opposed the unity measures. While things were moving towards unity Ashok Metha accepted the post of the Vice Chairmanship of the Planning Commission during

Nehru's regime. This was shocking to the PSP and the national executive, at its meeting in Bombay (30th December- 1963) demanded resignation from Ashok Mehta to the party. When Ashok Mehta stubbornly refused to do so, he was expelled from the party on 15th February, 1964. Thus one of the founders of the socialist party was compelled to leave the party. He took away a number of followers with him and joined the congress. The PSP and the SP accelerated the process of unity during May, 1964 and christened a new party as samyukta Socialist Party.

The unity did not last long. Lohia, Raj Narayan and others wanted to join hands with any party with a view to dislodging the Congress from power. The first SSP founding conference commenced at Varanasi on 29th January, 1965. But the erstwhile PSP leaders could not tolerate Lohia's stand on several issues like language, etc. H.V. Kamath and some others left the party. The PSP once again emerged on the national scene with H.V. Kamath as the leader. The division at national level had its chain reaction in the States also. Several PSP members defied the national party orders. This was witnessed in Kerala and West Bengal. Another faction under the leadership of P.L.K. Talib revived the Socialist Party as it did not approve the merger. Talib convened a convention in Delhi on 2nd October, 1964.

Lohia formally joined the SSP on 19th May, 1965. He proposed several theories to capture power at the Centre by 1967. He played a dynamic role in the Lok Sabha and inspired a number of workers throughout the country. His charismatic role came to an end in October, 1967 when he was admitted in a Delhi hospital for treatment.

Even after the 1967 elections there were attempts to unite all the Socialist organisations but they did not go a long way.

The SSP which was already shredded had to face yet another

split on 28th April, 1971. George Fernandes and S.M. Joshi attacked Raj Narayan and left the party. The split was averted temporarily but the bitterness continued. Madhu Limaye often tried to merge the SSP and the PSP which was welcomed by N.G.Gore, Peter Alvares but Raj Narayan consistently opposed this move. In spite of him, a merger took place in June, 1971. The PSP, the SSP and other splinter groups came together because they had to face the hard realities of party politics. In 1971 Indira Gandhi dissolved Lok Sabha and held elections and the SSP got 3 seats and the PSP got two seats out of 515 in Lok Sabha. The original Socialist Party was renewed. As usual Raj Narayan opposed it. Similarly Surendranath Dwivedi from Orissa too opposed the merger. Raj Narayan was expelled from the party in a meeting held at Lucknow on 2nd April, 1972. In turn Raj Narayan recommended the expulsion of George Fernandes. Madhu Limaye, N.G. Gore, Madhu Dandavathe. Disgusted with this attitude of factionalism Karpuri Thakur resigned as the Chairman of the Socialist Party on 14th August, 1972. He formed a new party which was called the Socialist Party Samatha Vadi Ekathavadi (1972-May 18), Similarly Rajnarayan formed his own party calling it Socialist Party Lohiavadee (April 17, 1972) Karpuri Thakur and Raj Narayan joined hands for unity and held a convention at Patna. (Dec. 15-18, 1972). This new party was again named as SSP. The Socialist Party in its national conference held on January 7 1973 decided against joining hands with this new party. Surprisingly some socialist leaders like Sreenivasa Tiwari, Jagdish Joshi, Prabhu Narayan Singh, Chaturbhuj Sharma joined Congress under the leadership of Indira Gandhi. In U.P. as well as in Bihar the SSP was further divided and factions became a fashion.

Immediately after declaring emergency almost all the leaders of various Socialist parties were jailed. Only George

Fernandez could escape for some time. He toured the country and organised resistance to emergency. But later he was arrested in Calcutta and put in Tihar Jail in Patna. When the emergency was lifted in early 1977 all the Socialists along with other 3 major parties merged into Janata party. Thus ended the checkered career of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party died but a few persons remained in various parties still as the Socialists.

JAN SANGH (1951-1977) (B.J.P.)

Just before the first general elections Jan Sangh came into existence with the backing of Rastreeya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) under the leadership of Shyam Prasad Mukherjee. Mr. Mukherjee was the Minister in Pandit Nehru's Cabinet. He resigned from the Cabinet on 8th April, 1950 as a protest against Jawaharlal Nehru-Liyaqut Ali Khan pact regarding equal rights to the minorities in Pakistan and India. From then onwards Mukherjee toured the country and contacted the RSS, the Hindu Mahasabha and some such groups. He also formed People's Party in Bengal. As the elections were coming nearer there was tremendous pressure to organize an All India Party. On October, 21, 1951 Bharateeya Jan Sangh (BJS) was founded at a meeting held in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Bhalla. This convention, which met in Roghoul Arya Girls Higher Secondary School, nominated Mukherjee as the President of the party. The party hurriedly drafted the election manifesto and prepared itself to contest in the First General Elections, 1951-52. The selection of the candidates was done in haste and the party attempted to have coalition with Kisan Majoor Praja Party, Hindu Maha Sabha, Rama Rajya Parishat, but it could not succeed in any nationwide coalition. The results proved to be disastrous to the party and with great difficulty the party could get 3.06 per cent of votes polled to Lok Sabha. The Jan Sangh won only three seats for Lok Sabha and thirty five for Assemblies. Shyam Prasad Mukerjee immediately formed the national democratic party in the Lok Sabha with 32 members, with himself as the leader. This group was the third largest one in Lok Sabha, the other parties that

joined BJS were Ganatantra Parishath. Hindu Mahasabha. Tamilnad Toilers' Party, Dravida Kajagam, Lok Sevak Sangh and seven independents. Mr. Mukherjee was very much respected in and out of Lok Sabha for his remarkable leadership qualities.

Jan Sangh had its first convention in Kanpur from 29th to 31st December, 1952. The party concentrated on the merger of Kashmir in India and the problem of the influx of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan. The party launched Satyagraha demanding the merger of Kashmir including the Pakistan occupied area into Indian Union. During the Satyagraha Period Shyam Prasad Mukherjee was arrested in Jammu-Kashmir area on 11th May. 1953. On 23rd June, Mukherjee was found dead in the State Hospital in Shreenagar while under treatment for heart-trouble. The Satyagraha was immediately stopped and Jan Sangh had the major set back and the national democratic party in Lok Sabha was disintegrated. Fruitless attempts were made for the merger of Hindu Mahasabha and some other parties.

Mauli Chandra Sharma was nominated as the acting President of Jan Sangh but matters did not run smoothly as the dispute between the RSS and others erupted soon. Mauli Chandra Sharam resigned as a protest against the domination of the RSS on 3rd November, 1954. The party appointed Bapu Saheb Sohani in the place of Mauli Chandra as the acting President and ever since, the differences between the RSS and the non-RSS groups have been continuing. Many left the party at the Centre as well as in the States. The claim of discipline in the Jan Sangh proved to be a misnomer. When the party entered into power game it had to abide by the rules of the formal Parliamentary Democracy. The Jan Sangh failed to make any dent in the South.

Jan Sangh had its regular annual sessions. Premanath Dogra from Kashmir presided over 1955 Jodhpur Session. In April, 1956

the party had its session in Jaipur and in the same year in December the party met in Delhi. Deva Prasad Ghosh presided over these two sessions and also continued as the President of the Jan Sangh. The party prepared itself for the Second General Election by which time it acquired the name as anti-Muslim and anti-Christian. It also picked up the cause of anti-cow slaughter.

In the Second General Elections the Jan Sangh appeared before the electorate and it could neither increase percentage of votes nor the number of seats. The party secured only 4 seats in Lok Sabha and 46 in Assemblies. 5.93 per cent of votes were polled by the party, which helped it to retain its national character. Again there was an attempt to have a merger with Hindu Mahasabha but as usual ended in failure. Atul Bihari Vajpayee was elected to Lok Sabha. His performance was on equal lines to that of Shyam Prasad Mukherjee's. He was the leader of the Jan Sangh in Lok Sabha and attained name and fame as the star performer. Through the bitter lessons learnt in two general elections the Jan Sangh started doing and undoing several things. It entered into many councils of the states as well as the local bodies. It concentrated on building up of the cadre. But it continued to be anti-Muslim and Pro-Hindu by and large. In 1958 the party held its annual session at Ambala and in 1959 it met in Bangalore. Of both the sessions Dev Prasad Ghosh was the President. In 1960 the party elected Peetamber Das as the President in its Nagapur session. For the first time Jan Sangh elected a South Indian as the President in its Lucknow Session in 1961. Sree Avasarala Rama Rao from Rajahmundry who also happened to be an M.L.C. from Graduates Constituency, could not contribute much for the growth of the Jan Sangh in South India though he was elected as the President both at Lucknow and Benares sessions. Under the Presidentship of Rama Rao the party faced the Third General Elections. By that time Jan Sangh built up its organization into a wellknown

pyramidal structure with disciplined organizers among students and women. But the Women's wing of the party existed only in name. In the Hindi belt the party had very good journals and to cover up non-Hindi areas they had the weekly 'Organizer' and other regional journals.

In 1962 general elections the Jan Sangh concentrated on the economic problems and the defence of India. The party's strength in Lok Sabha increased to 14 and in the Assemblies to 116. percentage of Lok Sabha votes being 6.44 for the Jan Sangh. In some of the Northern States the party attained the position of a major opposition. That time the Jan Sangh had alliance with newly formed Swatantra Party and certainly gained ground. Looking at the overall position, the Jan Sangh had improved its strength. Its starperformer Vajpayee was defeated for Lok Sabha and had to enter Rajya Sabha a little later. Umashanker Trivedi was elected as leader of the Jan Sangh in Lok Sabha but he could not much impress upon during his tenure. In December, 1962 the party had its annual session at Bhopal, and elected Dr. Raghuvendra as the President. Due to Indo-China war the Jan Sangh concentrated on Foreign Policy, ascertained its national tendency and pleaded for closer ties with the West. Very soon after that on 14th May, 1963 Dr. Raghuvendra died in an accident and the party had yet another jolt. From then on Vajpayee gained importance as the National leader. For the first time the party held its annual session in Vijayawada under the Presidentship of Bachraj Vyas, by which time the Jan Sangh was identified as a party of Hindus, which stands for ancient culture and traditions. It also maintained its anti-Pakistan and anti-Russian attitude whenever the occasion permitted.

The Jan Sangh entered a new era just before the 4th General Elections by electing Balraj Madhok as its President. Balraj Madhok wanted a pragmatic approach to several problems and

he also pleaded for the co-operation of the Swatantra and other Rightist Parties. He was very active as a writer and organizer but unfortunately he came into conflict with leaders like Vajpayee and Upadhyaya. The party took up the issues like ban on Cow-slaughter and thereby wasted much of its energy. Bal Raj Madhok initiated talks with the Swatantra Party for electoral alliance and he was a success in this regard in some Northern States. The Jan Sangh improved its position by taking 35 seats in Lok Sabha. Moreover for the first time the party not only improved its number in the Assemblies but also came into power by entering into coalition Ministries in some of the States. They secured 122 seats in the Assemblies. The Jan Sangh shared power in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and enjoyed absolute power in the Delhi Metropolitan Council. The party supported the non-Congress government in Haryana. The most surprising thing was that the Jan Sangh shared the power along with the Communist Parties. Bal Raj Madhok favoured coalition as anti-Congress front but Deena Dayal Upadhyaya treated the alliance as a transitory phase. But some members opposed the alliance with the Communists. At this juncture Balraj Madhok was replaced by Deen Deyal Upadhyaya as the President of the Party, at the Calicut Session. Upadhyaya wanted to introduce several reforms to overcome the rigidity of the party and also wanted to meet the criticism that the RSS was dominating the Jan Sangh. Unfortunately, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya could not live longer. His dead body was found near Moghal Sarai Railway Station on 11th February, 1968. In spite of the tall claims of the party regarding discipline many important persons from the Punjab resigned from the party as a protest against the party's alliance with Akali Dal.

When Indira Gandhi was helping the liberation of Bangladesh and fighting against Pakistan, the Jan Sangh hailed

her decisions and Vajpayee went to the extent of calling her 'Bharat Matha'. They never anticipated that Mrs. Gandhi would take the maximum advantage of Bangla liberation war and dissolve the Lok Sabha for a fresh mandate from the people. This midterm poll reduced the strength of the Jan Sangh to 22 in Lok Sabha. Balraj Madhok, while opposing alliance with the Communists, supported it with the Swatantra and the Congress (0) in these elections. Because of the losses in the elections Madhok became a target of attack from the party members and he was dropped from the working committee on 17th February, 1973. When the party asked him to resign he was adamant and attached motives to Vajpayee. He was instantly expelled from the party. Only a few people followed him. Madhok came out with a few facts, revealing the bossism of the RSS in the Jan Sangh. All through 1974 and until Mrs. Gandhi imposed emergency in the country the Jan Sangh supported Jaya Prakash Narayan's Total Revolution Movement in Bihar. But this caused split in Bihar unit, when the party asked its legislators to resign from the membership, eleven members refused to do so. All of them were expelled from the party. The Jan Sangh became the first victim of the emergency. Several leaders of the party were arrested and the rank and file were tortured. In spite of all this the Jan Sangh systematically worked against the emergency, circulated literature clandestinely. When the emergency was lifted, the Jan Sangh along with three other parties agreed to merge into one to face elections. Curiously all of them assembled near Rajghat and took an oath in the name of Gandhiji. They believed neither in his ideals nor in his personality. The party, which was instrumental to assassinate Gandhiji, was forced to vouchsafe in his own name. Circumstances forced them to change and adopt themselves to power politics. When the leaders like Vajpayee and Adwani were in office, their behaviour was exemplary. But it was only a short

spell. They adopted the cheapest tactics in naming a defector, Jagjeevan Ram. as their future Prime Minister. That situation was fortunately averted.

Jan Sangh died in 1977. Its members claim resurrection in 1980 with a new name Bharateeya Janatha Party. Balraj Madhok is continuing with the original name. The BJP proved beyond doubt that it can rise to the occasion, if necessary and play the game of power politics to suit the occasion. We can cite as an example the nomination filed by one of the party candidates against Mr. T. Anjaiah, C.M. of Andhra Pradesh, in a bye-lection in Ramayampet constituency (Medak District) A.P. held in March. 1981 and his withdrawal at the last minute and thus helping in the uncontested and unanimous election of Mr. Anjaiah to the State Assembly. What conspired within the Congress (I) and the BJP is a mystery but Mr. Vajpayee had to apologise publicly.

Similarly the BJP did not contest against Rajiv Gandhi in Amethi, though the party has got a good number of votes in the constituency. The party again confessed it as a mistake.

JANATA PARTY

(1977 - 1980)

The meteoric rise and fall of Janata Party was a political miracle in India. Essentially the Janata Party was a creation of Indira Gandhi through her emergency policies. All the parties that came together against 'Indira Gandhi had suffered from her emergency. The leaders were jailed, some of them were even tortured. From June, 1975 to January, 1977, several political leaders and workers who suffered in jails and outside too, came to an understanding to come together to first against the authoritarianism. Attempts were made before and during the emergency also to form coalition but they could not come to a compromise. The Emergency taught them a lesson at least temporarily. When the emergency was lifted in January, 1977, and the Prime Minister announced that the Nation will go to polls, several leaders assembled at Morajee Desai's residence in Delhi for consultations.

The Congress(0), Jan Sangh, Bharateeya Lok Dal and the Socialist Party were inclined to merge into a single party after hurried discussions. The Akali Dal in the Punjab and CPI (M) were willing to have electoral alliances. But it was Jayaprakash Narayan, who clinched the issue and made all the four parties agree to merge into a single party. Thus the Janata party came into existence on adhoc basis for election purposes on 23rd January, 1977. ADMK from Tamilnadu extended its support to the Janata. Morarjee Desai was the Chairman of the Janata Party and Charan Singh was the Vice-Chairman. A National Committee of 27 members was constituted with Ramdhan, Surendra Mohan, L.K. Advani as General Secretaries. The party had at once to

plunge into election campaign as the time at its disposal was very short.

While the Janata Party was getting good response, Jagjeevanram, who was with Mrs. Gandhi throughout emergency, resigned from the Central Cabinet and announced the formation of the Congress for Democracy (CFD). H.N. Bahuguna from U.P., Nandini Satapathi from Orissa, K.R. Ganesh and a few others joined hands with Jagjeevanram. Vijayalakshmi Pandit came out against Mrs. Gandhi. The CFD immediately announced its support to the Janata and the electoral alliances. The Janata Party released its election manifesto and exposed the emergency politics. The Janata Party contested for 391 seats in Lok Sabha and left 147 seats to the CFD and the CPI (M) at National level and the Akalidal and the ADMK in their respective State. The Janata Party and the CFD together bagged 298 seats in Lok Sabha. Actually 271 seats went to Janata. 28 to CFD, 22 went to CPI (M) 8 to the Akalidal, 5 to the Peasants and Workers Party, 2 to the Republican Party and a dozen to the other supporters of the Janata. All these members of the Parliament met in Delhi and elected Morarji Desai as the leader of the Party. The consensus was announced by J.B. Kripalani and Jayaprakash Narayan declared Morarji Desai as the Leader. Jagjeevan Ram and H.N. Bahuguna were disappointed but reconciled soon. Thus they paved the way for Morarjee Desai to become the Prime Minister. Thereafter all the parties met separately and formally resolved to dissolve themselves and officially merge into Janata Party. The CFD joined the party a little later. In the elections Indira Congress got 92 seats out of 129 seats in the South. But her party was routed in the North. Indira Gandhi was herself defeated by Raj Narayan and her son Sanjay Gandhi too lost the election. The main reason for the defeat of the Congress (I) was said to be the emergency excesses. On the 24th March, 1977, Morarjee Desai became the

Prime Minister of India. He had been aspiring for this post since the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. Morarjee took quite some time to form the Government, as there were many hitches from the erstwhile party leaders. There was an understanding that at least two members from each party must find place in the Cabinet. Morarji Desai announced 19 member Union Cabinet to start with and included Jagjeevanram along with 4 more Cabinet Ministers on 28th March 1977. Charan Singh. Jagjeevanram, L.K. Advani., H. N. Bahuguna. Sikhander Bhakt. Surit Singh Barnala, Santi Bhushan, Pratap Chandra Cundur, Madhu Dandavate, Mohan Dhari. George Fernandes, Purushotham Koushik, Raj Narayan, H.M. Patel, Biju Patnaik, P. Ramachandra, Atal Bihar Vajpayee, Ravindra Verma and Brijlal Verma were the Union Cabinet Ministers. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, the lone Janata Member from Andhra Pradesh was made the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. He defeated Pendekanti Venkatasubbaiah from Nandyal Constituency. Later Mr Sanjeeva Reddy was elected as the President of India on 21st July, 1977. The Union Government advised the Governors of nine states to dissolve the Legislative Assemblies where Janata won absolute majority for Lok Sabha, so that fresh mandate could be sought from the people. On the 30th April, these nine legislative Assemblies of the Punjab. Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and west Bengal were dissolved. By that time several state parties got merged with the Janata. The Kerala Socialist Party, Revolutionary Congress of Kerala. United Govans, Nava Maharashtra Gomanthak Party, Backward Classes Federation of the Punjab, People's Party in Arunachala Pradesh joined the Janata. The Janata Party had its inaugural session in New Delhi on 1st May. 1977. All the constituent Parties had by then resolved in their respective party meetings to merge with the Janata. The Congress for Democracy under the leadership of

Jagjeevanram too announced its merger into Janata on 5th May, 1977.

The Janata Party elected Chandra Shekhar as the President in the place of Morarjee Desai. The party went to polls in the States under the Chairmanship of Chandra Shekhar. They won in the State Assembly elections in the Same fashion as they did in the Lok Sabha elections. Janata obtained absolute majority in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar. The Akali, the Janata, the CPM alliance in the Punjab got majority whereas in Tamilnadu the Anna DMK and the CPI(M) in West Bengal formed the ministries. But in Pondichery none of the parties got the absolute majority. The Janata Party started undoing the deeds of the Congress party during the emergency. A number of commissions were appointed to enquire into the various aspects of emergency. They had also introduced Lok Pal Bill on 28th July, 1978. But from the day of the Janata's stepping into power at the Centre Rajnarayan started attacking Morarjee Desai and the intraparty disputes were coming to light. The official party set aside the election of Indira Gandhi from Chikmagalur. The arrest war rant to Mrs. Gandhi gained her a lot of sympathy. The Socialist; and the BLD group started attacking the Jana Sangh group of the party specially over the question of the RSS-Janata dual membership. But Chandra Shekhar and Morarjee also wanted to continue the Unity in the party and tried to curb the activities of Rajnarayan. The intraparty disputes in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana were also showing the ugly features and the central party had to ask the leaders of the respective state units to seek the confidence vote. At last the things came to a point of no return and Rajnarayan resigned from the Janata. He attempted for a noconfidence motion against Morarjee Desai. Charan Singh and Jagjeevanram who were aspiring for Prime Ministership.

carefully watched the situation. Things moved so fast as to compel Morarjee Desai to resign on 15th July, 1979. Soon after the power game started and realignment took place. Morarjee Desai still claimed majority whereas Charan Singh aspired to become the leader with the help of Raj Narayan and the tacit support of Indira Gandhi as well as the Congress(0). President Sanjeeva Reddy invited Y. B. Chavan, the leader of the Congress (0), in Lok Sabha to explore the possibilities of forming the ministry giving him two days time. But Chavan failed to muster the necessary strength, Mrs. Gandhi sent feelers about her support to Charan Singh. Morarjee Desai too submitted the list of his supporters to the President but obviously the list was not genuine. Hence the President invited Charan Singh on 26th July, 1979 to form the ministry. Charan Singh taking the help of the Congress (0), Akalis and ADMK (?) formed the ministry. The Janata Party elected Jagjeevanram as the leader of the Parliamentary Board and felt bitter against President Sanjeeva Reddy for not inviting and giving an opportunity to Jagjeevan Ram to form the Ministry. Within a month of the formation of the Central Cabinet by Mr. Charan Singh, Mrs. Gandhi withdrew her support to him on 20th August, 1979, which led to his resignation. President Sanjeeva Reddy accepted the resignation, dissolved Lok Sabha, ordered general elections while asking Charan Singh to be the caretaker Prime Minister. Charan Singh formed Lok Dal again, made Raj Narayan its working President on 26th September, 1979. Before the elections Jaya Prakash Narayan died on 8th October after a prolonged kidney trouble and dialysis treatment.

Even the caretaker government of Charan Singh could not run smoothly. H. N. Bahuguna had serious differences with the Prime Minister which resulted in his resignation from the Cabinet on 19th October, 1979. Within a month he joined the Congress (1) (18th Nov. 1979) and became the General Secretary of the party. Similarly Kasu Brahmananda Reddy also resigned from the

Cabinet as well as the Congress (U) and joined the Congress (I) on 27th November, 1979. He contested to Lok Sabha and won from Andhra. The AIDMK minister too left the Cabinet. The election results published on the 18th of January 1980 showed an entirely different picture. Mrs. Gandhi once again proved to be the only national leader. The Janata infighting, inflation, price rise, and various enquiry commissions caused repulsion among people and hence they voted against the Janata. The divided Janata, Lok Dal and the Congress (U) were reduced to a pigmy size. The CPI (M) improved its position. In the elections the Congress (I) secured 351 in Lok Sabha, the Janata 31, the Lok Dal 41, the Congress(U) 13, the CPI 11, the CPI (M) 35, and all others put together got 43. There is no recognised opposition party as no party secured the required minimum number of seats. Many stalwarts were defeated and Morarjee did not contest. Jagjeevan Ram, Charan Singh, George Fernandes, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Y. B. Chavan again got elected to Lok Sabha. After the elections Janata Party was split and the Jana Sangh group emerged as Bharateeya Janata Party. Chandra Shekhar continued as the President of the Janata Party. Subramanya Swamy, Surendra Mohan, and Morarjee Desai were said to be the dissident group against Chandra Shekhar. Jagjeevan Ram joined the Congress (U) whereas H. N. Bahuguna resigned from the Congress (I) and formed the Democratic Socialist Party. Raj Narayan maintained his own splinter group. George Fernandes and other Socialists continued in Lok Dal under the leadership of Charan Singh. Here Janata Party which could unseat the Congress in the centre ruled the Country nearly for 2 years and bungled the things in such a way that they lost all the chances of coming to power in future. It is unparalleled in the history of political party that a party could get into power after merging many national and regional parties and it could not survive for long. The power game played by the old guard was nauseating and created contempt among the voters.

RADICAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (1940-1948)

M. N. Roy and his followers had been working in the Congress since 1930 to make the party left-oriented, mass-based one. But they could not succeed as there were rifts among the leftists like the CPI, the CSP, the followers of Bose and the Royists. On the other hand Gandhi with his rightist policies was deeply entrenched in the Congress party and became more popular with the masses. In the Ramgarh Congress Session M. N. Roy contested against the official candidate Abdul Kalam Azad for the Presidentship. The CSP and the CPI did not support Roy. Bengal PCC wherein Roy was predominant was disqualified from participating in the elections. Roy got only 183 votes whereas Azad got 1854 votes. In that session Roy proposed people's councils to be established from the village level, so that the parallel Government could be run against the Britishers. But Rajendra Prasad opposed the proposal. M.N. Roy formed the league of Congress men during May-June 1940 to combat Gandhi's policies and advised his followers to prepare to quit the Congress if necessary. At that juncture Gandhi wanted all the Congressmen to sign a pledge for Satyagraha but the Royists decided to defy Gandhi's mandate. V. N. Tarkunde, a close associate of Roy warned that the Royists would be isolated if they did not participate in the Satyagraha and such other mass movements. Roy had a different analysis of the war situation which prophetically came true. He wanted to extend the support to the Britishers in the war as they were fighting against fascism. He gave a call for anti-fascist meetings on 1st September, 1940. Roy wanted the congressmen to establish popular ministries in

the Provinces. The Congress party treated this as gross indiscipline on the part of Roy and suspended him from PCC of Uttar Pradesh. The Congress working Committee which met at Wardha from the 11th to 13th October, 1940, allowed Roy to resign from the party.

All the Royists met on 26th and 27th October, 1940 and resolved to form the Radical Democratic People's Party. The first conference of the party was held in Bombay from 20th to 22nd December, 1940. One hundred and nine delegates attended the Conference on behalf of three thousand members. Simultaneously the Royists broke away from the Indian Labour Federation. AITUC and organised the antifascist labour conference at Lahore in 1941. There the Indian Federation of Labour was formed with Jamnadas Mehta as the President and M. N. Roy as the Secretary. When the entire upsurge was anti-British, the Royists supported the war making themselves very unpopular. When the Second Radical Democratic Party Conference was held at Calcutta during the last week of December, 1943, the delegates had the tough time in facing the communists and the others. Two thousand and one hundred and eighty seven delegates attended the Conference. They firmly defended their stand in favour of war. From 1940 the party conducted annual study camps and brought out several books on the Draft Constitution of India, People's Plan and the future of the Government. The party opened an office in London in September 1943 to give their version to the Britishers. V. B. Karnik, Mani Ben Kara, A. K. Pillai, Ram Singh, A. P. Mukherjee and Tayab Sheikh worked in London. During the War the Indian Federation of Labour received thirteen thousand rupees per month from the Government for war propaganda. This led to scandalous propaganda against the Royists. V. B. Karnik explained the causes for receiving the money and the accounts were openly published. In spite of all this the propaganda did

not cease against the party. Immediately after the war elections were held for Central and State Legislatures and the Radical Democratic Party contested for a limited number of seats. They could not take even a single seat. The party held study camp from 8th to 18th May, 1946 in Dehradun where they assessed the contemporary World situation. Roy reviewed the party system and for the first time took the stand that politics without power were possible. He described the Radical Democratic Party and exposed the inherent defects of the party system. But in no time he realised that it would be ridiculous to condemn other parties while continuing his own party. Hence he proposed the dissolution of the Radical Democratic Party in 1948. The Bom-bay Conference decided to dissolve the party. Several persons including Philip Sprat argued against the resolution, pleading for the continuation of the party, saying that the situation was not yet ripe to practise partyless democracy. Roy convinced them and the party ended its eight year-old life. It has been since then continuing only as an association to spread the ideas of Radical Humanism among people.

FORWARD BLOCK

(1940-1955)

Subhash Chandra Bose, popularly known as Netaji, started his political career as a stormy patron of Bengal Politics. He was a close associate of Chittaranjan Das and known for his left-wing leanings. He was anti-Gandhian in Congress Politics. When he differed with Congress policies he started the Congress Democratic Party in 1929. He gradually gained strength and sympathy in the Congress and was elected President at Haripura Sessions of 1938. He defeated Pattabhi Seeta Ramaiah in Tripura Congress, 1939 and got elected as the Congress President for the second time. Gandhi named Pattabhi as his candidate, but Bose gained upper hand. Gandhi could not swallow the defeat and exhibited his intolerance to Bose. One of his followers Govind Vallabh Pant moved a resolution that the working committee must be constituted as per the wishes of Gandhi. When the resolution was put for vote, the supporters of Bose demonstrated against it and walked out. The Royists supported Bose while the CPI worked against him. At that juncture, Roy advised Bose to stand firm and consolidate the Leftunity. But Bose could not do so. He resigned as President of the Congress Party and formed the Forward Bloc. The CSP, the CPI and the Radical League refused to join the Forward Bloc. Then Bose constituted the leftconsolidation. Committee. The Congress party passed two resolutions stating that no congress man should undertake Satyagraha without the permission of the AICC and all the Congress ministries must abide by the dictates of the High command. Bose gave a call to observe the Protest Day against these resolutions on the 9th July, 1939. Taking that opportunity Gandhi immediately saw that the Congress disqualified Bose

from the Congress Membership. Bose was thus forced to come out of Congress and organise the Forward Bloc as a separate party. During March, 1940 when the Congress was in session at Ramgarh. Bose organised anti-compromise conference at the same place. He was against any sort of compromise with the British imperialists and he declared that in such a case Forward Bloc was against the Congress too. Bose was taken into custody and kept under house arrest. But he escaped on 13th December, 1940 and reached Germany via Afghanistan and Moscow. As he left at the very inception of the party his followers fought against the Britishers during the War. The Forward Bloc was banned in 1942 and several followers of Bose were arrested. During the War Bose made an abortive attempt to raise the Indian army in Germany with the help of Hitler. He reached Japan and with the Japanese help formed the Indian National Army (INA) in Malaysia which was known as Azad Hind Fowz. Bose used to give radio messages to India from abroad to inspire the Nationalists against the Britishers. He wanted to beat out the British Imperialists with the help of the fascists of Germany and Japan. The death of Bose in an air-crash became a controversial subject and many rumours were spread by his emotional followers that Bose was alive and would come back to India at an appropriate time. When Japan was defeated the INA was taken as prisoners and they were brought to India and tried by the Britishers. The Congress took up the cause of INA and defended them.

The followers of Bose were released in India after the War. The Forward Bloc was divided into two groups. One was the Subhasists and the other one was called the Marxist Forward Bloc. They met separately in 1948 and condemned each other and formed their own parties. One was known as Forward Bloc (Subhasists) and the other Forward Bloc (Marxists). In the First

General Elections both these parties were trounced. The Forward Bloc (S) later on joined the PSP. But the Forward Bloc (M) continued. The Forward Bloc (M) once again got split and the Forward Communist Party was formed under the leadership of K. N. Jogelkar. During the Second General Elections this group merged with the Bolshevik party. The other group got allied with the CPI. Some members under the leadership of Mohan Singh and Sheel Bhadra Yajee joined the Congress. The remaining Forward Bloc was confined to West Bengal and was almost reduced to a skeleton group.

SWATANTRA PARTY

The formation of the Swatantra Party was more a reaction towards the Socialistic policies of the Congress Party, especially after the resolution of the Congress in 1955 that they stood for socialistic pattern of society. The founder members of the Swatantra party were Sree Rajagopalachari, M. R. Masani, N. G. Ranga. Bezawada Rama Chandra Reddy and some former princes. The forum of free enterprise which was founded in 1956 and the All India Agriculturists Federation started in 1958 organized together against the socialistic policies of the Congress Party and encouraged several leaders to come together on the swatantra platform. With the blessings of K. M. Munshi and in the immediate presence of Jayaprakash Narayan the founding conference of the Swatantra Party was convened in Madras on 4th and 5th June of 1959. Mr. Masani had already formed an independent parliamentary group in Lok Sabha which got associated itself with the Swatantra party at its inception while there was a sharp reaction against the party from the Congress and the leftist parties. Several State parties not only welcomed but also joined and merged with the party. Gayatri Devi from Jaipore. Ganatantra Parishath leader from Orissa, Janata Party of Bihar. Jana Congress of Rama Bimod Singh, the Socialistic Democratic Party of Andhra Pradesh. the Indian National Democratic Congress of Madras. the Kshatriya Maha Sabha of Gujarat. Paliwal of U.P., Nagoko of the Punjab strengthened the party by joining it. N. G. Ranga was the President of the party who, till then, was the Secretary of the Congress parliamentary Party of Lok Sabha. The party was considered as Pro-landlords,

and rich merchants' lobby. It held its first convention in Bombay on 1st and 2nd of August 1959. Mr. Masani was elected as the General Secretary of the party. The party immediately started enrolling membership and in 1960 it claimed to have 3, 19, 358 members. The party was very weak in Kerala and Assam while it was not at all existent in Kashmir. It gained strength in U.P., Bihar, the Punjab, Madras, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh by enrolling considerable membership. Before going to polls in General Elections, the Swatantra Party held the biggest convention in Patna on 19th and 20th of March, 1960. It very clearly expressed its views in the economic front and stood for the principle that, the Government that governs the least, is the best'. It expressed its antipathy to controls, permits and licences and even the Soviet type of planning. It wanted free enterprise and supremacy for fundamental rights.

Just before the general elections defections started and Dr. M. Chenna Reddy defected to the Congress along with his group in Andhra Pradesh.

The Swatantra Party contested in 173 seats for Lok Sabha in the Third General Elections but secured only 23. The party also entered into electoral adjustments and emerged as a strong opposition in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Orissa and U.P. Till the elections the Swatantra exhibited its loose organizational structure and defections too were rampant. During 1964, the Bihar Party under the leadership of K. L. Singh defected to the Congress. Similarly the Delhi unit left the party. In U.P. a section of the Swatantra Legislators attempted to remove B. P. Sing from the leadership in the Assembly. As a consequence All India President suspended the M.L.As. in U.P. for indiscipline.

The party faced the 4th General Elections in 1967 and secured 44 seats with 8.68 per cent votes. By 1968, 257 legislators were there in different States in the name of the Swatantra Party. A

number of defections took place and the Swatantra Party lost 29 and gained only two legislators in that process. The party entered into coalition government in some Northern States. It could not come to power in Rajasthan due to large scale defections from the party. Similar defection started in Gujarat and Madras too. In 1971 midterm General Elections the Swatantra could poll only 3.1 per cent of votes getting 8 seats in Lok Sabha. The Stalwarts like N. G. Ranga, M. R. Masani and several others were defeated. It was nothing new with Ranga to defect whenever he was defeated in elections as well as in party power. After midterm poll the Swatantra Party, in its Madras convention, elected M. R. Masani as the Chairman. Ranga expressed his dissatisfaction and after the election to the State Legislatures in 1972, he defected to the Congress (R), headed by Mrs. Gandhi. But he could not take all his followers along with him, even from Andhra Pradesh. Rajagopalachari described Ranga as Bolshevik. Masani too was disillusioned very soon, as a result P. V. Narayana Murthy was to be elected as the President of the party. Charan Singh formed Bharateeya Kranti Dai (BKD) in 1974. The dwindling Swatantra Party got merged with B K D and its 15 year existence came to an end.

The Swatantra Party got the support of the big merchants and the companies who financed to the party's expenditure. Next to the Congress, the Swatantra got large amounts from Industrial Houses and Companies as well as the individual entrepreneurs. The party tried to cash on the weaknesses of the Congress party. They had to face consistently the opposition of the Congress and the leftist parties. Though the party promised clean and good government as democratic alternative to the Congress, it failed to attract the people. Majority of the Swatantrites came from the Congress party but opposed the authoritarian tradition of the ruling party. From the beginning the party acquired a bad name for supporting the rich. Actually they took up the cause of privy purses of the princes. They opposed the Leftist element in

Congress like V. K. Krishna Menon, which was expressed in 1962 General Elections where the party supported Kripalani as a common candidate against Krishna Menon. Only after 1967 elections the party gained some base though they lost that base in no time. Nehru expressed his concern when the party was formed but his fears were dispelled very early due to the Swatantra Party's miserable failure in and out of the legislatures. After the demise of Nehru in 1964, the Swatantra Party's fear that the Congress was leaning towards left and making the country red, was proved baseless. From the beginning the Swatantra party was lacking grip over its members and discipline was not at all its strong point. The party met its natural death even before reaching the common man.

BHARATEEYA KRANTIDAL (LOK DAL)

Bharateeya Krantidal was a conglomeration of many dissident groups in the Congress party from North India. Its first meeting was held in Delhi on 15th May, 1967 with the blessings of the Veteran Leader J. B. Kripalani, Humayun Kabir from Bengal, Hare Krishna Mehtab from Orissa, Mohanlal Battiwal from Maharashtra, Bansi Ram Das from Assam, Kumbha Ram Arya from Rajasthan, K. N. Singh from Bihar, Charan Singh from Uttar Pradesh joined in a new party. All these persons rebelled against the official congress. This new party had the support of West Bengal Chief Minister Ajay Mukherjee, Bihar Chief Minister Mahamaya Prasad Sinha and Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Charan Singh. The first conference of the Bharateeya Kranti Dal (BKD) was convened at Indore (M.P.) from 10th to 12th November. 1967. Several state parties formed by that time joined BKD. The founder member Humayun Kabir in no time disassociated himself with the party due to the differences with the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Within a year the Bangla Congress, Janata Party of Bihar left the BKD on some petty grounds and Jana Congress of Orissa too divorced BKD in 1969. In spite of all these setbacks Charan Singh tried in vain to strengthen the BKD. When the election for the President of India came up, the party was divided between the candidature of V. V. Giri and C. D. Deshmukh. By 1971 the Bihar party and that of Rajasthan merged with the Congress (N). Gradually almost all the state units joined the Congress (N) except the Uttar Pradesh branch. Charan Singh did not give up his efforts to form a national party against the Congress (N). The party was divided between pro-Charan Singh

and anti-Charan Singh groups. In spite of these hurdles Charan Singh was successful in his endeavours in forming the Bharateeya Lok Dal on 29th August, 1974. There ended the seven year old BKD after a major political role in U.P. When the mid-term poll was conducted in U.P. during 1974 the BKD could take 106 seats and stood as the main opposition to the Congress in the Assembly.

On 12th May, 1974 seven political parties held a meeting in Delhi and decided to form a national party to fight against the Congress and show the viable alternative to the country. After prolonged discussions Bharatiya Lok Dal was formed merging seven parties. They were: the Swatantra, SSP, BKD, Kisan Majdoor Paty, Utkal Congress, Rastreeya Lok Tantrik Sangh and Kheti Bari Jamindari Union. The party gained more strength by the association of the prominent leaders of the BJS of Goa, a section of Bangla Congress and a unit of Jan Sangh from Jammu and Kashmir. But the BLD could not go on longer. It had to join with other parties to fight against Indira Gandhi and her Congress. But before they could plunge into action the emergency was declared on 26th June, 1975. During the emergency the BLD merged with other national parties like the Congress (0), the BJS and the SP. But nothing could materialize due to emergency. When the emergency was lifted the BLD officially formed the Janata Party and Charan Singh became the Vice-Chairman of the new party. Perhaps, the BLD is the only party which did not face any election during its short span of life.

KRISHKAR LOK PARTY (1951-56)

Krishikar Lok Party is a regional party. Though it confined its activities to Andhra area the party played a crucial role in the South. At least twice this party stopped the communists from coming into power, once in 1952 and again in 1955. It is especially the middle class peasant oriented party.

Krishikar Lok Party (KLP) was the creation of N.G. Ranga. Ranga was a household name for the middle class peasants in Andhra. He hailed from Kamma community and was educated in Oxford and fought against Zamindars. With full of enthusiasm and leftist leanings Ranga was associated with all progressive movements and he worked with several all India leaders. He trained thousands of persons through a political school from 1935 to 1954. He was not only popular among the peasants but also cut across regional and caste barriers. But when the question of contest to the presidentship of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee came up in 1946, Ranga was dubbed as a faction leader and communalist. A large number of his followers came from Reddy, Kapu and other non-Kamma castes. Yet, he was considered anti-Brahmin and more so anti-Reddy. Between 1946 and 51 Ranga was elected twice as the President of Andhra Pradesh Congress committee (APCC). He had always to fight with the ministerialists. Just before the First General Elections Ranga again contested for the Presidentship of APCC. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy contested against Ranga. All the ministerial group supported Sanjeeva Reddy and determined to defeat Ranga. Prakasam and other Congress men stood by Ranga. Entire APCC was divided into two groups. Hectic efforts were made to

purchase some of the followers of Ranga. Caste feelings were given rise to. Inspite of all that Ranga seemed to have upperhand. Therefore the ministerial group through a court injunction prevented the members of APCC of Guntur District from voting. The number of Ranga's followers was thus reduced to four.

Kala Venkta Rao, Kalluri Chandramowli worked for Sanjeeva Reddy. The election was to be held on 11th April. 1951 S.K. Patil was deputed by the High Command to conduct the election. In the last minute four APCC members from Krishna district including Anne Anjaiah defected to the ministerial group. Consequently, Ranga lost the election by 5 votes. Sanjeeva Reddy got 87 votes and Ranga got 82. Immediately after the election Sanjeeva Reddy offered to Ranga's group nine places out of nineteen in the working Committee. Ranga did not agree to the proposal.

The next day, that is, 12th April, 1951 all the followers of Ranga and Prakasam held a meeting at the residence of Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao in Vijayawada. All the speakers at that meeting called the Congress party as out dated, corrupt and hence felt the need to fight against it. Enmasse they decided to leave the Congress and form a new party. They named the new party as Praja Praty. A. Kaleswara Rao advised them not to leave the Congress hastily. But nobody was in a mood to pay heed to his advice. No sooner did they form Praja Party than they received invitations to participate in an All India Meet at Patna. J.B. Kripalani, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and others, who came out of the Congress decided to form an All India Party and extended invitations to the dissidents throughout India. Prakasam, Ranga and some of their followers attended the Patna convention held on 16th and 17th June 1951. The Praja Party from Andhra decided to merge with Kisan Majdoor Praja Party (KMPP) which was formed in Patna convention. Prakasam was the organizer of the

new party in the South. The followers of Ranga insisted upon the inclusion of Ranga's name in the organizing Committee. But Kripalani did not consider it. As a result, Ranga along with his followers came out of the convention. Under the pretext of some theoretical differences Ranga announced in Patna that he was forming all India Krishikar Lok Party. That was the origin of the KLP.

The First General Elections were fast approaching. Ranga could muster some strength in Gujarat and the Punjab too. But ultimately the KLP confined itself only to Andhra. Andhra was then a part of Madras Presidency. The KLP hurried and set up candidates both for the Assembly and the Lok Sabha. Despite their best efforts the followers of Ranga could not secure more than 15 seats in the Assembly, Whereas they could take none in the Lok Sabha. The credit even in securing 15 seats went to Gouthu Latchanna, P. Timma Reddy and P. Rajagopala Naidu. Fourteen out of those fifteen seats were from Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Chittoor districts. The remaining one seat was taken by Neeru Konda Rama Rao of East Godavari district. All the stalwarts in the party including the leader Ranga, his wife Bharati Devi, his brother Lakshmi Narayana lost the election. Hundreds of workers suffered but worked devotedly for their leaders in this election.

The Krishikar Lok Party had devoted workers, organizers, orators and leaders. Seasoned speakers like Sunkara Satyanarayana, N. Veerachari and N. Vijaya Raj Kumar could be a match to the best speakers of the Communists on the Common platforms and they gained upperhand even in the formidable forts of the communists. The party had the advantage of rank and file in the nooks and corners of the Andhra area. P. Rajagopala Naidu, P. Timma Reddy. N. V. Naidu, Kandula Obul Reddy. Sagireddy Bali Reddy, Nagineni Venkaiah. Kavuri Venkaiah,

B. V. Sivaiah, Vasireddy Venkaiah, Kalluri Veeraiah, Gorrepati Venkata Subbaiah, Kosaraju Ammaiah, Lavu Ankamma, Kandimalla Butchaiah, Gadireddy Hanumantha Rao, Anne Surya Narayana, Bhisetti Appa Rao, V. V. Ramana, Colonel Appa Rao, Yedlapati Venkata Rao, and Pasupuleti Koteswara Rao are some of the talented followers of Ranga in the KLP. The party had its front organizations like Vidyarthi Sammelan to organize students, Yuvajana Sammelan (Youth Rally) and the Women's Wing, etc. Narravula Subba Rao, Vasireddy Satyanarayana, J.S.R. Krishna, R.Ch. Manoharam, K. Rosaiah and such others worked in the student front. Daruvuri Veeraiah and Gadireddy Hanumantha Rao led the Youth front. Bharatee Devi Ranga was devoted to Women's front helped by Gollamudi Rathamma and other Women workers. Talented writers like B.S.R. Krishna, K. V. Subbaiah, K. Sabha, G. Viswanatham and G. Umamaheswara Rao published a number of articles to popularize Ranga's ideology. 'Vahini' a weekly was their vehicle to express their views.

The formation of ministry in Madras had become problematic due to the claims and counter claims of the Congress and the opposition parties in 1952 immediately after the First General Elections. The Congress High Command had chosen Rajagopalachari (Rajajee) as the leader of the Congress party asking him to form the ministry. T. Prakasam formed the United Front with the support of the communists the KMP, Madras Toilers Party and some of the independents. The KLP extended its support to Rajagopalachari. Ranga who opposed the Congress during the elections announced 'responsive co-operation' to Rajajee. Rajajee invited Ranga to join his ministry but the latter declined the offer and suggested alternative names. Rajajee commented that Ranga was capable of doing the wrong things at the right time. Ranga aimed at some position in the centre but

could not succeed. Sree Prakash was then the Governor of Madras. Prakasam claimed to have 164 members in his United Front and sent the list with the signatures of the said members. But somehow Sree Prakash invited Rajajee to form the ministry. Two members from the KLP defected to the Congress perhaps that was the first defection after first general election. Rajajee also encouraged defections to gain strength in the Assembly.

Latchanna was the leader of the Legislature party of the KLP. The KLP while getting ready to support Rajajee, stipulated one condition that the government had to abolish controls within 6 months. Rajajee abided by his promise. The defectors mentioned earlier were Neelari Reddy and Kunisetty Venkata Narayana.

The fight for separate Andhra was intensified. Andhra had a separate Committee from 1917 onwards but not a separate state. The Congress party in principle, agreed to give a separate state to the Andhras but the decision was not taken until violent agitation and sacrifice on the part of many people took place in Andhra. Swamy Seetha Ram went on hunger strike for 35 days demanding a separate state. The communist party consistently supported the formation of the linguistic states. Sanjeeva Reddy who opposed the formation of Andhra state saw the inevitability of the linguistic states with all his shrewdness, he saw the need to take a leading role in the demand for Andhra State. Mr. Balram Reddy an M.L.A. from Kalahasti resigned in favour of Sanjeeva Reddy. Timma Reddy, who was a leader in the KLP till then, defected to the congress and supported Sanjeeva Reddy's candidature in the byelection of the Kalahasti Constituency. Sanjeeva Reddy gave the communal colour to Andhra politics. Of course. Sanjeeva Reddy won the byelection in Kalahasti defeating R. V. Subba Rao, the KLP candidate.

Potti Sree Ramulu, a congress worker died after fasting for

58 days demanding separate Andhra State with Madras as the capital. There was violent outburst throughout Andhra and Nehru had to concede the demand of the Andhras, thereby bringing the first linguistic state into existence. A committee was formed to divide the assets and the liabilities between the Tamilians and the Andhras. The KLP leader Latchanna the PSP leader Tenneti Viswanatham and the Congress party leader Sanjeeva Reddy were the members of the Committee. The State was formed on 1st October, 1953, with Kurnool as the Capital. C. M. Trivedi being the first governor of the State. T. Prakasam defected from the Praja Socialist Party to the congress to become the first Chief Minister of the Andhra State. Though Sanjeeva Reddy was the deputy Chief Minister he was the virtual de facto Chief Minister. On behalf of the KLP Latchanna joined the ministry a month later. At that time a bitter controversy was going on over the question of a permanent capital to the Andhra State. The KLP wanted Tirupathi to be the capital saying that there were several buildings of Chandragiri Raja which could be at once utilized for the Capital purposes. The Communists wanted Vijayawada-Guntur as the capital. The Cabinet decided to continue Kurnool as the capital. Latchanna resigned after 57 days of his ministry as a protest against the Cabinets decision and sat in the opposition.

The KLP took up the cause of tappers in Andhra. Sonti Ramamurthy's Committee. appointed by the Government of Andhra to go into the desirability of prohibition and its consequences, recommended scrapping of prohibition and opined that the prohibition act was a total failure in the state. But the Congress party was against these recommendations. The tapper community was suffering from unemployment and whenever they resorted to illicit liquor preparation they were harassed by the Excise and Police Departments. The tappers

organized a trade Union and they were divided between the Communists and the KLP. Latchanna belonged to the Tapper Community. and he naturally took the lead and gave a call for Satyagraha on behalf of the KLP and demanded lifting of prohibition. Hundreds of workers as well as leaders volunteered to go to jail as the Satyagrahees. K. Obul Reddy was the Chairman of the KLP and Ranga the leader of the Centre. Both of them did not approve of Latchanna's action and rescinded their attitude. But when the Satyagraha movement gained popularity they too followed the roost. Some of the important persons who courted arrest in the Satyagraha were N. Vijaya Raj Kumar, N. Veerachari, Yasoda Devi (Latchanna's wife), etc. The jails were filled with hundreds of Satyagrahees. They were treated as ordinary prisoners and were denied political status. Their families were put to many hardships.

In the Legislature Front Latchanna and Obul Reddy simultaneously started manoeuvring for a 'no confidence' motion against the government. They could win the support of Nyayakanti Sankara Reddy, and Adusumilli Subrahmanyam of the Congress party. The 'no confidence' motion against Prakasam's ministry was won with the difference of one vote on 6th November, 1954. All the efforts of Prakasam and his followers to remain in power failed. President's rule was imposed.

Andhra faced midterm election in 1955. The communists threatened to come to power while declaring their candidates much in advance. The Congress party was jittery and Jawaharlal Nehru had to intervene and with the best efforts of U.N. Dhebar and Lal Bahadur Sastri, the Congress, the KLP and the Praja Party United to fight out the communists. The three parties together were called as the United Congress though each party set up its own candidates in the seats allotted to them. The selection committee consisted of the leaders of the three parties. They were

Bejawada Gopalareddy. Tenneti Viswanatham and Kandula Obul Reddy. The KLP tried invain to get seats for Nayakanti Shankara Reddy and Adusumilli Subrahmanyam who voted against Prakasam's mi-nistry in the 'no confidence' move. The party had an electoral alliance with the socialists in Srikakulam and Vizag districts. Latchanna and P.V.G. Raju took the lead. Ranga unilaterally took a decision to ally with the congress in the ensuing elections. After consulting with the Congress leaders at Delhi Ranga announced his decision from Delhi only. The KLP workers received a shock at this volta face of Ranga. A meeting was then convened at Vijayawada to consider the matter where members expressed their passionate views against Ranga's decision. He tried to convince the workers in support of his decision. Some people literally wept in the meeting as they had to lose their identity and sacrifice the party supporting the congress in defeating the communists. All had to yield to Ranga's decision and be one with the United Congress.

The KLP plunged into the election battle with all its men and machinery and worked whole heartedly. That was a heroic election battle. It was a turning point in the history of Andhra politics. The communists lost the opportunity of coming to power in Andhra inspite of their hopes. They got only 15 seats though they secured considerable number of votes. The KLP got 22 seats. PSP 13. Praja Party 5, the Congress 119, and independents 22. The Congress had the absolute majority in the Assembly. In the post election understanding it was agreed to take 3 into the cabinet from the KLP. There was bitter fight between Bejawada Gopala Reddy and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy for the leadership of the legislature party. The KLP supported Gopala Reddy's candidature. The Congress High Command sent Sreemannarayana as an observer who took the opinion of the legislators and declared that the consensus was in favour of Gopala Reddy but he did not

announce the voting pattern. Sanjeeva Reddy and his followers protested but joined the ministry of Gopala Reddy. Latchanna and Neerukonda Rama Rao joined Gopala Reddy's cabinet on behalf of the KLP. Latchanna was the minister for power. According to the agreement the KLP should get one more place in the Cabinet. The party suggested Obul Reddy but Sanjeeva Reddy resisted against Obul Reddy's entry into the Cabinet and wanted another name as an alternative. After sometime Obul Reddy was inducted into the Cabinet as the minister for agriculture. Before Obul Reddy would enter the cabinet Neerukonda Rama Rao expired. Obul Reddy openly declared on the very first day that either Sanjeeva Reddy or himself should remain in the ministry. Of course, Sanjeeva Reddy remained in the Cabinet. There was a cleavage between Ranga and Latchanna on party affairs. Ranga always encouraged personality cult which was expressed annually on the occasion of his birthday celebration on 7th November. The party cadre used to celebrate Ranga's birthday with much ado. When Latchanna became the minister, he too started his own birthday celebration. Naturally Ranga felt that his importance was being diminished.

Fazal Ali Committee report favoured linguistic states. The long awaited Visalandhra was formed. Telangana area in Hyderabad state was clubbed with the Andhra area. The question of leadership came up again. Ranga and Burgula Ramakrishna Rao were out of choice in the initial stages. Sanjeeva Reddy did not take chances this time. He played his cards well this time with the able assistance of Manthana Venkata Raju, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju. K. Brahmananda Reddy and K. V. Ranga Reddy from Telangana. The KLP supported Bezawada Gopala Reddy's candidature. Dr. Chenna Reddy too joined hands with the KLP. Sanjeeva Reddy had won and become the first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. The KLP was kept off the ministry.

Sanjeeva Reddy not only reeked vengeance but also encouraged defections from the KLP. Anagani P. Bhagavantha Rao, a KLP legislator from Kuchinapudi, defeated Makineni Basava Punnaiah in 1955 elections. He belonged to tapper's community and was close to Latchanna. Sanjeeva Reddy lured him to his side with a berth in the cabinet.

Meanwhile Ranga took a unilateral decision to merge the KLP with the congress. Many workers who fought against the congress in their constituencies became a laughing stock with this decision of Ranga. The whole timers in the party felt that their career was ruined. The others reluctantly joined the congress but continued as a separate entity. They were always identified as the KLP group within the congress. Sanjeeva Reddy took vendetta whenever he got the opportunity. Thus we see the birth and death of the KLP.

JUSTICE PARTY

Long before the Congress party came into power, the Justice party ruled in Madras province for 16 years. The party saddled in power under dyarchy. At that time Madras Province consisted of Andhra, Tamil Nadu and some parts of Karnataka and Kerala. There were 52,708 villages in the province and those who paid a minimum of rupees ten as land revenue, and three rupees in the municipalities were eligible to vote. There were only 12½ lakhs of voters throughout the province and it was easy to manoeuvre the voters.

The non-Brahmin upper caste elite were complaining against the Brahmins that all the jobs were held by them. To meet this criticism the British authorities in India passed a communal G.O. reserving some posts to the non-Brahmins but that G.O. was practised more in breach. Hence the Velamas, Reddys, Kammas, Kapus, Kshatriyas rallied with a slogan, "Let the non-Brahmins Unite". This slogan was given in Madras in 1916. The Brahmins were less than three percent in those days out of 41.5 million population. The first non-Brahmin manifesto was issued in 1916. It was signed by Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliyar, Dr. T. Madhavan Nayar, Rao Bahaddur Sir Pitti Thyagaraja Chettiyar and Raja of Panagal. They founded the South Indian Peoples Association which was later converted as Justice party. The first conference of the Justice Party was held at Coimbatore in August 1917. A number of regional conferences were held throughout the province. Most of the Zamindars from Andhra area joined the party. The justice party, though claimed to represent the non-

Brahmins, actually stood for the cause of propertied, educated elite of the non-Brahmin upper castes. By 1920 the non-Brahmin students were 21.9 against 60.2 per cent of Brahmin students in Arts Colleges. The total number of students was 7580. In the professional colleges out of 1784 students the non-Brahmins were 69.6 per cent. At the primary school level total students were 14,92,666. The percentage of non-Brahmins was 64.5. The Brahmins were 7.6 per cent. At Secondary level out of 1,61,796 students the non-Brahmins were 45.1 per cent where as the Brahmins were 37.8. These figures clearly indicate that non-Brahmin students were dropping out in the vertical mobility. This was much more so at college and professional level. In these figures the Muslims and Christians were not included. (Report on the public instruction in the Madras Presidency is the source for above figures). Taking these figures into account one can clearly see how the public services were distributed among the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins. By 1920 All India Gazetted services were 495. Out of those in Madras Presidency Brahmins were allotted 22 and non-Brahmins got 24. In the Provincial gazetted services out of 926 posts the Brahmins got 439, whereas the non-Brahmins got only 182. In the non-gazetted posts where the monthly salary was above Rs. 100 there were 2961 posts. The Brahmins got 1665 and the non-Brahmins had 722. In the other posts where salary varied from Rs.35 to 100 per month the Brahmins got 5847 and the non-Brahmins got 2870. (Indian Statutory Commission Vol.VI was the source for above particulars). These figures gave strength to the leaders of the Justice party pleading for reservations. The Britishers too supported the Justice party against the Brahmins. The communal G.O. which was issued in 1851 was reissued several times, but with the emergence of the Justice party this G.O. had gained an added importance. The Collectors were asked to keep the

separate lists of Brahmins and non-Brahmins whenever the posts were offered to them. The Justice party started three journals namely. *Justice* (English), *Dravidian* (Tamil) and *Andhra Prakasika* (Telugu). Many non-Brahmin youth and students were attracted towards the justice party through these journals. Educated Kmmas wanted to imitate the Brahmins in all walks of life and thus they became the potential rivals to the Brahmins. The Kmmas wanted to officiate the marriages and those who officiated were called the 'Kamma Brahmins'. The other section in Tamil Nadu was obviously anti-Brahmin. They dubbed the Brahmins as Aryans and wanted to reject Brahminism in toto. Very few among Telugu non-Brahmins adopted this attitude.

The Justice party was never a massparty. It was considered not only anti-Brahmin but also anti-national too. The Justicites never participated in the national movement. They stood by the Britishers and fought for positions and posts. Between 1916-20 several regional conferences and district meetings were held. The party was not an organized one and always faced financial difficulty inspite of the association of several Zamindars with it. On the basis of Montague-Chelmsford reforms, elections were to be held to the Legislative Council in Madras in 1920. The Congress party refused to participate in the elections. Only Mylapore Brahmin advocates and the Justicites fought the election. Naturally the Justice Party swept the polls. In those days one thousand rupees was enough to contest from the districts as only 3 to 4 thousand votes brought victory to a candidate. The Justice Party formed the ministry under dyarchy. A. Subba Rayalu Reddiyar became the leader and Rama Rayinimgar Raja of Panagal, K.V. Reddy Naidu from Eluru were the ministers. A few months later Panagal Raja became the Chief Minister and A.P. Patro was the minister for Education. Education, Health, Local government, Excise, Transport, Agriculture, Industry and

Development were transferred to the Indians whereas finance, home and other essential departments were retained by the Britishers. Soon after the entry of the Justice Party into power infighting started. The Raja of Panagal dropped K. V. Reddy Naidu from the ministry in 1923. Reddy Naidu rebelled against Panagal Raja and made allegations against him of corrupt practices. Though the Justice party came to power championing the cause of the non-Brahmins it could not do much in power. On the other hand whenever it suited his convenience Panagal Raja appointed or nominated Brahmins. The Justice party ministers resorted to all sorts of corrupt practices and intervened in the affairs of the Local Bodies.

The Justice Party had five thousand members by 1920 but its ministers neither cared for the party organisation nor they ever held party conferences. Power had become their means and the end. The party Journals highlighted the grievances of the cadre. But that was ignored. The party activity also confined itself only in the Madras city. In 1924 the annual conference was held at Madras where the party workers showed a bit of their mind expressing anger at the behaviour of the leaders and the ministers. The leaders stooped to conquer and appointed a committee to prepare the party constitution. The constitution was published in 1925 but it was never implemented. In 1926 elections were held to the Council. Meanwhile several developments took place. The dissident group commenced its activity from 1920 onwards. T.A. Ramalingam Chetty, C.R. Reddy, Dr. C. Nateshan, K.V. Reddy Naidu rebelled against the (Chief Minister) Raja of Panagal. They defected from the party and started separate groups. C.R. Reddy started Justice Democratic party. He also moved 'no confidence' motion against the Raja of Panagal. which was defeated very narrowly. Even in 1923 elections the Justice party got victory again.

Elections were held in 1926 to the legislative council. The Congress got 23 seats, Justicites won 17, and 58 were independent. But all these persons were elected without party label and hence ready to defect to any advantageous position. The Swarajya Party participated in the election. Raja of Panagal's position was very much weakened after elections. M. Krishnan Nair, C.P. Rama Swami Iyer, C.V.S. Narasimha Raju tried to form the Ministry with the help of British authorities but failed. At last Dr. P. Subbarayan became the Chief Minister.

Justice party, under the leadership of Raja of Panagal, changed its tactics. The party held a conference in July 1927 in Coimbatore, attacked the British government, decided to boycott Simon Commission and refused to join ministry. Once consistent critics of Gandhi, the Justicites now changed their attitude and Raja of Panagal went to the extent of unveiling the portrait of Gandhi and also called him Mahatma.

K. V. Reddi Naidu, who defected from the Justice Party when he was removed from the Ministry, formed Justice constitutionalist party. But he rejoined the justice party by 1927.

Raja of Panagal again changed his attitude and supported the Britishers against the congress. Unofficially he enjoyed power for a brief period. He died in December 1928. Though Dr. Subbarayan was the Chief Minister, power struggle continued for almost two years. Several issues were openly discussed but the real motive was only power. One important issue of the party was whether to accept Brahmins into justice party or not. Raja of Panagal nominated 4 Brahmins as district board presidents. T. M. Narasimha Charyulu of Cuddapah, N. Subbarao of South Kanara, T. Desikachary of Trichinapally and A. S. Krishna Rao of Nellore were nominees of Raja of Panagal. Similarly Dr. C. Natesan, Dr. C. R. Reddy and Mariadas Rathnaswamy gave up

their anti-Brahminism. But the Justice party conference of Chingalpet in 1929 continued its anti-Brahmin attitude though it was never practised. This may be described as political expediency which satisfied (or deceived) the party workers.

B. Muniswamy Naidu, a Kamma and a close associate of Raja of Panagal became Chief Minister in 1930. He was opposed by Raja of Bobbili. Naidu accommodated P. T. Rajan and S. Kumaraswamy Reddiar in his ministry. All the Zamindars rallied against Muniswamy Naidu. On the other hand the Chief Minister moved a bill to amend Estates Land Act of 1908 so that more rights might be given to tenants against Zamindars. N. G. Ranga who was fighting against Zamindars extended his support to Muniswamy.

In 1932 a conference of Justice party was held in Tanjore. Raja of Bobbili rallied all Velama supporters and disallowed Muniswamy's followers. Several persons from Andhra area went in support of the Chief Minister and took cudgels against velamas. It turned into a fight between Kammas and Velamas. Organisationally the Justice party was shattered into pieces.

Soon after the Tanjore conference. Muniswamy Naidu had to step down reluctantly as Chief Minister. The Britishers favoured Raja of Bobbili as Chief Minister. Justice Party became the handmaid of the Chief Minister, Raja of Bobbili, from 1932 onwards. Gradually the party declined. The party journals were closed. R. K. Shanmugam Chetty and A. Rama Swami Mudaliar were defeated in the elections to the Central Legislative Council.

M.A. Muttaiah Chettiar, a Nattukottain banker, tried to dethrone Raja of Bobbili by a 'no confidence' motion. But he could not succeed inspite of spending huge amounts.

Soon after this incident, Raja of Bobbili inducted Muthaih

Chettiar into his cabinet. Raja of Pithapuram rose against the Chief Minister and aspired for that coveted post. To upset these attempts, Raja of Bobbili wooed Brahmins and invited them to the party conference in 1934.

Bobbili Raja resorted to all sorts of corrupt practices to continue in his position and strengthen his supporters. He abolished some temple committees. Wherever the Congress gained upper hand in Municipalities, the Chief Minister conducted elections or appointed commissioners who were hostile to the Congress. He abolished some municipalities when he lost all hopes to gain control over them. In the district boards too the Chief Minister adopted all sorts of undemocratic methods like delaying elections or bifurcating the district. In 1934 he abolished taluk boards. He bifurcated Nellore, Krishna and East Godavari district boards. Several persons defected from the Justice party to Congress so that they could contest in the elections and to come to power.

Elections were held to the state legislative assembly in 1937. The seats in the assembly were increased from 98 to 215. All the tax payers in the villages were eligible to vote. The number of voters was six and quarter million. 24979 voters were to elect 46 members in the legislative council, the upper house.

In the election campaign the swing was obviously favourable to congress. People preferred peasants to Zamindars. Justice party was on the wane. Bobbili Raja tried to patch up the differences among leaders but that was too late. In 1935 the party held a conference in Guntur and collected election fund. The Chief Minister pacified B. Muniswamy. His attempt to bring back Raja of Pithapuram failed. Pithapuram Raja established people's party Muthaiah Chettiar joined the party.

Out of 215 assembly seats, Justice party won 21 whereas

people's party could secure only one. People's party set up 45 candidates. Justice party could not contest for all the seats. The party set up only 90 candidates. The Congress swept the polls by gaining 159 seats. Raja of Bobbili retired from politics. Some Justicites in Tamilnadu joined hands with E.V. Ramaswami Naiker. A few persons joined the Congress.

The Justice party established two universities. Andhra university at Waltair and Annamalai University in TamilNadu. The party served the Zamindars well but the bitter feelings of Brahmin and anti-Brahmin remained. Several educated youngsters competed with the Brahmins. Due to lack of proper communication the atrocious behaviour of the justice party leaders did not come to lime light. Now many abhorring aspects of the party are known to the public.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY A STILL BORN HYBRID

Andhra Pradesh is the first state constituted on the linguistic basis in 1956. The first Chief Minister of the State was Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. While forming the cabinet he avoided all his opponenents in the Party. That is nothing surprising. Persons who knew what power was and also the new aspirants were disappointed and became dissidents and they started criticising the Chief Minister. This was the part of power game.

When the question of leadership came up two persons, Bezawada Gopala Reddy and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy contested. Both of them came from Andhra region. B. Gopala Reddy was the Chief Minister and Sanjeeva Reddy was the Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra. A year ago they contested for leadership. The observer from high command of the party declared that Gopala Reddy had the majority.

Temporarily Sanjeeva Reddy yeilded to the situation and waited for the opportunity. When the time came he did not take any chances and left no stone unturned. At that juncture the legislators from the Andhra area were clearly divided. Hence both the camps attempted to lure away the legislators of Telangana. Channa Reddy supported Gopala Reddy. K.V. Ranga Reddy, uncle of Channa Reddy, supported Sanjeeva Reddy. Camps were openend here and there. Money was spent like water. Somehow Sanjeeva Reddy got the majority. In Andhra area the Con-gress was called the United Congress. Krishkar Lok Party and Praja Party joined the Congress in 1955 byelections to fight against the Communists. Both the parties were accommodated in the Andhra Ministry. Sanjeeva Reddy refused to do so after

the formation of the Andhra Pradesh state. Naturally the erst-while Krishikar Lok Party legislators under the leadership of Gothu Latchanna and Praja Party headed by Tenneti Vishwanatham became sore. All had one common aim, namely to fight for power.

After the formation of the state Sanjeeva Reddy invited his rival Bezawada Gopala Reddy to join the ministry as “big brother”. Thus the former Chief Minister was trapped. Gopala Reddy let down all his followers and supporters. Even without consulting his voters Gopala Reddy joined the ministry. Having gained confidence, Sanjeeva Reddy offered ministry to Anagani Bhagawanta Rao, who was a close associate of Latchanna and was elected from Kuchinapudi as Krishikar Lok Party candidate. He defeated the Marxist leader M. Basavapunnaiah.

Bhagawanta Rao seized the opportunity and bade good bye to Latchanna. Sanjeeva Reddy offered Senior rank to Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy who stood by him in the leadership contest. As per the Gentleman’s agreement Telangana region must get Deputy Chief Minister’s post if the Chief Minister comes from Andhra. Telangana leaders were reluctant to join Andhra as they expressed apprehensions about Andhra domination. To satisfy the Telangana people, a Gentlemen’s agreement was reached before the formation of the state. Sanjeeva Reddy was one of the signatories of the agreement. He was the first Chief Minister to violate the Gentlemen’s agreement. He described it as the sixth finger, according to his experience as the deputy chief minister. Thus he denied K. V. Ranga Reddy the deputy chief ministership. Ranga Reddy kept quiet and was satisfied with his inclusion in the cabinet.

With the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the two regional Congress committees were merged into one. Pidathala Ranga Reddy was the first chairman of the A. P. Congress Committee.

Soon after assuming charge, Ranga Reddy suspended Latchanna from the Congress party. There were charges against Latchanna. The allegations were made by Manthana Venkata Raju, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and others. In the election to Rajya Sabha, Latchanna was alleged to have voted to a Socialist Candidate against the Congress. He was served with a notice and asked for an explanation. Latchanna denied the charge and challenged them for proof. Sardar Hukum Singh was appointed by the High Command to go into these allegations. He submitted a report but it was not published. Channa Reddy protested against the suspension of Latchanna.

The dissidents in the Congress party regularly met at the residence of Gopal Rao Ekbote and chalked out their strategy. Channa Reddy, Latchanna, Bommakanti Satyanarayana, Paga Pulla Reddy, M.S. Rajalingam, Hayagriva Chary and others openly attacked Sanjeeva Reddy, inside and outside the Assesmbly. They complained against him to the High Command. U.N. Dhebar intervened and advised Sanjeeva Reddy to accommodate the dissidents. But Sanjeeva Reddy did not budge from his stand. On the other hand, Channa Reddy was served with a notice ask-ing for an explanation regarding his indiscipline. Humayun Kabir advised Channa Reddy to wait until Indira Gandhi became the President of the Congress. By June 1958, Channa Reddy along with his followers resigned and came out of the Congress.

Another prominent congress leader in Krishna district. Kakani Venkata Ratnam was replaced in the party post by Gottipati Brahmaiah. Kakani Venkataratnam refused to vacate the office at Vijayawada and did not hand over the furniture, van, etc. He also started rallying Kamma leaders, consulted several prominent Kamma Congress persons both at the centre and the state. All of them encouraged him and promised to

support him when ever necessary.

Channa Reddy was expelled from the congress for three years. Latchanna was suspended. They were forced to seek an alternative. Together with their followers, the expelled leaders joined hands and decided to form a new party. Channa Reddy presided over a meeting held at Vijayawada on 24th January, 1959 in which 24 M.L.A.s. 2 M.L.Cs. 2M.Ps. and some prominent Congress men attended. Naturally they condemned Sanjeeva Reddy's attitude and nominated a steering Committee to work out the details. A State convention was to be held at Hederabad in February 1959. Later they changed the venue to Vijayawada.

Within a month six M.L.A.S. changed their mind and did not attend the convention. But 3 more M.L.C.S joined whereas one M.P. abstained from it.

Formally the "Democratic Party" was formed on 12th February 1959 at Vijayawada.

Gouthu Latchanna was the Chairman and Bommakanti Satyanaryana was the general Secretary of the new party. Kakani Venkataratnam and Vengal Reddy were the joint secretaries. Jagarlamudi Chandramauli, an affluent Kamma of Karamchedu village was made the treasurer of the party. He is the son of Jagarlamudi Kuppuswami Choudary, a Justicite. Channa Reddy was to act as leader of legislature party.

The Socialists in Andhra were also craving for a strong opposition. The Socialist Party was very much divided in Andhra Pradesh. Some of them met at Warrangal in March 1958, Prominent among them being G. C. Kondaiah, I. Chakradhar, S. B. Giri etc. They decided to from a new party. Hence these socialists consulted the dissident Congress leaders at Hyderabad. Several preliminary meetings were held at Latchanna's residence.

P.V.G. Raju who was prominent in Lohia's Samyukta

Socialist Party had serious differences with the leader. His wife Kusum agreed with Lohia's views. P.V.G. Raju also fell out with the leader and joined the dissident congress leaders. All of them decided to form a new party.

The first convention of all the new forces was held at Tenali in June 1959. It was a two day convention. The hybrid party was named as the Socialist Democratic Party. P.V.G. Raju was elected the chairman of the party. Bommakanti Satyanarayana was the General Secretary. Andhra Telangana parity was conserved. Channa was to continue as the leader in the Assembly. The new party had 41 legislators. A large number of people attended the convention. Emotional speeches were delivered. Nannapaneni Venkata Rao from Tenali hosted the convention. Manthena Venkata Raju, an associate of Sanjeeva Reddy and a bitter enemy of Latchanna joined the party. Kakani Venkata Ratnam who supported Sanjeeva Reddy as PCC president against Ranga in 1951 not only joined the new party but also ran a tirade against Sanjeeva Reddy. K. Obula Reddy, an eternal enemy to Sanjeeva Reddy, was also there in the new party.

Channa Reddy delivered a very emotional speech saying that he would better commit suicide by drowning in the Krishna River than joining the Congress Party again.

Curiously, when all his followers left the Congress, N.G. Ranga was the secretary of parliamentary Congress party affairs at the Centre. He was furious when his followers left the party organisation. But by the time the socialist Democratic party convention took place Ranga had already left the Congress and became the first president of Swatantra Praty. So all the followers of Ranga who were in the Socialist democratic party left Tenali with second thoughts. Before the new party could set up a name board and an office, Ranga's followers decided to join Swatantra party. At that period it was hoped that Swatantra party would

become a national alternative to the Congress party. On 8th October 1959 all the followers of Ranga joined Swatantra party. P.V.G. Raju along with his socialist followers joined the congress party on 9th December, 1959.

Thousands of workers throughout the state could not adjust with the defections, strategies and power mongering of their leaders. They took things to be simple and believed the leaders. The rank and file in the party suffered at the village level.

Very soon even Channa Reddy returned to the Congress via Swatantra party. That paid him as well as P.V.G. Raju because both were provided with ministerial berths in the state cabinet. That is power politics and party politics.

TELANGANA PRAJASAMITHI

Had it happened in France, the world would have called it a revolution. Had it occurred in Poland, the politicians might have named it as a movement. But, it had taken place in Telangana, a part of Andhra Pradesh, hence it was described as an agitation and rightly so. The people of Telangana at least a majority of them consciously rebelled against the ruling Congress party. For nearly a year there was a violent agitation. Curfew was imposed several times. There was no safety for the Andhras in Telangana and specially in the capital city Hyderabad. There were satyagrahas, dharnas, hartals, processions, protests, relay fasts, fasts and so on. Whenever there was a bundh call, life was paralysed. Educational institutions were closed for months together. Several innocent people lost their lives and many others became invalid. Jails were filled with the agitators. State ministers could not move out of their residences in Hyderabad city. Many Andhra families in Telangana and Hyderabad city migrated to Andhra area. Sometimes even trains were stopped. Transport had become a problem. Construction work came to a stand still. The agitators fought with the police, blocked the roads and obstructed the movement of public vehicles. Women came out in large numbers to participate in the agitation. All this happened in 1969, to protest against the domination of Andhras in Telangana. They wanted a separate Telangana state so that they might improve their economy, living conditions and avoid exploitation by the Andhras. All of them spoke Telugu and were together before the Nizam's rule divided them. This separation continued until 1956. After a prolonged demand from the Andhras and at least some

prominent leaders in Telangana the two parts emerged as one state. That had become the basis for the formation of linguistic states. But Telangana had its own apprehensions regarding the behaviour of Andhra leaders. This was expressed in 1948 as a Mulki-non-Mulki agitation. The people of Telangana wanted the outsiders to go away. This was repeated in 1953 and emphatically expressed in 1956. The leaders somehow managed to pacify the agitators. In 1956 an agreement was accorded among the leaders of Andhra and Telangana regions. The misgivings and fears of Telangana people and their leaders proved to be correct. By 1969 the patience of the Telangana people and their leaders exhausted. Starting from Sanjeeva Reddy all the Chief Ministers from Andhra failed to implement the gentlemen's agreement of 1956. Politicians who were looking forward to an opportunity instigated the students, the N.G.Os, and the teachers and fished in the troubled waters. That was how the agitation started in 1969, created Prajasamithi, which culminated as a political party and merged again in the Congress.

The safeguards given to Telangana people were to expire by the end of 1968. Non gazetted employees wanted to extend the period so that the safeguards could be continued for some more years. The Chief Minister, Kasu Brahanda Reddy, hinted in a subtle manner to the N.G.O. delegation which called on him, that unless the N.G.Os agitated the central Government would not consider their demand. That was how unwittingly the Chief Minister from Andhra ignited the flames of agitation.

The first conference was held on 30th November 1968 at Warangal. T. Purushothama Rao and Mutta Reddy were the sponsors. There for the first time the slogans for "seperate Telangana" was given by Mrutyunjaya Lingam. A committee was constituted, which toured round the Telangana area to sound the opinion of the people. The committee initiated agitation by

encouraging one Ravindra, a student in Khammam on 8th January 1969 to go on fast unto death. In support to this relay hunger strikes were commenced in Warangal from 12th January 1969. Within a week the slogans reached Hyderabad. On 14th January 1969, Osmania University students' leaders, Venkatram Reddy led a procession for the protection of safeguards. The opposite group wanted to outshine Venkatram Reddy, and under the guidance of Mallikarjun. conducted a big rally with the slogan "Separate Telangana". On the 16th January of the same year, the N. G. Os teachers, advocates and some journalists came out supporting the agitation of the students. Sensing the pulse of the people chief minister Brahmananda Reddy convened a meeting in the Secretariate. He confessed that certain injustice was done to Telangana and came to an agreement to redress the past grievances and do justice to them. The agreement was signed by prominent persons from all parties. The signatories were Chokka Rao, Achyuta Reddy, V. B. Raju, P. Narsing Rao, C. H. Rajeswara Rao, Badrivishal Pitti, Y. V. Krishna Rao. P. V. Narasimha Rao, Jupudi Yagynanarayana, Kudipudi Prabhakar Rao, V. Rama Rao, Roda Mistri, C. Janga Reddy, A. Vasudeva Ravi, Salauddin Owasi, C. Narasa Reddy, J. Ranga Reddy. P. Govarthan Reddy, J. Vengal Rao, T. Purushotham Rao, K. Ramachandra Reddy, M. Kamaluddin, Erram Satyanarayana, C.H. Murthy Raju, K. Rajamallu, K. Sudarsana Reddy, Kakani Venkataratnam, M.L. Lakshmi Narasayya, Kaja Ramanatham, Thota Ramaswami, Seelam Sidda Reddy, Nukala Ramachandra Reddy, Arige Ramaswami, N. Prasad Rao, P. Timma Reddy, J.V. Narsinga Rao. K.V. Narayana Reddy, B.V. Gurumurthy, Ibrahim Ali Ansari, G. Latchanna, V. Gopala Krishna, Narashima Reddy, Chencu Ramanayudu, Konda Lakshman Bapuji and Brahmananda Reddy.

As a result of this agreement, Ravindra ended his fast at Khammam. But the agitation continued. Some of the signatories

publicly stated that they had committed a mistake in signing the agreement. In Andhra area the students opposed this agreement. At Hyderabad the students leaders announced that the first People's convention of Telangana will be held on 8th March. 1969. A. Madan Mohan, advocate, was the convener of the convention. He was supported by S. Venkatram Reddy, President Medchell Samithi, Ramachandra Reddy, President, Co-operative Bank, Jalgaum, T. Purshotham Rao, M.L.A., Musharla Satyanarayana and several others. Ex-mayor Ramamurthy Naidu, the journalists like E.V. Padmahabham, S. Raghuvveera Rao, A. Venkateshwar Rao supported the cause of the students.

A bandh call was given which was observed on 3rd March. 1969. The bandh was a total success. On 8th and 9th March. People's Convention of Telangana was held in Reddy Hostel. Hyderabad which was attended by a large number of delegates from all over Telangana. An adhoc committee was constituted with Madan Mohan as President, S. Venkatrama Reddy the Secretary and Nagam Krishan the treasurer. In the third week of March, the Telangana Praja Samithi emerged as a loose organisation. A. Madan Mohan announced that the separate Telangana issue was not negotiable. From then onwards the agitation took a violent turn. M. Channa Reddy was an onlooker at that time. He did not say a word for or against the agitation. On March 27th 1969, Konda Lakshman Bapuji resigned from the Cabinet of Brahmananda Reddy and pleaded for autonomous status for Telangana. The Communists consistently opposed the "Seperate Telangana" agitation. On 11th April, Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi convened a meeting at Delhi and announced an eightpoint formula. Channa Reddy V.B. Raju, J. Chokka Rao, Nukala Ramchandra Reddy, Brahmananda Reddy, Kakani Venkatram. Nijalingappa, Y.B. Chauhan and Kamaraj particiated in this meeting. By that time several persons were arrested in

Telangana people. Preventive Detention Act was also used against the agitators.

The day when the Prime Minister convened a meeting in Delhi to evolve the eight point formula, K. Achutta Reddy, T. Anjaiah, M. Manikia Rao, and M.M. Hashim courted arrest by participating in collective satyagraha. Later they were expelled from the Congress. From then onwards the agitation went on steadily and violently. More and more people joined it. Telangana Ministers were hesitant to come out in support of the agitation. G. Venkataswamy openly announced that he was for integration and not for sepeparation. But he was forced to join the 'Seperate Telangana' agitation. During April 1969, elections took place to the Legislative Council from local bodies of Hyderabad. S. Venkatarama Reddy contested on behalf of the seperatists.

K. Prabhakar Reddy stood as a candidate for integration. The victory of S. Venkatarama Reddy indicated the trend of the people.

On 1st May a huge procession started from Charminar inspite of the prohibitory orders. The procession marched to Raj Bhavan to submit a memorandum to the government. The police resorted to laticharge and firing. A few were killed.

CHANNA REDDY ENTERS

Channa Reddy lost the election case in the High Court, the election petition against him was filed by Vandemateram Ramachandra Rao. The High Court decided in favour of Vandemataram and declared the election of Channa Reddy invalid and also prohibited him from seeking any election for six years to come. At that time Channa Reddy was the Minister of Steel in the Union Cabinet. Immediately after the verdict, he resigned to his post and appealed to the Supreme Court. He was

awaiting favourable judgement. So he did not participate in the agitation for the first six months. But the Supreme Court rejected his appeal. That was the opportune time for him to enter the agitational politics. Telangana Praja Samithi discussed the pros and cons of the entry of Channa Reddy. People like A. Madan Mohan S.B. Giri Gopal Krishna, Raghuveera Rao, Sudhakar Rao, Purushotham Rao, etc.. strongly pleaded that Channa Reddy must be the President and guide the agitation. At last he became the President of Praja Samithi on 22nd May, 1969. Immediately Sreedhar Reddy announced the formation of rival Praja Samithi with the support of Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao.

The Prime Minister invited the following persons from Telangana for talks in Delhi, A. Madan Mohan, S. Venkatram Reddy, S.B. Giri, Mallikarjun S, Raghuveer Rao, Sreedarreddy etc. But nothing came out of it, because the invitees rejected the offer and wanted the release of all the detainees before they accepted any offer. This decision was taken on 2nd May. 1969 at the residence of M. Manik Rao. 'Martyrs Day' was observed throughout Telangana. The integrationists conducted a rally wherein notorious goondas participated.

After Channa Reddy took over as the President of Telangana Praja Samithi the agitation was intensified. He constituted the executive committee with the following members.

1) *Vice-Presidents:* Achuyta Reddy, T. N. Sadalakshmi, A. Madan Mohan, G.P. Saxena, T. Anjaiah, G.S. Melkote, Sangharn Lakshmibai and J. Eashwaribai.

2) *Secretaries:* S. Venkatarama Reddy, P. Narsinga Rao, B. Satyanarayana Reddy, K.S. Narayana, M.M. Hashim, M. Manik Rao and G. Venkataswamy.

3) *Organising Secretaries:* Nagam Krishna. G. Narayan Rao. Jagan Mohan Reddy, T. Govindsingh, Santhabai, Aadiraju Venkateshwar Rao, Manik Rao and V. Ramakrishna Reddy.

4) *Treasurer*: Ramakrishna Dhooth.

5) *Members*: Hygreeva Chary, B. C. Jain, N. Narotham Reddy, Narsi Reddy, P. Janardhan Reddy, A. Narayan Reddy, Lakshi Reddy, D. Venkatasam, Bojjam Narashimulu, Shahab Uddin Ahmed, Sankar Rao Bilolika, Major Rangaswami, M. Ramachandra Rao and Varakantam Gopal Reddy.

6) *Action Committee*: G.V. Sudhakar Rao, M. Manik Rao, G.P. Saxena, A. Madan Mohan, S. Venkatrama Reddy, G. Narayan Rao and P. Narasa Reddy.

7) *Speolal hwitees*: Konda Lakshman Bapuji and Badri Vishal Pitti.

The State Government dismissed K. R. Amos, the leader of N.G.O.'s and withdrew the recognition to the teachers union. An ordinance was promulgated banning strikes by the employees. On 30th May a fierce clash occurred in the Chanchalguda jail between Andhra and Telangana prisoners. The Telangana Praja Samithi gave a call to observe total hartal on 2nd June to protest against the brutal lathi charge on Telangana prisoners by the police. Konda Lakshman Bapuji constituted Telangana Pradesh Congress which was inaugurated by Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy at Gandhi Bhavan, Hyderabad. Prime Minister took a firm stand against the separatist agitation. On 3rd June, 1969 examinations in schools were commenced with the help of the police, but people resisted. This agitation became still more violent in the capital city and at several other places. Throughout Telangana several people were killed on that day in the police firings. In the midnight of 4th June, Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi air dashed to Hyderabad and had consultations with the Telangana Praja Samithi leaders but nothing had come out from it. After two days the Home Minister, Y.B. Chauhan, visited Hyderabad and his negotiations too failed. On 10th June, the

N.G.Os from Telangana commenced the strike and continued for 35 days. Several N.G.O. leaders were arrested. On 15th June, hartaal was observed against the attitude of the Government. Between 19th and 24th June, 1969 thousands of Telangana Praja Samithi workers courted arrest.

The Congress Working Committee rejected the plea of 'Seperate Telangana'. Morarji Desai failed in his efforts to bring about reconciliation. On 24th June, again violent agitation took place. On the previous night, an attempt was made on G. Venkaswamy's life which provoked the Telangana Praja Samithi workers. Gradually the Telangana Praja Samithi leaders were taken into custody. On 30th June, a huge procession of women submitted a memorandum to the Governor. They also observed 'dharna' at the residences of Telangana Ministers. A few women who prominently took part in the agitation were Sulochana Narothama Reddy, Savitri Channa Reddy, Sangam Lakshmi bai, Eashwari bai, Santa bai, Kumid Naik, Sermistha Reddy, Sumitra Devi, Lakshini Reddy and Mrs. Venkateshwar Rao Yaday.

While Channa Reddy and others were in prison, Madan Mohan went to Delhi in the capaicity of the temporary President of Praja Samiti to consult Mrs. Gandhi and the High Command. Praja Samithi took exception of efforts of Madan Mohan.

Telangana Praja Samithi continued the collective relay fasts, silent processions and faced the police harassment. On 15th August. the Telangana Praja Samithi did not participate in the Independence Day celebrations, on the other hand they tried to hinder the programme. On 25th August, 1969, almost all the Telangana Parja Samithi leaders were released by the High Court.

Some Telangana Ministers under the leadership of V.B. Raju decided to resign from the ministry on 27th June 1969. Brahmananda Reddy with a master stroke made Gurumurthy, a

minister from Telangana resign so that V.B. Raju's tactical move could be stopped from having the desired effect. As decided, V.B. Raju and other ministers resigned from the cabinet and decided to sit in the opposition. V.B. Raju gave a slogan - 'Save Congress'. Meanwhile, Brahmananada Reddy sent his resignation to Nijaligappa, the Congress President. The news of Brahmananda Reddy's resignation was received by the Telangana people in Hyderabad very jubilantly. Bhoji Reddy, the Chairman, Zilla Parishath, Hyderabad and K. Prabhakar Reddy, President, Panchayat Samithi, Hayatnagar supported Brahmananda Reddy and integration. When news of the Chief Ministers resignation reached them they too supported the separate Telangana move. When Damodaram Sanjevayya, Kotta Raghu Ramaiah, V. B. Raju, Pendekanti Venkata Subbaih tried to remove Brahmananda Reddy as Chief Minister on 6th July, 1969, the A.P. Congress Legislature Party expressed confidence in the leadership of Brahmananda Reddy. P.V. Narshima Rao, Kakani Venkataratnam strongly supported Brahmananda Reddy. Nijalingappa and Kamaraj Nadar were present at the meeting. Brahmananda Reddy participated in the Congress Session of Bangalore from 9th July onwards and supported Indira Gandhi against the syndicate. He returned from Bangalore on 18th July and re-constituted his ministry. J. Vengal Rao, J. V. Narsinga Rao, P. V. Narshima Rao, M. N. Lakshiminarasayya, Seelam Siddareddy, Ibrahim Ali Ansari, G. Sanjeeva Reddy were named as Cabinet Ministers, Akkiraju Vasudeva Rao, Rama Chandra Rao Kalyani, Roda Mistry, V. Purshottam Reddy, Raja Narashima joined as state ministers. Nukala Rama Chandra Reddy refused to join the ministry. Similarly Rambhupal Reddy, the son-in-law of Sanjeeva Reddy declined the offer of ministership.

Telangana Praja Samithi continued its agitational politics under the leadership of Channa Reddy. Channa Reddy and

Konda Lakshman differed from each other on organisational matters. The Samithi decided to start collective Satyagraha campaign commencing from 10th October 1969. Channa Reddy made it clear that whoever refused to participate would lose their posts in Parja Samithi. Konda Lakshman and Sadalakshmi opposed this move. These clashes were reflected even among the students. A section of the students wanted to attend the classes from 21st September 1969 onwards. Mallikarjun, the Student leader decided to fast unto death from 10th October. The collective satyagraha was not a success when compared to the earlier methods of agitation. Telangana Praja Samithi decided to hold Telangana Sammelan for 3 days commencing from 26th November 1969. In the meantime the district committees were to complete the membership enrolment and prepare for state elections.

In the assembly the United Front consisted of V.B. Raju, K. Achyutha Reddy, T. Anjaiah, R. Bheem Rao, M.M. Hashim, Jagannatha Rao, M. Manik Rao, P. Narashing Rao, G. Rajaram, N. Ramachandra Reddy, A. Madan Mohan, and M. Sreenivasa Rao. In the Legislative Council the United Front members were G. Sudhakar Rao, Ireni Lingaiyya, M. R. Shyam Rao, Kanaka Ratnamma, Venkatrama Reddy, Narish Reddy, Lakshmi Reddy, and T. Govindsingh.

In the two elections, (one caused due to the death of Gurumurthy and the other falling vacant due to the election of V. B. Raju to the Rajya Sabha). T.P.S. candidates won with overwhelming majority. Madan Mohan got elected from Siddipet and Nagam Krishna Rao from Khairathabad constituency (Hyderabad).

Madan Mohan differed from the decision of holding the State Telangana Sammelan. There was a demand from the

Telangana people that those who supported the Seperate Telangana should resign from the assembly but no one came forward to submit their resignations. The first T.P.S. conference was held in Secunderabad on 11th January 1970. A resolution was moved to the effect that T.P.S. should be converted into a political party. There was overwhelming support to this resolution and the delegates were jubilant. But Channa Reddy was not willing to pass the resolution. A committee with 22 members was constituted to go into the matter and submit the report. On 12th December 1970. the subcommittee submitted a report in favour of the political party. The members of the committee were P. Narasing Rao, G. Raja Ram, G. Venkatswamy, T. Govind Singh, T. Anjaiah, N. Naroatham Reddy, G.V. Sudhakar Rao, Hayagreevachari, and Bhadi Vishal Pitti. B. Satyanarayana Reddy was the convenor of the subcommitte. By implication the members of other parties like Swathantra, Samyukta Socialist Party, Republican Party of India and Jana Sangh who till then supported T.P.S. would be forced to quit. In spite of this political implication the T.P.S. decided to convert itself into a polical party. Members were enrolled through-out Telangana.

When Bangla Desh war was going on Dr. Channa Reddy stopped condemning Mrs. Gandhi and openly praised her role. After the victory in Bangla Desh, Mrs. Gandhi decided to go for polls a year ahead of the time originally scheduled. Channa Reddy was called to Delhi for consultations with a view to avoiding confrontation between the Congress and the T.P.S. in Telangana area. T.P.S. workers vehemently opposed any compromise with Congress and naturally Channa Reddy yielded to the will of the majority. T.P.S. won 10 out of all the 14 seats contested for. The four seats lost by the T.P.S. were Khammam, Nizamabad, Adilabad and Miryalaguda. Mrs. Gandhi emerged as the national leader with thumping majority in the Lok Sabha.

Hence the T.P.S. with its 10 seats in the LOK Sabha could do nothing but sitting along with the opposition.

The T.P.S. after the Lok Sabha elections elected Channa Reddy as the president. It also framed the party constitution and pledged to achieve the separate state. Talks were held continuously between the Prime Minister and Channa Reddy over the issue of separate Telangana. As a result the six point formula was evolved, the six points being: - 1. A separate budget and accounts for Telangana 2. Mulki rules to continue 3. Statutory powers to the Telangana Regional Committee 4. Pradesh Congress Committee for Telangana 5. Review of these points after three years 6. Resignation of Kasu Brahmananda Reddy as the Chief Minister.

The six points were agreed upon orally. At that time Brahmananda Reddy had got the support of 220 M.L.As. out of 287. But he stepped down and said that there was only one formula that was his resignation. After the agreement of the six-point formula the T. P. S. resolved to merge with the Congress on 18th September 1971. This resolution was opposed by the persons like T. Purushotham Rao, B. Satyanarayana Reddy and a few others. The T.P.S. expressed absolute confidence in the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi. The dissidents started Sampurna Telangana Praja Samithi who could get only 1.8% of votes and two seats out of 41 contested in 1972 Assembly elections. The issue of Separate Telangana was totally forgotten in no time. But some of the T.P.S. people achieved berths in the Congress party as well as the State cabinet. After all, that was the thing they wanted. The workers who stood for the T.P.S. had no role to play. During the agitation altogether 300 hundred innocent people lost their lives and 42 crores of rupees went into the drain. Several persons collected donations forcibly throughout Telangana and no accounts were maintained. When once the T.P.S. converted

itself into a political party its fight was only an inner and intra-party fight. The rank and file who sincerely believed that their leaders were fighting for separate Telangana were fooled once for all.

EPILOGUE : POWER OF PEOPLE

The political parties have always played with people. No party believes or implements democracy in its fullest form because that deprives the party of exploiting the sovereignty of the people. In the 19th and especially in the 20th century the greatest exploiter is the political party. This is very much true in India.

Democracy has not failed. As a matter of fact democracy has neither been implemented nor given full opportunity till now. Democracy for the people, of the people and by the people is yet a far reaching cry. Scratch any party, it says that people cannot govern themselves in day to day administration. Some parties go to the extent of saying that people are not mature enough to rule themselves.

Some political pundits believe that democracy without parties cannot be conceived. What is the basis for their belief or statement except an untenable assumption? Is there any attempt to practise democracy without parties? Take for example a crisis in electing the leader of the assembly. If no party comes forward to show the majority, the Governor advises for the dissolution of the assembly and reelection has to be conducted. No party was recognised by the constitution. Hence a simple majority election system can be adopted in the assembly or in Lok Sabha (Parliament). Actually the leader of the house is a misnomer now. The leader of the house is not elected by the full house. The majority party elects the leader or indicates the name to the Governor. Hence by virtue of convention he/she becomes the

leader of the house. An opportunity can be extended to all the members to elect the leader of the house. Similarly the members can sit constituency-wise instead of party-wise in the assembly. Once elected from a constituency a member is not confined to his constituency alone. He participates in the deliberations of the house. The Assembly enacts laws which are applicable to all people. This broad outlook has to be inculcated in the minds of the members.

Basically, in a democracy the people are supreme. None is above people. The privileges of elected members should not be above people's privilege. That outlook is absent today.

It may be a repetition but once again I must abhor the attitude of political parties because they are robbing people of their sovereign power and keeping them as helpless onlookers in between elections. The political parties connived among themselves and prevented the introduction of the principle of recall of the elected members. That itself shows how they implement democracy in a half-hearted way. They use' people and praise the voter during elections or before. After the election the parties treat the people as cattle and dictate things to them. People are not organised except through political parties. That is the fundamental defect. What we need is full control on political parties by people.

There should be no special privileges to political parties. They must be answerable to people. Their funds must be scrutinised and taxed.

Democratic functioning must be based on the principle that people are Sovereign and the sovereignty is not to be alienated under any circumstances. The pyramidal structure of democracy will repose confidence in people. Periodical elections are not to be held at the mercy or whims and fancies of political

parties in power. They must be conducted in time under all circumstances. The elected representatives must be sub-servient to the people. This sort of democratic spirit that the 'people are supreme' should be inculcated in all departments. Police. Judiciary. Executive and political parties must undergo this training. As this has not been done so far, people are treated as cattle.

Democracy is bound to succeed if it is given a fair trial.

In democracy all services must be subordinate to the people. Police, army, Employees of all categories in all sectors must have the minimum training in democracy. They must be told that people are supreme. This service orientation is totally absent today. People deposit money in banks. When they go to the bank, the employees there behave as though they were the bosses. Police are

paid to serve people. But with some pretext or the other, police resort to lathi charge, teargas, firing and killing people. In a democracy people have the right to protest against the methods, systems, procedures and demand a change in them if necessary. Sometimes that may take a violent turn. Properties may be destroyed. Even then, people must be treated as supreme and not as property. But now property is given the top priority.

One question remains unanswered. Who has to implement democracy? Not certainly the political parties. They failed to raise to the occasion. The only alternative is that people's committees have to be formed in every village and in every ward of the cities. They should act as watchdogs to democracy. The recall of elected representatives can be introduced from village and municipality to state level.

Democracy should be like a pyramid with well knit people's committees. Power will be dispersed and concentration of power

will not be allowed. Nothing would be imposed from the top by the high command of a political party or the supreme leader. Every issue must be discussed by the people. The attitude that the people do not know certain things and so we decide things on their behalf should be dispensed with.

This is not an easy task. Political parties will oppose every move to democratise society. Hence there is an urgent need to inculcate democratic spirit and scientific method in every walk of life. The days of political parties are numbered. They are not evitable. Without parties, democracy can flourish and perpetuate itself as long as sovereignty is not mortgaged by the people.

Appendix - I

All India Political Parties		Formed		Extinct
1. Akhil Bharath Hindu Maha Sabha	.....	1907		
2. All India Forward Bloc	.....	1939	.....	1949
3. All India Muslim League	.....	1906	.....	1948
4. All India Republican Party	.....	1950	.....	1957
5. All India Communist Party	.....	1981		
6. Bharateeya Jana Sangh	.....	1952	.....	1977
7. Bharateeva Kranti Dal	.....	1966	.....	1974
8. Bharateeva Lok Dal	...	1980		
9. Bolshevik Leninist Party of India	.....	1942	.....	1949
10. Bolshevik Party of India	.....	1942	.....	1949
11. Communist Party of India	.....	1920	.....	1964
12. C. P. I. Marxist	.....	1964		
13. C. P. I. Marxist-Leninist	.....	1968		
14. Congress Socialist Party	.....	1934	.....	1948
15. Congress (O)	.....	1969	.....	1977
16. Congress (R)	.....	1970	.....	1977
17. Congress (U)	.....	1980		
18. Congress (I)	.....	1977		
19. Congress for Democracy	.....	1977	.....	1977
20. Indian Communist Party	.....	1925	.....	1964
21. Indian National Congress	.....	1885	.....	1969
22. Indian Socialist Party	.....	1969	.....	1971
23. Janata Party (SP + BJS + Cong. 0 + BLD+CFD)	.....	1977	.....	1980
24. Janata Party	.....	1980		
25. Kisan Majdoor Praja Party	.....	1951	.....	1952
26. Peasants and Workers Party of India	.....	1951	.....	1956
27. Praja Party (T. Viswanatham's)	.....	1951	.....	1977
28. Praja Socialist Party	.....	1952	.....	1972

29. Radical Democratic Party	.....	1940	.....	1948
30. Rama Rajya Parishath	.....	1949		
31. Samyukta Socialist Party	.....	1955	.....	1974
32. Socialist Party	.....	1948	.....	1952
33. Swatantra Party	.....	1958	.....	1974
34. Socialist Democratic Party (H.N.Bahuguna's)	.....	1980		
35. Workers Party of India	.....	1960		
36. Lok Dal	.....	1980		
37. Bharateeya Janata Party (former Jana Sangh)	.....	1980		

Regional Parties

		Formed	Extinct
1.	Akali Dal	..... 1920	
2.	All India Sikh Council	..... 1967	
3.	All Manipur National Union	..... 1949	..... 1953
4.	All Party Hill Leaders Conference	..... 1960	
5.	All People's Party	..... 1949	
6.	Anna Dravida Munnetra Kajagam	..... 1972	
7.	Bharateeya Christian Democratic Party	..... 1969	
8.	Bharateeya Lok Congress	.....	..... 1953
9.	Bharateeya Jateeya Maha Sangh	..... 1973	
10.	Bharateeya Khetikar Sangh	.....	..... 1974
11.	Bharateeya Republican Paksh	..... 1959	..... 1968
12.	Bihar Rajya Janata Party	..... 1947	
13.	Bolshevik Majdoor Party	..... 1939	..... 1949
14.	Dravida Kajagam	..... 1944	
15.	Ezhava Political League	..... 1932	
16.	Forward Bloc (Marxist)	..... 1946	..... 1949
17.	Forward Bloc (Subhashist)	..... 1946	..... 1949
18.	Ganatantra Parishad	..... 1950	
19.	Ganatantric Sangh	..... 1949	
20.	Gandhi Janata Congress	..... 1957	
21.	Haryana Congress	..... 1967	
22.	Hill People's Party	..... 1951	
23.	Hill State People's Democratic Party	..... 1968	
24.	Hind Majdoor Panchayat	.....
25.	Hind Majdoor Sabha	..... 1948	
26.	Hindu Maha Mandal	..... 1950	
27.	Hindu Rajya Party	.....

28. Hul Jarkhand Party	.....
29. Independent Congress Group	.....	1971
30. Independent Democratic Party	.....
31. Independent Labour Party	.....	1936
32. Independent People's Party	.....	1950
33. Indian Labour Party	.....	1924
34. Indian Communist Party	.....	1924
35. Indian Socialist Party	.....	1969
36. Jai Jawan Jai Kisan Party		
37. Jana Congress		
38. Jana Kranti Dal	.....	1967
39. Jana Kranti Party	.....	1966
40. Jana Tantrik Party		
41. Janatha Congress	.....	1967
42. Janatha Party (Rajasthan)		
43. Jarkhand Party	.....	1950
44. Jarkhand Rajya Party	.....	1972
45. Karshaka Thozhilali Party	.....	1962
46. Kerala Congress	.....	1964
47. Kerala Karshaka Party	.....	1969
48. Kerala Socialist League	.....	19656
49. Kerala Socialist Party	.....	1947 1977
50. Kerala Socialist Youth Federation		
51. Kisan Congress Samithi	.....	1951
52. Kisan Janagha Samyukta Party	.....	1951
53. Kisan Majdoor Lok Paksha	.....	1974
54. Kisan Majdoor Mandal (Bhopal)		
55. Kisan Majdoor Party	.....	1968
56. Koshalotkal Praja Parishath	.....	1948
57. Krishik Majdoor Praja Party	.....	1950
58. Krishik Praja Majdoor Party	.....	1950
59. Krishikar Lok Paksh		

60. Krishikar Lok Party	.....	1951..... 1955
61. Lok Tantrik Dal	.....	1968
62. Lok Sevaka Sangha	.....	1948
63. Lok Raj Parishad	.....	1963
64. Lok Raj Samithi	.....	1967
65. Lok Sena (G. L. Narder)	.....	1968
66. Madhva Pradesh Muslim Bloc	.....	1967
67. Maha Madhva Bharatha Samithi	.....	1967
68. Maha Vidarbha Rajya Sangharsha Samithi	.....	1968
69. Maha Gujarat Janatha Parishad		
70. Maha Rashtravadhi Gomanthak Party (Tony Fernandes)	.....	1963
71. Maithili Samaj Formed ... Extinct		
72. Majlis Ithe Had ul Mislimin	.....	1926
73. Manipur Mahasabha		
74. Manipur People's Party	.....	1969
75. Majdoor Communist Party	.....	1952
76. Majdoor Kisan Party	.....	1955
77. Majdoor Krishak Party	.....	..... 1949
78. Majdoor Troskyite Party	.....	1940
79. Muslim League Party (T. N.)	.....	1970
80. Muslim Majlis Mushavarath	.....	1966
81. Naga National Council	.....	1946
82. Naga National League	.....	1951
83. Naga Nationalist Organisation	.....	1963
84. National Democratic Party	.....	1973
85. National Liberal Federation of India	.....	1909
86. National Party of Bengal	.....	1967
87. National Synthesis Party	.....	1949
88. Nationalist Party of India	.....	1934

89. Nutan Maha Gujarat Janatha Parishad	.....	1960		
90. Orissa Progressive Party	.....	1973		
91. People's Party (Arunachal. M.P.)	.....	1977		
92. People's Congress Party	.....	1950		
93. People's Progressive Party	.....	1956		
94. Praja Mandal (Haryana. Mysore)	.....	1953		
95. Praja Shanti Party	.....	1947		
96. Progressive Communist Party	.....	1959		
97. Progressive Independent Party	.....	1963		
98. Proutist Bloc India	.....	1968		
99. Rastriya Jana Sangh	.....	1972		
100. Republican Praja Party (Travancore, Cochin)	.....	1951		
101. RevdlUtibnary Communist party of India (Das Gupta, Tagore)	.....	1941	.....	1949
102. Revolutionary Nationalist Party				
103. Revolutionary Socialist Party of India (Marxist. Leninist)	.....	1969		
104. Revolutionary Workers Party of India	.....	1958		
105. Samyukta Socialist Party	.....	1964		
106. Samyukta Vidhayak Dal	.....		
107. Scheduled Caste Federation of India	.....	1942		
108. Shiromani Akali Dal	.....	1920		
109. Social Democratic Party of Goa, Daman, Diu and West Bengal	.....	1967		
110. Socialist Congress	.....	1968		
111. Socialist Democratic Front	.....	1954		
112. Socialist Democratic Party	.....	1959		
113. Socialist Party (Jaunpur, Lohia. Marxist Samathavadi Ekathavadi)	.....	1959		
114. South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party)	.....	1917		

115. Tamil Nadu Congress				
116. Tamil Nadu People's Front				
117. Tamil Nadu Toilers Party				
118. Tamil Nadu Communist Party	.....	1973		
119. Tamil National Party				
120. Telangana Praja Samithi	.....	1969	.....	1972
121. Travancore State Congress				
122. Travancore Tamilnadu Congress				
123. Tripura Congress	.....	1966		
124. Tripura Rajya Congress Unionist Party	.....	1970		
125. United Nationalist Party	.....	1952		
126. United Punjab Janatha Party	.....	1967		
127. United Socialist Party (U. P. Rajasthan)	.....	1962		
128. Vishal Haryana Party	.....	1967		
129. Workers Party of India	.....	1960		
130. Workers and Peasants Party (Bengal)	.....	1927		
131. Young Marxist League				
132. Telangana Praja Samithi (Jan)	.....	1969	.....	1972
		(Andhra Pradesh)		
133. Telangana Congress	.....	1969	.....	1972
		(Andhra Pradesh)		
134. Minorities and Labour Party	.....		
		(Andhra Pradesh)		
135. Backward Class Maha Sabha	.....		
		(Andhra Pradesh)		
136. Arya Sabha		Haryana		
137. Proutist				
138. Lok Raj Party		Himachal Pradesh		
139. Jamath Islam		Jammu and Kashmir		
140. United Front of Nagaland		Nagaland		

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| 141. Utkal Congress | Orissa |
| 142. B.H.P. | Rajasthan |
| 143. Bangla Congress | West Bengal |
| 144. The Jamiyat-al Ulama-i Hind | 1919 |

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Appendix - II

MAJOR PARTIES — BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

1. Indian National Congress
2. All India Congress Socialist Party
3. All India Forward Bloc
4. Congress Democratic Party
5. Revolutionary Socialist Party
6. Bolshevik Party of India
7. Communist Party of India
8. The Jama'iyat-al-ulamā Hind
9. All India Muslim League
10. Congress Socialist Party
11. Radical Democratic Party
12. Swarajya Party
13. Ram Rajya Parishad
14. Hindu Mahasabha.

Appendix - III

MAJOR PARTIES — AFTER INDEPENDENCE

1. All India Republican Party (former S. C. Federation)
2. Socialist Party
3. Kisan Majdoor Praja Party
4. Bharateeya Jana Sangh
5. Praja Socialist Party
6. Swatantra Party
7. Communist Party of India (Marxist)
8. Samyukta Socialist Party
9. Bharateeya Kranti Dal
10. Bharateeya Lok Dal
11. Janatha Party (four party combination)
12. Bharateeya Janatha Party
13. Congress for Democracy (Jagjeevan Ram)
14. Democratic Socialist Party (Bahuguna)
15. Janatha Party (Morarjee, Chandra Shekhar)
16. Bharateeya Jan Sangh (Madhok)
17. Communist Party of India Marxist Lennist (includes all factions)
18. Congress-O (Nijalingappa)
19. Congress-(I)

Appendix - IV

SOME DEFECTORS AND DEFECTIONS

1. Jagjeevan Ram : Congress - Congress for Democracy
Janata - Congress - (U).
2. Charan Singh : Congress - Bharateeya
Kranti Dal - Bharateeya Lok Dal -
Janata - Lok Dal.
3. Chandra Sekhar : Congress - Janata.
4. George Fernandez : Socialist - Janata - Lokdal.
5. Morarjee Desai : Congress - Janata.
6. Surendranath Benerje : Congress - National
Liberal Party.
7. Lalalajpat Rai : Congress - National Party.
8. Chittaranjan Das : Congress - Swarajya.
9. Motilal Nehru : Congress - Swarajya - Congress
- Democratic Party (1929).
10. Subhaschandra Bose : Congress - Forward Block
(Founder) 1940.
11. N. G. Ranga : Congress - Praja Party - KMP
KLP - Swatantra - Congress (I).
12. J. B. Kripalani : Congress - KMP - PSP - BKD
Janata.
13. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai : Congress - Kisan Majdoor
Praja Party - Congress.
14. Humayun Kabir : Congress - Jana Congress - Bangia
Congress - BK D.
15. Raj Narayan : Socialist - BLD - Janata - Lok Dal.
16. H. N. Bahuguna : Congress - CFD - Janata - Congress
I - Democratic Socialist.
17. K. Raghu Ramaiah : Congress - Janata - Congress-I.
18. Subrahmanya Swamy : Janasangh - Janata.
19. M. R. Masani : CSP - Swatantra

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- 20. Ashok Mehta : CSP - PSP - Congress - Janata.
- 21. Dinesh Singh : Congress - Janata - Congress-I.
- 22. Nandini Satpathy : CPI - Congress. CFD - Janata - Congress - Congress-I.
- 23. Narain Dutt Tiwari : Congress - Socialist - PSP - Congress.
- 24. Krishna Kant : Congress - Janata.

Appendix - V

PRO 1NDIRA — ANTI 1NDIRA LEADERS

1. Chandra Sekhar : Pro 1967-75 - Anti 1975 onwards.
2. Krishna Kant . Pro upto 1975 - now anti.
3. K. Raghuramaiah : Pro upto 1977 - Anti 1978-79 pro afterwards.
4. K. V. Raghunatha Reddy : Pro upto emergency - now anti.
5. I. K. Gujral : Pro - now anti.
6. Dinesh Singh: Pro upto 1977 - Anti 1977-80 - pro now
7. Jagjeevan Ram: Pro upto 1977 - Anti afterwards.
8. Raj Narayan: Anti till 1978 - Pro in 1979 - Anti now.
9. Devraj Urs : Pro upto 1977 - Anti 1978 onwards.
10. K. Brahmananda Reddy : Pro upto 1977 - Anti 1978-79 - pro now.
11. H. N. Bahuguna: Anti upto 1979 - Pro 1980-Anti now.
12. N. G. Ranga: Anti upto 1972 - Pro afterwards.
13. V. B. Raju: Pro upto 1977 - Anti afterwards.

Appendex - VI

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON SOME INDIAN POLITICIANS

1. ADHIKARI, GANGADHAR M (Dr.)

Studied in the University of Berlin in 1920. Follower of M. N. Roy. Arrested and jailed in Meerut Conspiracy Case. Member of the CPI Polit Bureau 1943-50. Editor of the CPI Weekly during 1940. Edited the CPI documents.

2. AHMED, MUZAFFAR:

Born in 1893 in Bengal. Involved in Non-cooperation and Khilafath Movements. Arrested in Meerut Conspiracy Case. Member of the CPI Central Committee since 1951. Served on the Polit Bureau from 1951 to 53.

3. BASU, JYOTHI:

Studied in England. Active in India League and the Indian Sea Men's Club in London. Member of the CPI Central Committee. Chief Minister of West Bengal. Leader of the CPI (M).

4. DANGE, SHRIPAD AMRUT:

Born in 1899. One of the founders of the CPI. Has been President or General Secretary of the AITUC since 1945. Member of Polit Bureau since 1951. President of the CPI and now joined All India CPL after the expulsion from the CPI.

5. GUPTA, BHUPESH:

Born in East Bengal in 1914. Educated in London. Arrested in 1930 for Terrorist activities. Elected to Rajya Sabha in 1952. Editor of 'New Age' weekly from August, 1956. Eminent Parliamentarian in Rajya Sabha.

6. NAMBOODIRIPAD, EIAM KUTAM MANA SANKARAN:

Born in Malabar in 1909. One of the Joint Secretaries of the CSP, 1934. The first Communist Chief Minister of Kerala in 1957. Now the CPI (M) leader.

7. BASAVA PUNNAIAH MAKINENI:

Born in Guntur District. Andhra Pradesh. General Secretary of Andhra Provincial Student Federation. Served on the CPI Central Committee. Member of Polit Bureau since 1950. CPI (M) theoretician.

8. RANADIVE BHALCHANDRA TRIUBAK :

Elected to the CPI Central Committee and Polit Bureau in 1943. Became the General Secretary in 1948. Removed from office in 1950 after his tactics had been censured by the International Communist leadership. Now CPI (M) leader.

9. RAO CHANDRA RAJESWARA:

A veteran Communist Leader of Andhra. Comes from a peasant family. Became General Secretary of the Party in 1949. Member of the CPI Central Committee from 1953 onwards. General Secretary of CP1.

10. RAO MOTURI HUNUMANTHA:

A veteran member of the CPI from Andhra. Member of the CPI Central Committee from 1953. CPI (M) Leader in Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council.

11. REDDY RAVI NARAYANA:

Foremost leader of the CPI in Telangana. Elected to Lok Sabha in 1952. Member of the CPI Central Committee since 1953 and also member of the Visalandhra Provincial Committee since its creation in 1956. Retired from active politics.

12. REDDY, T. NAGI:

Defeated Sanjiva Reddy in 1952. Leader of the opposition in the first Andhra State Legislative Assembly. Elected to Lok Sabha in 1957. Led the Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh, Died in hospital in disguise.

13. SUNDARAYYA PUCHALAPALLI:

Born in 1913 in Nellore District of Andhra Pradesh. Joined the CPI in 1932. Member of the CPI Central Committee from 1934 and of the Polit Bureau from 1953 upto its split. Leader of the Legislature CPI (M) Party in Andhra Pradesh.

14. MUKHERJI, SHYAM PRASAD:

Born in 1901. Studied in India and England. Bar-At-Law. Started career as the Congress Man in 1929. Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University 1934-38. Joined Hindu Mahasabha in 1939. Constituent Assembly Member. Minister in Nehru's Cabinet. Re-signed and founded Jan Sangh. Died in Kashmir in 1953.

15. SHARMA, MOULI CHANDRA:

After Mukherjee, elected President of Jan Sangh. Resigned in 1954 due to domination of the RSS. Expelled from the Party.

16. BALRAJ MADHOK:

President of the Jan Sangh in 1966. General Secretary 1958-65. Left the party due to differences of policies and founded Bharatiya Jana Sangh.

17. UPADHYA, DEEN DAYAL

General Secretary of the Jana Sangh from 1954 to 1966. Elected President in 1967. Was murdered mysteriously near Mughal Sarai Station.

18. DESHMUSKH, NANAJI:

Zonal Secretary of the Jana Sangh from 1958 onwards. Comes from the RSS. General Secretary of the Janatha Party at present.

19. JOSHI, JAGANADHA RAO

Secretary of the Jana Sangh in 1955. Zonal Secretary since 1958.

20. CHAVAN, YASHWANT RAO BALWANTRAO:

Born in 1914 in Maharastra. Follower of M. N. Roy during 1940. Joined Congress later. Parliamentary Secretary to Moraiji Desai in 1946. Civil Supplies Minister in Bombay. Became Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Minister in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet. The leader of Congress (U) in Lok Sabha. Resigned from Congress (U). Now in Congress (I).

21. CHANDRA SHEKAR:

Born in 1927 in Uttar Pradesh. Formed a group of radicaa (pro-Indira) within the Congress called as the 'the Young Turks' in 1969. Edited a fortnightly 'Young India'. Imprisoned during emergency. Elected as Chairman of Janatha Party in 1977 and still continues as President of the Party.

22. MEHTA, ASHOK:

Founder member of the CSP. Socialist theoritician. Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission in 1964. Congress-O leader from 1968. Joined Janatha Party. Active trade unionist. Retired from politics.

23. RAM, JAGJIVAN:

Born in 1908 in Bihar. **In** power at the Centre from 1946 to 1979. Founder of Congress for Democracy in 1977 and joined Janatha. Was in Congress (U) but left it later and founder of Congress (J).

24. SATPATHY, NANDINI:

CPI member at first, defected to Congress in 1952. Deputy Minister at Centre in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet. Chief Minister of Orissa from 1974 to 1976. Founder member of the Congress for Democracy. Defected to Congress (I).

25. NARAYAN, JAYA PRAKASH:

Hails from Bihar. Studied and worked in the USA started as a Marxist under the influence of M. N. Roy. Founder of the CSP. From 1953 onwards showed much interest in Sarvodaya. Partyless. democracy and Bhoodhan Movement. Led several movements against Indira Gandhi from 1974. Imprisoned during emergency and released when life was in danger due to kidney trouble. Founder of the Janatha Party in 1977. Died in 1979.

26. BENNERJEE, SURENDRANATH:

He was born in 1848. Educated in Calcutta and was later dismissed from I. C. S. in 1874. Editor of the Bengalee'. He founded the Indian Association in 1876. Minister in Bengal Governmer : from 1921 to 23. Died in 1925.

27. DAS, CHITTA RANJAN:

Born in 1870 in Dacca district. Was a successful lawyer from Calcutta. Entered politics in 1917 and allied with Gandhi in 192.). Later became the leader of non co-operation in Bengal. Died in 1925.

28. GOKHALE. GOPAL. KRISHNA:

Born in 1866. Bombay University teacher and politician. Founded S. I. S. in 1905. Member of Imperial Legislative Council from 1902 to 1915. Died in 1915.

29. JINNAH. MOHEMMAD ALI:

Born in 1876. Supporter of Lucknow Pact. 1916. Opposed Gandhi's non co-operation and take over of Home Rule League. Leader of Muslim Movement for Pakistan. Governor-General of Pakistan from 1947-1948. Died in 1948.

30. MALAVIYA. MADAN MOHAN:

Born in 1891. Uttar Pradesh Lawyer and Politician. Member of Imperial Legislative Council, 1910-1920. Founder of Benaras Hindu University in 1916. Died in 1946.

31. NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL:

Born in 1889. Son of Motilal Nehru. U. P. Barrister and politician. Entered politics as a supporter of Gandhi. President of the Congress Party - 1929, 36, 37, 46, (51-54. Prime Minister of India 1947 - 1964. Died in 1964.

32. NEHRU, MOTILAL:

Born in 1861 in Uttar Pradesh. Barrister and politician. Leader of Swaraj Party with C. R. Das in 1923. Died in 1931.

33. RAI. LALA LAJ PAT :

Born in 1865. Punjabi politician and Arya Samajist. Deported from India in 1907. Died in 1928.

34. RAJAGOPALACHARI, CHAKRAVARTHY:

Born in 1879 in Tamil Nadu. Lawyer and later politician. Firm supporter of Gandhi and 'No-Changer' after 1923. First Indian Governor-General.

35. TILAK BALGANGADHAR:

Born in 1836 in Maharashtra. A Brahmin and a leading Na-tionalist politician. Founded the journals 'Kesari and 'Maharatha'. Deported for 6 years. Died in 1920.

36. PRASAD. RAJENDRA:

Born in 1884. Bihari Lawyer and politician. Joined Anne Besant's Home Rule League. Cooperated with Gandhi in Champaran. First President of Indian Republic. Died in 1963.

37. GIRI, VARAHA GIRL VENKATA:

Active Trade Unionist and labour leader. Hails from Ganjam district of Orissa. Minister at State and Centre. Governor of several states. Elected as Vice-President and in 1969 became the President of India. In his last days he started a party which could not be sustained owing to lack of strength. Died in 1979.

38. SINGH, DINESH:

Formerly the Raja of Kalakankar, a princely state in U. P. was the External Affairs Minister in 1969 Indira Gandhi's Cabinet. Joined Janatha Party in 1977 but later defected to the Congress-I.

39. REDDY, NEELAM SANJEEVA:

Born in 1913 in Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh. APCC President in 1951. Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra and leader of Congress Legislature Party in 1953. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh twice. President, Indian National Congress from 1959 to 1962. Formed a syndicate against Indira Gandhi in 1969. Speaker of Lok Sabha twice. Defeated by V. V. Giri in presidential contest. Joined Janatha Party and became the President of India in 1977.

40. DESAI, MORARJEE:

Born in 1896. Started career as a Government employee. Chief Minister of Bombay. Finance Minister in Nehru's Cabinet. Deputy Prime Minister under Indira Gandhi. Differed with her in 1969-70. Congress-O leader. Imprisoned during emergency. Founder President of Janata Party in 1977. Prime Minister of India from 1977 to 1979. Now continuing in Janatha Party.

41. FAKRUDDIN ALI AHMED:

Hails from Assam. Chief Minister of Assam. Union Minister. He was the President of India from 1974 to 1977. Died in 1977.

42. BAHUGUNA, HEMAVATI NANDAN:

Born in 1919 in Uttar Pradesh. Chief Minister of U. P. from 1973 to 1975. Member in the Union Cabinets of Indira Gandhi. Desai and Charan Singh. Founder member of the Congress for Democracy. Defected to the Congress-1. Recently formed the Socialist Democratic Party.

43. RAJ NARAYAN:

Born in 1917. Follower of Lohia. Follower of Charan Singh. Defeated Indira Gandhi in 1977. Union Minister from 1977 to 1979. Caused the fall of Janata Government. Defected to Lok Dal but now running his own splinter group.

44. PATEL, SARDAR VALLABHAI:

Hails from Gujarat. Follower of Gandhi. Union Minister in Nehru's Cabinet. He effected the smooth integration of princely states into the Union of India.

45. REDDY, KASU BRAHMANANDA:

Born in 1909 in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. Chairman of the 6th Finance Commission. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Union Minister in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet and Charan Singh's Cabinet. Joined the Congress-I on the eve of 1980 Lok Sabha elections.

46. LOHIA. RAM MANOHAR:

Educated in Germany. Founder Member of the CSP. Socialist theoretician. Founder of the SSP. Played Anti Nehru and Anti Indira Politics. Elected to Lok Sabha in 1967. Died in Delhi due

to medical negligence. Contributed original ideas to Indian politics.

47. BANSI LAL:

A jat from Haryana. Chief Minister of Haryana. He was Union Minister for Defence in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet till 1977.

48. YADAV, CHANDRAJIT :

Fifty one year old congress politician. Joined Congress after leaving the CPI. Associated with the left group in the Congress. General Secretary of the Congress Party. Union Minister for Steel and Mines in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet till 1977. Joined Lok Dal. Now formed Lok Tantrik Lok Dal.

49. SUKLA, VIDYA CHARAN :

He is fifty four years old. Son of R.S.Chukla, the C.M. of Madhya Pradesh. Union Minister in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet till 1977. Union Minister for Civil Supplies in 1980 in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet. Sacked in 1981.

50. MISHRA, LALIT NARAYAN :

Union Minister for Commerce in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet. Belonged to Bihar. Assassinated in a bomb blast in Samastipur in 1975.

51. BAROOAH, DEV KANT:

Sixty seven year old Barooah was a socialist minded congressman from Assam. Union Minister from 1971 to 73 in Indira Gandhi's cabinet. Elected the Congress President in 1974. Gave the slogan 'India is Indira' later differed from her.

52. RAY, SIDDHARTHA SHANKER:

Born in 1920. Became Chief Minister of West Bengal in 1971. Staunch supporter of Indira Gandhi and later differed. Grand son of C. R. Das.

53. NADAR, KAMRAJ:

Chief Minister of Tamilnadu. Congress President. Died on 2nd October, 1975. Known as Kingmaker'.

54. DIXIT, UMA SHANKAR:

Eighty years old. Union Minister for Home from 1973 to 1975. Later Governor of Karnataka.

55. TRIPATI, KAMALAPATI:

A Brahmin from U. P. Chief Minister of U. P. from 1971 to 1973. and Union Minister in 1973. Resigned as Railway Minister from Indira Gandhi's Cabinet in 1980 due to differences.

56. TIWARI. NARAYAN DUTT:

Now fifty five years old, was the Chief Minister of U. P. during emergency. Joined the CSP in 1948. Leader of opposition in Legislative Assembly in 1957. Rejoined the Congress.

57. SHARMA, SHANKER DAYAL:

Sixty three year old Sharma is a Bar-at-law. General Secretary of the Congress from 1968 to 72. Became the Congress President in 1972.

58. C. R. DAS:

Popularly called as 'Deshbandhu'. Das was the founder member of the Swarajya Party. He died in 1925 at the age of fifty five.

59. SARDAR. SWARAN SINGH:

Was Defence Minister in 1966 and then External Affairs Minister in 1970 in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet. Now in the Congress-I.

60. MALAVIYA. KESHAV DEVA:

He is 77 years old. Minister in Nehru's Cabinet and Minister for Petroleum in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet. Known for his leftist views.

61. GULZARI LAL NANDA:

He was interim Prime Minister twice for brief periods. Home Minister in Lal Bahadur Shastri's Cabinet from 1963-66. Interested in cows and sadhus.

62. KARAN SINGH:

Born in 1931. Governor of Kashmir from 1965 to 67. Union Minister from 1967 to 1973. Minister for Health before the emergency. Minister in Charan Singh's Government from Congress (U). Aurobindoite.

63. FERNANDES, GEORGE:

Elected to Lok Sabha in 1967 and later became the Chaiman of Socialist Party in 1973. Arrested during emergency. Union Minister for Industries from 1977-79. Now in Lok Dal. Orator. Trade Union Leader.

64. URS. DEV RAJ:

Once staunch supporter of Indira Gandhi. Former C.M. of Karnataka upto 1980. President of Congress (U).

65. VAJPAYEE, ATAL BIHARI:

Born in Gwalior in 1926. Founder member of Bharatiya Jana Sangh. He joined students Congress in 1939 and students Federation in 1945. He is editor of three Hindi dailies and is the leader of the Jan Sangh Parliamentary party since 1957. He was Union Minister for External Affairs from 1977-79. President of the BJP.

66. CHARAN SINGH:

Born in 1902. He belongs to U. P. Became the C. M. of U. P. in 1967. He was Union Minister from 1977 to 1979 and later Prime Minister of India. The President of Lok Dal since 1979.

67. P. V. NARASIMHA RAO:

Born in Karimnagar, Andhra Pradesh. He was minister later Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. He was also the General Secretary of the Congress Party. Rao is now the External Affairs Minister.

68. ZAIL SINGH:

Born in 1916 in the Punjab. Became the C.M. of the Punjab in 1972. He is now the Home Minister at the Centre.

69. SHAIK ABDULLAH:

Imprisoned several times on Kashmir issue. C. M. of Jammu and Kashmir many years. Known as Lion of Kashmir.

70. AZAD. MAULANA ABDUL KALAM:

A colleague of Nehru. Congress President before independence and an orator. He was Union Minister for education. He died in 1958.

71. PRANAB MUKHERJEE:

He was born in West Bengal. Secretary of Bangla Congress. He was deputy Minister at the Centre in 1973. Now Finance Minister.

72. PATNAYAK. BIJUYANANDA:

Known as Biju Patnaik. He was the C.M. of Orissa from 1961 to 1963. He was elected to Rajya Sabha in 1972 and was Union Minister in the Janatha Government.

73. ADVANI, LAL KRISHNA:

Born at Karachi in 1927. Member of the RSS since 1942. Joined the Jan Sangh in 1951. Member of the Jana Sangh Cen-tral Executive since 1966. President of Jana Sangh in 1973. Elect-ed to Rajya Sabha in 1970. Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting 1977-79.

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POLITICAL
HISTORY
OF
ANDHRA PRADESH

Narisetti Innaiah, Ph.D.

FOREWORD

Political parties have come to stay. All political parties promise to bring happiness and prosperity to the people. Voters have no power to recall the elected representative. They have to wait until next elections for changing the party or the candidate. Voters are succumbed to the evils of caste, religion, region and superstitions.

Andhra Pradesh witnessed several political parties before and after Independence. The birth and death of political parties are the order of the day. The only aim of political party is to achieve power, means is not the criteria. Congress party remained as national political power where as other political parties are mostly regional. Thus coalition governments also came to power but could not retain it longer.

Indian Constitution envisaged secularism and scientific temper but they are observed more in breach than practice. Political parties are willingly spreading superstitions, alternative unscientific medicines, cult gurus, and blind faiths.

This book attempts to trace the political history of Andhra Pradesh till 2009. It includes both Andhra and Telengana regional politics, movements, agitations, defections, and achievements.

Thanks are due to my friends who helped me in bringing out this volume. Some of them are: Prof K. Seshadri (late), Mr. K. Ramachandra Murty, Journalist, Writer and CEO of HMTV Hyderabad, Mr. S.V. Pantulu, Mr. Venigalla Venkataratnam, my family friend. I am grateful to my wife Venigalla Komala who has gone into the script and corrected the proofs. Mr. Boppana Gautam typed the entire script and formatted. I express my appreciation to Smt. Myneni Lakshmi who has agreed to be the sole distributor of this volume through Akshara.

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- Narisetti Innaiah

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POLITICAL HISTORY IN ANDHRA

It is a general misnomer that pre-independence days were golden. We often hear that, by and large, the British rule was honest and corruption was unknown. Self-praise too is not lacking among freedom fighters regarding their past achievements and heroic deeds. They say that until 1947 sacrifice for the country was everyone's objective. While abusing the present generation these elders panegyrically talk of how honesty, altruism, and sacrifice worked as vital forces for them. Such people express shock at witnessing degeneration in all walks of life today, at how the means have become the end, how nepotism, favouritism, money making and above all worship at the altar of power, have eaten into the moral fabric of the society.

All this looks very attractive but in reality it is sheer nonsense. There is ample evidence to prove that power, however little of it there was, always corrupted the persons who aspired for it. Without proper means of mass communication in pre-independence days, there existed a wide gap between the ruler and the ruled. Hence, it was natural for innocent people to think that all was well. There was also another psychological factor, which should be mentioned here. Brown skinned Indians nourished an inferiority complex in front of the Britishers. The white skinned rulers were looked at with awe and wonder. People were afraid to go anywhere near the ruling class. A few Indians had access to the British administrators. All sorts of stories were concocted about the white-skinned bureaucrats and their honesty and efficiency.

We now have documentary evidence about the corrupt practices and nasty behaviour of the British in India. Anyone interested in verifying the facts about the corruption of British

administration can go through the excellent work of Fiykenberg "*Guntur district*".

Indians under the British rule were a match to the British Officers in corrupt practices, nepotism and groupism. Though they had very little power at various levels, it was quite enough for manipulations and misdemeanours. Some of these facts are discussed by Christopher John Baker, D.A. Washbrook and Eugene F. Irsachick. These three foreign scholars have made valuable contributions to the political history of South India and have also cited a number of instances of the corrupt practices of Indians ranging from the villages to the State.

Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956. Till 1953 Andhra was a part of the composite Madras State. Eighty percent of the people in the State are agriculture - oriented.

Sir Arthur Cotton made it possible for the middle class in the Krishna-Godavari delta to rise up. The dams on Godavari and Krishna rivers were completed in 1848 and 1852 respectively. Guntur, Vrijayawada, Eluru and Kakinada were fast growing into cities. The Marwadis and Vysyas and the Cooperative Banks lent money to the agriculturists, and labourers from dry lands who came to work in the wet areas for cheaper wages. That was how they earned their livelihood. Few villages were aware of urban fashions, the exception being the places which had railways nearby.

As long as the British ruled, the whole authority was centered in London and to some extent, at Delhi. Only nominal power was given to the presidencies like Madras. As much as 70% of the land revenue went to the Centre. The Britishers, due to communication problems, had to depend on local clerks, which gave these local officers a chance to play their corrupt game. From the Collector to the Revenue clerk, corruption was rampant, Selection of jobs had the stench of corruption, casteism and favouritism through and through.

Brahmins migrating from Maharashtra, established themselves in most of the jobs. The Britishers found it beyond their control to stop nepotism. For example, one Mr. Krishna Rao, who was the Hujoor Tahsildar of Ananthapuram, appointed 108 of his kith and kin in various jobs. As a punishment he was then transferred to Cuddapah, where he recruited 117 of his men for jobs this time. Among those 117 there were 80 of his own family members. Similar situations arose in the Krishna and Godavari districts. Karanams (village officers who maintain the revenue records) and village Munsifs divided the villages between them and ruled with British help. The wealthy families virtually controlled the people. In Kakinada and Eluru, money lenders had the local people under their thumbs. In other places like Vijayanagaram, Pithapuram, Kalahasti, Bobbili, Parlakimidi, Nuziveed and Venkatagiri, the Zamnindars made use of their power, and squeezed money from the people, a part of which, in the name of taxes, went to the British rulers. Zamindars of Parlakimidi made money by manufacturing locomotives. The Raja of Bobbili excelled others in business. The Raja of Venkatagiri minted money through his mica mines. The Zamindar of Pithapuram lent money to other Zamindars. Small Zamindars hoarded money through money-lending. The Kalahasthi and Polavaram Zamindars lived in opulence till they were impoverished. The Raja of Vizianagarm had an income of 20 lakhs per annum, and was famous for establishing educational institutions and promoting cultural activities. The Zamindar of Nuziveedu supported the cause of the spoken language, Telugu.

The Zamindars collected taxes as they pleased. In Kalahasthi many people went to court against the increase in taxes, and it was years before the land revenues could be collected there. Even Nuziveedu was in trouble due to the inefficient tax collection system.

The wealthy were no different from the zamindars. Many employees in Eluru Collectorate were debtors to Mote

Venkatwami. The people twice tried to send a memorandum against him. But he saw that those papers were intercepted and destroyed mid-way before they could reach the Kakinada Collectorate. Such was the audacity of the rich. The families which exerted unchallenged supremacy over the people were the Paida family, M. Satyalingam Nayakar, K. Basivi Reddy in Kakinada, A.V. Jagga Rao in Vizag and G. Appalaswamy in Vijayawada.

Through re-survey and re-settlement the Government had all records of land revenue by 1870 itself. The Karnams and Munsifs with hereditary powers bestowed upon them, played key roles and not only enriched themselves but also exercised unchallenged power over the people. Those who opposed them either became victims of murder or were dragged to courts on false accusations. At the village level they were the law makers and prosecutors. It is impossible to guess the amount of land revenue collected in 168 villages of Cuddapah when Rs.22,507/- itself was paid to the Government in the year 1875. The British gradually transferred to the local Government the responsibility of maintaining the forests, liquor business, tribunal for incometax appeals, selection of police, settlement of inter-community disputes and irrigation.

The courts were full of cases of corruption. Treasurers were being elected to Temple trusteeship. There was no effective control of crimes. Especially in the Krishna-Godavari delta, thefts were rampant.

Christian Missionaries slowly started preaching among the Hindus of the lowest rung. Various Christian Missions operated in Rayalaseema, especially in Jammalamadugu and at Vijayawada and Eluru in the Coastal area.

The Brahma Samaj branches too extended upto Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Guntur and Machilipatnam.

Gajula Lakshmi Narasu Chetty had drawn the attention of the Andhras in 1852 by founding the Madras Native Association. On 16th May 1894, Mahajanasabha started under the leadership of G. Rangaiah Naidu and P. Anandacharyulu.

Kandukuri Veeresalingam had started a branch of Pradhana Samaj, originally founded in Maharashtra.

During 1851, the British issued a communal G.O. stressing the need for the representation of various castes in jobs like Hujoor Shastadar, head-clerk to distribute jobs among Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The Brahmins formed only 3.2 percent of the total population. There were 492 graduate Brahmins as against 171 non-Brahmin graduates in Madras University during the year 1880-81.

This was the background of Andhra at the birth of the Congress.

Between 1885 and 1905, the Congress in the Andhra had existed only in name. Except the All India Congress Conferences held annually, there was no active programme for the Congress in Andhra. Even then, the people in cities only were familiar with the Congress. The villagers were blissfully unaware of it. Local bodies were not efficient in drawing the attention of the villagers. By the time Indians could found a place in the local bodies, the factional groups in Congress were already active. The local factionalism was reflected in the State level politics also.

P. Anandacharyulu, who was in the Congress from the very beginning, proved a misfit at municipal affairs in 1891. That was the year when epidemic spread in Madras, killing many. Investigation into the reasons proved that unqualified people were made Health Officers and the contractors had left the work unfinished. Anandacharyulu supported one of the corrupt men Jesu Dasan Pillai, and consequently forced his own departure from the State Politics. Later, he was to get elected to the imperial Council.

Y.L.Narasimhan and Tanguturi Prakasam belonged to one group in the local politics of Rajahmundry. Nyapathi Subba Rao was their opponent. In the same way, at the State level, Pattabhi Seethatarmayya and Mutnuri Krishna Rao were in one group whereas Nyapathi Seetharamayya and Konda Venkatappayya formed the second and Prakasam and Narasimham the third. Tamil Brahmin lawyers and high level officers who favoured the Government were known as the Mailapur group. Nyapathi Subba Rao, Macherla Ramachandra Rao, Puranam Venkata Subbaiah, K. Pera Raju, Kandukuri Veeresalingam joined hands with the Mailapur group and stood as opponents to Prakasam's group.

Rayalaseema, especially Ananthapuram district which got divided into two between Thimma Reddy and Chinnapa Reddy, witnessed at least two murders in a month. The leading Congressman Gutti Keshava Pillai, a lawyer, helped Chinnapa Reddy with British support. These group politics continued for two decades from 1904 onwards.

The Congress was very much elite - oriented in the beginning.

The people who attended the 1st Congress Session (1885) were - P. Rangaiah Naidu, Anandacharyulu, Gutti Keshava Pillai, N. Venkata Subbarayudu, S.N. Narasimhulu Naidu, S.V.G. Panthulu and some others representing Machilipatnam, Cuddapah, Barahampuram, Ananthapur and Bellary.

In the same year a weekly "Andhra Prakasika" was started by A.P. Parthasarathi Naidu. A.P. Parthasarathi Naidu, Anandacharyulu, Rangaiah Naidu, Nyapathi Subba Rao Panthulu, Keshav Pillai, Sangapalli Ramaswamy Gupta and others from Rajahmundry, Vizag, Gutti, Gudivada, Penugonda and Nellore attended the Second Congress Session in 1886.

The Congress used to appeal to the British Government for many things. It requested them to find place for Indians in the Government.

P. Anandacharyulu played a prominent role in the Third Session of the Congress in Madras. The Raja of Vizianagaram was on the dias. The Raja of Venkatagiri sent his Diwan as his representative and the Raja of Challapalli announced his support to the Congress. Lawyers with western education and businessmen played a major role in this session. The Vysyas from the Northern Circars notably extended a helping hand to it. A. Sabhapathi Mudaliar, a businessman from Bellary, collected money for the session from various parts of Rayalaseema. The Lingayat businessmen from Rayalaseema had participated actively in the Sessions. The Sardars from Ananthapur also took part and the Congress session included people of all castes. The Sessions had the unopposed support of Arcot Muslims and the Muslims from other parts also participated with all enthusiasm. Caste politics had not yet become rampant at that time.

45 members from Andhra, including Nyapathi Subba Rao participated in the Allahabad Congress Session (1888).

The 1889 Congress Session of Bombay attracted 151 people from Andhra. The Calcutta Session of 1890 had 22 representatives.

Anandacharyulu and 43 others attended the Congress Session of 1891 in Nagpur.

Seventeen represented Andhra at the Allahabad Congress Session in 1892.

It was a remarkable fact that 14 Andhras went in those days, when travel facilities were very meagre, to Lahore to attend the Congress Session in 1893. The Congress Session was arranged in Madras in the year 1894. Because of the proximity, as many as 336 Telugu people attended it. Konda Venkatappayya was one of the volunteers in the Session. A proper record is not available of the number of Telugu people who attended the Poona Congress Session of 1895.

After 1890 the political importance of the Congress Sessions began to descend. In the Madras Session, the membership was reduced from 607 to 267. Lethargy found a place in the Congress elite, except appealing to the Government for favours, there was no other activity.

Shankaran Nair presided over the Amethi Congress of 1897. Twenty one members represented Andhra. Anandacharylu was the Chairman of the Reception Committee to the congress of Madras in 1898. 208 delegates from Andhra participated. The next session was held in Lucknow in 1899 under the Chairmanship of Ramesh Chandra Dutt. Fourteen representatives went from Andhra. It is not known how many attended the Calcutta Congress Session in 1900. Only 143 attended the Madras meetings of 1903 where Lal Mohan Ghosh was the President. Only nine from Andhra participated at the Allahabad Congress Session in 1904. The Banaras Session in 1905 had 29 members from Andhra.

Till 1905 there was no constructive programme or able leadership in Andhra to invite the Congress Sessions to Andhra.

Madras was the provincial capital. Through the Congressmen a little knowledge of the Congress had spread in the towns and villages. But at the national or State level, Andhra had a very small role to play

Groupism in the Congress

For over two decades Narasimham stood as an opponent to Nyapathi Subba Rao and Kandukuri Veeresalingam. But Narasimham had to bow down before the reforms made by the Government. Tanguturi Prakasam, who continued his studies with the help of Narasimham, lost his hold in Rajahmundry. Narasimham's prominence in the educational institutions was replaced by that of Veeresalingam and Subba Rao who had the help of the British. Narasimham's position further deteriorated

with an enquiry held against him when he was the Municipal Chairman of Rajahmundry.

P. Venkatappayya had a monopoly over the educational institutions of Krishna. The same situation prevailed in the Municipality as well as at the Bar Association where the opposition was led by Pattabhi Seetharamaiah, Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Konda Venkatappayya. Narasimham and Prakasam in Rajahmundry, Pattabhi and Krishna Rao, in Machilipatnam stood to oppose the influence of Subba Rao and Venkatappayya. The disputes in local politics continued at the state level too. Prakasam and Krishna Rao managed to sustain their opposition through newspapers and magazines. They attacked the Mailapur group and criticised conservatism in the Congress.

Outside influences

The decision to divide Bengal into two, taken by Lord Curzon came into force from 10th October, 1905. The movement against this action was intensified, and had its influence in Andhra. Magazines carried on an anti-British propaganda on a bold footing. "Krishna Patrika" was the result of the efforts of Konda Venkatappayya, (Mutnuri Krishna Rao-Editor) Dasu Narayana Rao and Avutapalli Narayana Rao in 1902. The initiation of a political atmosphere in Andhra became a strong support to the 'Vandemataram Movement'. The British felt insulted whenever they heard 'Vandemataram'. The youth adopted 'Vandemataram' as a salutation and wore badges with those words. Kantha Sreeram Sastry brought the song to the masses by singing it. The use of indigenous goods, the boycott of foreign goods, and the promotion of native education formed the nucleus of the 'Vandemataram Movement'.

Gadicharla Hari Sarvothama Rao and Adipudi Somanatha Rao lent their support to the Vandemataram Movement and participated in the Swadeshi Movement meeting of 24th February

1906 in Madras. Students were encouraged to join the movement by K. Venkata Ramana Rao. The 'Swadeshi League' was formed with Nyapathi Subba Rao and Venkata Ramana Rao.

The use of Swadeshi goods was averred at a decision taken in the 1906 Calcutta congress Session. Gadicharla Hari Sarvothama Rao, Munagala Raja, K.V. Lakshmana Rao and Pingali Lakshmi Narayana were the participants. This movement was given impetus by C.Y. Chintarnani at the meetings in Nellore, Guntur, Kakinada, Vizag and Vizianagaram.

It was decided to send a few people to Japan for training in the manufacture of swadeshi goods. Funds were collected in Guntur and Kurnool to meet their expenses in Japan. Malladi Venkata Subba Rao and S. Rama Rao were sent to Japan for training in the manufacture of pencils, glass, watches and clocks. With the benevolent charity of A. Bhaskara Ramaiah, Goleti Janaki Ramaiah and Mamidi Devendram were also sent to Japan at a later stage. Munagala Raja came forward to start a weaving factory at Vijayawada.

In 1906 the great leader, Surender Nath Banerjee was arrested. Protest meetings were held at Vizianagaram, Kakinada, Rajahmundry and Gooty. Celebrations were started in the name of Shivaji as encouraged by Tilak. Mutnuri Krishna Rao, the editor of 'Krishna Patrika' arranged the visit of Bipin Chandra Pal to Vizianagaram, Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Vijayawada and Machilipatnam. Bipin Chandra Pal, an Arya Samajee, inspired the few educated men to join the Swadeshi movement by giving it a touch of spiritualism. The youth gave him a warm welcome wherever he went. Under his inspiration, Kopalle Hanumantha Rao of Machilipatnam took an oath to spread national education. Pal's tour was made a success by active members like Bhupathiraju Venkatapathi Raju, V. Jagannathan etc. V. Purnaiah, K. Peraraju, Ganti Lakshmana, Kanchumarthi Ramachandra Rao,

Tanguturi Sree Ramulu, Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao, Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimha Rao, Gadicherla Hari Sarvothama Rao, Gunneswara Rao, Munagala Raja, Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Veerabrahmam, Poddibhotla Veeraiah, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Kopalle Hanumantha Rao and B.N. Sharma, a rightist, opposed Pal's views in Vizag and Vizianagaram. Prakasam was the Chairman at Pal's meeting at Madras.

Attili Suryanarayana's book - 'The Indian Poverty', and 'Bharatha Mathru Sakatam' by Mangapudi Venkatasarma were famous during those days as they supported the Swadeshi Movement.

Under the Patronage of Valluri Maharani, Stree Bharatha Sanghamn (Indian Women's Association) was formed in Vizag in 1905.

College students participated in large numbers in Pal's meetings. Action was taken against many students and they were dismissed from colleges as they went to examination halls with badges of 'Vande Matharam'. Such students promoted the Swadeshi Movement. Kopalle Krishna was beaten up for shouting the slogan 'Vande Matharam' against Captain Kemp in Kakinada. It led to a fight wherein even the Collector was hurt. Captain Kemp's building was damaged. Despite the apologies from the prominent citizens of the town, fifty people and five dock workers were arrested.

Only after an assurance from the Collector, did the dock workers resume their work. Captain Kemp was made to pay Rs. 100/- to Krishna Rao as compensation. All this was understood as the emotional impact of Pal's tour.

Till Bengal was divided and the Vande Matharam movement started, Andhra remained inert. Once inspired, agitations led to several arrests. The Rightists did not appreciate such actions. The disagreement between the Rightists and Leftists surfaced at the Surat Congress session.

In 1907, the Surat Congress session was attended by Gadicherla Hari Sarvothama Rao, Kopalle Hanurnantha Rao, Ganti Lakshmanna, Tanguturi Prakasam, Peddibhotla Veeraiah and Peri Narayana Murthy who supported the Leftists.

At the Surat congress, Tilak, Aravind Ghosh and Lala Lajpath Rai led the Leftists against Rosh Bihari Ghosh, Surendernath Banerjee and Firoz Shah Mehta. A bitter fight ensued between the Rightists, who consented to the British reforms, and the Leftists, who wanted to go ahead with the Swadesh Movement. After this, the Congress was divided. The Congress Rightists remained passive for nearly a decade.

During the State level meetings in Madras (1907), Nyapathi Subba Rao Panthulu and B.N. Sharma emerged as Rightists whereas K.Sreenivasa Rao and Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimha Rao established themselves as Leftists. The same kind of division swept all the cities in Andhra. Meetings took place in Vizag, Nandigarma and Tenali. V.S. Sreenivasa Sastry formed District Level Rightists' Associations in Krishna, Guntur and Godavari. They were condemned by the Left-oriented papers like *Andhra Kesari*, *Navayuga* and *Krishna Patrika*. Pattabhi Seetha Ramaiah, Kopalle Hanumantha Rao and Narahari Jogaiah expressed their desire for the unity of both the groups.

The Rightist Congress meetings (1908) in Madras were attended by 116 members. Eighteen of them found place in the decision making body. Prakasam was present at the meetings. K. Pera Raju, V.V. Jogaiah and A.C. Parthasarathi Naidu spoke in the meeting. Later, the Vijayawada Association was founded by Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao and Tadanki Venkata Narsayya Panthulu.

The exile of Lala Lajpath Rai was received by the Andhras with anger but the release of Bipin Chandra Pal enthused them and they held meetings here and there to express their joy.

For the first time a National School was founded in Andhra by Nyapathi Subba Rao at Rajahmundry and a National College came up in Machilipatnam.

The articles published in *Swarajya Patrika* (1908) under the editorship of Bodi Narayana Rao were used as a pretext by the Government to arrest people. One Mr. Sarkar from Calcutta had already met Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Hari Sarvothama Rao, Kaseenadhuni Veeramallayya, Kalapatapu Subba Rao, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Unnava Lakshmi Narayana, Gunneswara Rao Komarraju Lakshmana Rao and Achanta Lakshmi Pathi emphasized the need for manufacturing bombs for an armed struggle. Danthu Subbavadhani took this opportunity to bring pistols from Calcutta and distribute there. Except for one or two people however, no one dared to make bombs. The Government accused one L. Basavaiah of distributing anti-Government pamphlets.

The Rightists and the Leftists passed resolutions about the Minto-Morley Reforms in 1908, each of them expressing their own view — points. Separate constituencies were disagreeable to the Leftists but the Rightists welcomed the move.

Gadicharla Harisarvothama Rao and Bodi Narayana Rao were arrested on 13th July, 1908, but Pingali Lakshmi Narayana went underground in Pondicherry.

A.S. Krishna Rao led a 13-member representation from Andhra to the Lahore Congress Session in 1909.

The slogan of separate Andhra had been heard as early as 1909. The idea that Telugu language should have a special recognition had started after the Allahabad Congress session when Prakasam, Pattabhi, Mutnuri and Konda opposing the Mylapur Brahmin group's predominance favoured a separate Andhra. This suggestion was opposed by Nyapathi Subba Rao and Macharla Ramachandra Rao as they were closely associated with the Mylapur Brahmin group

This Mylapur Brahmin group of lawyers had their say in the assembly which only strengthened the 'Separate Andhra' movement. By 1917 the Mylapur group too differed with the British.

Konda and Pattabhi joined Annie Besant's Horne Rule Movement and were paid for that. (Statement of affairs of the Horne Rule League, 10th January, 1919 Theosophical Society Archives.) Konda was elected to the Legislative Council for the first time. But from 1920 onwards, the separate Andhra movement received a setback due to Prakasam and Venkatappaiah's groupism.

The Rightists held meetings at Kurnool, Guntur and Krishna districts during 1909-1910. '*Desabhimani Patrika*' said that the Andhras should be united. Ghalla Seshagiri Rao wrote about the needs of the Andhras and the lack of recognition accorded to them. '*Andhra*' was published by Jonnavithula Gurunadham from Guntur in 1908.

The Youth Literary Association' started functioning in Guntur: It was there that Nyapathi Subba Rao expressed, for the first time, the need to have a separate Andhra. It sounded strange to the people as he had earlier opposed such a move.

All the jobs in Andhra fell into the hands of Tamilians or Maharashtrians. A very negligible number of Andhras were in jobs here. When compared to the development facilities available in Tamilnadu, Andhra was lagging far behind. The Tamilians were everywhere, either as teachers or clerks. This made the educated Andhra youth stress the need for a separate State.

The Krishna-Guntur meetings of 1912 in Nidadavolu raised slogans for a separate Andhra which took Kurma Venkatareddy Naidu, Nyapathi Subba Rao and Valluri Surya Narayana by surprise. Unnava Lakshmi Narayana read the resolution and Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham seconded it. Konda

Venkatappaiah was non-committal about it.

Eighty two Andhras including B.N. Sharma, D.V. Krishna Rao, C.Y. Chinthamani, CT. Raghava Rao, Macherla Ramachandra Rao, A.S. Krishna Rao, V.V. Jogayya and Mutturi Adinarayanayya attended the 1910 Allahabad Congress session.

In 1911, the Congress sessions were held in Calcutta where 72 Andhras participated. G. Sreenivasa Rao, Vavilala Venkateswarulu and V.V. Jogayya voiced their ideas there.

Among the 16 members that attended the Karachi session, only A.S. Krishna Rao spoke.

The Congress had its session, in Madras at the beginning of the first world war in 1914. 256 Andhras attended it. A.P. Pathro, K. Venkata Reddy Naidu, A.P. Parthasarathi Naidu, G. Kesava Pillai, K.R.V. Krishna Rao, A.S. Krishna Rao and C. Lakshmi Narasimham participated in the discussions.

352 Andhras went to the Calcutta Congress session in 1917. Nyapathi Subba Rao submitted the appeal for a separate Andhra to Annie Besant, the Chairman. Pattabhi Seetha Ramaiah proposed the resolution. Gandhiji and Annie Besant opposed the proposal but Bala Gangadhar Tilak was in favour of it. The resolution was passed. Prakasam was present at the meeting.

Only 20 members from Andhra could go to Dethi for the Congress session in 1918.

The proposal by Chatti Narasimha Rao to call a State level meeting was agreeable to one and all. A committee was formed with Konda as the secretary and Vinjamuri Bhawanachari, Unnava Lakshmi Narayana, Challa Seshagiri Rao and Jonnavittula Gurunatham as members. It was resolved to hold the Andhra meeting at Bapatla.

The first Andhra meeting at Bapatla, in the summer of 1913, was attended by 800 members. Bayya Narasimheswara Sharma

was in the chair. Mutnuri Adinarayanayya, Nyapathi Subba Rao Panthulu, Macherla Ramachandra Rao, Gutti Keshava Pillai spoke against the separate Andhra move. The resolution for a separate Andhra, presented by Vemavarapu Ramadasu Panthulu had to be adjourned.

Valluri Surya Narayana Rao supported the resolution. It was decided that the leaders should go round the State with the proposal. Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Bhogaraju Pattabhi Seetharamaiah, Mutturi Adinarayanayya, Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham, Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Unnava Lakshmi Narayana were also present at that meeting.

The resolution for a separate Andhra was postponed temporarily as per the appeal of Ganti Venkata Ramaiah and Mutturi Adinarayana.

Discussions for and against a separate Andhra began to find place in the newspapers.

The people from Rayalaseema and Nellore district opposed the proposal for 'Separate Andhra'. The rest of the districts were for it. Keshava Pillai, Amancherla Subbu Krishna Rao, Maidavolu Changaiah, Gopalaswamy Mudaliar, Doraswami Ayyangar and Nyapathi Subba Rao were among the opponents. The big list of supporters comprised the influential people like Gadicherla Hari sarvothama Rao, Konda Venkatappayya, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Pattabhi Seetha Ramaiah, Valluri Suryanarayana Rao, S.V. Narasimha Rao, Viduri Pitchaiah, K. Gundu Rao, Despandya Subba Rao, Hatti Siva Rao, Kolachelanu Sreenivasa Rao, Nennali Pattabhi Rama Rao, Bezwada Pattabhi Rama Reddy, Ongolu Venkata Rangaiah, Hatti Shankar Rao, C.Yanadi Reddy, Mahanandaiah and Narasinga Rao.

After the Bapatla meetings, the Committee of Pattabhi, Valluri Suryanarayana, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, and Konda Venkatappayya undertook a tour of Rayalaseema to seek the

support of the people in favour of separate Andhra. They gathered a consensus in the Cuddapah, Ananthapur, Penugonda, Gutti, Nandyal, Hindupur and the Chittoor meetings. But on the whole, Rayalaseema was not very much in favour of a separate Andhra. Meanwhile, even at the district level meetings, a consensus was taken. In Rayalaseema and Nellore, people felt that they should not be in a hurry to implement the proposal. But Krishna, Guntur and Godavari districts felt the immediacy of a separate State.

The Second Andhra Mahasabha was organized in Vijayawada in 1914. Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Ayyanki Venkata Ramanayya and Peddibhotla Veeraiah played a major role in it. Even in these meetings where 1,600 people participated, separate Andhra remained a controversial issue. The resolution was introduced by Mandha Suryanarayana and supported by Vemavarapu Ramadasu Panthulu. Though A.S. Krishna Rao, N. Pattabhi Rama Rao were for its adjournment, the resolution for a separate Andhra was passed.

Graduates from all over Andhra had to go outside the State for higher education and proximity prompted many to study in Madras. As all of them could not get admissions there, many had to go to far off universities which involved greater expense. As many as two thousand students were then studying in the Madras universities. Only a few of the remaining nine thousand graduates could afford to study in other states. The Andhra students were disappointed that they could not secure seats in professional and technical institutions. All these grievances made the people desire a separate state. The fact that the separate Andhra movement was, at the outset, meant for only the educated classes should not be forgotten.

In 1915, the Andhra Maha Sabha took place in Nellore. From the beginning, the people of Nellore were anti-separatists. Because of convenience, neighbourly feeling, business

connections with Madras they did not wish for separation. The Nellore meetings went on as though a separate state was not an issue at all at that time.

The people of Rayalaseema were distrustful of the credibility of the Circars, hence they were unwilling to join them for a separate Andhra. The Tamilians who were in various jobs in Rayalaseema influenced them better than their Telugu counterparts.

In the North, States were being formed on linguistic basis. Bengal and Bihar were divided according to the Language Formula. This division gave an incentive to the separate Andhra demand. The Sindhis also sent out feelers for a separate State.

A surprising event took place in the third Andhra Mahasabha of 1915 in Vizag. R. Panagal Raja (Rama Rayanim), who was till then a staunch supporter of the British not only chaired the session, but also posed a firm demand for Andhra State which in turn gave moral support to the other separatists. Speeches were made in Telugu. They wanted Telugu to be the medium of instruction in schools. The Telugu papers appreciated the proceedings of the meetings.

Throughout the year, meetings were held in all districts of Andhra. Till then, the Tamilians in Madras were very influential in the congress. There was a proposal in Guntur for a separate Andhra Congress Committee. The Congress Committee of Guntur with Patri Sreenivasa Rao as the first Chairman and Vishnubhotla Suryanarayana as Secretary came into being and provided a stepping stone for the Andhra Congress.

At the 1915 Congress Session in Bombay there were 178 members from Andhra out of whom 46 submitted an appeal for Separate Andhra under the leadership of Konda Venkatappayya. Pattabhi and K.R.V. Krishna Rao were present there.

Polavaram Raja and K.R.V. Krishna Rao, as Reception Committee Presidents, arranged the 4th Andhra Maha Sabha at Kakinada in 1916. Macherla Ramachandra Rao presided over the meeting. The resolution for a separate Andhra after the 1st World war was presented by C.V.S. Narasimha Raju and was accepted. A.P. Patro, K. Verlkata Reddy Naidu, C.V.S. Narasimha Raju and K. Venkatappayya made speeches upon the resolution and asserted that Indians should be appointed as high army officials and also be admitted in Naval Training Schools.

It was commonly felt that the Andhras living in Madras were not treated on equal footing with the local people. Andhra Political Association and Andhra people's Committee were started in April and May 1917 respectively. The people's Committee was strengthened under the Chairmanship of B.N. Sharma with V.Ramadasu Panthulu and N. Guruswami Chetty as Vice-Presidents and V. Lakshminarayana and S. Venkatachalam Chetty as secretaries.

The 5th Andhra Mahasabha was held on 1st June 1917 at Nellore. In spite of the local stand against a separate State, the resolution was passed. Ongole Venkata Rangaiah was the Reception Committee chairman and Konda Venkatappayya presided over the meeting.

The Congress, which was divided into Rightist and Leftist groups in 1907 came under a single banner again by 1916. The Leftists returned from prisons, and exile and from underground. Bengal was once again united into a single State. The Muslims who were once the supporters of the British came closer to Congress.

The Congress Session of 1916 in Lucknow, witnessed the propagation of the slogan 'Home Rule' by Tilak and Annie Besant. Some of the Andhras became enthusiastic about Annie Besant's Theosophical Society and opened its branches in some places.

Gadicharla took up the responsibility of Home Rule movement in Andhra. Branches of the Theosophical Society in Andhra were also used by him to carry on his work as the Secretary of the Home Rule League. He opened branches in Kakinada, Vijayawada, Machilipatnam and Guntur:

Annie Besant's tour of Chittoor, Kakinada and Rajahmundry towns resulted in some Rightists (K.R. V Krishna Rao, Mocherla Ramachandra Rao) joining the League. In an year's time as many as 52 branches opened all over Andhra. National College was started in Madanapally to promote Annie Besant's activities. Several meetings were held in Godavari, Krishna, Ganjam and Guntur districts. Andhra Mahasabha gave its support to the movement. The Government brought pressure upon the students not to attend the league meetings. Telugu newspapers objected to the Government's attitude. Funds were raised for the movement. Annie Besant's arrest led to protest meetings in the cities of Andhra.

Some suggested a Satyagraha in favour of Annie Besant, but others felt it wise to keep quiet in view of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Committee. These controversies came up in the newspapers. *Andhra Patrika* and *Andhra Prakasika* were anti-Satyagraha where as *Desabhimani* was for it. The need for Satyagraha was the content of the meeting at Rajahmundry, Guntur and Machilipatnam. B. N. Sharma, V.S. Sreenivasa Sastry, N. Subba Rao Panthulu, M. Ramachandra Rao Panthulu, P. Siva Rao, P. Venkatapathi Raju, V.P. Madhava Rao, Gollapudi Ramanayya, Chatti Narasimha Rao, P. Suryanarayana Rao and Sree Ram were led by Gadicharla to lend support to the Satyagraha. Annie Besant was arrested on 16th June, 1917 and released in September. She once again went round Andhra.

At a meeting of the Krishna District Congress on 26th January, 1918, it was decided to send Pattabhi to England to

safeguard the Montague Reforms.

The special feature of the Andhra Mahasabha on 31st March, 1918 in Vijayawada, under Bhupathi Raju Venkatapathi Raju was the assent given by the Rayalaseema leaders for a separate Andhra.

Resolutions for the separate Andhra were being passed at Vijayawada, Vizag and Cuddapah.

Tilak came forward with a substantial proposal at the Congress Session in Bombay that they should be willing to join the War if the Government accepted Home Rule. Konda Venkatappayya, Oruganti Venkatappayya and Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao were the supporters of Tilak's proposed move. There was bitter dissension over the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms between two groups in Andhra Mahasabha in Guntur. One group led by B. N. Sharma presented a resolution welcoming the Reforms with certain modifications. The other group was for total rejection of the Reforms. 97 members voted in favour of the resolution and 76 against, and the resolution was passed.

At the end of the First World War, the Andhra Congress met on 8th December, 1918, and decided to send Tilak to represent India at the Congress meet for peace in London.

The formation of a separate Andhra Congress Committee was an encouragement for the strong desire for separation from Madras. Separate Andhra Congress was formulated inspite of the antagonism of Gandhi and Annie Besant as it was approved by the Calcutta Congress Session, 1917.

The first Andhra Congress Meet took place in Vijayawada, on 20th January, 1918 with Nyapathi Subba Rao in the Chair. He was made the first President of Andhra Congress by the 185 representatives present. One can see the paradox of politics in the fact that the same man, who was opposed to separate Andhra, was made the first President of State Congress. Konda

Venkatappayya was the first secretary, Kasinathuni, C.R. Parthasarathy Ayyangar, P. Shiva Shankaran Pillai were elected as Joint Secretaries. The branches of Ganjam, Vizag, Godavari, Krishna, Nellore, Kurnool, Ananthapuram, Dharmavaram, Rajahmundry and Vijayawada were affiliated to it.

The politics in Andhra commenced mainly as Brahmin and non-Brahmin groupism. The Brahmins, especially the Madras and Maharashtra Brahmins were predominant in jobs. Even here, the educated Telugu Brahmins found fewer job opportunities. Hence, they were all against Tamil Brahmin supremacy. The non Brahmins who entered politics much later found the political field totally dominated by the Brahmins and they felt the urgency of an 'anti-Brahmin move'. The friction was limited to the upper-classes only

The British were always cautious with the Brahmins though they had employed them in a number of jobs. They were not only happy with the anti-Brahmin movement but also extended their support to the movement as a check against the Brahmins. They encouraged them against one another as theirs was a divide and rule policy. They also offered more jobs to the non-Brahmins.

The Brahmins Constituted only 3.2 percent of the Andhra population when the Congress was born. But one can not be oblivious to the fact that more Brahmins were educated and occupied jobs, and acted as agents to the British and also had an upperhand in the National Movement. They were the people who sacrificed their comfort for the nation. Most of them left legal practice for the freedom fight. It was but natural that the British were wary of them.

As early as 1815, the British had to issue orders that both Brahmins and Non-Brahmins should have equal job opportunities because of the differences that existed between them. In jobs like Huzoor Sirastadar and English Head-Clerk, the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins were to be employed

alternately. But this order was not executed due to unforeseen circumstances. The British found, on investigation, that G. Venkata Ramanaiah, a Niyogi introduced as many as 49 of his relatives into jobs in the Revenue Department. The British once again tried to enforce their order in 1890 but with little success. Only Brahmins were successful in competitive examinations and occupied all the jobs during 1893-95. The British did not want Brahmin monopoly in the services and they started taking a number of non-Brahmins too into service.

The Government once again ordered all the Collectors in 1912 to strictly adhere to their orders passed in 1851. (The 1-1 $\frac{1}{3}$ millions among the total population of 41.5 millions, thus forming 3%). 72% of the 8821 graduates in Madras were Brahmins. In the competitive examinations for services between 1892 and 1904, 94% of the Brahmins were selected, out of 16 jobs 15 went to the Brahmins. A new slogan saying that Competitive examinations should be conducted separately for the Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

The posts offered to the Indians were very low as the British held all the key-posts. The education, bank services, clerks to Government, Deputy Collectors, Sub-Judges, Munsifs, Talisildars, Head-Clerks, Sirastadars were all Tamil Brahmins. It was but natural for the Telugu Brahmins to protest against such domination.

At the inception of the Congress, there were 492 Brahmin Graduates against 171 non-Brahmin graduates in the Madras University. Muslims, Christians and Foreigners comprised 107 graduates.

The number of graduates increased in 1890. The Brahmin graduates were 1461, non-Brahmin 445, and others 263. Between 1901 and 1911, Brahmin graduates were 4074, non-Brahmins 1035, and others 551.

In the services too, there were 17 Brahmin Engineers, 4 non-Brahmins. There were 77 Brahmin Deputy Collectors in the Accounts Section as against 30 non-Brahmins.

By 1913, in the post of District Munsifs, there were 93 Brahmins, whereas there were only 25 non-Brahmins. Key posts like Secretary to the Government, Revenue Board Secretary were held by the Brahmins. One of the two Collectors was a Brahmin.

This difference of Brahmin and non-Brahmin in jobs had reached its climax in 1917. There were 135 Brahmin and 60 non-Brahmin Tahsildars. 214 deputy Tahsildars were Brahmins and only 65 were non-Brahmins. For 16 Brahmin head-clerks only 5 non-Brahmins were there. 28 Brahmins worked as Sirastidars in District Courts and also in the sub-Courts. There were only 10 non-Brahmins.

Non-Brahmins did not include Muslims and Christians. The non-Brahmin communities like Velama, Kamma, Balija, Kapu, Reddy, Vysyas participated in the non-Brahmin movement. Even these were from among the affluent and the middle classes only.

The Madras Colleges had separate hostels for Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The Government had, in principle accepted the argument of A.Venugopal Chetty, as IPS member that there should be reservations for non-Brahmins.

The Brahmin and the non-Brahmin dispute was mounting when Annie Besant switched over from theosophy to politics. She was full of appreciation for Hindu culture and Aryan tradition. She exalted the puranas and Manu Dharma Shashtra. Her presence in Madras and the support of Brahmins to the Theosophical Society were the contributing factors. Telugu people started resenting her as she was against the promotion of Congress and a separate state for them. Some Telugu and Tamil non-Brahmins joined hands against Brahmins. In 1912, the Dravidian Association was found in Madras, under the Chairman

ship of C. Natesa Mudaliar. These Developments were a prelude to the birth of the Justice Party. The 'Dravida' literature of 1915, and the establishment of non-Brahmin hostels in 1916 also contributed to it. Thirty members under Thyaga Raja Chetty met in Victoriya Hall, Madras on 20th November, 1916 and named themselves as the South Indian People's Association which was the initiation of the Justice Party. After a month they founded the India Liberal Federation and released an anti-Brahmin Manifesto. *Andhra Prakasika*, under A.P.Parthasarathy Naidu's editorship helped in promoting this movement.

Anti - Brahmin stand

The Justice Party had its branches in many places and held meetings there. It was strengthened by the Velama, Kamma, Reddy and Kapu communities in Andhra. The Brahmin and non-Brahmin relations in Andhra were not strained, like in Madras. The purpose of non-Brahmins was to prove their mettle. It was a party of old people and no efforts whatsoever made to attract the youth to it.

Though the Justice Party emerged to help the non-Brahmins, it scrambled for power in politics. Some branches of the Justice Party were opened in Andhra though it started in Madras in 1916. Before 1920, it was a big task to get a hold in Municipal Administration, the voters being very few, only tax-payers were the voters. To get the post of a Village Munsif, they used to offer bribes upto Rs. 5,000. The Vysyas of Guntur, Eluru and Kakinada used to struggle in vain to come to power through their business contacts. But in Guntur from the President to the peon, only Kammas could come in. Brahmins and Vysyas tried their best to enter the local bodies. Many new Panchayats were formed. In towns like Vijayawada, there were bitter relations between the lawyers and businessmen. At the time of elections to the Madras Assembly, both the Justice Party and the new Pradesh Congress launched into elections. Pamphlets and Bhajans were introduced

at that time. A number of journals like *Krishna Patrika*, *Swatantra*, *Chitta Ranjan*, *Thelaga*, *Sree Sujana Ranjani*, *Hitakarini*, *Kapu*, *Satyagraham*, *Janma Bhumi*, *Kammakula Patrika*, *Kaliyuga*, *Sharada* were in vogue. Madireddy Venkata Ratnam, a Zilla Board President canvassed for the Justice Party. There were objections from many sides that he should not canvass for the Assembly as he was exerting his influence as the Zilla Board President. It was the other way round in Krishna District, where they insisted that the Zilla Board President should contest. In Guntur District, politics of the Congress as well as the Justice Party fell into the hands of rowdies and the influential tobacco merchants. The Zilla Board Presidents tried to attract the voters through various promises and even the zamindars were on the side of the Justice Party.

The Legislative Assembly of 1920 consisted of 48 lawyers, 28 landlords, 10 professional people and 15 officials.

The Government had issued orders to the collectors in 1919 itself not to allow more than half the places in service to Brahmins and that the allocation of jobs should be equally divided between the Telugu and the Tamil personnel. After the Justice Party came into power, a communal order was issued in September 1921, according to which there would be reservations for non-Brahmins in all the government jobs. They ordered statistical data to be maintained as to the total number of job facilities available and their allocation on caste basis. Justice Party having taken up the cause of the non-Brahmin movement ignored the Muslims and Harijans.

K.V.R.Reddy Naidu, Koka Appa Rao Naidu and Panagal Raja were sent to England in 1921, on behalf of the Justice Party and the party won the support of the British newspapers. The distribution of seats was a point of dispute and disagreement. M.Rama Chandra Rao from Congress criticized the Justice Party. A.P. Patro, Panagal Raja and Reddy Naidu were in the Justice

Party cabinet. The party started interfering in local politics. Zilla Board Presidents had much power in their hands, hence they could influence the State politics. Through marriage alliances from Chittoor to Godavari, the families of Yarlagadda, Vasireddy, Adusumilli, Challapalli and Kommareddy widened their circle and later used their influence for political purposes.

Only a person paying Rs. 10/- as tax was allowed to vote in Rural Boards. This enabled the Zamindars and Landlords to capture the seats easily.

People rallied around the party in power and many associations based on caste formed and meetings were held. On the otherhand, the Congress men in the Local bodies used their influence for political agitations. The Justice Party levied tax on education in municipalities which was objected by the Congress men. The All India Congress meeting at Kakinada gave an additional fillip to the local Congress people to fight against the Justice Party.

The difference of opinion in Congress about contesting the elections gave rise to the Swarajya party. The party very soon had its branches all over Andhra. C.V.N. Narasimha Raju founded the Independent Party in 1923 but it did not last for long. The Justice Party which was in power, with its partialities and favouritism, ignored the fact that it should strengthen the party. Before it could have any constitution, disputes started.

The Justice party was known as the Zamindars party. The Chief Minister, Panagal Raja, was very shrewd and practical. The party under his guidance forgot its anti-Brahmin stand, and tried to get Brahmins to their side. The Raja nominated four Brahmins as Zilla Board Presidents. Fifteen out of the 24 Zilla Board nominations were made by him according to his fancy. He made nominations even where elections were a must. He postponed elections to the Municipal Chairman's posts three times till he

could get men of his own choice. He nominated Yathirajulu Naidu to the Zilla Board and also to the Municipal Chairmanship of Guntur. Similarly, nominations were made in Ganjam of Kallikota, Zamindar Balajee Rao in Krishna and Munuswami Naidu in Chittoor. Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddy proposed a no confidence motion against the Justice Party cabinet when he founded the Democratic party after leaving the Justice Party. Panagal Raja saved himself by coaxing the Brahmin members to help him. He removed K.V. Reddy Naidu from the cabinet and he became more powerful because he was in the good looks of the British. He was however severely censured for neglecting party stability. A committee was appointed in 1924 to frame the party constitution. Though rough draft of the constitution was prepared, it was not brought out. The legislators and party workers were greatly displeased with the party.

The non-Brahmins met in Pulivendula of Kurnool district on 3rd and 4th November, 1917. Barrister K. Subba Rao was in the Chair. Earlier on 27th October, a meeting was convened in Bikkavol, East Godavari district. On 11th and 12th November another meeting was held in Vijayawada under the Chairmanship of Pitti Thyagaraya Chettiar. Many prominent Andhra representatives attended the state meeting held in Tamilnadu. They were very critical of Gandhiji's call for non-cooperation and the Qilafat movement. When Gandhi announced that he would win freedom for India by September, 1922, C.R. Reddy made fun of him saying that he should have given the date as 1st April. However, the Justice party continued in power in the Madras State between 1920 and 1923, and again in 1923-26. It adopted several undesirable attitudes while in power. The result was that it went out of power with the same speed as it had came to power. One or two major achievements of the Justice party while in power should not be ignored. For the first time Justice Party established a separate university for Andhras. Both

the Congress and the Justice party were united in the demand for separate university for the Andhras. One of its members, M. Suryanarayana from Vizag introduced the resolution for a separate university. The justice party of Tamilnadu, while justifying the demand of Andhras, requested for another university in their area. Thanks to the Andhras, Tamilnadu got one more university. 'The Separate University' remained only in a resolution.

Andhras and non-Brahmins were not able to secure seats in The Madras university. Therefore, strong efforts were made for the Andhra university by A.P. Pathro, the then Education Minister, and one C. Natesa Mudaliar who were the first men to propose this but no heed was paid to the proposal under the assumption that it was difficult to decide the boundaries for Andhra province as the Andhras were spread all over Madras State. They expressed their doubts that there may be a breach among the non-Brahmins in the event of formation of separate Andhra University. It was suggested that K.V Reddy Naidu should step down in favour of T.N. Sivagnan Pillai as the. Tamilians too should find a place in the Cabinet. The Chief Minister, Panagal Raja immediately dropped K. V Reddy Naidu who was his opponent. The Tamilians supported the establishment of Andhra University. K. V Reddy Naidu pleaded for the University saying that the word Andhras' denoted Aryan connections, whereas the Southern people were Dravidians. So it was justified that it should be named as Telugu University. But his argument could not hold water. The bill was passed on 6th November, 1925 which cleared the way for Andhra University. The candidate for the first Vice-Chancellor's post was a controversial point. At last, C.R. Reddy was appointed as the Vice-Chancellor. Attempts were made to bring about unity subsidizing the differences in the Justice party. They met on 25th May, 1925 for unity talks. K.V Reddy Naidu again came back to

the party. Panagal Raja once again became the leader.

Another achievement of the Justice Party was to provide the non-Brahmins with opportunities for Government jobs. Every notable caste was represented in jobs. According to their plan the jobs were to be occupied in the following way:

22% Brahmins, 48% non-Brahmins, 10% Indian Christians, 15% Muslims, 2% Foreign Christians, 3% others.

The British Government modified the Municipal Acts before the reforms of Montague Chelmsford could come into force. There were a few reservations in Municipality. All the members had to come to the elections and the number of voters increased. The collectors had less powers over the municipality. The Municipalities had more rights as well as duties. They were empowered to levy fresh taxes on tourism, amusement, street lights, sanitation and education. It was the usual gimmick to reduce taxes before elections. But the people in power with their renewed authority changed the registers levying more taxes upon their opponents and favouring friends with less taxes. There were many such instances in Vijayawada and Guntur. The business people in 'Vijayawada tried their best to demote Appalaswami who was for the Justice Party. That made his opponents cling more to Congress. There was a big fight between Appalaswami's group and his opponents in the non-co-operation movement of the Congress in 1920, which made the Government summon the army for its rescue.

The Government decided to convert Cheerala-Perala into a municipality. The business people saw more disadvantages like more taxes and more domination by the Government in this, so they were against the new municipality. But the Government prevailed over their decision and made Cheerala-Perala a Municipality.

Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah got the town vacated in April 1921, convincing people about non-cooperation. Very few people

were left in the town. The people had to face a number of difficulties in this bold act of theirs. The Government penalized the people for not paying the taxes. The people returned to their homes with their conviction gradually weakening.

Even in the Municipalities of Narasaraopet, Repalle, Guntur, Tenali and Vijayawada, the non-cooperation movement was successful to a certain extent only.

The All India Congress Session was held in Vijayawada, on 1st March and 1st April. The Andhra Congress office, with Konda as the Chairman, and Duggirala as Secretary was temporarily shifted to Vijayawada. Gandhiji was present at the session and it was resolved to propagate the 'Charkha Movement' to increase membership in the Congress.. Gandhiji toured in some major cities. In Palnadu and Vijayawada talukas, people violated the forest rules as a part of their non-cooperation movement. They opposed the instructions that cattle should not graze in the forests, that wood-cutters should not cut wood. The Congress appointed a Committee with Unnava Lakshminarayana and Madabhushi Vedanta Lakshmi Narasimhachari as members to look into the problems of Palnadu. There were strikes everywhere and several people were arrested by the Government. As per the call given by Congress the movement for prohibition of foreign goods and liquor caught up in many places. The no tax-payment movement continued. It took a severe turn in Pedanandipadu, under the leadership of Parvathaneni Veeraiah Chowdary. But the Government suppressed it very soon with the help of the police. The Congress turned its attention from civil disobedience to constructive programmes attracting the attention of the people. On the contrary, the Justice Party went on opposing their movements which only helped to weaken their party.

When the Justice party was in power, Alluri Seetharama Raju rebelled in Godavari Agency area in 1922. The Government

adopted all methods to suppress this revolution by the Girijans, and the Congress did not come out openly in favour of this revolution inspite of the people's sympathy for Rama Raju.

The Congress party was, in a way, lagging behind the Justice Party in internal disputes and jockeying for positions. By 1925, Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah, Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao and Konda Venkatappayya were at logger-heads. Pattabhi was not even allowed to be a member of the State Congress. With the connivance of Bulusu Sambamurty and B.H.Satyanarayana, Konda was forced to give up the Chairmanship of the State Congress.

Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru differed from congress in their conviction to compete in elections and founded the Swarajya Party. C.R.Das opened many branches of the party during his tour of Andhra. The party functioned in Andhra, with Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao as Chairman, and Nadimpalli Narasimha Rao, Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah as the secretaries. The party gained strength in 1926 and won eleven seats in the elections. Justice party secured only 22 seats and 36 went to independents. Swarajya Party was against the formation of cabinet. Even Panagal Raja was indifferent. So. P. Subbarayan became the Chief Minister. C.R. Reddy gave a call saying that by joining Congress, people could fight against Brahmin dominance. He was desperate as he could not fund a position in the Government and hence defected from the Justice Party. K.V.Reddy Naidu founded the South Indian Liberal Federation. Panagal Raja, who resigned from the Justice Party, died on 16th December, 1928. Again there arose differences about the leadership of the party. B. Munuswamy Naidu and Bobbili Raja fought bitterly. Munuswamy Naidu who came closer to N.G.Ranga was against the Zamindars. On the contrary, Bobbili Raja was supporting the British rulers. The leadership issue was raised in Nellore in 1929. It turned out to be a fight between the

Velamas and the Kammas. Munuswamy Naidu became the Chief Minister of Madras in 1930. The economy was fast deteriorating as the international economic crisis had its effect even on Madras State. The villagers were getting into too many debts and prices of goods shot up rapidly. Many sold their lands and started small scale business. Many ginning machines started functioning. The Anti-Zamindar movement intensified under the leadership of Ranga. Bobbili and Mirjapuram Rajas manoeuvred to bring down Munuswamy Naidu as he was supporting Ranga. Munuswamy Naidu helped the tenants by reforming the Estate Land Act. The Zamindars decided to levy further land taxes after the Revenue Resettlement Survey. The farmers opposed it and the Congress party took up the movement. The village officers, who joined the agitation, were removed from service under one pretext or the other. K.A.R. Swamy and Dr. P. Gurumurthy led the movement against Pithapuram Raja. In addition to this, the Salt Satyagraha started by the Congress on 21st March, 1930 spread to Andhra also. Congress people met secretly. Local business communities helped them. There was displeasure mounting up about the local bodies. Munuswamy Naidu, who had put off the Justice Party meetings over three years, arranged the conference in Tanjavur in 1932. Bobbili Raja played an important role in that meeting. Andhras, who went there as Munuswamy's followers, did not even get admission. Later, the Governor of Madras advised Munuswamy to resign as the Chief Minister, which he did. Bobbili Raja became the Chief Minister. He put a stop to democratic procedures. He decided to take Brahmins into the Justice Party and also opposed the Zamindar Tenant's Bill, passed by Munuswamy. Taluka Boards were abolished by the Raja in 1934. Direct elections to the Zilla Boards were introduced. The zilla Board Chairman could be removed by a 'no confidence' motion. Local bodies were within the reach of the people but this led to more problems. With an increase of violence,

Vijayawada Municipality was abolished in 1933. East Godavari Zilla Board Chairman, Mullapudi Pallama Raju, acted as a director in making appointments, giving contracts, transferring teachers. Political murders increased in Ananthapuram, Cuddapah and Guntur districts. People began to move away from the Justice Party. Pithapuram Raja wasted no efforts in removing Bobbili Raja. C.R. Reddy came close to the Congress. Bobbili Raja started party journals for his own propaganda. Neti Chalapati was appointed to probe into the complaints made against Brahmananda Reddy who was the Chairman of the Ongole zilla Board. Till today, no one knows what happened to the report of Neti Chalapati. 1936 was the year of elections. Pithapuram Raja started a new party called the People's Party which opposed the Justice Party. All those, who could not stay in the Justice Party for various reasons naturally found asylum in the Peoples' Party. The Justice Party contested for 90 seats and the People's Party put up 40 candidates. Justice Party could secure only 21 seats with much effort as the Congress had established its strength and influence. Only Pithapuram Raja won the election. Bobbili Raja and Venkatagiri Raja were defeated. Bobbili constituency had been the scene of many feuds and fights. The elections delivered a death-blow to the Justice Party while some retired from the party, far-sighted people joined the Congress.

The Congress party very rapidly gained momentum as the popularity of the Justice party waned. Congress principles took their roots among the upper as well as the middle classes. The non-cooperation movement gained recognition within the Congress party in Andhra. People like Ranga and C.R. Reddy entered Congress but even the Congress party sailed in the same boat as the Justice Party, as far as the disagreement among leaders was concerned. Konda Venkatappayya, Prakasam and Pattabhi were at loggerheads.

Prakasam and Rajaji were opposed to each other. Kumara Swamy Raja, and Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao were on one side while Ranga and V. V. Giri on the other, during the elections. Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah accused Bulusu Sambamurthi of having spent all the party money as its State President in 1923. Konda Venkatappayya, Dandu Narayana Raju and Bikkina Venkata Ratnam continued as one group. These group politics affected the districts too, leading to local disputes. The Government declared elections to the Central Assembly in 1937. All the groups were active in selecting their candidates. They not only abused each other in the meetings regarding selection of candidates but also exchanged bitter criticism through newspapers. Nadimpalli Narasimha Rao stood as an independent candidate against Ranga who contested from the Guntur and Nellore constituencies. Bezawada Gopala Reddy withdrew from the contest. Munuswamy Naidu tried to join the Congress along with his followers from Justice Party. As Congress gained stability, it started attracting the youth. Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao addressed meetings at several temples and could influence the Vysyas to a large extent. All the Congress candidates won in the elections. Mirjapuram Raja was forced out of power Congress promised party tickets to those who paid Rs. 100/- to the party, but they decided to give seats to those who paid a thousand. Those who paid the hundred and could not get tickets, joined the Justice Party. Congress received several applications seeking membership in the party. Bulusu Sambamurthy sent a complaint to Rajendra Prasad against the state party for ignoring true Congressmen and issuing party tickets to affluent Marwari merchants, Ramanath Goenka and K. Venkataswamy Naidu of the Justice Party. Similarly, A.V. Punnaiah, who sought the favour of the Government by giving costly presents to them at Christmas and Upputuri Ramaiah were given party tickets despite being opposed by C.H. Suryanarayana Veteran congressmen from

Cuddapah resigned from the Congress protesting against its attitude. Sharabha Reddy, a councillor from Kurnool who won the election on the Justice Party ticket joined the Congress and became the Vice-Chairman of the Zilla Board. A. Raghunatha Reddy and T.N. Krishna Reddy left the Justice Party and joined Congress to fill the vacancy in the Zilla Board chairmanship of Chittoor in the place of C.R. Reddy. Though Congress did not have a majority in the Ongole Zilla Board, they managed to win through promises. The practice of holding the Zilla Board members and taking the help of pehelwans (body-builders) to conduct the elections started with the election of the President of West Godavari Zilla Board. Bobbili Raja remained powerful at a time when Congress triumphed in the elections. He managed whatever he could in the local bodies. He abolished the municipalities of Guntur; Vijayawada and Rajahmundry along with many local bodies and taluk boards. He brought his own men into power by changing the Zilla Boards. He divided Nellore, Krishna and East Godavari districts inspite of the Governor's advice not to do so. Krishna Zilla Board was changed for the sake of Mirjapuram Raja. In spite of all this, the Justice party met with a disgraceful defeat and Congress won 159 out of the 215 seats. Before this, Congress only had 98 seats. The system of nominations was made keeping up reservations for only Harijans and Muslims. 68 seats were set aside for Christians, Muslims, landlords, business people, women graduates and the factory workers-13% of the people who were tax payers were only entitled to vote.

In 1931, a leftist organization called the Vujjeevan Bharath Sammelan came up in Godavari district. This association was founded with Bhagath Singh as an inspiration. Pratiwadi Bhayankarachari and Kameswara Shastri played the key roles but politically there was nothing remarkable done by these people. The Government managed to nip them in the bud.

Another organization called the Hindustan Socialist

Republican Army also had its branch in Andhra. This too did not achieve anything. K. Ramanath Choudary, M. Sabhapathy were in this organization. Gadicherla Hari Sarvothama Rao formed a new party called the Andhra Congress Swarajya Party as a result of his disappointment in Congress giving up the civil-disobedience movement. This party met in Vijayawada on 12th February 1934, but it could not survive for long. A manifesto was also released by this party which had people like Gummadidala Venkata Subba Rao, V Ramadasu Panthulu, Kolli Satyanarayana Choudary.

In response to a call given by the All India Congress Socialist Party a branch was opened in Andhra on 23rd June 1934. Puchalapalli Sundaraiah, Chandra Rajeswara Rao and Alluri Satyanarayana Raju joined this party. Ranga was its Chairman, and Annapurnaiah was the Secretary Krovvidi Linga Raju, Rangasayi, and K. Satyanarayana joined it. A large number of youth were attracted towards it. Those were the days when Marxist and Socialist ideas influenced people through Marxist literature. The Congress Socialist party in Andhra was in the hands of communists. They functioned not as a separate party but in an affiliation to Congress Party. The Leftists and Rightists could not continue for long in the same party. One group worked under the leadership of Lingaraju. Ranga was training people through his political schools. Many Communists participated in these schools. Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah and Sundaraiah worked hard to gather the peasants in the circar districts. The Congress Socialist Party was gradually dominated by the Communists. When they disassociated with Congress, the Andhra wing fell to the Communists.

The Congress held its elections in 1936 when it had 50,865 members. Complaints against each other- jockeying for positions and internal fights continued. The State association used to send

mediators to look into its affairs. Guntur and West Godavari were notorious for such disputes. Guntur district was eliminated from the Provincial Congress elections. There were two groups in the Guntur district. Though there were a few supporters of the Prakasam, Samba Murthy group, majority supported Kaleswara Rao and Ranga's group. But Ranga sensed that politically there was no place for him in Guntur-district. Pattabhi also faced a similar situation in the Krishna district. Both tried their best to gain political influence in Rayalaseema but failed. Ranga turned his attention to Vizag and Srikakulam districts.

Prakasam and Samba Murthy prepared a joint list of candidates for the State Assembly elections of February 1937. Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhai Patel came to Andhra for canvassing. Socialist slogans worked well on the minds of the people. The people were asked to choose between the peasants and the Rajas. Justice Party was no match to the Congress in canvassing. Congress bagged all but three seats that went to the Justice Party. Among the Harijan seats, 26 went to Congress and the Justice Party got only 2. Four of the Muslims seats were taken by Congress, 8 went to the Justice party. Four women candidates won the elections from the Congress. Both the Congress and Justice Party took to ignoble practices even in the Zilla Board elections. Teachers who opposed them were transferred. In Guntur district alone, 172 teachers were transferred to other places. Similar practices took place in the Ongole district. To please the members, 200 teachers were transferred. Justice Party collected lakhs of rupees as tax to meet the expenses against Congress. The Rajas of Challapalli, Mirjapur and Pithapuram were temporarily united among themselves forgetting their past differences. Even then it could not beat the influence of the Congress party.

After a thumping victory, Congress formed its first ministry in Madras in 1937. Both Rajagopalachari and Prakasam aspired

for Chief Ministership. The Telugu people met in Kasinathuni's house but Prakasam was opposed by some of the Andhras themselves. Gandhiji's reluctance towards Prakasam was also a reason for that. Having sensed the situation, Prakasam and Samba Murthy proposed Rajaji's name and he was elected. Prakasam became the Revenue minister in Rajaji's ministry. V. V. Giri was also one of the ministers. Bezawada Gopala Reddy was the minister for the local bodies. Bulusu was the speaker. Disagreement, however, continued between Rajaji and Prakasam. Pattabhi held the post of the President of Andhra Pradesh Congress.

Though Andhras held meetings every year the people of Rayalaseema were still to be convinced about the need for a separate state. Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao and others tried to patch up the differences between the people of Rayalaseema and the people from other areas. The All India Congress too, in principle, accepted the formation of separate Andhra. To bring about a better understanding by driving away doubts of Rayalaseema people against circars, the leaders met in Kashinathuni's house on 14th November 1937. Pattabhi played a prominent role. The representatives from Rayalaseema were Kadapa Koti Reddy, Kalluri Subba Rao, Pappuri Ramachari, H. Seetha Ram Reddy and Konda. Mullapudi Pallam Raju and Kashinathuni represented the Circars. Certain promises were made to Rayalaseema to make them agree to the idea of a separate State. Rayalaseema people's demands prevailed in deciding the capital city and High Court. They also said that Ananthapuram should have an university. After this the resolution for a separate Andhra was proposed and passed both in the Assembly as well as in the Council. The problem of a separate State appeared to have been solved. Though it was only on paper yet. Prakasam went on insisting that only Madras should be the Capital for

Andhra. With this, a separate State was delayed by another sixteen years. Andhra continued to take inspiration from the all India politics. Many students from Andhra brought back new ideas as they happened to study in Banaras and other universities. The Communists elected Sundaraiah as their Secretary in a secret meeting at Kakinada in 1935. They conducted political schools for the youth at Kottapatnam and Manthenavaripalem. M.V. Sastry, Koganti Radha Krishna Murthy, Subramanyam and Avula Gopalakrishna Murthy who were highly influenced by M.N. Roy took up the task of bringing Roy's ideas to the people.

In connection with Quit India Movement, certain congress leaders met in Machilipatnam and decided to employ certain violent tactics in the country. Both the groups - Pattabhi, Kala Venkata Rao on one side and Prakasam on the other joined Bands to chalk out a common programme. The British came to know about it. Gandhiji pressed the leaders to tell him as to who intended to be among the destructive forces. Every one denied the knowledge of it. Things like obstruction of rail-services, disconnecting telephone connections were some of the items listed in the circular prepared in that meetings. The British took this opportunity to take rigorous action against the congressmen. Amancharla Gopal Rao and his friends resorted to violent action based on the Andhra circular. The congressmen were put in prison as a result of the Salt Sathyagraha and the Anti-British activity of the people. They could not do away with bickarings even in prisons, groupism being the speciality of the Congressmen.

Rajaji's and Prakasam's groups were in the Vellore jail. They did not even talk to each other. Later Prakasam's group was shifted to the Thiruchirapally jail. Rajaji too came to the same place as a result of individual sathyagraha. The Brahmin, non-

Brahmin feeling prevailed there also. Arrests in the Quit India Movement drove Prakasam, Tenneti Viswanatham, V.V.Giri, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Mullapudi Pallamraju, and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy to the Vellore jail once again. Kala Venkata Rao, Sanjeeva Reddy, Mullapudi Pallamraju, and M. Bapineedu acted as one group. In the Tanjavur jail, Ranga and Gouthu Latchanna happened to be one group, and Gottipati Bramhaiah, Kasu Bramhananda Reddy, Kalluri Chandramouli, Gollapudi Seetha Ramaiah and Manthena Venkata Raju joined together as the opposite group, they were just short of coming to blows. The leaders were set free on parole on some pretext or other. They were all released before the assembly elections of 1946. When these leaders were in jails, the Communists, and radicals took charge of students and farmers' organizations.

The Congress Committee elections did not take place after the Quit India Movement. When Prakasam went on a tour of Andhra after his release from prison, he collected a lot of money in the form of funds. Gandhiji was travelling by train to Madras to attend the silver Jubilee celebrations of the Hindi Prachar Sabha, and he was accorded a rousing reception through-out Andhra. Kala Venkata Rao who was travelling with Gandhiji was suspected by Tenneti and others of having complained against Prakasam. A sum of rupees eighty thousand, not accounted for by Prakasam was the evidence against him. Prakasam became a victim of Gandhiji's displeasure when he joined hands with Kamaraj Nadar in the Madras political affairs. Gandhiji desired Rajaji to be the leader in Madras. When Prakasam became the President of Andhra Congress, his opponent Kala Venkat Rao happened to be the Secretary. Kala appointed an election committee without the knowledge of Prakasam. There was no representative of Ranga or Prakasam in it. It was decided to elect a new Committee in an emergency meeting attended by Krovvidi

Linga Raju, Gouthu Latchanna, Kandula Obula Reddy etc., They all had to convince Ranga to that effect and a requisition notice with the signature of the Pradesh Congress members was submitted according to which a meeting was summoned in Rajahmundry. The Committee selected by Prakasam was unopposedly accepted but Ranga's men did not find a place again. This attitude of Prakasam enraged Kala Venkat Rao, and he lodged a complaint against Prakasam to the Centre. Pattabhi, an opponent of Prakasam, later revised the list of the Committee members. But Prakasam and his group behaved like dictators in selecting the candidates for the elections. The Congress was all the more strengthened in the 1946 elections. The communists, who for the first time, entered elections could secure only one seat, whereas the deposits of all the radical democrats were forfeited. The Socialists too could win some seats from within the Congress. The stage was set for the leadership struggle. Gandhiji sent his message, almost an order from "Mahatma" at Delhi to prefer Rajaji's candidature to that of Prakasam's. Patel and Azad sided with Rajaji's and Prakasam was supported by Kamaraj Nadar. Though Prakasam had the majority support among the MLAs, the Congress High Command put off the decision. Gandhiji accused Prakasam of being corrupt as he had misused public funds. Prakasam challenged Gandhiji but he managed to lure Kamaraj Nadar away from Prakasam. Kala and Gopala Reddy did not spare any effort to sabotage Prakasam's chances. Despite all this, Prakasam was elected as the leader in April 1946. Justifying his attitude in handling money, Prakasam accused Pattabhi of collecting funds in the name of the paper, "*Subhodaya*". Pattabhi's followers did not find a place in Prakasam's ministry. V.V. Giri, Kadapa Koti Reddy and Vemula Kurmayya were taken as ministers and Tenneti, Vennelakanti Raghavaiah and Krovvidi Linga Raju became the Parliamentary Secretaries. But the opponents created such a situation that

Prakasam's Ministry could not continue peacefully. They were able to defeat Prakasam's candidate, Tenneti, in the Speaker's election. Hardly a year had passed when Kala Venkat Rao, Kamaraj Nadar, and Rajagopalachari deposed Prakasam with a "No-confidence" motion. Omanduri Ramaswamy Reddiar became the next Chief Minister in March 1947. His ministry consisted of H. Seetha Rama Reddy, Kala Venkat Rao, Bezawada Gopala Reddy and Kalluri Chandramouli. They had to meet humiliation in Andhra, wherever they went. Kala Venkata Rao introduced a new scheme through which each political sufferer would be given cultivable land on producing a certificate to that effect from the State Congress. Many Political sufferers as well as pseudo-political sufferers managed to get the certificates from the State Congress. Kala's plan gave rise to several immoral and corrupt deeds. Gopala Reddy as Finance Minister and Industries Minister H. Seetharama Reddy could amass lakhs of rupees in the name of private business enterprises. Vemula Kurmaiah, still continuing in Prakasam's ministry, joined hands with the opposition and resorted to corrupt practices in fertilizer deals. Prakasam exposed many immoral and corrupt practices of the ministers. Pattabhi's group came out with a vengeance and brought several charges against Prakasam.

Ranga surprised these squabbling leaders by winning many seats in the Pradesh Congress elections of 1946. Ranga, who was abroad, won the Presidentship in a straight contest against Pallam Raju. He also came out with a proposal that the Congress workers should be given financial help. Both Kandula Obul Reddy and Latchanna as Secretary and Joint Secretary to Congress helped the workers. On the basis of Pattabhi's complaints against Ranga, within a month of his Chairmanship, Smt. Kamala Devi was appointed to institute a probe. Prakasam and Ranga on one side and Pattabhi on the other continued their groupism. Elections for the Guntur District Congress were made

invalid. Ranga as Chairman of Pradesh Congress, went abroad four times within five years. In his absence, his followers, led hectic group politics in his name. Ranga easily defeated Sanjeeva Reddy in the Presidential election of the Pradesh Congress in 1948.

The Communist Party attracted many workers to the party when most of the Congress leaders were in jails. During the 1946 elections only Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu was elected to the Legislative Assembly as the workers' representative. The Communists took up tasks like uniting the workers and labourers and fighting for their rights. At times they rebelled against Congress. The Chief Minister was then the dead opponent of the Communists. Ranga was on similar terms with them. An ordinance was issued in 1947 against the Communists alleging that they were creating chaos and that they could be punished without trial. But after the Independence on 15th August, all the Communists were released.

They continued to be a menace to the land lords through their anti-zamindari struggle. They created troubles to the officers in collecting food grains. The Government renewed the arrests of Communists. The Malabar Police were summoned to curb the Communists and on 26th September, 1948 the Communist Party was banned. By then, many had withdrawn from the Communist Party. Vavilala Gopala Krishnaiah, Mukkamala Nagabhushana Rao, Komararaju Achamamba, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and Venkata Rama Shastri left the party as a protest against the party's policy of armed-struggle. The naked truth about Communist Leaders was written by Chadalawada Pitchaiah implying Makineni Basava Punnaiah and others. The party dismissed the former. There were different groups within the party. Korrapati Patabhi Ramaiah and C.V.K. Rao who formed a group in East Godavari accused the party of being partial to the Kamma Community.

The Central Communist Party too was divided into groups. The Andhra Party stood separate in its support to the China Communist party. They gave it full cooperation to the armed struggle of the communists in Telangana.

The Socialists left Congress in 1948. At the Party's call, Socialist MLAs resigned from the Assembly. Gouthu Latchanna was elected for the first time from a seat that fell vacant due to the resignation of Mallikharjun, a Socialist from Andhra.

In the name of suppression of the Communists in Andhra, the Congress Government, with the help of the Malabar Police, acted very brutally. It resulted in increasing resentment among the people towards the Congress Government. The Congress behaved in a nauseating way with their internal fights, and the way they exposed each other. The first General elections after Independence, were announced in 1952. The Andhras were already dissatisfied with the inefficiency of the Congress in forming separate Andhra. The Communist Party gave a clear slogan for '*Visalandhra*' including Telangana. The Communists, who came out from the prisons apologised to the people openly in their meetings for their violent actions in the past. They even promised to the people that they would give 5 acres and a cow and a calf to each family if the communist Party came to power. They could gain the sympathy of the public in their meetings by giving a clear picture of the brutality of the Malabar Police against the Communists. Just before the General elections, the Congress in Andhra had its elections. Ranga, who had earlier been the Chairman of the Pradesh Congress, decided to contest again opposing Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. Kala Venkat Rao tactfully brought the Pradesh Congress members together in the West Godavari district. The State Ministers, Kala Venkata Rao, Kalluri Chandramouli and H.Seetharama Reddy made tall promises to the people. Kala Venkat Rao saying that he had recruited one lakh members to Congress, remitted to the party account, a

membership fee of four anaas each from the amount he collected from the business organizations. Kakani Venkata Ratnam, along with three other members from the Krishna district, who were with Ranga till then, suddenly turned against him. 25 elected members from Guntur had to abstain from voting due to a stay order issued against them by the court. Ranga, who was hopeful of winning with a majority of 7 votes lost by 4 votes. The winner, Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy, had already resigned from the cabinet. Kandula Obula Reddy was no match to the machinations of Kala Venkat Rao. Ranga and Prakasam did not accept Sanjeeva Reddy's offer to allot 9 out of nineteen seats in the Working Committee. They convened a meeting at Kaleswara Rao's residence in Vijayawada where it was decided to form a new party inspite of Kaleswara Rao's advice to them not to leave Congress. All Ranga's men left Congress and a new party "Andhra Praja Party" came into existence.

Meanwhile, some of the leaders at the Centre disassociated themselves from Congress and called a meeting in Patna, to which Ranga and Prakasam were invited by J. B. Kripalani. Ajit Prasad Jain, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Ranga and Prakasam attended the meeting and there the All India Kisan Mazadoor Party was inaugurated. Prakasam, with three others was on the subcommittee to chalk out a programme for the party. Here again Ranga not able to find a prominent place in the new party came out from the party. He started a new party and named it as the Krishikar Lok Party on the pretext that he differed from Kisan Mazdoor party on certain principles. All these parties went to polls in 1952. Leaders and ministers like Kala Venkata Rao, Bezawada Gopala Reddy, Kalluri Chandramouli and Vemula Kurmaiah were defeated. At that time a system of announcing results without waiting for all elections to be completed in other constituencies was in vogue. The defeat of one minister had its impact on the other elections. Sanjeeva Reddy, though the

President of the Pradesh Congress, met a similar fate at the hands of his brother-in-law, Tarimela Nagi Reddy, a prominent leader of the Communist Party. Sanjeeva Reddy had never again contested from his native place Ananthapur. Prakasam too was defeated from Madras. Ranga's party could win only in Srikakulam, Vizag, Chittoor and East Godavari Districts. The majority of seats were won by the Communists in Circars and the Congress in Rayalaseema. Congress did not have the majority in the combined Madras State. Rajagopalachari was thought to be the best person to guard the State against Communist domination. With a minimum majority, he formed the Government. The Muslims lent their support to him. Prakasam made an abortive attempt to form the ministry with the help of the Communists but the Governor Sri Prakasa did not invite him to do so.

Kotha Raghuramaiah was elected to Lok Sabha for the first time from Guntur in 1952. He had just entered politics then. Harindranath Chatopadhyaya with Communist backing won against Smt. Bharathi Devi Ranga in Vijayawada. Ranga also lost in Tenali.

No sooner did Rajagopalachari become the Chief Minister, he lured some of the members of Krishikar Lok Party to the Congress. D. Sanjeevaiah, S. Ranga Reddy, S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao, M.V. Krishna Rao (Vizag), N. Shankar Reddy were the Ministers in Rajagopalachari's cabinet. In a way, Rajagopalachari first patronized party defections. In the internal disputes of Krishikar Lok Party, Thimma Reddy, a former associate of Ranga, sought an alliance with Sanjeeva Reddy. This was an act prompted by caste loyalty. Sanjeeva Reddy, having been defeated from Ananthapur constituency in the general elections by T. Nagireddy was elected in a by-election from Kalahasti (Chittoor-District) in place of Balarama Reddy, who had resigned in his favour. That was the end of the Andhra Politics in Madras. Group

politics were in full swing by the time a separate Andhra was formed.

The dream of a separate Andhra did not materialize inspite of innumerable resolutions from 1913 onwards. The people of Rayalaseema were, by and large, disinclined towards a separate Andhra. The Andhra leaders tried to convince them by allowing concessions in their favour: During the 2nd World War nobody thought of a separate State. The report of The Commission against the Andhra State created a sensation among the Congressmen. A sub-committee was formed to look into the matter with Jawaharlal Nehru, Patel and Pattabhi in it. The report of the sub- committee favoured the formation of the State provided the Andhras gave up their claim over Madras. The Congress consented to this report. It tried to appease the Rayalaseema people by saying that the State capital should be in Rayalaseema only. An all party meet was called in Madras for the 27th of July 1952, to discuss the formation of the Andhra State. But Sanjeeva Reddy ordered his partymen not to attend the meeting. The Rayalaseema MLAs in a statement, demanded the postponement of the formation of the State. Swami Seetharam (Gollapudi Seetha Ram) started his 'fast unto death' on 15th August 1952. He ended his fast after 36 days as the leaders convinced him. His integrity was doubted by several persons. The Andhra students were really concerned over his fasting and feared his death. The delay in the formation of the State, and with the receding hopes of getting Madras to Andhra led Potti Sree Ramulu to start his 'fast unto death' in Madras. His fasting was for a separate State including Madras. Though he started the fast on 19th October 1952, it did not attract the attention of many in the beginning. Prakasam and Bulusu Sambamurthy encouraged Potti Sree Ramulu's idea. The agitation gradually gathered momentum in Andhra. The leaders failed to dissuade Potti Sree Ramulu. Pandit Nehru announced in the Parliament

on 9th December that the question of a separate State would be considered if the demand was not made for Madras. Sree Ramulu did not relent and died on 15th December after 55 days of fasting. Andhra fell under the spell of a violent agitation. The Prime Minister had to declare the formation of a separate Andhra, saying that undisputed areas were to come under the State boundaries and the date for the formation of the separate State was fixed for 1st October, 1953.

National politics then reflected in the Andhra Politics. Prakasam's Party and the Socialists merged into the Praja Socialist Party. The Socialists wanted Madras to go to Tamilnadu only. The Centre appointed the Wanchoo Committee. Communists wanted either Guntur or Vijayawada to be the Capital city. Krishikar Lok Party treaded by Ranga, proposed Tirupati as the capital keeping an eye on the buildings of Chandragiri Raja. Congress people as well as Prakasam appealed that Madras should be the temporary capital. Sanjeeva Reddy, Gopal Reddy, Kala Venkata Rao, Kaleswara Rao, Kotha Raghu Ramaiah and T.N.Venkata Subba Reddy formed a Congress Sub-Committee and prepared a list of the places to be included in Andhra and the money it should acquire. Nehru, in his statement on 25th March, said that the Andhras should leave Madras and the Andhra MLAs should decide about the capital city. When the Wanchoo Committee report was published, provincialisms, groupism and party oppositions were rampant. Prakasam was asked to suggest a solution to the problem in a meeting of the Andhra Legislators on 5th June, 1953. He decided that Kurnool should be the capital of Andhra. The rest of Andhra had to reconcile to this decision. The political arena changed place. Sanjeeva Reddy, Latchanna, Tenneti together made a settlement regarding the money that had to be Andhra's share. Sanjeeva Reddy exhibited a political far-sightedness in his moves. He began to come closer to Prakasam, though it was not appreciated

either by Prakasam's followers or Kala Venkata Rao's. Prakasam aspiring for Chief Ministership, bade goodbye to the Praja Socialist Party and joined Congress. He was 80 by then, could neither hear nor see properly. Sanjeeva Reddy played a timely game of politics in Prakasam's name. Praja Socialist Party was not inclined to join the Cabinet. Prakasam left the Party and became the Chief Minister co-operating with the Congress. Though Sanjeeva Reddy was only the Deputy Chief minister, he had full control of the Ministry. Tenneti, Damodaram Sanjivaiah, Peddireddy Thimma Reddy, Kadapa Koti Reddy and Pattabhi Rama Rao were in the Cabinet. A little later, Latchanna, from the Krishikar Lok Party, joined the Ministry. Gopala Reddy was elected as the President of the State Congress. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, Kasu Bramhananda Reddy, Manthena Venkata Raju, and Alapati Venkata Ramaiah, helped Sanjeeva Reddy in strengthening the Party. Within 54 days of the formation of the Cabinet the Capital issue was raised. The Krishikar Lok Party did not support Kurnool as the capital. Latchanna had to resign from the cabinet and sit in the opposition.

Some of the Congress members could not stand the influence of Sanjeeva Reddy in Prakasam's Ministry and waited for a chance to show their displeasure. The Socialists started Satyagraha in Karivena (Kurnool district) for the cause of 'EenamTenants'. The Sonti Ramamurthy Committee recommended the abolition of the Prohibition Act. The Krishikar Lok Party led the tappers on a Satyagraha under Latchanna, demanding the implementation of the Committee's recommendations. The Party Chairman, Obul Reddy, did not favour it. Even the Communists joined the movement. The prisons were filled with Satyagrahees. Latchanna and Obul Reddy then had secret meetings in Kurnool with the Congress legislators. Legislators like Madduri Subba Reddy, Venkata Setty, Batterla Venkata Krishna Reddy, Chidanandam, B. V. Subba

Reddy, Nadimpalli Narasimha Rao were ready to support a 'No Confidence Motion' against the ministry. A 'No Confidence Motion' was put to vote on 6th November 1954. Meanwhile, Prakasam had come to terms with Latchanna, ready to pass any orders suggested by him. But it was a delayed attempt. Two items of the 'No Confidence Motion' were put to vote that day. One could not be passed due to a difference of five votes, Prakasam's Ministry was overthrown as the 'No Confidence Motion' was passed with the two deciding votes of Nayakanti Shankar Reddy and Adusumilli Subramanyeswara Rao, who though in Congress, voted for the Resolution. Prakasam tried in vain to keep up his Government. The Legislative Assembly was abolished. The State came under President's rule. C.M.Trivedi was the Governor at that time. All the taper Satyagrahees were released from jail.

All the parties once again got ready for elections. Katragadda Rajagopala Rao and Visweswara Rao, (the - Communists), tried for an alliance with the Krishikar Lok Party but failed. The Communist Party was the first to release the list of its candidates. They believed that they were surely coming to power. They used the propaganda machinery very efficiently. Makineni Basavapunnaiah, with his speeches, lost the support of the middle class people, but gained that of the workers. The Communists went even to the extent of considering their candidate for Chief Ministership. The Congress leaders met in Eluru and decided to contest without an alliance with any party. The Centre, realizing the means of the Communists, instituted an unified action against them. Ranga was called to Delhi for talks. Balavanth Rai Mehta, Lal Bahadur, Malavya, Kotha Raghuramaiah, held discussions with Ranga. Even without consulting his partymen Ranga declared from Delhi that his party would join the Congress. Meanwhile, Socialist leader, Mr. P.V.G. Raju and Krishikar Lok Party leader Latchanna came to an election alliance in Srikakulam and Vizag districts. Tenneti, after

consulting Nehru in Cuttack, gave his consent to the alliance. Ranga made vain attempts to bring in Nayakanti Shankar Reddy and Adusumilli Subramanyeswara Rao who helped for the fall of Prakasam. The Congress, the Praja Party and the Krishikar Lok Party decided to fight the elections as the United Congress Front. Gopala Reddy, Tenneti and Kandula Obul Reddy, formed a Committee which decided the list of candidates. Sanjeeva Reddy and Kala Venkata Rao gave one list. Latchanna gave another. Raghu Ramaiah, and Challapalli Raja played prominent roles behind the scene. Prakasam was not at all taken into the picture. Unable to draft the election manifesto, they rushed to Delhi for help. It had become a part of Congress culture to seek help from Delhi on each and every occasion. The leaders at the Centre made some changes in the manifesto. Both the Congress and the Communists arranged speeches of top leaders of the country in canvassing. There was a keen contest in all 196 seats. The newspapers supported the United Congress Front. S.K. Patil and D.K. Barua played a prominent role in the elections. The Communists predicted their victory in 100 seats. But the United Congress bagged 147 seats, Congress got 119, Krishikar Lok Party 10, Praja Socialists 13, Praja Party 5, only 15 seats were taken by the Communists, They had 40 seats in the previous Legislative Assembly.

The absolute majority of Congress gave rise to groupism once again. Dhebar, Lal Bahadur Sastry, Devkant Barua came down to Andhra to settle the matters among various groups. Praja Party once again tried to bring Prakasam to power but with no success. Gopala Reddy's name was suggested by the Krishikar Lok Party. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, Bramhananda Reddy and some others tried hard for Sanjeeva Reddy. Sanjeeva Reddy said that he had the majority support. Sreemannarayana was deputed from the Centre to come to the State's rescue. He conducted secret voting in Kurnool and announced that Gopala Reddy got more

votes but he did not give the particulars of the voting. Manthena Venkata Raju and Alluri Satyanarayana Raju gave a statement that Sanjeeva Reddy had secured more votes and that the matter was unjustly decided against him. However, Gopala Reddy was made the Chief Minister and Sanjeeva Reddy, the Deputy Chief Minister in the United Congress Front. Sanjeeva Reddy's group had to abstain from putting up Brahmananda Reddy to contest for the Speaker's place as they were not sure of their strength. Rokkam Lakshmi Narasimham Dora had become the Speaker. M.R. Appa Rao too aspired for the post. As it was orally agreed earlier to have three ministers from Krishikar Lok Party, Latchanna and his men insisted on Obula Reddy being a minister. Sanjeeva Reddy put off the matter: Shortly after the death of Neerukonda Rama Rao, Obul Reddy became the Minister for Agriculture. The very first day Obula Reddy felt that it was not possible for both Sanjeeva Reddy and himself to continue in the Cabinet. Obul Reddy remained in the Ministry for six months only.

After the mid term poll the Krishikar Lok Party merged itself with Congress. Ranga and his followers did not comment upon this merger. Latchanna fell a prey to the reprobation of Sanjeeva Reddy's group. When Latchanna was the Minister, one Kamma landlord donated some land in Krishna district to Mrs. Latchanna. Such complaints were carried to the High Command by Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and Manthena Venkata Raju. It was then that misunderstandings rose between Ranga and Latchanna. The Praja Socialist Party crumbled as a result of the division in the All India Party as Tenneti and P.V.G. Raju rarely agreed with each other. The latter, joined Lohia's group.

Soon after Gopala Reddy became the Chief Minister, the President of Andhra Congress was the candidate from Sanjeeva Reddy's group and Ranga was the opponent. Ranga was away, touring abroad. In spite of Latchanna's and Obul Reddy's best

efforts, Ranga lost the election as Gopala Reddy could not help him. Kala Venkata Rao, Kasu and Kalluri achieved Ranga's defeat with their manoeuvres. Sanjeeva Reddy and Gopala Reddy abstained from voting. The whole strategy was planned by Kala Venkata Rao. Kasu became the Chief Secretary of congress. This contributed to the political stability of Sanjeeva Reddy's group. Pidathala Ranga Reddy and Pemmaraju Venkata Rao acted as Joint Secretaries. It was the end of Andhra Politics and the stage then shifted to Hyderabad.

The Congress Government in Andhra did achieve certain remarkable things the Venkateswra University at Tirupathi, the Krishna Barrage near Vijayawada, the High Court in Guntur and nearly 12 small scale projects stand as the landmarks of the Government.

NIZAMS' RULE IN TELANGANA

Politics in Telangana started very late when compared to Andhra. The simple reason for this was the fact that the Nizam never permitted any political parties or national movements. Liberal education and Leftist movements were unknown in the Nizam's rule. The Telugu people in nine districts of Telangana did not command any respect.

Urdu was the medium for every thing including administration. Muslim students used to go to the Aligarh University and Hindus to Madras and such other places. The villages were in dire poverty. Bonded labour was prevalent everywhere. Jagirdars bossed over the people.

Osmania University which was founded in 1918 had Urdu as the medium of Instruction. The Nizam ruled with the support of the British by paying them taxes. The National movements all around the State, could not penetrate the native State of Hyderabad. Maharastrians were treated with respect of course, next to Muslims. The Kanarese and Telugu speaking people were regarded as third rank citizens. Krishna Deva Raya Bhasha Nilayam was founded by Kommaraju Lakshman Rao and Ravichettu Ranga Rao in 1902. Later, they started the Vignana Chandrika Grandha Mandala.

Hyderabad Zilla Congress had its origin in 1918 under the presidentship of Vaman Nayak. It existed only in name. Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Burgula Ramakrishna Rao and Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy used to attend Congress Sessions though they did not influence the people in any way in the early days. Even the Arya Samaj failed to have its effect on the Telugu people of Telangana in the beginning.

The Telugu people were humiliated in Telangana. Telugu did not carry the same value as Marathi or Kannada. Madapati Hanumantha Rao and Alampalli Venkata Rama Rao made their speeches in Telugu on the occasion of Hindu Social Reform meeting held in Vivek Vardhini School of Hyderabad on 12th November 1921. Both of them were insulted very badly which prompted them to meet in Tekumukkala Ranga Rao's residence and start the Andhra Association, with Shyamala Venkata Reddy, as the President and Madapati as the Secretary. That was the beginning of the Andhra Movement in Telangana. This association turned its attention to the problems of the Telugu people not through politics but in the name of a Library Movement. Hence, the Nizam did not raise any objection to it.

In 1924, the Library Conference (Mahasabha) was organized in Madhira, Khammam district with Pingali Venkata Rami Reddy in the Chair. The second Library Mahasabha was arranged in Suryapet under the leadership of Lokadindi Narayana Rao. The Brahma Samaj influence in Suryapet enabled a Social Reform meet with Gadepalli Suryaprakasa Rao in the Chair. These efforts moved the upper and middle class Telugu people. They arranged the Andhra Mahasabha in 1930. Even the women's meet was clubbed with this. In those days they not only needed prior permission of the rulers but the proceedings were also censored. Therefore, they could discuss only the problems like social reforms, educational opportunities and women's problems. *Golkonda Patrika* was started by Suravaram Pratap Reddy in 1925 and it gave an immense boost to the Andhra Movement in Telangana.

The Brahmins, the Vysyas and then the Reddys in Telangana made their entry into politics in respective order. The first conference of the Telugu people was held at Jogipet, Medak district in 1930.

Suravaram Pratap Reddy presided over the meetings. The Women's Conference took place simultaneously with Mrs. Nadimpalli Shreedevamma as President. In the conference, a resolution was proposed in support of Government Acts banning child marriages and permitting widow remarriages. The opponents to these resolutions were Sesha Charyulu, Anantha Venkata Rao, Venkateswara Gupta, Ravikoti Vittala Sastry and Venkata Bhujanga Sastry. There was bitter resentment to another resolution proposed by a Harijan, Bhagya Reddy Verma, for the abolition of untouchability. Many of the upper class people even detested a Harijan sitting with them in the Conference. With the intervention of Vaman Naik the situation was brought under control.

The second Andhra Mahasabha was organized in Devarakond with Burgula Ramakrishna Rao as the Chairman. The Government suspecting the motive behind the Conference, tarried long to permit it. It was resolved in the meeting that there should be no ban order on meetings where they were only making resolutions. Panditha Keshava Rao spoke in favour of a ban on child marriages. He was opposed by Vaman Naik. These meetings increased Government suspicion about their validity. It took two years to organize the third Andhra Conference as the Government withheld permission to all such meetings. Even after two years the organizers had to assure the Government about their non-political activities, to get approval for the meetings. This conference was chaired by Pulijala Ranga Rao in 1934. The women's section met with Mrs. Yellapragada Seethakumari in the Chair. These meetings were strongly opposed by the orthodox men. The Government prohibited them from making any resolutions.

The fourth Andhra Conference was held with Madapati as the Chairman at Sircilla, Karimnagar district in 1935. The Government partially restricted this meeting. The main features

of this meeting were the presence of Ravi Narayana Reddy who later became a Communist, and the speech made by Arige Rama Swamy regarding Harijan problems. The women also met and Mrs. Joginepalli Radha Bai presided. Baddam Yella Reddy, a budding Communist attended the conference. The new-comers evinced their love for Telugu by making their speeches in that language. The Government started realizing the implications of these conferences. Mandumala Narasing Rao, through his paper 'Raithu' gave encouragement to the Andhra Mahasabha.

Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy was the President of the fifth Andhra Conference held at Shadnagar, Mahaboob Nagar district. The meeting debated the need for deciding the boundaries of Telangana.

The Government of Hyderabad Native State too introduced certain reforms in view of the changing times. A committee of reforms was appointed. The Praja Parishath was founded with Madapati as Chairman in order to represent the feelings of Telugu people to the Reforms Committee. But Praja Parishath could not function with the same intensity as the Itthehadul Muslimeen - a Muslim organization. This time the Telangana Andhra Conference was held in Nizamabad and the Government imposed many restrictions on it. Mandumala Chaired the meeting. The language problem was discussed, V.B. Raju and Mandagiri Venkat Rao on one side and Ravi Narayana Reddy on the other put forth sound ideas in these discussions. V.B. Raju insisted on speaking only in Telugu but Konda Ranga Reddy and his men did not approve of any such restrictions.

In 1937, an effort was made to establish a Hyderabad branch of the Congress but the Government prohibited it as an illegal organisation. A Satyagraha was staged by Ravi Narayana Reddy, Mandumala Narasing Rao against the attitude of the Government. Burgula Rama Krishna Rao and others retraced after seeing the unrelenting dictatorial attitude of the rulers.

During the Satyagraha of 1938, many courted arrests and Communists like Arutla Rama Chandra Reddy and Baddam Yella Reddy were jailed.

Meanwhile, the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha too started expanding in Telangana. For the first time, the students of Osmania University defied the Nizam's law by singing 'Vandemataram'. The Nizam proposed that he would lift the ban order on State Congress if they changed its name but the Satyagraha prisoners were released only after a year. The Communist Party was just shooting up in Nizam's domain. Puchalapalli Sundaraiah and Chandra Rajeshwara Rao promoted the party through their parleys with Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy, Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, Sarvadevatla Ramanadham. Mandumala Narasing Rao was the Chairman of the Andhra Conference at Malkapuram, in 1940. Ravi Narayana Reddy, Kalojee Narayana Rao, N.K. Rao and Pollampalli Venkata Rao were insisting upon the opposition of reforms introduced by the Government. The Rightists like K.V. Ranga Reddy, Madapati Hanumantha Rao and Pulijala Venkata Ranga Rao welcomed the reforms. In this conference, the differences between the Rightists and Leftists came up openly. In 1941, Andhra Mahasabha met under Ravi Narayana Reddy's Chairmanship. The Andhra Conference was held in Dharmavaram in 1942. Madiraju Rama Koteswara Rao presided over it. He was a Rightist. The Communists and Rightists had heated discussions regarding the Second World War. But the Communists did not reveal themselves as yet.

The 11th Andhra Mahasabha met in Bhuvanagiri, Nalgonda district with Ravi Narayana Reddy as the Chairman. There was a clear cut demarcation between the Rightists and the Leftists. The 11th Andhra Mahasabha was almost completely dominated by the Communists. The Rightists banned it but many Communists from the Krishna district attended the conference

as invitees. The women's conference took place with Nimmagadda Satyavathy in the Chair. Even the working committee was full of Communists and their sympathizers. The Rightists like Mandumala Narasinga Rao, Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy, Burgula Rama Krishna Rao, Madiraju Rama Koteswara Rao and P. Sreenivasa Rao tried to organize the Rightists. Andhra Conference had succeeded in having it in 1945 at Mudigonda near Warangal. The 13th Andhra Conference was held in Kandi, Medak district in 1946 and Jamalapuram Keshava Rao was the Chairman. After the Conference at Bhuvanagiri, Nalgonda district in 1942, the Communists tried to strengthen their party ranks. Nizam Nawab banned the Communist party in November 1946 as he sensed danger from it.

The Nizam's Government had to lift the ban on Hyderabad State Congress keeping in view the changed circumstances in the country. Qasim Razvi, with the intention of continuing Hyderabad State as a Muslim State, employed very cruel measures and so the Communists started fighting against the landlords for the liberation of the peasants and labourers. The people became the victims of violence both by the Razakars, muslim militia under Nizam in the day and the Communists at night. The question of Hyderabad State joining the Indian Union came up and Qasim Razvi was against it. The Congress insisted upon joining the Union. On 4th May 1948, Nizam Nawab lifted the ban on the Communist Party. Their role had become dubious. The people thought that the Communists sided Nizam so that Hyderabad need not seek unity with the country, hence the ban on them was lifted. The Indian Government annexed the Hyderabad State to the Indian Union through the Police Action. Many of the communists who stood against the military forces had to sacrifice their lives. Temporarily, the military ruled Hyderabad State under General Chowdary. A year later, on 12th June 1950 the State Ministry was formed with M.K. Vellodi as

the Chief Minister. Burgula Rama Krishna Rao and V.B. Raju were among the Ministers. K.V. Ranga Reddy, Dr. Channa Reddy and Arige Ramaswamy were nominated to the Parliament. There arose a big rift among the Communists of Telangana over the armed-struggle. They were not willing to be led by the Andhra leaders. Makineni Basavapunniah and Chandra Rajeswar Rao went secretly to Russia to seek Stalin's advice. Stalin told them to decide the matter according to local convenience. He looked at the Indian map and is reported to have wondered how they were going to liberate Telangana which was in the middle of the country. They had no answer to that and returned home without a solution.

The banned Communists took part in the General Elections in 1952 under the People's Democratic Front. The State Congress was divided into two groups by then, due to the differences. Ramananda Thirtha, leading the Progressive Group, removed Burgula Ramakrishna Rao and K.V. Ranga Reddy from the congress with the pretext that they had connived with the Nizam. Somehow the centre patched up the differences. Burgula who was with the Reddys till then, joined hands with Ramananda Thirtha. Ramananda Thirtha led the election committee. The Reddys were displeased and the Centre had to come to their rescue once again. The Congress took 96 seats in the elections and 39 seats went to the Communists (PDF).

Burgula Ramakrishna Rao was selected by the Centre to be the Chief Minister, as there were factions in the Hyderabad Congress. Ramananda Thirtha and K.V. Ranga Reddy were the two group leaders. The Telugu speaking Cabinet members were Konda Venkata Reddy (Revenue), Dr. Channa Reddy (Agriculture), V.B. Raju, P. Hanumantha Rao, M.S. Rajalingam, Arige Rama Swamy and Sangam Lakshmi Bai. In the 1952 elections, Jalagam Vengala Rao, Bommakanti Satyanarayana and Sidda Reddy contested, with no success, as independents because

they could not get Congress seats. They were dismissed from the Congress Party for six years as they went against the party rules. Burgula's Ministry did not run smoothly. D.G. Bindu canvassed that Burgula did not have the majority support and would not last long. V.B. Raju and K.V. Ranga Reddy tried unsuccessfully to topple Burgula as the Chief Minister. As a consequence, V.B. Raju was dropped from the cabinet, inspite of his efforts to have himself retained.

In the elections to the President of the Congress, Nimmagadda Satyanarayana stood against Venkata Ranga Reddy and the latter won as the President. J.V. Narsinga Rao who had just then entered politics was on good terms with Ranga Reddy's group. Burgula ruled till 1956. He saw to it that protection to the Tenants Act and the Agricultural Reforms Act were passed in his time but they failed in implementation. The Bhoodan Movement was first started here by Vinoba Bhave when Vedire Ramachandra Reddy donated 100 acres land to the Movement.

By the time Andhra Pradesh was formed, the political parties, groupism and casteism were already established in Telangana. When compared to Andhra, there were no elections in Telangana for the local bodies, so disputes and disagreements had not cropped up at that level. Their experience in the Legislature too was only six years old. With this background, both Andhra and Telangana were to be merged into one, Andhra Pradesh.

Burgula later worked as Governor of Kerala and died in the year 1967.

FIRST LINGUISTIC STATE IN INDIA

In 1956, Andhra Pradesh celebrated its formation with the ugliest abusive retorts between Sanjeeva Reddy as its first Chief Minister and his followers on one side and M. Channa Reddy, who was described as a dangerous person when out of power, and some others who were not accommodated in the new ministry on the other side. Sanjeeva Reddy, by that time, was well versed in the gimmicks of power politics having learned them under the stewardship of Andhra Chanakya, late Mr. Kala Venkata Rao. He was not for compromises in the political game but, at the same time, became the 'Kulapathi of the Reddys'. He admired and loved loyalties and total surrender but not dissent or arguments. It is unfortunate that the first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh was caste-minded, conscious of religion, practised caste politics, encouraged defections and above all received strictures from the Supreme Court. He went out of the way to receive an honorary doctorate degree from Sri Venkateswara University which he could use only when a suit against him was cleared in the court of law. He created artificial terror among his Cabinet colleagues and Legislators and behaved in a very undemocratic way throughout, but being a shrewd politician Sanjeeva Reddy resigned when the court passed strictures against him, and got appreciation because normally people tend to sympathize with the leader when he voluntarily relinquishes power, whatever the reason might be. The way in which Sanjeeva Reddy behaved in retaining his grip over Andhra Pradesh politics while remaining in New Delhi shows his prowess. He wanted to be a Rama so that Brahmananda Reddy as Bharatha would keep his padukas (Chappals) on the throne

of the Chief Minister and worship them until he (Sanjeeva Reddy) returned from Indraprastha (Delhi). In the beginning Sanjeeva Reddy failed to adjust to the Delhi politics and was at loggerheads with Indira Gandhi. When the Chief Minister has no integrity and cannot set the right example naturally, the State goes astray. Andhra Pradesh could achieve very little during his regime inspite of his socialistic postures, through nationalisation of bus routes and text books. Actually he was a feudal to the core, and several Zamindars and Rajas found berths in his Cabinet.

The Centre appointed a Committee to form the States on a linguistic basis. The Committee received representations from all the parties who were in favour of Visalandhra. In Telangana the communists, Madapati Hanumantha Rao and Ramananda Thirtha favoured Visalandhra. During the Nizam's time and later in Burgula's time many Andhras and Tamilians came and settled down in the Hyderabad State. K.V. Ranga Reddy and Dr. Channa Reddy started the Mulki Movement in 1952 itself. When the State Re-organisation Committee visited Hyderabad, Burgula, K.V. Ranga Reddy, Dr. Channa Reddy and the Praja Socialist Party asked for Telangana. The Central leaders, Govinda Vallabh Pant and Dhebar insisted on Visalandhra. The State Re-organisation Committee said that Telangana should be formed. If, within five years, the people wanted it, and if two thirds of the Legislators agreed to the proposal, then Visalandhra should be formed. Burgula was compelled by the Centre to agree for Visalandhra. In spite of the opposition from K.V. Ranga Reddy and Dr. Channa Reddy, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced the formation of 'Visalandhra' on 6th March 1956. K.V. Ranga Reddy and Dr. Channa Reddy had temporarily withdrawn the agitation for 'Telangana'. B.V. Guruswamy, Konda Laxman, Kothuri Seethaiah Gupta, Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao, Paga Pulla Reddy, and Burgula stood for Visalandhra. To put off any doubt in the minds

of the Telangana people about Visalandhra, the leaders from Andhra and Telangana made a 'Gentlemen's Agreement' at the residence of Govinda Vallabh Panth. The gentlemen who signed this agreement were Burgula, K.V. Ranga Reddy, Dr. Channa Reddy, J.V. Narsing Rao, Gouthu Lachanna, Bezawada Gopala Reddy, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy and Alluri Satyanarayana Raju. As usual the question of the leadership came up. Sanjeeva Reddy, who had already learnt a lesson with his defeat once, was cautious in his dealings with his followers and strengthened his position. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy and Alluri Satyanarayana Raju left no avenues unexplored in supporting and working for Sanjeeva Reddy. In spite of Sanjeeva Reddy's personal request Dr. Channa Reddy remained relentless. Burgula while lending support to Sanjeeva Reddy offered himself in case if Sanjeeva Reddy was refused. K.V. Ranga Reddy remained indifferent. J.V. Narsing Rao supported Channa Reddy. The Krishikar Lok Party made fruitless efforts for Ranga's leadership. To conduct the leader's election. Sreemannarayana from the Centre came to Kurnool. In the contest between Sanjeeva Reddy and Gopala Reddy, the former won.

Sanjeeva Reddy kept the legislators, formerly elected in Andhra from the Krishikar Lok Party, at a distance. As the first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Sanjeeva Reddy had a tough time dealing with dissidents within the party. While giving second place to Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy, Sanjeeva Reddy put an end to the Deputy Chief Minister's post. Thus he was the first 'Gentleman' to violate the Gentlemen's Agreement. He justified his action saying that his experience as Deputy Chief Minister made him feel that the post was like a sixth finger in the Cabinet. He lured Anagani Bhagavantha Rao away from the Krishikar Lok Party by giving him a berth in his Cabinet. He invited his opponent Gopala Reddy to be a minister describing him as an 'Elder Brother'. The post was so irresistible to Gopala

Reddy that he joined the Cabinet, forgetting all his earlier differences with Sanjeeva Reddy. Burgula was sent away to Kerala as its Governor. Within a year of the formation of Andhra Pradesh came the general elections. Andhra had elections earlier, so only Telangana was to have elections this time. Sanjeeva Reddy was again elected as the leader. Dr. Channa Reddy and Lachanna were not included in the Ministry. They made bitter remarks against Sanjeeva Reddy. Manthena Venkata Raju and Brahmananda Reddy countered them. The information about the quarrels among the party men used to reach the Centre very promptly. The High Command called Lachanna to give an explanation about his conduct. Hukum Singh, the Deputy Speaker of Lok Sabha, was asked to conduct a probe into the matter. But the High Command never brought out the report of Hukum Singh against Lachanna.

Sanjeeva Reddy tried his best to strengthen his position as the Chief Minister. He merged both the Andhra and Telangana Congress Committees and made his close associate, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, the President. To give a death blow to Ranga's influence on Peasant Organizations, he called Ranga's former followers, Thimma Reddy and Lukalapu Lakshmana Das from Srikakulam to form the Peasant Organization. Sanjeeva Reddy wanted to reduce Lachanna's influence even from among the backward classes. He made Pragada Kotayya the Secretary of the Backward Class Association. T. Lakshmaiah was made the president. As this new Association did not function properly, Lachanna once again dominated it. Sanjeeva Reddy's followers started a rival Association with the help of Dr. Lakshmi Narasaiah. Bojjam Narasaiah was made the Chairman of the new Association with the help of Dr. Lakshmi Narasaiah and K.V. Keshavulu was the Secretary. Pandit Nehru invited Gopala Reddy to the Central Cabinet in 1958. Sanjeeva Reddy took his very close associate, Brahmananda Reddy, as the Finance

Minister in the place of Gopala Reddy. The Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council also came into existence in 1958. People who lost in the elections were all conveniently accommodated in the Council by Sanjeeva Reddy.

In the year 1958, Zilla Parishads, Samithis and Panchayats came into existence under the Panchayat Raj System. In the same year the Telangana Regional Development Committee was legally formed. There arose grave differences between the Telangana Separatists and Integrationists. In the party contest between K. Achyutha Reddy and B.V. Guru Murthy, the former proved to be stronger. In the official election, even Ravi Narayana Reddy contested. Achyutha Reddy got 68 votes and Ravi Narayana Reddy lost. Sanjeeva Reddy made Jalagam Vengala Rao the Chairman of the Chamber of Panchayat Raj. During the Rajya Sabha elections of 1958, Sanjeeva Reddy's group blamed Lachanna and accused him of having voted against the Congress candidate. The opponents of Sanjeeva Reddy used to meet at the residence of Gopala Rao Ekbote. Dr. Channa Reddy, Gouthu Lachanna, Paga Pulla Reddy and Bommakanti Satyanarayana were among them. At a meeting of the Congress Legislators, Dr. Channa Reddy, M.S. Raja Lingam, Bommakanti Satyanarayana and Lachanna passed caustic remarks against the Government. U.N. Dhebar, the Congress President, advised Sanjeeva Reddy to offer ministry berths to the discontented group.

In the meantime, Sanjeeva Reddy and Alluri Satyanarayana Raju differed seriously with each other. Sanjeeva Reddy recommended and sent Satyanarayana Raju, the State Congress President, as the Secretary to the Congress at the Centre. This made them bitter enemies. The All India Congress Session was held at Calcutta. Lachanna and Dr. Channa Reddy too lodged complaints against Sanjeeva Reddy. Dr. Channa Reddy was served an explanation notice by the Andhra Congress, which prompted Dr. Channa Reddy to leave Congress. Humayun Kabir

warned Sanjeeva Reddy not to aggravate the situation but the latter paid no heed to it. Even Bommakanti and Hayagreevachari went out of Congress. Kakani Venkata Ratnam and Obula Reddy in Andhra walked out of Congress. Sanjeeva Reddy brought Gottipati Brahmaiah in the place of Kakani Venkata Ratnam as the President of the Krishna District Congress. Due to some allegations made against B.V. Subba Reddy in the Legislative Assembly, he too reacted against Sanjeeva Reddy. In the Assembly, all those who went against Congress functioned in the name of National Democrats.

After sending Alluri Satyanarayana Raju to the Centre, Sanjeeva Reddy filled the vacancy with Pidathala Ranga Reddy. As soon as he came into position he charge-sheeted Lachanna. Thus Congress became the abode of a fighting group.

When D.S. Reddy was made the Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University by Sanjeeva Reddy, Dr. Channa Reddy led an agitation protesting that they did not want an Andhra man as Vice-Chancellor. That was the year in which Kala Venkata Rao, 'Chanakya' of Andhra died. Sanjeeva Reddy invited a few Socialists to fill the vacant places in the Congress. Kodati Rajamallu and some others joined Congress in this way. Tenneti once again renewed the Praja Party.

Sanjeeva Reddy made unrestrained use of the new Panchayat Raj Administration to promote his group politics. Challapalli Raja became the Chairman of the Krishna Zilla Parishad as Sanjeeva Reddy's candidate against Kakani Venkata Ratnam. Vengala Rao's success as the Khammam Parishad Chairman gave added strength to Sanjeeva Reddy. The Panchayat Raj administration helped to strengthen the Congress leadership. Groupism and casteism started playing havoc in politics.

Sanjeeva Reddy as Chief Minister nationalized buses and text books. Buses in Telangana had been nationalized long ago.

The same was done in Andhra gradually starting with Krishna and Guntur. The bus owners went to High court to stop nationalization but met with little success. But they were satisfied with the strictures passed by the High Court against the Transport Minister, Pattabhi Rama Rao. The internal quarrel among the publishers led to the nationalization of text books.

Dr. Channa Reddy and Lachanna, after prolonged consultations, started a new party, as they were unsuccessful in countering Sanjeeva Reddy. P.V.G. Raju, A. Chakradhar, G.C.Kondaiah and S.B. Giri had taken a similar decision to form a party. Kakani, Nannapaneni Venkata Rao, Jagarlamudi Chandra Mouli and Kandula Obul Reddy joined them. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the Congress President when these people quit the Congress. Ranga was sore about his followers Lachanna and Obul Reddy as they left the party without informing him. The Democratic party formed at Warangal, became the Socialist Democratic Party in Tenali. The Party Conference was held at Tenali in May 1959. While still maintaining their respective groups, they united in the Socialist Democratic Party.

Dr. Channa Reddy spoke of Sanjeeva Reddy as a dictator in the Congress. It would be better for him, he said, to drown himself in the river Krishna, than to remain in the Congress. Kakani Venkata Ratnam tried his utmost to induct all the Kamma members into the new party. Though Ranga, Raghuramaiah, Challapalli Raja and Mullapudi Harischandra Prasad said that they would join hands with them later on, they never came forward to do so.

Sanjeeva Reddy was bent upon defeating Kakani from the Zilla Parishad Chairmanship. He personally contacted some voters and contacted others on telephone. He sent Pattabhi Rama Rao to Krishna district to manage the votes. Challapalli Raja opposed Kakani as he feared that the Government might take

away his lands. Except for the chairmanship, the whole zilla Parishad came under Kakani's control.

Sanjeeva Reddy invited P.V.G. Raju to his Cabinet as a strategic move to break-up the Socialist Democratic Party. P.V.G. Raju bade goodbye to Socialism and joined Sanjeeva Reddy. The Socialist Democratic Party was buried even before it could setup a party office.

The Swatanthra Party came into existence in 1959 as a result of lack of unity within the All India Congress Party. Ranga became the Chairman of the party. The members of the Socialist Democratic Party were requested to join the Swatanthra Party. The Socialists had already left the party. Except Kakani, the others Dr. Channa Reddy, Lachanna and their followers joined the Swathantra Party. But this party showed signs of death even in its birth. Ranga made his close follower-Gottepati Venkata Subbaiah, the Chairman of the State Swatanthara Party. Thella Krishnamma a retired District Judge, was made the Secretary. Lachanna became indifferent as he was sore about Ranga's attitude. Dr. Channa Reddy was waiting in the wings for an opportunity. Sanjeeva Reddy was appointed the President of the All India Congress after Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

During 1951 when there was a contest between Purushottam Das Tandon and Pandit Nehru, Sanjeeva Reddy extended his support to Nehru. From then on he was in the good books of Nehru. Naturally Nehru selected Sanjeeva Reddy for the Presidentship of the Congress. With him in the Centre, there came about a change in the State politics. Those who left Congress due to Sanjeeva Reddy rejoined the party. Sanjeeva Reddy resigned due to strictures passed against him in bus nationalization in Kunool District. Sanjeeva Reddy wanted Brahmananda Reddy in his place as the Chief Minister. Alluri announced that he too would contest for that position though

he could not gather enough backing for his candidature. Brahmananda Reddy was also not preferred. So Damodaram Sanjeevaiah was decided upon as a compromise candidate. Sanjeeva Reddy intended to come back to the State at the earliest and always had an eye on the State's political affairs. On 10th January 1960 Sanjeevaiah became the Chief Minister. Sanjeeva Reddy published his life history. He died in Bangalore in 1996.

DALIT CHIEF MINISTER - DAMODARAM SANJEEVAIAH



D.Sanjeevaiah was a Harijan from Kurnool District and a law graduate from Madras. He was acquainted with literature and belonged to a family of artists who used to sing folklore and other songs. He served in Rajaji's Cabinet but later could not adjust himself to the power games and thus was a failure in politics. Though respected very much both at the State and Central levels, D.Sanjeevaiah could become Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh only as a compromise candidate and certainly not with any inherent strength. That was his weakness. He was the victim of caste politics and though he wanted to uplift his community it was too big a task for him.

All the former opponents of Sanjeeva Reddy extended their support to Sanjeevaiah. Dr. Channa Reddy came back to Congress from Swathanthra Party. This time all the groups found their representation in the State Cabinet. As per the 'Gentlemen's Agreement', K.V. Ranga Reddy was made the Deputy Chief Minister, and he very soon realised he was a nonentity in the ministry. Alluri who stood for Sanjeevaiah was given ministership. He started grouping Congressmen in the name of United Front. A.C. Subba Reddy, leader of a group and an opponent of Sanjeeva Reddy, joined the cabinet and very soon he recognised that there was nothing he could do in the cabinet to dominate politics. There were occasions when Sanjeevaiah and A.C. Subba Reddy went to the extent of abusing each other in the name of their castes. Sanjeevaiah stripped A.C. Subba Reddy of all his portfolios and he had no other way of escaping humiliation except by resigning from the cabinet and turning

antagonistic towards Sanjeevaiah. Brahmananda Reddy continued in the Cabinet as Finance Minister. As a representative of Sanjeeva Reddy, he dabbled in group politics. Nukala Narothama Reddy became the State Congress President. Sanjeeva Reddy removed him and Mullapudi Pallam Raju became the President.

It is interesting to study the Government orders regarding caste and job reservations during this time. The Government order said that till proper persons were found for those reserved seats they should be kept vacant. The upper classes criticized the Government. In the list of backward classes, Setti Balijas from Circars and Kapu from Telangana were included. Sanjeevaiah was blamed for this fresh inclusion in the lists as it was supposedly done just to give an I.A.S. promotion to Mullapudi Pallam Raju's son. The High court declared that the whole list was invalid and the backward classes started an agitation.

Sanjeevaiah and the Alluri group appointed a Committee in order to select candidates for the 1962 General Elections. A.C. Subba Reddy complained to the Centre that there was a great deal of partiality in the way the Committee was appointed. Just to give the impression that he was quite impartial in his dealings, Sanjeeva Reddy forwarded the complaint to Pandit G.V. Panth, who in turn dissolved the Committee. Another committee was appointed where in Brahmananda Reddy became the key person. In the course of the elections itself, Sanjeevaiah announced that he was going to contest for Chief Ministership. Sanjeeva Reddy resigned as President of the All India Congress, and came back to the State. The Congress won 177 seats in the election, the communists 51, and Swatanthra 19. Sanjeeva Reddy stood for the leadership contest. Sanjeevaiah, as announced earlier contested with Alluri's backing. But the Congress High Command advised Sanjeevaiah to withdraw from the contest.

Sanjeeva Reddy was unanimously elected. He invited Sanjeevaiah to join the Cabinet but he said that he would accept only if Alluri was also made minister. Sanjeeva Reddy not accepted such conditions. Those who did not get seats in the Congress in the 1962 elections, contested as independents and nearly 27 candidates won. The different groups in Congress encouraged these independents. K.V. Narayana Reddy led National Democrats and went on bargaining for seats. K.V. Ranga Reddy lost in this election. Jagarlamudi Chandra Mouli contested against Brahmananda Reddy in Phirangipuram Constituency. It turned into a Kamma, Reddy fight and attracted the attention of the whole State. Lakhs of rupees were spent in that constituency. Brahmananda Reddy won with only a few hundred votes. An election petition against him took five years to be decided in his favour.

Sanjeeva Reddy narrating his experiences in Delhi said that the Congress President's post did not carry much weight. He was treated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi as a man of no importance. The leaders at the Centre were shocked at this statement of Sanjeeva Reddy. Even the Peking Radio broadcast Sanjeeva Reddy's statement. There was much criticism against Sanjeeva Reddy for favouring the Zamindars. Sanjeevaiah was made the President of the All India Congress. Brahmananda Reddy was the right hand man of Sanjeeva Reddy. Pidathala Ranga Reddy was removed as the President of the State Congress to accommodate Gottipati Brahmaiah into that position. Sanjeeva Reddy did not continue for long as the Chief Minister. Pidathala Ranga Reddy owned many bus routes in Kurnool District. Sanjeeva Reddy started his scheme of nationalization of buses, with Kurnool as the first district so that he could further strip off Pidathala's power. As per expert advice, the nationalization should have been started from Nellore, Chittoor and Cuddapah, with Kurnool being the last. As Sanjeeva Reddy did not act

according to this Committee's suggestion, the Supreme Court passed strictures against the State Government over which Sanjeeva Reddy relinquished his Chief Ministership. He having stepped down from this position, could easily make Brahmananda Reddy the next Chief Minister, as he still continued to be the leader of the Legislative Assembly, Sanjeevaiah was absorbed in to the Central Cabinet. Sanjeevaiah passed away in May, 1972.

KASU BRAHMANANDA REDDY'S LONG INNINGS



Brahmananda Reddy was a cool and calculating politician who had immense patience and was well versed in factional politics since the forties. In Andhra Pradesh politics, he started as a lieutenant of Sanjeeva Reddy, but asserted himself as the Chief Minister after 1964. Even at the height of agitation for separate Telangana, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy could manoeuvre a majority of the party legislators on to his side, but he had to resign because majority was never a criterion for Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Since the syndicate within the Congress party wanted to control the central politics, Mrs. Gandhi counteracted by splitting the party and won the majority. Brahmananda Reddy being a shrewd person, opted for Mrs. Gandhi's side and was rewarded with the Chairmanship of the Finance Commission. Later he was inducted into the Central Cabinet. Even Brahmananda Reddy committed a mistake in voicing his protest against Mrs. Gandhi and became the President of Congress in 1977, but he had to surrender once again to Mrs. Gandhi, and was waiting patiently to seek his luck. During Brahmananda Reddy's six years of Chief Ministership (1964-1970), Andhra Pradesh witnessed three violent agitations, one for a steel plant at Vizag, another for a separate Telangana State and the third, the Naxalite Movement in Srikakulam Vizag tribal areas. Mr. Reddy could not tackle any of these problems rationally. But he had a network of political links through the Panchayat Raj bodies and Co-operatives. That was his real strength in the political field. Since the exit of Brahmananda Reddy as Chief Minister, elections had not been held for local bodies and co-operatives. Mr. Reddy perpetuated the caste system by filling the key posts with men of his caste and his loyal followers.

1964 has seen many major events and changes. The Communist Party in India, for reasons, national and international, split into two parties. They occupied whichever offices they could lay their hands on. Latchanna led an agitation in the State over the problems of the peasants and he also demanded a fresh list of backward classes.

On 27th May, 1964, Jawaharlal Nehru died. Kamaraj Nadar, S.K. Patil, Sanjeeva Reddy, Nijalingappa and Atulya Ghosh decided to take the political reigns into their hands. This group known as the Syndicate, was responsible for making Lal Bahadur Sastry the Prime Minister. Then Sanjeeva Reddy was made the Minister for Steel. As the Congress President, he had always interfered with the State Congress affairs. Differences shot up between Sanjeeva Reddy and Brahmananda Reddy due to the latter's efforts to dominate the Cabinet. Brahmananda Reddy's Ministry could not run smoothly with Sanjeeva Reddy's group opposing him at every step. A.C. Subba Reddy, Pidathala Ranga Reddy, P.V.G. Raju, Jalagam Vengala Rao and Nukala Ramachandra Reddy were in the groups opposing Brahmananda Reddy. Dr.Channa Reddy gradually came closer to Brahmananda Reddy. Chenchu Rama Naidu, an opponent of A.C. Subba Reddy in Nellore, Thota Ramaswamy of West Godavari district and T.V. Raghavulu found place in the Cabinet. Brahmananda Reddy removed Jalagam Vengala Rao as the President of the Chamber of Panchayat Raj. The later retained his position through a Court order. Both of them openly abused each other and were bitter enemies.

With the death of Alapati Venkata Ramaiah, a vacancy was created in the Election Committee of the State Congress. The winning candidate would decide the strength of Brahmananda Reddy and Sanjeeva Reddy. The contestants were Kakani from Brahmananda Reddy's group and Murthy Raju on Sanjeeva Reddy's side. In the election that took place on 29th September, 1964, Kakani won with 27 votes, proving the strength of Brahmananda Reddy who then started appointing his men in all key posts. Kandula Obul reddy was

made the Chairman of the Agricultural University. Peddireddy Thimma Reddy was made the congress President. V.B. Raju, and Seelam Sudda Reddy were the respective Chairmen of A.P. Road Transport Corporation and Land Mortgage Bank. A.C. Subba Reddy and T. N. Sada Laxmi issued open statements censuring Brahmananda Reddy who tried to remove them, but the All India Congress president, Kamaraj, did not allow him to do so. So he satisfied himself by dumping them in insignificant departments.

During Brahmananda Reddy's time, an agitation started in Vizag, demanding a Steel Factory there. The rumours spread that Vizag was not going to get a Steel Factory as promised. Though started by the opposition parties, the Congress men had to join it for their survival in politics. Thamanampalli Amrutha Rao went on a Fast unto death' at Vizag. The agitation spread like wild fire throughout the State. The news spread all round that Brahmananda Reddy himself initiated this satyagraha against Sanjeeva Reddy, the then Steel Minister, at the Centre. Brahmananda Reddy had to go personally to Vizag to persuade Amrutha Rao to end his fast. During this agitation, Sanjeeva Reddy's bronze statue at Vijayawada was smashed to pieces and thrown into the canal by the angry mob. That was the statue put up by Tenneti Chalapathi Rao and such other devotees of Sanjeeva Reddy. It was a mystery why Amrutha Rao withdrew suddenly. He had to flee to save his life from the wrath of students who were also agitating.

Another agitation started in 1966 where, the Government's Act stripping the Universities of most of their autonomous powers was prepared. On the basis of the Act, the Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University D.S. Reddy was removed from the post before his term had ended. Dr. Pinnamaneni Narasimha Rao was appointed as the Vice-Chancellor. He was not allowed by the agitators to step into the University. His oath-taking ceremony was conducted in Raj Bhavan and he had to go back to Guntur from the Guest House. The Supreme Court decided the matter in favour of

D.S. Reddy. The students and the staff stood by him. Brahmananda Reddy and D.S. Reddy passed bitter remarks against each other in a manner which was unbecoming to their positions.

Sanjeeva Reddy was elected to the All India Congress Election Committee, with a clear majority whereas Sanjeevaiah ended up with the lowest number of votes. Kotta Raghu Ramaiah, was able to patch up differences between them in Delhi. They did not try to get seats in the State Congress by coming to terms with Brahmananda Reddy. Raghu Ramaiah and Sanjeevaiah joined hands with Sanjeeva Reddy. Both Sanjeeva Reddy and Sanjeevaiah made a statement that the differences between them were resolved. The State Congress invited applications from the District Congress in view of the ensuing elections in 1967. In the midst of disputes and disagreements every district Congress submitted its list of candidates. The State Election Committee, was represented by 6 of Brahmananda Reddy's men and 5 from the dissidents. The final list was sent to the Centre by Brahmananda Reddy's group by the end of November 1966. The dissidents sent another list. The centre took three months to settle the dispute between the two groups. The same names were found in both the lists consisted of 30 candidates to Assembly and 5 for Lok Sabha. The official list consisted of 24 people who had won the elections earlier against congressmen. Names of eleven others who won as Independents were included in the list. The Congressmen then made Delhi the arena for political activity. It had become a habit with the Congressmen to run to Delhi after the lists were sent there. The aspirants and their supporters together invaded Delhi in large numbers. In spite of Kamaraj Nadar's efforts, the two contending parties could not be convinced to come together. Brahmananda Reddy and Sanjeevaiah had talks but to no avail. As no other avenue was open for peace, a High level Committee was appointed with Morarjee Desai, S.K. Patil and Y.B. Chavan as members, and they found a solution to the problem. Sanjeeva Reddy's decision to contest for Lok Sabha made things easy. In December 1966, the final list was

brought out wherein 169 seats went to Brahmananda Reddy's group, and 100 to A.C. Subba Reddy's. Those who were left out of the list contested as independents. A.C. Subba Reddy announced his candidature as the Chief Minister. Both the groups tried their best to annihilate each other. As many as fifty Congress men contested as Independents. Some, on being refused seats by Congress, found refuge in Swathantra Party. Almost all the members of Panchayat Raj supported Brahmananda Reddy.

The Communist Parties faced the electorate as rivals for the first time. The election results were the following:

Congress 165, Communists 9, Marxists 10, Independents 68.

Ranga lost his election for Lok Sabha. With Sanjeeva Reddy and Sanjeevaiah at the Centre and with Alluri's death, Brahmananda Reddy found peace and stability for himself. He called back some of his followers who had won the elections as Independents and added to his strength. Brahmananda Reddy was once again elected the leader and he formed the Ministry.

A. C. Subba Reddy, unable to enter the Ministry, formed a Front, along with other MLAs like Jalagam Vengala Rao, Nukala Ramachandra Reddy, Ratna Sabhapathy, Bobbili Raja and Kaja Ramanatham. They could not come to an agreement as to who should be the leader of this Front. They feared that this Front might die even before it could be named. So, Kaja Ramanatham was made the leader and, Ratna Sabhapathy, the deputy leader. They named the Front as Jana Congress. Hardly two months passed before A.C. Subba Reddy was made the Minister. K.V. Narayana Reddy, who formed the Democratic Front joined the Ministry along with A.C. Subba Reddy. Jana Congress could not survive for long. Its leader, Kaja Ramanatham, was suspected by the group as an approver of Brahmananda Reddy. They dissolved the Jana Congress and joined Swathantra party naming themselves as the United Democratic Front. When Latchanna became its leader, Kaja Ramanatham along with some others deserted the Front. In no time the Front itself was

dissolved in favour of Swathantra Party. Ratna Sabhapathy, who started his political career as a Socialist, ended up with the Swathantra Party via Congress.

A.C.Subba Reddy died in 1967. In the same year, the Telangana leader Burgula Ramakrishna Rao also passed away. When Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister; Sanjeeva Reddy was elected as the Speaker to Lok Sabha. This shattered his group in the State. Even Sanjeevaiah's group had a nominal role. Dr. Channa Reddy was inducted into the Central Cabinet. Brahmananda Reddy started enjoying unopposed power in the State. The All India Congress session was held in Hyderabad in the same year. Nijalingappa was the Congress President. Brahmananda Reddy was elected as a Congress Working Committee Member.

There was another rift among the Marxists. Some of them resorted to armed struggle as a movement. Men like Tarimela Nagi Reddy, Chandra Pulla Reddy, Kolla Venkaiah, Kondapalli Seeta Ramaiah, Satyanarayana, Nagabhushanam Patnayak had been the leaders in these movements. Many youngsters were drawn to this movement and went under ground for guerilla warfare. But there was no unanimity among these revolutionaries, they had many factions among themselves which only led to further disputes.

The Newspapers reported that Thimma Reddy had commented that Harijans deserved kicks whenever they attacked peasants. The news spread like wild fire and there were many protests against Thimma Reddy in the Parliament and some demanded his dismissal from the Ministry. But Brahmananda Reddy shielded him from all eventualities. He black-listed a leading Telugu daily 'Andhra Jyothi' as it was writing incriminating matters about him and stopped all Government advertisements to it. He even contemplated passing a 'Press Bill' to control the newspapers. The elite criticized Brahmananda Reddy very bitterly and so he had to delete Andhra Jyothi from the black list and refer the Press Bill to a Select Committee.

In 1968, The Regional Committee got an extension for another five years. The Government recommended the prolongation of Mulki Rules for another five years. The ruling party maintained an official front among the students of Osmania University. They had a delayed realization that fostering a particular group among the students was a perilous venture. There was only one Association of NGOs. The Chief Minister formed the Telangana NGOs Association and gave it recognition. The Andhra - Telangana differences became deep rooted among service personnel.

The peacefil administration of Brahmananda Reddy was rocked by the separate Telangana agitation. His cool deliberations and indecisive attitude in many affairs had given rise to discontentment among the public. All the political parties were ready to take advantage of the discontentment among the Telangana people particularly service-men and students. The men in service approached political leaders to put forth their grievances. When they approached the Chief Minister, he said that he could not do anything when they themselves were silent about their problems. He hinted that if they started agitating, only then could he negotiate the matter with the Centre. In a conference held at Warangal on 30th November, 1968, the slogan for a separate Telangana was raised. A Committee which was formed in this conference went round the Telangana districts and conducted a propaganda for separate Telangana. Ravindra a student started a 'fast unto death' Satyagraha in Khammam, on 8th March 1969, his demand being the protection of Telangana rights. Jalagam Vengala Rao and others who could not find a place in Brahmananda Reddy's Ministry, encouraged this agitation in Khammam which spread to Hyderabad. A section of the Osmania University students, who were favourable towards Brahmananda Reddy, led by Venkata Rami Reddy, raised a slogan for the Protection of Telangana Rights. They led a procession on 14th January 1969 to that effect. The opposite group of students held a meeting and led a procession to counter act Rami Reddy's group on 16th January,

demanding separate Telangana. It led to lathi charge. Swami Ramananda Thirtha opposed the idea of a separate Telangana. Brahmananda Reddy very soon realized that the matter could not easily be appeased. The movement had already spread upto Nizamabad. It was difficult to control the students. Brahmananda Reddy called an All Party meeting on 18th and 19th January 1968 for discussions. They came to an agreement and issued a statement. Brahmananda Reddy confessed that to certain extent there had been injustices done to the Telangana people. As per the Gentlemen's Agreement, better educational facilities were to be given to Telangana. A list of servicemen, based on seniority was to be prepared. Surplus funds were to be spent for their welfare. All the leaders gave credit to their own efficiency in reaching the agreement. The leaders who signed the Gentlemen's Agreement, represented the Congress, Communist, Swathantra, Jana Sangh, Socialist and the Majlis parties.

Most of these 'Gentlemen' who signed the Agreement had second thoughts before they came out of the Secretariat. The students from Telangana as well as Andhra started agitations against the Agreement. The students turned violent when it was announced that before 28th February 1969, all the Andhra Personnel would be transferred to the Andhra area and the Auditor General would be called from the Centre to look into the matter of surplus fiends. The students who launched the movement for the Protection of Telangana became strong and violent. Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy supported Brahmananda Reddy in a statement. When G. Latchanna and others reached Vijayawada, the students attacked them, questioning the validity of their signing the agreement. Latchanna agreed that he had committed a mistake. He escaped by a timely speech approving the leadership of the students. Jalagam Vengala Rao went to Khammam and persuaded Ravindra to end his 'fast unto death' Satyagraha. From then on Vengala Rao stood firmly for integration. J.Chokka Rao was then the Telangana Region Development Board Chairman. He could not be clear-cut in his

attitude when the students approached him. Moreover, his dialogue with them did not give them a clear picture as to whether he was for separation or integration. But indirectly he favoured the students' views. T. Purushotham Rao from Warangal was for outright separation. Dr. Channa Reddy was the Central Minister then. His close disciple Venkata Ramni Reddy frequently visited him in Delhi for consultations. The Andhras in Telangana were victims of several atrocities. This ill-will between Andhra and Telangana was more in the villages than in the cities.

The Andhras could not tolerate the attitude of the Telangana people. The students went on strike and hartals, but the police curbed the movement in Andhra in no time.

Brahmananda Reddy, in his statement declared that he suspected some people who were behind the whole movement in Telangana.

All the ministers took a decision to tour the State, but could conduct the tours with police escort only. At the end of February, it was decided to convene a meeting of the Telangana Praja Samithi. A Madan Mohan, T. Purshothama Rao, and Venkata Rami Reddy played prominent roles in this matter. The agitators made it difficult for the ministers and legislators to come out unless they supported separate Telangaria. This leaderless people's movement continued for a while. Firing was ordered in many places of disturbance. Atrocities in Warangal, Nalgonda and Karimnagar compelled some Andhras to migrate to Andhra leaving all their assets behind. Some of the Andhras planned to come up to Kodad and attack the Telangana people as a retort. The Telangana people's convention was held on 8th and 9th March, 1969. Sada Lakshmi and T. Purshothama Rao took an active part in the convention. Ravada Satyanarayana, Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University, inaugurated the convention. T Anjaiah, G. Rajaram, G.V. Sudhakar, M.M. Hashim, S.B.Giri, Mahadev Singh and Manikya Rao came out openly expressing their support to a separate Telangana. The students from Osmania University took a firm stand for a separate Telangana. The

entire Telangana area echoed the slogan for a separate State. A call was given for Telangana Bundh in March. Meanwhile, in Bellampalli and other places the Andhra - Telangana factory workers fought with each other. Even some of the teachers came forth to support the movement. Brahmananda Reddy used all his strategic devices to attract some of the Telangana leaders away from the movement and thereby weaken the movement. The first Bundh call achieved total success. Under the leadership of Madan Mohan, a committee was formed in the Telangana convention. Funds were collected and money flowed in for the movement from the local business community. Konda Lakshman, the then Information Minister in Brahmananda Reddy's Cabinet, resigned on 27th March. Availing this opportunity, Thimma Reddy arranged a convention demanding special rights for the people of Rayalaseema. But the Telangana movement was too intense to attract attention to any other problem. Madan Mohan, S.B.Giri and Mallikarjun courted imprisonment during the movement. The educational institutions were deserted by the students. Throughout Telangana, civil disobedience tents and camps were put up. Even the Communist integrationists could not hold meetings. During the first week of April, an Integration meeting was held in Burgula Mahadev Hall, Secunderabad which ended with police firing. Some of the Andhra service men appealed to the court questioning the efficacy of their transfers. The High Court invalidated the Mulki rules. This added fuel to the fire. G. Venkataswamy arranged integration meetings on behalf of Brahmananda Reddy. K. Rajamallu, T.Anjaiah, K. Ramachandra Reddy, K.S. Narayana and Ireni Lingaiah who were neutral became separatists. As the Telangana movement went from bad to worse, the Prime Minister- called a meeting in Delhi on 11 April, 1969. Dr. Channa Reddy, Konda Laxmanna, Nukala Ramachandra Reddy, J.Chokka Rao, Brahmananda Reddy, V. B. Raju and Kakani Venkata Ratnam were the participants. None of them put forth the desire for a separate Telangana. Dr. Channa Reddy solicited a sub-committee

of Ministers to assess the situation in Telangana. The Prime Minister announced an Eight Point Formula for Telangana, but it failed to bring the desired effect. Konda Lakshman Bapuji suggested an autonomous Telangana and V.B. Raju suggested that Telangana should be treated on par with Kashmir. Jana Sangh passed a resolution that a State's Reorganization Committee be appointed once again. Badri Vishal Pitti asked for a separate Telangana. In the midst of chaos in Telangana, D.Sanjeevaiah, the Central Minister gave a statement accusing the Chief Minister of being unjustly partial towards Telangana. Nukala Narothona Reddy who was passive till then came out in favour of a separate Telangana, when Ravada Satyanarayana was made the Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University. Venkata Rama Reddy, was elected to the Council from Local bodies, as a separatist against the Congress candidate Prabhakara Reddy.

The Prime Minister summoned many Telangana leaders to Delhi for talks but all her efforts proved futile. Achyutha Reddy, leader in the Mahaboobnagar district, took up the separate Telangana slogan. In the midst of tumultuous agitation, the Pradesh Congress dismissed Venkata Rama Reddy from the party on disciplinary grounds. K.V. Ranga Reddy announced that Telangana should have a separate Pradesh Congress. In the absence of a leader, the Telangana movement, though violent, was rudderless.

A sudden event then changed the whole course of the Telangana movement. The Supreme Court gave its verdict against Dr. Channa Reddy's election. Vandematharam Ramachander Rao was defeated by Dr. Channa Reddy and made an election petition against the latter-. This judgement came as a bolt from the blue at a time when the Telangana movement badly needed a leader and a demagogue. Till then Dr. Reddy was indirectly assisting the movement with his suggestions. He abstained from mentioning the need of a separate Telangana, surprisingly did not even participate in the mammoth procession taken out on 1st May. Soon after the Court Judgement, Venkata Rama Reddy, Sudhakara Rao and Janardhana Reddy

insisted upon inviting Dr. Channa Reddy to the movement. Madan Mohan, S.B. Giri, Vandematharam Ramachandra Rao, Sreedhar Reddy and such others were against Dr. Channa Reddy's entry. On 22nd May, Dr. Channa Reddy became the Chairman of the Telangana Praja Samithi after being assured that his word would be final in the decision-making. The new action committee formed by him displeased some. Sreedhar Reddy organized a rival Praja Samithi as he severed himself from the original Telangana Praja Samithi. But he could not swim against the current. Brahmananda Reddy did not give up his integration efforts. An integration meeting was arranged at Nagarkurnool in Mahaboobnagar district on 25th May. It was conducted under police protection. The Telangana Congress Committee was formed with Konda Lakshman as the Chairman. The people gained fresh vigour and enthusiasm in the movement and with Dr. Channa Reddy's entry, the movement took a violent turn. The Chief Minister's efforts to pacify the agitators were of no consequence. The Chief Minister wanted to please the service personnel and announced on 12th June 1969, an enhancement in their salaries. With the violent mobs still in the thick of the movement, the Government took an untimely decision to conduct examinations from 3rd June 1969. Praja Samithi challenged the Government's decision. The Government could not even conduct the examinations with police help. The situation was so grave that they had to impose curfew even during the day. V.B. Raju led a group of ministers who were doubtful as whether to continue in Brahmananda Reddy's ministry or not. They decided to resign on 27th June. Brahmananda Reddy who suspected in this a strategic move, made the integrationist B. V. Gurumurthy resign first. On 28th V.B. Raju and others while submitting their resignations Brahmananda Reddy schemed things in such a way that their resignations did not have any effect. He himself announced his resignation as the Chief Minister. He submitted his resignation letter to the Congress President Nijalingappa

instead of the Governor. When this news spread like wildfire in the twin cities violence erupted. The people who were ignorant of the implications of such political strategies felt jubilant as though they already achieved a separate Telangana. Curfew had to be imposed to curb the violent and excited mob. On receiving information about the violence, Mrs. Gandhi made a lightning trip to Hyderabad at the midnight on 5th June and met many leaders including Dr. Channa Reddy. The very next day, Y. B. Chavan, the then Home Minister came to Hyderabad and tried to pacify the leaders in his own way. The Congress President Nijalingappa had talks with Konda Lakshman and Dr. Channa Reddy but to no avail. The Telangana leaders were arrested and sent to the Rajahmundry jail. Ramanand Thirtha started a fast as a protest against the violence in Telangana. V.B. Raju stated that there should be a change of leadership. K.V.Narayana Reddy gave a statement stressing the need for President's Rule in the State. The mayor of the city Kumud Naik and some other former integrationists, became separatists. The Congress meeting was arranged for 6th July 1969, to discuss Brahmananda Reddy's resignation. Before that, V.B.Raju had already raised the slogan 'Save Congress'. 30 Telangana MLAs formed a front in the Assembly. Sanjeevaiah, K.Raghu Ramaiah and Pendekanti Venkata Subbaiah started efforts to remove Brahmananda Reddy. Thimma Reddy, Kakani Vankata Ratnam and P.V. Narasimha Rao stood by Brahmananda Reddy. The meeting of the State Congress MLAs was arranged in Hyderabad on 6th July 1969. Kamaraj Nadar and Nijalingappa were the observers and V.B.Raju, Nukala Ramachandra Reddy and Chokka Rao also participated in the discussions. In that meeting, it was resolved that Brahmananda Reddy should continue as he still carried the confidence of the MLAs. The meeting was attended by 43 MLAs and 14 MLCs from Telangana and the rest were from Andhra. The resolution was proposed by P.V. Narasimha Rao and seconded by Akkineni

Bhaskar Rao. Brahmananda Reddy went to Bangalore for the Congress Sessions. But on 7th July itself, violence flared up in the twin cities and curfew was reimposed. In the Congress session there was bitter disagreement between Mrs. Gandhi's group and the other group known as the 'Syndicate' with Morarjee and Sanjeeva Reddy declining to join the Ministry. Nukala Ramachandra Reddy could not muster- enough courage to join the new Ministry, which was sworn in on 19th July. The NGOs had called off their month long strike.

Venigalla Satyariarayana, the loyal associate of Brahmananda Reddy, the Harijan representative, Arige Ramaswamy and T.V. Raghavulu were dropped from the earlier Cabinet. On behalf of the rival Praja Samithi, Sreedhara Reddy went to the Andhra colonies in the city and tried to convince the Andhras, as an eyewash, that the movement was not against them. He gave a non-stop Bundh call from 11th August onwards and he asked people not to participate in the Independence Day celebrations. All the leaders who were arrested under the Preventive Detention Act, were released. Dr. Channa Reddy and Konda Lakshman had one more round of talks with Mrs. Gandhi in Delhi but it proved futile. The President's election had to take place on 30th August 1969 due to the sudden demise of President Zakir Hussain. Mrs. Gandhi proposed Sanjeeva Reddy, the then Speaker of Lok Sabha. That very year at the Bangalore Session, Mrs. Gandhi had differed openly with the Syndicate over the nationalization of Banks and other economic issues. Sanjeeva Reddy's candidature was supported by the Syndicate. With this, Mrs. Gandhi supported V.V. Giri, though she was the one who had proposed Sanjeeva Reddy. Nijalingappa issued a whip that all Congress men should vote for Sanjeeva Reddy. V.V. Giri resigned as the Vice-President and went round the Country and canvassed for himself. Sanjeeva Reddy did not do any such canvassing. The Andhra Congress members, having sensed Mrs.

Gandhi's views, supported V.V.Giri as did their leader, Brahmananda Reddy. That apart, just before the elections an anonymous pamphlet exposing Sanjeeva Reddy's past was sent to all the MPs and MLAs. Indira Gandhi appealed to the voters to exercise their franchise according to their conscience. On the whole and specially in Andhra, the votes went to V. V. Giri inspite of Nijalingappa's whip. Nijalingappa tried to take disciplinary action against Kakani Venkata Ratnam who openly canvassed for V.V. Giri. VV. Giri was elected President. When Nijalingappa tried to take disciplinary action against Mrs. Gandhi, the situation reached the climax. Indira was supported in Andhra by Brahmananda Reddy, Sanjeevaiah, Raghu Ramaiah and others. Pendekanti Venkatasubbaiah, Gottipati Brahannaiah and Vengal Rao stood for Nijalingappa.

The Telangana Praja Samithi under Dr.Channa Reddy continued its movement with one activity or the other. It gave a call for collective Satyagraha. Dr.Channa Reddy warned the working Committee members that they would lose their position in the Samithi unless they participated in the said Satyagraha. This started serious differences between Dr. Channa Reddy and Konda Lakshnan Bapuji. The latter submitted his resignation to the Samithi. The Samithi resolved to hold Sammelans (meetings) throughout Telangana and finally hold a State level Sammelan.

The students' Unions with Mallikarjun as their leader decided to comeback to their studies. Some of the student leaders reproated the decision as unilateral, as none of there were consulted before it was made. Mallikarjun started a 'Fast unto death' on 10th October 1969, which was not appreciated by the Praja Samithi. Activity in the Praja Sarnithi gradually gave way to sluggishness. No one took the initiative to resign from the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assembly. Madan Mohan was blamed for going to Delhi to discuss matters with the Central leaders without prior consultations with Dr.Channa Reddy.

Throughout 1970, the Praja Samithi was politicized instead of continuing agitations. The old Congress resolved to form a separate Congress for Telangana. But Dr. Channa Reddy declared that both the Congress groups would not be approved by the Praja Samithi. The Praja Samithi failed to gain anything in spite of Dr. Channa Reddy's support to Mrs. Gandhi. V. B. Raju created confusion in the Legislative Assembly in the name of the Telangana United Front. It consisted of separatists, neutrals and both the Congress groups, numbering 44. Even in the Lok Sabha 12 members distinguished themselves as the Praja Samithi group. Meanwhile, V B. Raju was elected to Rajya Sabha and shifted his scene of political activity to Delhi. He undertook a signature campaign and submitted a report signed by 250 members of Parliament on 3rd September 1970. He philosophized about the whole matter saying the Telangana problem should be dealt with 'self respect'.

Dr. Channa Reddy gave a statement that there was no question of mincing matters and there was no alternative to separate Telarigana. It was proposed to convert the Praja Samithi into a political party. A sub-communittee appointed by the Praja Samithi suggested on 17th November 1970 that the Praja Samithi must change into a political party. If this was agreed upon in practice, the Socialist, Republican and Congress parties were not willing to continue in the Praja Samithi. Still, they decided to make it a political party. Badri Vishal Pitti, J. Eswari Bai and B. Satyanarayana Reddy quit the Praja Samithi after this decision.

In the Siddipet and Khairatabad (Hyderabad) by-elections to the Legislative Assembly of 1970, the Praja Samithi candidates won. Madan Mohan was elected from Siddipet. These elections were understood to reflect the people's opinion. In the Lok Sabha elections of 1971, 14 candidates contested in the name of Praja Samithi. The members were elected and party bagged 47% of the polled votes.

In Andhra, the Indira congress bagged all the seats. Sanjeeva Reddy (Syndicate), Ranga (Swathantra) were defeated. Mrs. Indira Gandhi got a majority of the seats all over the Nation. Hence the Praja Samithi could not play any significant role in the Lok Sabha. They did not know what to do.

The Swathantra party was split in the State as well as at the national level. Masani was made the Chairman instead of Ranga. Ranga gradually drifted away from the Swathantra Party. Latchanna was the Chairman of the party in the State. The Party weakened as many left it and joined the Congress. Jalagam Vengal Rao who was in Brahmnnanda Reddy's Cabinet in 1969 very firmly resolved to crush the Naxalites (CPML). He was bent upon putting an end to their "annihilation (Khatham) movement". Many Naxalites were gunned down in the name of encounters with the police. The Congress, Swathantra and Jana Sangh parties not only appreciated the policy of the authority but suggested more repressive measures against the Naxalite Movement. They praised Vengal Rao's efficiency as the Home Minister. The Communists protested openly that the police encounters were made up. As the Communists were divided into many groups, they could not give a strong fight to the Government. Even among the extremists differences and mutual suspicion mounted day by day. One can imagine the intensity of the situation when these groups confronted each other even as prisoners in jails.

Pendekanti Venkata Subbaiah and Gottipati Brahmaiah joined the old Congress but were within no time drawn towards the Indira Congress. Sanjeeva Reddy temporarily kept himself aloof from politics.

After the 1971 elections, Dr.Channa Reddy's discussions with Mrs.Gandhi resulted in the Six Point formula. This Formula recommended a separate budget for Telangana and separate

accounts, continuation of Mulki Rules, legal authority to the Telangana Regional Development Board and a separate Congress Committee for Telangana. It was decided to undertake review of the situation after every three years, and Brahmananda Reddy should resign in favour of a Chief Minister from Telangana. After the agreement between the Prime Minister and Dr.Channa Reddy over the Six Point Formula, Praja Samithi merged with Congress on 18th September, 1971. The 220 of the 287 legislators expressed their confidence in Brahmananda Reddy's leadership. Yet he resigned on Mrs.Gandhi's suggestion. The 'Reddy' domination in politics which had been continuing since 1956 received a setback. The leadership in the State changed not because of the legislators or the people but because of the decision of the Central Government, or rather one leader. After his removal from the Chief Ministership, Brahmnananda Reddy went into temporary political oblivion. Mrs. Gandhi made him the Chairman of the Fifth Finance Commission and later the Home Minister at the Centre. It was then that the emergency was imposed and all decisions were taken without any knowledge of the Ministers. In 1977, the Congress split and Brahmananda Reddy deserted Mrs. Gandhi to become the All India President of the Congress-R. He appointed Vengal Rao as the party's State Chief. Brahmananda Reddy then joined the short lived Cabinet of Charan Singh at the Centre. A very shrewd political maverick, he joined the Congress-I on the eve of the 1980 Lok Sabha elections and was elected to the parliament from Narasaraopet. But Mrs.Gandhi never forgave him for deserting her during the tumultous days of the Janata regime and kept him at a distance. The Telugu Desam threat made her seek the help of Brahmananda Reddy and she appointed him the Chairman of the Congress Co-ordination Committee for the elections. The Congress clout once again effectively whipped Brahmananda Reddy's political links with the Centre. The Congress party recommended

Brahmananda Reddy to contest from Narasaraopet in the 1984 Lok Sabha polls. The Telugu Desam's candidate Mr. Katuri Narayanaswamy trounced Mr. Brahmananda Reddy in the polls and his influence went into a steep decline even in his native district, leave alone at the State or Central level. Since then, Brahmananda Reddy has become a political recluse, awaiting revival and not realising that his influence and clout were only things of the past.

Brahmananda Reddy later became Governor of Maharashtra and died in 1994.

POLITICAL INDECISION OF P.V. NARASIMHA RAO



Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao was a thorough failure as Chief Minister. He had to face violent agitations for a separate Andhra State which he could not tackle and bungled through in the worst possible way. He was very indecisive, and more often than not had to run to Delhi for consultations and instructions. It was said that Mr. Rao as Chief Minister visited Hyderabad now and then and stayed at Delhi most of the time as a loyalist to Mrs. Gandhi. He tried to corrupt as many legislators as possible to maintain his strength and it is said that some of them received regular monthly payments. In spite of his loyalty Mr. Rao was removed and President's rule was imposed in the State. But Mr. Rao continued to be loyal and it was this that paid him rich dividends later. During his short tenure as Chief Minister he tried to pose as a radical but was a social reactionary to the core.

On Mrs. Gandhi's suggestion, P.V. Narasimha Rao was made the Chief Minister. He hailed from Vangara, Karimnagar District. B.V. Subba Reddy was made the Deputy Chief Minister.

The Centre, with a view to set matters right in Andhra Pradesh Congress, discussed matters for over three months, as a result of which Mohammed Ismail from Kakinada was made the President of Andhra Pradesh Congress. T. Anjaiah of Telangana was nominated as Vice-President. A committee of 97 members was appointed temporarily, 39 of them were in the action committee. Out of these 39 members, 16 were from Telangana, 14 from Coastal Andhra and 9 from Rayalaseema. A 15 member Election Committee was formed. Both Brahmananda Reddy and his associate Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy were alienated from this

Committee. A 16 Member special Election Committee was also formed for Telangana, though there was no separate Congress formed as per the 6 point Formula. Integrationists did not agree to a separate Congress. The stage was set for selecting Congress candidates for the 1972 Assembly Elections. The temporary State Committee decided to give more weight to the recommendation of District Congress Committees. P.V. Narasimha Rao, Dr. Channa Reddy, Mohammed Ismail and T. Anjaiah formed themselves in to a sub-Committee. They called people from the districts for negotiations. Temporary District committees were formed in tune with temporary State Committees. A decision was taken to allot 60% of the seats to Harijans, Girijans, Backward classes and Minorities.

The recommendations of the District Congress Committee were of little value. Manubhai Shah, who had come down from Delhi, stayed in Hyderabad for eleven days to help finalize the list. They looked into the lists submitted by District Committees. They studied the validity of each candidate. The Youth Congress meanwhile was adamant that there should be no candidate from the Mill-owners, Bus-owners and industrialists, even if they applied for it. The Christians appointed Devananda Rao as Chairman and appealed for more representation of Christians to the Assembly. In a similar fashion, Lambadas, Viswa Brahmins, Harijans and workers made much ado, through their respective organizations for more representation. The list of candidates for 244 seats was finalized and sent to Delhi. The Reddys got 47 seats as against 69 in 1967 elections. The Kammas got 29, though they had 47 seats before. The other upper- classes got 53 seats in the 1967 elections, whereas only 49 were allotted to them this time. No efforts were spared to bring down the Reddy and Kamma domination. The upper classes got 46% of the seats. Backward classes got 64 seats, Girijans 9, Harijans 39, Minorities 40, women 30. All these were considered as weaker sections. People like

Konda Lakshman Bapuji blamed the Election Committee that they selected insignificant people. Men over sixty five were included in the Ministry. The problem was whether they should be given seats or not. B.V. Subba Reddy, Kakani Venkata Ratnarn, P. Basi Reddy, Rudraraju Rama Linga Raju belonged to this age group. P.V. Narasimha Rao insisted that they be included in the list of candidates. The report of Manubhai Shah was sent to the Centre disapproving 11 corrupt Ministers getting tickets. The Pradesh Congress tried to keep its lists secret but failed. By 26th January 1972, the lists, aspirants, people with hopes and people who wanted to get things done at Delhi had reached Delhi. One, Kolluri Mallappa, a former member of the Legislature was directed to peruse the lists. On 31st January and 1st February 1972 the Centre announced the list with omissions and additions. Only 116 out of 230 sitting members could get the seats. Men marked as corrupt in Manubhai Shah's report were included in the list. 15 Muslims and 5 Christians found place in the list. The recommendations of the backward classes did not contribute much in the making of the lists. 22 seats were offered to Channa Reddy's group in the former Praja Samithi whereas his opponents got 15 seats. The directives the Centre gave were not implemented. The men who sent their applications to the congress for seats had to make a declaration that they would not contest against the party in the case of their not being selected by the party. All the candidates signed the declarations. But 200 candidates including 14 MLAs fought in the election against the Congress.

P.V.Narasimha Rao and Mohammed Ismail repeatedly warned the Congressmen that if they worked against the party, disciplinary action would be taken against them. 97 such members, were expelled from the Congress for 6 years. 300 more were removed from the party. Former Ministers, prominent members in the Pradesh Congress and elected MLAs were among

those removed. The All India Congress Members protested against this action as a one-sided decision. Brahmananda Reddy's group was the major victim of this disciplinary action. Many Zilla Parishad Presidents including Vengala Reddy, Brahmananda Reddy's brother, were suspended for working against the interests of the congress. Mohammed Ismail had literally followed the party dictates without any inhibition. But he could not understand the temperament of the Congress and its mercurial ideas. He consulted the Centre before removing the big-shots and was stopped from doing so by the Centre. On an appeal made by Brahmananda Reddy's group the Centre accepted all of them back into the party. The men who openly went against the party principles knew very well that the matter would be settled in their favour later, as they cared two hoots for local warnings.

The elections resulted in what came to be known as the Indira wave. The weaker sections solidly voted for Congress. The Telangana people had a very short memory about the obscene slogans they wrote on the walls during the movement, the injustice done to them, their earlier opposition to Congress and they co-operated to vote out Praja Samithi completely. The Congress party won 219 seats, eleven seats less than they got in the previous elections. Swathantra party could make no impression and won only two seats. Independents from among the Congress took 53 seats. The Marxist party would have vanished in the Assembly if they had not got that one seat. CPI won 7 seats. The Syndicate Congress contested the election in eleven places but secured no seat. The Jana Sangh met with a similar fate. The victory of 26 women was regarded as an achievement, and ten Muslims won the election.

The Congress party raised certain objections to P.V. Narasimha Rao's continuing as the Chief Minister after 5 months of his being in power as they complained that for each little issue he ran to Delhi and half the time he stayed in Delhi and would

not be useful to the State. It was said that he, as Chief Minister, was not within the reach of party men. His vacillation in making decisions and delay in the disposal of files were shown as his administrative lapses which caused discontentment among the bureaucracy. It was also remarked that he was influenced by the recommendations of his close friends. The Pradesh Congress Vice President, T.Anjaiah, Nukala Ramachandra Reddy, S.Venkataramana Reddy, V Purushotham Reddy and J. Chokka Rao went to Delhi to inform the P.M.about P.V. Narasimha Rao's incompetent leadership. After knowing Mrs. Gandhi's desire that P.V. should continue as the Chief Minister, they expressed their support for P.V. Narasimha Rao. The centre sent Uma Shankar Dikshit to Hyderabad as the observer. P.V. Narasimha Rao announced his cabinet after consulting Mrs.Gandhi.

The speciality of this ministry was that, not only were there 14 from Telangana but also there were 13 ministers from all the backward classes. But P.V. Narasimha Rao's ministry did not run smoothly. He had to face the criticism that he accepted recommendations, brought corrupt people close to himself and was partial to his relations. His son Ranga Rao, availed himself of this opportunity and acted as he pleased and the father never warned him against it. Dr.Channa Reddy's men were in the Ministry but remained almost passive to political issues. Seelam Sidda Reddy in Khammam District, and Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy in Kurnool, were active as the opponents within the party.

Though P.V. Narasimha Rao was eloquent in favour of an economic revolution, he turned out to be a reactionary as far as social reforms were concerned. He encouraged orthodox mysticism and religious beliefs. This was understood by some as Brahmanism. He launched upon abolishing Panchayat Raj administration and Zilla Parishads. This enraged the Congress leaders in the districts as they lost power. The Land Reforms Bill

was introduced and passed on 5th September 1972. Earlier, on 5th July an ordinance was issued for Urban Land Ceiling. The Congress men who appeared to support P.V. Narasimha Rao, however, nourished displeasure and antagonism towards these reforms brought about by him. On 9th April, Mohammed Ismail announced the removal of 14 leading Congressmen from the party. The relations between P.V. Narasimha Rao and Mohammed Ismail were strained and the affairs of the party too were no better. Mrs. Gandhi came to Hyderabad on 28th April and patched up the differences. With the demise of D. Sanjeevaiah in Delhi on 7th May, the Harijans were left without a prominent leader.

The separate Andhra agitation started for many reasons. The Telangana agitation of 1969-70 was still fresh in the minds of the Andhras. The obscene writings against them in Telangana were not erased from their memory. They resented the idea of the Andhras living in the capital city as second-rate citizens. The Reddys who ruled politically for 16 years had lost their influence. The rich Kammas and Rajus felt that land ceiling was going to hit them hard. With these grievances in their minds, the Andhras started the movement. The students led the agitation as they had done in Telangana, on 24th October 1972. P.V. Narasimha Rao was humiliated in Eluru and returned to Hyderabad. The NGOs went on strike from 26th October, 1972. B.V.Subba Reddy as spokesman led the Andhras. At a meeting on 12th November in Guntur, the demand was not for a separate Andhra. They wanted Andhra Pradesh to continue without any conditions. The meeting was attended by Nissankara Rao, Venkata Ratnam, C.V.K. Rao, A. Sreeramulu, Srinivasulu Reddy etc. An all party meeting was held on 18th and 19th November 1972. They resolved that if unconditional Andhra Pradesh was not possible, Andhra should be separate. An organization called Andhra Praja Parishath was started. Gouthu Latchanna was its President; Nadimpalli

Narasimha Rao its Vice-President, Jagarlamudi Chandra Mouli the Treasurer and Thummala Choudary the Secretary. Three days after its formation, a 'Burdh' call was given in Andhra. Police resorted to firing all over Andhra on 21st November and as Reserve Police forces were brought in, Mrs. Gandhi, overruling the formation of a separate Andhra, brought out the Five Point formula. The first eight points and the 6-point formula given to the Telangana earlier, were not to be ignored. The leaders declined to accept the Prime Minister's 5-point formula. Student leaders met in Guntur on 28th November 1972 and gave a call for 'Bundh'. The Lawyers Association, at a meeting on 30th November in Rajahmundry, decided not to boycott Courts.

The Congress MLAs met at Hyderabad to discuss the Five Point Formula of the Prime Minister. P.V. Narasimha Rao announced that the Five Point formula had received the approval of the MLAs but some Congress MLAs disagreed. Vasantha Nageswara Rao, Kudipidi Prabhakara Rao and Peter Paul Chukka contradicted P.V's announcement. B.V. Subba Reddy, though desiring certain clarifications, accepted the Prime Minister's formula. During the last week of December, the Praja Parishat organized meetings and conferences all over Andhra and the Government ordered the people to be arrested. A mammoth meeting was held on 10th December at Vijayawada. Another organization was formed with Tenneti Viswanatham as Honorary President and Latchanna as President. When Latchanna read out the names of Working Committee Members, Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah protested against it. It was decided to stop buses and trains as a protest. Battena Subba Rao, one of the Ministers, sent his resignation to the Chief Minister as well as to the Prime Minister. This was followed by the collective resignations of eight other ministers. B.V. Subba Reddy, Vasireddy Krishna Murthy Naidu, Kakani Venkata Ratnam, Sagi Suryanarayana Raju, Basi Reddy, Challa Subba Rayudu, D. Muniswamy and Murthy Raju.

Again, on 17th December, there was a huge meeting at Vijayawada. It was attended by all the Ministers who resigned, the Zilla Parishad Chairmen, MLAs, Samithi Presidents and other prominent people. When they were in the thick of discussions, an agitating mob gathered outside and shouted warnings to them that they would not come out alive unless they made resolutions for a separate Andhra. The Ministers who resigned were forced by threats to agree to a separate Andhra.

P.V.Narasimha Rao planned a big procession on 24th December in Vijayawada with the support of the Communists so that it could be a counter blow to the separatist movement. Kakani Venkataratnam took it as a challenge and thought it an insult to allow such a procession in the midst of the populist movement, and insisted upon stopping it. Consequently, in the police firing, eight people were killed. A little later that night, Kakani passed away. The Andhra Central Working Committee resolved on 26th December, to give a 'bundh' call on 2nd January 1973. Since the inception of the Working Committee, there were mutual suspicions and differences among them regarding fund collection.

But the police firing had not stopped. On 31st December, the Congressmen arranged a meeting which was attended by 131 MLAs, 11 Parliament Members and thousands from the public. The Government arrested all the leaders. On the 'Bundh' day on 2nd January, as many as 60 people died in police firing. 15 members of the Parliament threatened to leave Congress if a separate Andhra was not announced by 26th January. Meanwhile, P.V. appointed 8 ministers from Andhra in place of the eight who had resigned earlier. Madduri Subba Reddy, P.V.Choudary, K. Amarnath Reddy, G. Somasekhar, C.Das, Vadde Nageswara Rao, R. Rajagopal Reddy and Anam Venkata Reddy were the new substitute ministers. They were sworn in and before they could taste power, within eight days of their swearing in, P.V.'s Ministry

was dismissed and President's Rule was imposed in the State. H.C. Sarin was appointed as the Special Advisor to the Governor. In Andhra, the movement still continued. In a meeting at Kakinada, on 21st January, it was decided to intensify the movement. B.V.Subba Reddy said that he would bring revolution, if before 5th February the matter pertaining to a separate Andhra and their resignations from the Congress party was not decided. It was resolved that all the MLAs should submit their resignations. The Leaders like Ranga, Latchanna and Kommareddy Suryanarayana made emotional speeches in a meeting on 26th January on the banks of the river Krishna. The students in a meeting at Nellore on 27th January resolved that the MLAs should resign from the Legislative Assembly. The working committee which met at Narasaraopet requested the MLAs to resign but nobody was willing to resign. The Congressmen and also Tenneti opposed the idea of resignation. They were not prepared to forego the comforts and facilities they enjoyed as MLAs. They were not sure of being elected again, once they resigned. B.V.Subba Reddy was made Chairman of the Working Committee. Some of the Ex-Ministers who wanted to go to Delhi were warned against it by B.V. Subba Reddy. None of his resolutions could bring the promised revolution. They could only stop the trains as a part of their revolution. When Mrs.Gandhi condemned the movement decisively, the opposition leaders in the Lok Sabha supported the Andhra Movement, on 7th February,

B.V. Subba Reddy received an invitation from Mrs. Gandhi to visit Delhi for talks. Basi Reddy and V. Krishna Murthy Naidu went on their own accord. On 15th February, in a resolution, at the meeting in Karamchedu, the ex-ministers' trip to Delhi was condemned. Subba Reddy, Tenneti Viswanatham, Ranga and Gottipati Brahmaiah were absent from the meeting, for reasons best known to themselves. At the Karamchedu meeting the

Congressmen and the opposite groups quarrelled among themselves. Latchanna and Challa Subba Rayudu exchanged harsh words. A tense situation prevailed in the meeting. But the people continued the movement. Though B.V. Subba Reddy, Tenneti and Latchanna sat for consultations on 17th February they could not give a statement together. Parliament met on 19th February. The MPs who favoured a separate Andhra and the Andhra MPs who announced in Andhra that they would leave the party, sat together in the Parliament. B.V. Subba Reddy was once again invited to Delhi by the Prime Minister, Tenneti resigned as the Convener of the United Working Committee. Only Latchanna submitted his resignation from membership in the Legislative Council. B.V. Subba Reddy took an oath that he would not step into Hyderabad till a separate Andhra was achieved. Jupudi Yagna Narayana, though announced his resignation from the Council, did not actually resign. Bandaru Ratna Sabhapathy resigned to the Legislative Assembly. B.V. Subba Reddy's discussions with Mrs. Gandhi did not achieve anything. But gradually the movement started weakening. The separatists and integrationists grappled with each other periodically. The Congress Working Committee meeting to be held originally at Tirupathi on 18th March, was shifted to Chittoor. This meeting was held with B.V. Subba Reddy in the Chair. It was resolved to start a new party, With D. Muruswamy as the Chairman, a sub-committee was formed to that effect. There was no voting in the meeting to find out whether the 132 MLAs and 5 MPs were in favour of a separate party. But the people soon realized that the Congress men were fooling themselves. The NGOs and teachers called off their strikes. The police fired at a meeting of NGOs in Cuddapah where B.V. Subba Reddy was speaking. B.V. Subba Reddy was somehow rescued.

Justice Madhava Reddy of Andhra Pradesh High Court, was appointed to probe into the matter. M.V. Rama Murthy who

was, till then, the secretary of the Steering Committee of the Andhra Central Working Committee, resigned due to differences of opinion. The lawyers decided to go to court and the students to call off the strike. The Jai Andhra Front came into existence in Rajahmundry on 6th April 1973. Ratna Sabhapati, Nadimpally Narasimha Rao, Tenneti Viswanatham, Latchanna, Thummala Choudhary, A.B.NageswaraRao and G.C. Kondaiah were associated with it. T. Purushottam Reddy and B. Satyanarayana Reddy from Telangana participated in it on sympathetic grounds. The adhoc Congress Committee of Andhra Pradesh with Mohd. Ismail as the Chairman was abolished on 10th January 1973. Instead, an official committee was appointed with many other members. Dr. Channa Reddy, Pidathala Ranga Reddy and Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy were among them, but Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy refused to join the Committee.

When the movement continued in Andhra, a separate Telangana Congress Forum was formed in Telangana. Dr. Channa Reddy was the Chairman, Jaipal Reddy, Roda Mistry, Sarojini Pulla Reddy, Ibrahim Ali Ansari, Baga Reddy, Purushotham Reddy, Seelam Sidda Reddy, Sudhakar Reddy, Venkata Rama Reddy, K.V. Kesavulu, J. Chokka Rao and some others were members. They organized a meeting of Congress workers on 1st March. The separatists in Telangana and Andhra wanted to work together.

G. Raja Ram, Jagannatha Rao, Govind Singh, Mandali Venkata Krishna Rao, and Bhattam Sreerama Murthy remained supporters of P.V. Narasimha Rao in opposition to Channa Reddy. Those who opposed P.V. Narasimha Rao and also differed from Channa Reddy were J.Vengala Rao, Nukala Ramachandra Reddy, Narasa Reddy, Akkiraju Vasudeva Rao, Kodati Rajamallu and V.B. Raju.

Kotha Raghu Ramaiah and G. Venkata Swamy were taken in to the Central Cabinet on 3rd February 1973. Though Raghu

amnaiah was elected to Lok Sabha in 1971, Mrs.Gandhi did not offer him the Ministry keeping in view- the complaints she had received against him.Soon after Raghuramaiah became the Minister some of the prominent Kammas in Krishna and Guntur districts turned indifferent to the demand for a separate Andhra.

N.G. Ranga, who was defeated in the elections to Lok Sabha in 1971 and later to Rajya Sabha, was very critical of Mrs.Gandhi till then. But he suddenly started supporting her. His group which had participated in the Separate Andhra Movement behaved differently. Basi Reddy, who did not like B.V.Subba Reddy's leadership, started consultations with the Centre. Brahmananda Reddy as usual did not reveal his attitude to the others. The members of the Andhra Congress, who wanted to start a new party did not submit their report though they said they would do it on 16th August 1973.

Kodati Rajamallu and Akkiraju Vasudeva Rao in Telangana gave a statement saying that Mulki Rules should go. Nobody took B.V.Subba Reddy's words seriously when he said that he would go on strike if a separate Andhra was not formed by 2nd October, the birthday of Gandhiji. The intensive Andhra movement led by emotional people, went astray in course of time. The extremists played a prominent role in this movement. The Marxists and the CPI stood for integration. 30 different groups in favour of separate Andhra slowly disintegrated and disappeared. Forcible collection of funds, violence and atrocities found place in the movement. Destruction and loss of property became part of the movement and it was the people who had to bear with it all. As always, the politicians gained favours at the cost of the innocent people.

Mrs.Gandhi implemented the six-point formula on 1st September 1973. Nobody, either in Telangana, or in Andhra, was willing to discuss the Pros and Cons of the formula. The people were the ultimate victims of both of these movements.

Latchanna left Swathantra Party to join the Bharatiya Lok

Dal Party started by Choudary Charan Singh. By then, he had only a few followers left in Andhra. As all the other Congress men displeased Mrs.Gandhi,P.V.Narasimha Rao was left in temporary political wilderness. But he gradually came closer to Mrs.Gandhi and was soon inducted into the Union Cabinet and became a permanent feature there holding all the major portfolios at one time or the other. His performance was especially credit worthy in the External Affairs portfolio. His proximity to Mrs. Gandhi increased his influence in the State Politics and he played a key role in groupism and politicking. Mr.Narasimha Rao was the Home Minister when Mrs.Gandhi was assassinated and despite demands from several quarters for his resignation, he kept a stoic silence. Then came the 1984 Lok Sabha Polls and Mr. P.V.Narasimha Rao got a drubbing from the Telugu Desam backed BJP candidate and lost by over 55,000 votes. P.V.,being what he is, had already anticipated this and was the only Congress candidate to fight the elections from two places. His choice of Ramtek in the Congress bastion of Vidarbha in Maharashtra was a credit to his keen political skill and he won there handsomely unlike his counterparts, Shivasankar, Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, Sanjeeva Rao and P.Venkatasubbaiah, he was inducted into the new Rajiv Cabinet as the Defence Minister. Thus P.V. Narasimha Rao's rather uninterrupted proximity to power continued despite his marked reluctance to make quick decisions or his total lack of a political base in his home State.

During the President's rule, H.C. Sarin, who was the adviser to the Governor, ruled the State unopposed. The politicians despaired as they could do nothing. The politicians, who lived on politics alone, were restless. They made many trips to Delhi. They did not lose time in accepting the six-point formula, and once again asked for people's rule. Their problem was not who should be made the leader, but who should not be allowed to be their leader. They forgot their demands either for a separate

Telangana or a separate Andhra. They did not even mention it. Sarin's administration ended uneventfully as the politicians were sold out in a bid to restore elections and popular rule, not for the benefit of the State or the people, but for their own politicking.

P.V. Narasimha Rao after retiring from politics, faced charges in many fields. He was not active in state politics.

RESULTS NOW - JALAGAM VENGAL RAO



Mr. Jalagam Vengal Rao emerged as a compromise candidate acceptable to all the regions in the State. After the President's rule for a short period, Mr. Vengal Rao's tenure gave relief to the political activity as well as the bureaucracy. By and large, his rule was peaceful and ran smoothly. No doubt the dissidents were there but at that time it was of no consequence. Quick in decision making and equally fast in implementation, Mr. Vengal Rao maintained the balance between the demanding politicians and the assertive bureaucracy. He had to face an Enquiry Commission which he did boldly and in the end, came out victorious. He had fallen from grace with Mrs. Gandhi when he rebelled against her and joined the rival Congress party but unlike several politicians in the State, Vengal Rao continued to stay in Congress-U for a long time though he was aware that he was fighting a losing battle. When the Vimadlal Commission passed some strictures in the Interim Report Mr. Vengal Rao resigned from the Legislative Assembly and enhanced his prestige in the political arena. No doubt, he committed certain mistakes like encouraging his son in the political field during his Chief Ministership and also exhibited strong likes and dislikes towards certain persons which resulted in enmity with some of his close associates.

Mrs. Gandhi's wish prevailed as to who should lead the Andhra Pradesh Legislature. And as per her wish, Vengal Rao was unanimously elected as the Chief Minister on 7th December, 1973. He announced his Cabinet on 10th December 1973.

B. V. Subba Reddy who said that he was ready to offer any

sacrifice for the cause of a separate Andhra, quietly accepted the Deputy Chief Minister's post in the integration cabinet. Vengal Rao, who was an Andhra settler in Telangana, offered the Deputy Chief Minister's position to Rayalaseema as per the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1955. Basi Reddy, Battena Subba Rao, Sagi Suryanarayana Raju, and V. Krishna Murthy Naidu who had to pose earlier as separatists under compulsion, became ministers in Vengal Rao's Cabinet. Nukala Ramachandra Reddy, J.Chokka Rao, K.Rajamallu, Mohammed Ibrahim Ali Ansari and G.Rajaram from Telangana were made Ministers. Lukalapu Lakshman Das, Ch. Devananda Rao, M. Laxmi Devi were also there in the Ministry. In a month's time, the integrationists M.V. Krishna Rao and Bhattam Srirama Murthy and Chanumolu Venkata Rao, who also worked for a separate Andhra, were sworn in as Ministers. Within a period of six months, (7th June, 1974) B.V. Subba Reddy passed away. No one was appointed as the Deputy Chief Minister after B.V.Subba Reddy's death. With the expansion of the ministry on 25th September, 1974 P. Ranga Reddy, T.Anjaiah, P. Narasa Reddy, Asif Pasha, K.V. Keshavulu and Anam Venkata Reddy found a place in the Cabinet.

Vengal Rao, known as an integrationist, while bringing certain changes in the State Congress made Veeramachineni Venkata Narayana its President. Veeramachineni was a candidate from the Old Congress in 1971 Lok Sabha elections when he was defeated by Kommareddy Suryanarayana. It was said that the latter wanted to become the State Congress President.

While implementing the six-point formula, the three Development Boards for Andhra Pradesh were created. K.B. Narasappa, who was an opponent of B.V. Subba Reddy became the Chairman of the Rayalaseema Development Board, Rebala Dasaratha Rami Reddy became the Chairman of the Andhra Development Board and the Deputy Speaker, Jagannatha Rao was made Chairman of the Telangana Development Board.

Dr.Channa Reddy was sent as the Governor of Uttar Pradesh on 18th October 1974. Brahmananda Reddy became the Home Minister at the Centre. Vengal Rao was lucky to have a peaceful atmosphere in the State with the departure of these two trouble makers.

During the first year of his office, Vengal Rao abolished food zones all over the State. He brought about many changes in the Police Department by bringing his followers into most of the key-posts. He seldom consulted any of the ministers in the Cabinet. Seelam Sidda Reddy and Chekuri Kasaiah were his opponents in his own district. Anna Rao was appointed the Chairman of Tirupathi Devasthanams (Temples). It was said that this appointment was made without consulting the concerned minister, Sagi Suryanarayana Raju. Though the ministers did not openly protest against Vengal Rao's attitude, the complaints went to the High Command. Slowly the grouping of MLAs against the Chief Minister started. P.V. Narsimha Rao's hand was evident in all these activities. Efforts were made to bring down Vengal Rao. The World Telugu Conference was celebrated from 12th April 1975. M.V.Krishna Rao was the man behind these celebrations and many complaints were received against him for corruption. All the dissident groups tried to come together against him but when the Emergency was declared by Mrs. Gandhi on 25th June 1975 all over the country, all the dissidents in the State Congress were silenced.

At the time when the Emergency was declared, Vengal Rao happened to be in Delhi. It was through him that Mrs.Gandhi conveyed the secret message about the Emergency to the Karnataka Chief Minister, DevRaj Urs. As per the instructions of the Centre, most of the opposition leaders from BLD, Socialist, CPM, Jana Sangh and CPM(L) were arrested in Andhra Pradesh. No cases were registered against them nor were they brought to trial. Many members of R.S.S. were imprisoned and harrassed.

The extremists were brutally tortured and shot dead in the name of Police encounters. Two extremists, Kista Goud and Bhumaiah were hanged in Musheerabad Jail on 1st December, 1975. A nation-wide agitation took place in the pre-emergency period against the death sentence. The Court too gave the 'stay' order. The news about their hanging was censored. A Censor Board was created in the Information Department itself, many news items were censored over the telephone itself. Even when a breach occurred in the Godavari barrage, the Information Department censored the Press from giving further details. The Press itself felt the pressure and imposed self-restraint.

When Mrs. Gandhi came to Vizag on 3rd January 1976 to inaugurate the Science Congress, her son Sanjay accompanied her. It was her second visit to Andhra Pradesh during the Emergency. Earlier, she had come to Hyderabad to inaugurate the National Police Academy. All arrangements were made to accord a grand welcome to Sanjay Gandhi at public expense and the State Government used its official machinery to give a lavish reception to the Prime Minister and her heir-apparent in a bid to woo and flatter the High Command. Such was the pitiable position of a Chief Minister in those Emergency days.

Though certain changes were brought about regarding Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Parishads, elections were not held. All the Cooperative Institutions were run by persons-in-charge of them. This was an effort by the party in power to strengthen itself politically without using democratic means. In the name of the 20-Point Formula, the Centre sanctioned a few crores of rupees and while spending it for the State, Vengal Rao conducted a very good propaganda for Mrs. Gandhi and her party. Along with that, even the 5-Point Formula of Sanjay Gandhi was prominently brought home to the people. Any small developmental activity taken up in the State, like giving land pattas to people, loans for houses, was promoted as a boon from Mrs. Gandhi.

In the absence of the regular Governor to the State, the Chief Justice Obul Reddy acted as the Governor. Later, R.D. Bliandare took charge as the Governor of Andhra Pradesh on 15th June 1976 and started the propaganda for the 20-Point Formula thus abusing the high office.

Though Vengal Rao was very close to Mrs. Gandhi, he could not do away with groupism in the State Congress as well as in the Ministry. Basi Reddy, the Industries Minister, was against the Chief Minister on many issues. Even during the Emergency, he carried complaints to the High Command in Delhi. P.V. Narasimha Rao maintained a close relationship with Mrs. Gandhi in Delhi. Frequent consultations took place between the dissidents and P.V. in order to overthrow Vengal Rao. V. Jagannatha Rao and G. Raja Rao were the prominent people in such efforts. When the Chief Minister felt the seriousness of this campaign, he insisted upon Basi Reddy's resignation from the Ministry. Basi Reddy submitted his resignation on 12th August 1976. Vengal Rao took up expansion of his Ministry with a view to strengthen his position. Chebrolu Hanumaiah, Parakala Seshavatharam, P. Dharma Reddy, V. Narayana Swamy, K. Narasappa, and Krishnaveni Sanjeevaiah were sworn in as new ministers on 14th August, 1976.

The Legislative Assembly met during the Emergency. The discussions held there were not allowed to be published in the newspapers. News was received that Neelam Ramachandra Rao, the extremist Communist member of Legislative Council died in a Police encounter. Some members attempted to express their sympathy in their speeches but were not permitted to do so. The Legislators who were in jails were not allowed to attend the Assembly sessions even with a police escort.

As a result of infighting in the Congress, Tadepalli Musalaiah was brought in as temporary substitute to

Veeramachaneni Venkata Narayana as the Pradesh Congress President. Veeramachaneni Venkata Narayana who hoped to be a Minister, ended up without any position and became a strong opponent of Vengal Rao.

An important event took place in December 1976. Vengal Rao invited Sanjay Gandhi to Andhra. He arranged meetings in Kothagudem, Guntur and Tirupathi. The whole Government machinery strained its nerves to give a grand welcome to Sanjay. The Singareni Collieries personnel built a helipad for Sanjay's helicopter to land. Huge amounts were spent on dinners and cultural programmes. The State Ministers and Congress leaders vied with one another for Sanjay's favours. The Girijans, who were to receive help from the Government were brought to the spot in lorries. The State Government filmed the whole function in the name of 'Memorable Movements'. Sanjay Gandhi came in a special plane. It was said that he himself piloted the plane. Vengal Rao and Raghu Ramaiah were with him. That day all the groups in the Congress hailed Sanjay Gandhi. The masses gathered at a mammoth public meeting in Guntur: Raghu Ramaiah, the Central Minister, expressed his allegiance to Sanjay Gandhi saying that he had served his grand-father Jawaharlal and his mother Indira, and was now ready to serve him. He called Sanjay, 'The Rising Sun' and even requested him not to forget people like him who served his family. The people were disgusted at Raghu Ramaiah's speech but Raghu Ramaiah later said privately that he expressed what he did whereas others did things and never expressed them in words. Vengal Rao encouraged some young men in the name of 'Youth Congress' and his son Jalagam Prasada Rao came into prominence in the politics of Khammam district. As Vengal Rao did not check his son's advances, people thought that he had given his blessings to the political ambitions of his son.

Some of the persons in jails sought Vengal Rao's favour and were released on bail. The Chief Minister was quite benevolent in the matter and did not order the arrest of his Guru (Master) Sanjeeva Reddy. Even when Sanjeeva Reddy attempted to address one or two public meetings, he was not arrested but only prevented from speaking. But those who hosted Sanjeeva Reddy were arrested. When compared to the North, Andhra Pradesh felt only a few of the excesses of the Emergency. But many Government servants, Police officers and teachers were removed from service in the name of inefficiency and corruption. Only a few of them could later go to court for justice.

Mr. Jalagam Vengala Rao published his controversial autobiography in which he exposed the secrets of emergency rule of Indira Gandhi. But the High Court of U.P. indicted him posthumously for writing comments on Justice Sinha without evidence. The book was withdrawn from circulation. He died in June 1999.

TURNING POINT AFTER EMERGENCY

With the lifting of Emergency and the calling of Lok Sabha Elections in January 1977, the political parties started their activity. The Janata Party, first formed at the Centre, all of a sudden found a branch in Andhra Pradesh. Tenneti Viswanatham was made its President. For all 42 Lok Sabha seats candidates were selected in a hurry. Sanjeeva Reddy was the leader-in charge of the elections of the Janata Party in South India. Konda Lakshman joined the Janatantra Party started by Jagjivan Ram. But a decision was taken without much ado. Sanjeeva Reddy contested from Nandyal. Pendekanti Venkata Subbaiah was his opponent on the Congress ticket. Rajagopala Naidu and Chengal Rao Naidu were mutual opponents in Chittoor. Almost all the Congress candidates had contested in the previous election. Raghu Ramaiah was opposed by the Janata Candidate, Dr. Sadashiv Rao. Both belonged to the same community. The Congress Candidate in Narasaraopet was Brahmananda Reddy and Gode Murahari contested from Vijayawada. Though an Andhra, he was returned to Lok Sabha earlier from the Socialist Party of North India. The Janata wave in the North against Mrs. Gandhi was expected in South India too. The Janata leaders toured Andhra Pradesh for election canvassing. People attended their meetings in large numbers. Even the Congressmen did their best in the canvassing. The Chief Minister, Vengal Rao, was confident from the beginning, of winning all 42 seats. His brother, Kondala Rao, contested from Khammam. Both Sanjeeva Reddy and Vengal Rao exchanged many pungent remarks against each other in the meetings. Raghu Ramaiah and Brahmananda Reddy opposed each other clandestinely. In certain constituencies the congress

candidates lost hope of winning. But the results surprised everybody when 41 out of 42 seats in Andhra Pradesh were bagged by the Congress. Sanjeeva Reddy was the only Janata candidate who won from Nandyal. 57% of the votes were polled for Congress and 32% for Janata. Both the Communist parties were driven into wilderness.

On the one hand, Vengal Rao was happy about his thumping victory in the State, on the other, he had to face his party's defeat at the Centre. After the election, disciplinary action was taken against those who worked against the Congress interests in the elections. Vengal Rao removed Cherukuri Kasaiah, from Congress, and created a critical situation for himself, as ill-feeling in the Ministry started showing up once again. The ensuing Assembly elections gave rise to new thoughts in the minds of the opponents. Framing many charges against Vengal Rao, the Janata members demanded an enquiry. They brought pressure in the assembly as well as at the Centre. The Centre appointed two Commissions of Inquiry - the Vimadlal Commission and the Bhargava Commission. Both were appointed by the State itself as advised by the Centre. The Tarkunde Committee claimed that the Naxalites did not die in encounters but were brutally shot dead by the police. M.V. Rama Murthy, Dr. Balvanth Reddy, Kannabhi Ram and Kalojee Narayana Rao were in this Committee for the State. Based on the report of this Committee, the Bhargava commission was appointed. The Vimadlal Commission, was appointed to go into the charges of corruption against the Chief Minister and some of his cabinet colleagues. The Ministers who had charges against them were P. Ranga Reddy, J.Chokka Rao, M.V. Krishna Rao, Bhattam Sree Ramamurthy and K.V.Kesavulu. J. Vengal Rao was compelled to remove some service personnel and also to look into complaints to show that he was upright.

At the Centre too political changes came up. K.Br ahmananda Reddy became the All India Congress President. As per Mrs.Gandhi's wish G. Raja Ram proposed Brahmananda Reddy's

name. As a protest against this Kotha Raghu Ramaiah left the Congress and J.Vengal Rao submitted his resignation as Chief Minister. The Congress High Command did not approve of his resignation. Mrs.Gandhi called Vengal Rao to Delhi to patch up the differences. At her request, Vengal Rao agreed to come to terms with Brahmananda Reddy. The High Command permitted Vengal Rao to withdraw his resignation. Certain changes were brought about in the State Congress too. Rahmathullah was made the Congress President removing Tadepalli Musalaiah. He was an affluent Muslim from Cuddapah and a member of the Rajya Sabha. Later, he was to join the Indira Congress and desert Vengal Rao. Even the State Cabinet had to be expanded to accommodate Brahmananda Reddy's men. His right hand man, Konda Narapa Reddy was made the Minister for Panchayat Raj. Amranath Reddy and Appadu Dora were taken into the ministry. K.Rajamallu, the Medical Minister had quarreled with Vengal Rao on many occasions. The Minister insisted upon the transfer of many doctors of the upper castes as they had over-stayed in the capital and also banned private practice by the Government doctors. But, Vengal Rao interfered in this issue and matters between the two of them reached a climax. Rajamallu resigned from the Cabinet. Vengal Rao declared that he himself had sacked Rajamallu.

On 19th November 1977, a tidal wave hit Krishna district killing over 10,000 and rendering thousands homeless. Vengal Rao and his Ministry had to face some criticism as they did not render timely help and offer rescue measures to the people. Finance Minister P. Ranga Reddy, Agricultural Minister J.Chokka Rao and Housing Minister P. Dharma Reddy submitted their resignations holding the Chief Minister responsible for the havoc caused to the people. During the elections, P Ranga Reddy and J.Chokka Rao had joined the Janata Party. T.Anjaiah and G. Raja Ram too left the Ministry and joined the Indira Congress. When there was a rift in the Congress once

again Vengal Rao did not side Mrs.Gandhi and remained with Brahmananda Reddy. V. Purushottam Reddy, the Excise Minister, resigned from the Cabinet and joined the Janata Party. Lukalapu Lakshmana Das too submitted his resignation as Minister. Bhattam, though at times he had criticized Vengal Rao, did not go to the extent of resignation from the party. Sagi Suryanarayana Raju, an opponent of Bhattam in Vizag had joined the Janata Party and it was thought that this had prevented Bhattam from joining the Janata Party. Vengal Rao and Brahmananda Reddy remained in the field to fight the election against Mrs.Gandhi. Some of the MLAs joined Mrs.Gandhi's party and some others defected to Janata. J.Vengal Rao, while giving evidence before the Vimadlal Commission confessed that he had invited Sanjay Gandhi due to political circumstances prevailing at that time.

Dr. Channa Reddy came back to the State having submitted his resignation as Governor of Uttar Pradesh. He came over to Mrs. Gandhi's side and played a prominent role in that party. On 18th January, 1978 at the Congress State Conference at Hyderabad Mrs. Gandhi declared Dr.Charuia Reddy as the President of the Andhra Pradesh IndiraCongress.G.Rajaram who aspired to be the President, had himself to propose Dr.Channa Reddy's name as per Mrs.Gandhi's wish.

Janata Party in Andhra Pradesh having secured only one seat in 1977 Lok Sabha election had still to provide an able leader. Somehow, they blindly hoped that they were going to come to power in 1978. They decided to establish themselves as a strong party against the Congress in the State. Tanneti still continued as Janata President in the State. The party decided to replace Tanneti with someone more dynamic, but they could never agree about such a person. Like the Congressmen, they too ran to Delhi for help. They were equally bad about carrying complaints to the Central Janata Party against their opponents in the party. The Socialists, Jana Sangh, BLD and CFD men met their respective party leaders in Delhi and made

complaints against each other. Latchanna, Lakshmi Kanthamma, Tenneti, Konda Lakshman were the candidates for party Presidentship. George Fernandes and Veerendra Shah were directed to go to Hyderabad to settle the disputes. The whole issue became a big farce. The aspirants brought their men from their respective districts to recommend their case. The members of Jana Sangh were said to have avoided supporting their candidate Bangaru Lakshman at the last moment because he was a Harijan. The Socialists and the Jana Sangh supported Latchanna. Fernandes and Veerendra Shah made their decision after going back to Delhi. The party followed the via media by retaining Tenneti Viswanatham as the President and appointing Latchanna as the Vice President. Eight people were made Secretaries apart from a big committee. The Janata men could not behave in a dignified manner and Latchanna started his old politics of the Swathantra party. There was infighting among the party men and, keeping in view the approaching election, the Centre sent Surendra Mohan to Hyderabad, but even his word could not prevail. The Janata Party was however successful in appointing the Vimadlal Commission. Ayyapa Reddy, who supported Mrs. Gandhi's Constitutional Amendments even during the Emergency had become the Janata leader in the Legislative Assembly. As there was not much difference between the Congress and the Janata in Andhra Pradesh and as even the new corners into the party happened to be Congress men, it was called the 'Janata Congress'.

The Janata members were restless as there was no issue in the State and the tidal wave and the cyclone came in ready for the Janata leaders to come down and say that Vengal Rao's Government failed to help the people. On the day of the cyclone on 19th November 1977 Vengal Rao was in Delhi. The Janata men criticized him for ignoring the people in favour of politics. The fact that M.V. Krishna Rao, a Minister in Vengal Rao's Cabinet, was present in the cyclone affected area and served the people day and night, was

enough to save Vengal Rao's Ministry from Janata reprobation. When Mrs. Gandhi offered to tour Andhra earlier, Vengal Rao advised her against it on telephone. But Mrs. Gandhi took this opportunity to visit Andhra. T. Anjaiah and Bhavanam Venkat Ram accompanied her on her tour.

The whole of January 1978 was the month of elections in Andhra Pradesh. Nobody could predict which party was going to win. Some, to be on the safe side, applied to all the three parties (Janata, Congress-I and Congress) for a ticket. No party published the list of applicants. The terrible exodus from one party to the other before elections brought to light the fact that some had applied to all the three parties. The Janata Election Committee secretly decided the candidates. In addition to this rush, the Janata Party made an alliance with CPM, CPML and the Republican Party. Hence till the last moment they could not announce the list. It agreed to give 22 seats to the Marxists. Their alliance with CPM(L) did not materialize. The ruling Congress gave most of the seats to sitting members. As they had an alliance with the CPI, their candidates contested for only 257 seats. The Indira Congress was the last to publish its list. With no alliance with any party, Congress-I contested in 284 constituencies. It had 202 new faces and the rest comprised of people who could not get the Janata and Congress tickets.

The election campaign was organized on a large scale as each party hoped that it would surely come into power. Vengal Rao, relying on the Lok Sabha elections, said that he would come back to power. Dr. Channa Reddy was sure of coming to power. The Janata Party believed that there was a Janata wave all over. All the Janata leaders came to the State for the election campaign and drew large crowds. The ruling congress did not attract many people to their meetings. Mrs. Gandhi toured Andhra Pradesh twice. Her visits attracted women and backward classes. Janata men commented that the crowds attended Mrs. Gandhi's meetings to see what she looked

like when out of power. The Congress-I announced in its manifesto that it would stand for the integration of the State. The separate Telangana issue did not come up because the once staunch separatist, Dr. Channa Reddy himself stood for integration. No body paid any attention to one or two leaders who talked about the separatist problem.

Kalojee Narayana Rao contested against Vengal Rao, as all the parties supported Kalojee, and Vengal Rao had to concentrate on his constituency most of the time.

Many were proved wrong in predicting the election results. The Harijan, Girijan and Backward Classes gave the utmost support to Mrs. Gandhi. The Congress-I stunned every one by bagging 175 seats and swept the polls. The ruling Congress was trounced and so were the Communist parties which ended with a paltry 14 seats. The Janata bagged 60, the Congress 30, and the Congress-I 175.

The special feature of this election was that 202 out of 294 seats went to fresh candidates. Many Ministers and sitting MLAs were defeated. But Vengal Rao, Bhattam and Chanumolu Venkata Rao were retuned to the Assembly. The Congress (R) was wiped out in the State and the Janata did well to end up as the major opposition party in the House. Thus ended Vengal Rao's tenure as Chief Minister: Soon he resigned from the Assembly and choose business instead of politics. In 1983, a totally depleted Congress and a few of its leaders literally compelled Vengal Rao to join the Congress-I. The man who had denied the use of a Government guest house to Mrs. Gandhi when she was out of power, joined hands with her in a bid to counter N.T. Rama Rao's charisma. Vengal Rao's career had turned full circle and the fact, that power drives men to accept what they had once detested, is quite evident. The anticipated resignation of the State Congress party leader never took place and Vengal Rao remained totally ineffective within the party. A bitter political battle between the CPI and CPM saw to it that Vengal Rao scraped through

to the Lok Sabha from Khammam in the 1984 Parliamentary polls. His hopes for a berth in the Union Cabinet belied, his support considerably eroded in Khammam, Vengal Rao lived in the hope that some day or the other, power, in any form, will come back to his hands.

CHANNA REDDY'S DEFEATED TELANGANA



Dr.Channa Reddy was a reactionary, a religious person, feudal in outlook and a bully. He preached non-violence but practised violence to his advantage. He was a careerist. Power was always the means and the end for him. Corrupt to the core, as was even confirmed by the Court of law, he was a demagogue and that was why he had managed to influence the ignorant and innocent people. He had a rich experience as administrator, agitator, and public leader both at the State and Central level. He could speak four languages fluently- Telugu, Urdu, Hindi and English. He had many ideas but there were limitations in the implementation of them. He was the worst Chief Minister this State had ever witnessed. Like Hitler he used to come deliberately late to the meetings and enjoy making people wait for him. He vocally abused his colleagues, ministers and administrators, in an unprecedented manner. He proved himself a "Tuglaq" in spite of his so-called dynamism.

Dr. Marri. Channa Reddy took the oath of office on the 6th March 1978 as the Chief Minister of the State. He has a great belief in numerology and six is considered lucky for him. On 10th March 1978, his other ministers also took the oath. Dr. Reddy inducted six members from outside the elected members. At that time, the strength of the Congress-I was 175 in the Assembly. Gradually Dr. Reddy encouraged defections and liquidated the opposition in the Assembly and Council. Thus, within two and half years, the 30 Congress (U) strength became 3 whereas the 60 Janata members were reduced to 16. Even the lone CPML Member was admitted into the Congress-I by Dr.Reddy in the

Council he won over K.Rosaiah who attacked his Government regarding corrupt practices in the past. K. Rosaiah was inducted into the Ministry later. The Chief Minister lured Mr.P. Sundaraiah, CPM Leader with the Chairmanship of the Drainage Board. The Deputy Speakership of the Assembly was offered to Prabhakar Reddy (Janata) who joined Dr.ChannaReddy. Similarly a bitter critic of Dr. Reddy in the Council, Keshav Rao, was elected as Deputy Chairman and in turn readily offered his support to the Chief Minister.M.R. Sham Rao, ex-minister, defected from the Congress-U and became the Secretary of the Cong-I party and also the Chairman of the Warehousing Corporation. M.V S. Subba Raju, the President of the State Janata Party joined Congress-I and became the Chairman of the Drainage Board in the place of Mr. Sundaraiah who resigned after much criticism within his party. Mr.Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao whose petition against Dr.Reddy's election set aside his election due to corrupt practices, was made Chairman, Official Language Commission.

Though Dr. Reddy did not say it in so many words, he wanted officers to consider his word as law. He abused his colleagues and officers in the presence of others and it became difficult evens for legislators to see him.

In the beginning he gave full support and encouragement to Nadendla Bhaskara Rao, elevated him from State Minister to Cabinet Minister and also gave him the Excise and Commercial Taxes portfolios. This became an eyesore to many other ministers but Dr. Reddy said "If I had two or three Bhaskar Raos that would be enough". When Bhaskara Rao came closer to Sanjay Gandhi, Dr.Reddy was upset and tried to cut Bhaskara Rao to size by giving him the Ports, Weights and Measures portfolios. But Bhaskara Rao withstood the onslaught and fought back by rallying all the dissident legislators.

Gradually the dissidents increased. Six ministers who were removed by Dr.Reddy and the one who resigned, naturally joined the dissidents. Until the Parliament elections were held in 1980, Dr.Reddy was the only Chief Minister of the Congress-I party whom Mrs.Gandhi could rely upon to provide funds to the central party through indulging in corrupt practices in the State.

Dr.Reddy celebrated his 60th birthday in a pompous minister, misusing public money, this creating bitterness among the people at large. He changed the office timings and incurred the displeasure of employees and had to restore the original timings.

The cumulative effect of Dr.Reddy's misdeeds, arrogance and fascist functioning led sixteen of his ministers to seek the permission of Mrs.Gandhi to resign. Similarly a large number of legislators openly came out against him. Dr. Reddy tried to retain his strength by filling up various posts which were kept vacant till then. He made pilgrimages to several holy places, offered special prayers and consulted astrologers to counter the dissidence!

Meanwhile the functioning of the government came to a stand still. There was no communication between the dissident ministers and the Chief Minister.Dr. Reddy could neither convene the Cabinet nor the Assembly, leave alone the Legislature Party. He went out of the way to get favours from Mrs.Gandhi and when her son Sanjay Gandhi died in an air crash on 23rd June, Dr. Reddy cancelled the Assembly Session which was scheduled to be convened within hours. He brought the ashes of Sanjay Gandhi and immersed them in the Krishna river. In spite of all this, and with the tacit approval of Mrs. Gandhi, the four Central Ministers from Andhra Pradesh encouraged dissidents against Dr. Reddy. The legislators made allegations against Dr.Reddy and demanded a C.B.I. enquiry into the whole affair.

At the same time Congress-I as a party had become a non-entity. There were only adhoc appointments at the State level, made by the Central Party. No member was enrolled and party elections were not held although three years had elapsed since the birth of the party in the State. Legislators became nonfunctional and helpless.

They were not allowed to have a leader of their choice. The Legislators mortgaged their rights to one supreme leader, Mrs. Gandhi. Ministers and legislators went round Delhi with pleas and counter pleas.

The people had no role to play. Their sovereign power was delegated to representatives, who in turn delegated the same to the party leader. Democracy had become formal because it was not under the control of the people. The legislators could defect as and when they wished to. Election promises were never fulfilled.

The numerical strength of the Congress-I posed problems in the Selection of a leader. As political circles were not sure of Dr. Channa Reddy's standing, Mr.Raja Ram announced that he would contest for leadership. Every one expected that a contest was inevitable when he went to Delhi to consult Mrs.Gandhi. At the last moment, however, he announced that as per the advice of Mrs.Gandhi he had withdrawn from the contest. Sreenivasulu Reddy, MLA gave a statement supporting Dr. Channa Reddy's leadership. Dr.Channa Reddy was unanimously elected the leader. He went for consultations with Mrs. Gandhi in Delhi, in the first week of March 1978. In Delhi as well as in Hyderabad there started a serious struggle for power. Every factor-recommendations, pressures, castes and groups played a role.. Dr.Chariria Reddy revived the tradition of the Madras Assembly before independence, by appointing six Parliamentary Secretaries in the Assembly. These posts existed just on paper

and were created to appease people who could not be accommodated in the Cabinet as ministers.

As soon as Dr. Channa Reddy's Ministry was formed there was much criticism against him. He was partial to Telangana and gave all the essential portfolios to those who worked in the Praja Samithi earlier and he did great injustice to the Andhras. Dr. Channa Reddy understood the point behind the criticism and at once transferred certain important portfolios to ministers from Andhra.

Dearness allowance to the Government servants was enhanced. As various Corporations and Co-operative institutions had Vengala Rao's men in key posts, Congress-I wanted all of them to step down. The opposition leaders were allowed cabinet ranks. All the youngsters of 18 years were made eligible to vote in the Panchayat elections which were not held despite election promises.

Dr. Channa Reddy and his ministers, while touring Andhra Pradesh, made tall promises. It became a habit with Dr. Reddy to criticise the service personnel in his speeches. He was invariably late to all public functions. Andhra Pradesh became a State of political manoeuvres. Rumours spread that he was collecting huge funds in the name of the party. The Police at Nallakunta Police Station in Hyderabad behaved in a beastly manner and raped a Muslim woman, Rameeza Bee, and beat her husband to death. This news spread to the surrounding areas and led to violence and the whole city was brought under a weeklong curfew. All the political parties took it up as an issue and when it grew to be a State-wide agitation, Dr. Channa Reddy negotiated with the opposition parties and came to an agreement with them. Justice Muktar of Andhra Pradesh High court was appointed as Oneman Commission to enquire into the incident. The People felt that Dr. Channa Reddy had very shrewdly won over the

opposition parties. The commission submitted its report to the Government on 10th August and the Police were found guilty.

The Congress which won only 30 seats elected Vengala Rao as the leader for both the Houses. But he did not attend the sessions. Hence Bhattam and Rosaiah were elected as leaders in the Assembly and Council respectively. The Congress MLAs, M.V. Krishna Rao, Pinnamaneni Koteswara Rao, K.V.Kesavulu, Chanumolu Venkata Rao and some others joined Corigrass-I. Kesavulu again went back to Vengala Rao and became Secretary of the All India Congress Party. Then, number of Congress MLAs gradually decreased from 30 to 9. By February 1980 only three were left. In April 1978 the Congress Party Session was arranged where Vengala Rao accounted for the debacle of the Congress party. He said that whatever help was rendered to the poor in the State be it giving a rickshaw, a sheep, a buffalo or a loan, was done in the regime of Mrs.Gandhi which naturally helped her party to win. Brahmananda Reddy came in the limelight and announced that a period of 6 months was given to Dr.Channa Reddy to find solutions to the many problems in the State, otherwise he would lead a serious agitation against him. But it remained a mere threat. Dr.Channa Reddy retorted that he was very well aware of the tactics of Brahmananda Reddy who was very notorious for using people to gain his own ends. Rahamatulla resigned his chairmanship of the Congress and politely bade good-bye to the party. But he rejoined congress in October 1979. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy was appointed in his place as the State Congress President.Vengala Rao resigned his membership in the Legislative Assembly when the Vimadlal Commission's interim report passed strictures against him. He retired from politics for the time being. In the Congress meetings and outside too, many people warned against adhoc appointments and bossism. But the party could not do away with its old practices. The final report of the Vimadlal Commission

strongly said that Vengala Rao was not guilty. Once again Vengala Rao became active in politics and was welcomed with great warmth wherever he went.

Even after six months of the elections, the Congress-I could not appoint a President to the State Party. At last Aziz was made the President. Dr. Channa Reddy attacked the Centre over many issues. The South Indian Chief Ministers started opposing the Centre and threatened the centre that the arrest of Mrs. Gandhi based on the Shah Commission Report, would lead to grave consequences. When Mrs. Gandhi was arrested, as per the decision of the Lok Sabha, there were protest agitations in Andhra Pradesh. By then Rajamallu, Keshava Rao, Jagannatha Rao and a few others turned against Dr. Channa Reddy. 11 members including Subba Raju freed themselves from the Janata Party. K. Prabhakara Reddy was angry with the party and joined the Congress-I. K.B. Siddayya, MLA, too followed him. Subba Raju and ten other members including Ayyapu Reddy, D. Indira, Rambhupal Reddy, close associates of Sanjeeva Reddy joined Congress-I before the Lok Sabha Elections of 1980. Subba Raju became the Chairman of the Drainage Board on Sundaraiah's resignation.

After a year of Channa Reddy's rule, opposition parties introducing a no-confidence motion in the Assembly, found an opportunity to criticise him and his ministry. Charges of corruption were made against him in the Legislative Assembly. The State Government was placed on the defensive on many issues like inability to control hotel rates, Chief Minister's 60th birthday celebration and the incident of driving away a Harijan MLA-Masala Eeranna, from a temple at Mantralayam (Kurnool District).

Due to the Masala Eeranna incident, M. Baga Reddy, Panchayat Raj Minister submitted his resignation. The whole

incident ended in a farce when he was readmitted soon afterwards.

Meanwhile, when another minister and a Harijan, Goka Ramaswamy was removed, there were protest agitations in Andhra Pradesh.

The Lok Sabha elections were held on 6th January 1980. Mrs. Gandhi once again became the Prime Minister. As it was customary in Andhra Pradesh, 41 out of 42 Lok Sabha seats went to the Congress-I. The reserved constituency of Parvathipuram went to the Congress-U candidate Kishore Chandra Deo, a Central Minister in Charan Singh's cabinet. Though Vengala Rao, the State Congress President tried to bring both the Communist Parties, Lok Dal and Congress-U together as United Front for allotting seats, all these parties were routed by the Indira wave. Janata, which fought single handed, lost heavily. Mrs. Gandhi contested in Medak (Telangana) Constituency and defeated her nearest Janata rival, Jaipal Reddy. Panchayat Raj Minister, Baga Reddy temporarily resigned to act as an election agent to Mrs. Gandhi and rejoined the cabinet after the elections.

As the elections were fast approaching, Brahmananda Reddy, and Pamulapati Ankineedu Prasad Rao, who were the Congress Ministers in Charan Singh's cabinet gave up their posts and joined Congress-I. They secured seats and got elected to Lok Sabha. 28 Congress-I members of the dissolved Lok Sabha were given party tickets. The applications received for party tickets netted four lakhs of rupees for the Congress-I.

Purushotham Reddy from Congress-U joined Congress-I at the last minute. Avudaru Venkateswarlu (MLA) from Vinukonda Constituency who had defeated Bhavanam Jayaprada, a former minister, resigned from Lok Dal and joined Congress-I. Mahendranath, a former Harijan Minister joined the Janata resigning from Congress-I. Nannapaneni Venkata Rao

from Tenali defected to Lok Dal from Congress-I. He died soon after the election. Lakshmi Kanthamma left Janata for Congress-I. Many former MLAs, former Samithi Presidents, Zilla Parishath members and some other prominent people joined Congress-I. Raghunath Reddy and Narapa Reddy who were prominent in Congress made some unsuccessful attempts in the name of the United Front. T. Panchajanyam, who had been the leader of the Opposition joined Congress-I. The former President of the State Congress, Tadepalli Musalaiah too left Congress-U for Congress-I.

After the Lok Sabha elections quite a number of MLAs from Congress-U and Lok Dal defected to Congress-I thus increasing the strength of Congress-I from 175 to 255.

Rajamallu, one of the Congress-I dissidents against Dr. Channa Reddy's leadership got elected to Lok Sabha.

Just a day before the announcement of the Assembly Session (February 1980) Dr. Channa Reddy stripped the Minister Nadendla Bhaskara Rao of his portfolio of Excise and Commercial Taxes and gave him Archives, Archeology, Weights and Measures. It was the result of Bhaskara Rao's efforts to be closer to Sanjay Gandhi. Nadendla Bhaskara Rao who started as the State Minister was not only promoted to Cabinet rank but also given the most important portfolio. He was incharge of the election campaign in the State during the 1980 elections. Soon after this he was demoted, as Dr.Reddy feared his growing prominence.

Dr.Channa Reddy started his Lok Sabha election campaign with new schemes. He promised a bulb in every home, a bus to each village and a buffalo to each poor family. During 1952, the comiunists had promised five acres of land and a cow and a calf to each family in case they came to power. Dr.Channa Reddy made similar promises.

Doctors Civil Assistant Surgeons and Junior Doctors in the State went on strike before the elections and created a world record by carrying on the strike for 79 days. Communal riots took place in the Old City of Hyderabad and curfew was imposed for 15 days. These disturbances could be brought under control only after the elections when the Janata and Majlis leaders were taken into custody. Earlier the Ittehadul-Muslimeen-Majlis joined hands with Congress-I and announced that their alliance was permanent. But they separated when they could not agree over the distributions of seats.

From among the elected candidates for Lok Sabha, P.V. Narsimha Rao became the Minister for External Affairs. Shiv-Shankar was made the Law Minister whereas Pendekanti Venkata Subbaiah was made the State Minister for Home.

At the time of elections, Andhra Pradesh was the only State with a Congress-I Ministry. Dr. Charuia Reddy was playing a key role as the Chief Minister of the only Congress-I state till the 1980 elections.

The Andhra Pradesh Government decided to hold Panchayat and Municipal elections in April and May 1980. These elections had been put off for the past 10 years. All youth of 18 years were allowed to vote in these elections and 14% of seats were reserved for Harijans in Panchayat Raj Institutions. These were two decisions made by Dr. Channa Reddy's cabinet. Political reasons came in the way and elections were put off though Dr. Reddy claimed that a writ in the High Court had blocked the elections.

As the State was backward in technical education, the Government permitted some private managements to collect donations and start engineering colleges. The students launched an agitation against such a decision and the Govt. withdrew it later.

Gradually the number of dissidents against Channa Reddy increased after Sanjay Gandhi's death on 23rd June 1980 in Delhi. 15 ministers of his cabinet sought the Prime Minister's permission to resign and very soon Dr.Reddy was asked to step down.

After stepping down as Chief Minister, Dr.Reddy kept a low Profile and was soon rewarded with the Governorship of Punjab. The Akali agitation was slowly but steadily mounting at that time.Very soon, differences arose between Dr.Reddy and Darbara Singh, the Chief Minister who accused the Governor of interfering in the administration. As a result, Dr. Reddy resigned from the post and was back in the State. It was the second time that Dr. Reddy had resigned from the Governor's post.

Dr. Reddy's influence waned considerably, as he patiently waited two years for Mrs.Gandhi to reinstate him but to no avail. A frustrated Dr.Reddy launched a tirade against Mrs.Gandhi and formed his own party, the National Democratic Party in 1984. By then, the Congress-I was only the main opposition in the State, the Telugu Desam magic having routed it in the 1983 Assembly polls. Dr. Reddy maintained good terms with NTR and contested for Lok Sabha from Karimnagar as the combined opposition candidate. Despite considerable help from the Telugu Desam, Dr.Reddy was trounced by Mr.Chokka Rao, the Congress-I candidate. With this defeat, Dr.Reddy's party died and not a single candidate was put up in the 1985 Assembly midterm poll. Mr.Rajiv Gandhi's ascendancy to Prime Ministership and the consensus effort being made to project the Congress-I as a clean party simply sealed Dr.Reddy's chances of reentry into the Congress-I. He remained in political wilderness, once in a while issuing press statements about the affairs of the State.

T. ANJIAH RIDICULED POLITICS



Mr. T. Anjaiah, the Minister of State for Labour at the Centre, was selected to be the leader of the Andhra Pradesh Legislature by Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. This came as no surprise as this kind of selection had been followed for a decade throughout the country. Centralisation was the order of the day. The Congress-I party existed only for issue sake and it was Mrs. Gandhi that mattered. When the dissidents in Andhra Pradesh brought out corruption charges against the Chief Minister, Dr. Channa Reddy, they pledged that whomever Mrs. Gandhi selected as the successor would be accepted. The dissident legislators including fifteen Ministers made several pilgrimages to Delhi, begging Mrs. Gandhi to remove Dr. Channa Reddy as Chief Minister. Each Minister spent lots of money in Delhi. Some legislators also followed their example. When the last act of the drama was being enacted, some legislators and a few ministers fished in troubled waters. Dr. Channa Reddy made every effort to retain his position and started filling all the vacant posts and whoever asked for favours had them granted at the expense of the people and the state. Being a rank reactionary and corrupt opportunist, Dr. Reddy went round several places of worship and prayed to all sorts of gods and perhaps prayed for his Chief Ministership. He sanctioned several colleges and institutions. In spite of a clear majority, the dissidents could not ask for the convening of the Congress-I

Legislature party, for a showdown as well as for the election of a new leader. All of them mortgaged their power to the so called High Command which in reality was just one person, Mrs.

Indira Gandhi. They had no self-confidence and self-reliance to oppose the High Command for its anti-democratic procedures. The reason was simple. Almost all of them had no locus-stand in their constituencies; if they opposed Mrs. Gandhi they could never become members of Legislature again. In private, many of them resented the delay and became annoyed with the attitude of Mrs. Gandhi towards dissidents.

Mrs. Gandhi took her own time in removing Dr. Reddy. On 10th October, 1980 Dr. Reddy resigned as Chief Minister. Neither the High Command nor Dr. Reddy gave reasons for this. Except reports in the newspapers there was no authentic statement as to why Dr. Reddy resigned or was asked to resign. This irresponsible attitude of the leaders and the party is an indication of their callousness towards the voters, who are being taken for granted.

Mr. T. Anjaiah was formally elected in the Legislature Party meeting on 11th October, 1980 under the direct supervision of Mr. Bhishma Narain Singh, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs at the Centre. The election was unanimous and Mr. Anjaiah was sworn in as Chief Minister on the same day, at some auspicious time. He too is religious and if one may say so, a reactionary.

Mr. Anjaiah was not a member of the Assembly. He was defeated in the 1976 elections from Musheerabad Constituency (Hyderabad) and later became a dissident against Dr. Reddy. He was elected to Rajya Sabha and his unquestioned loyalty to Mrs. Gandhi, faithful service during 1980 general elections in Bihar as the observer of Congress-I paid him rich dividends. He was inducted into the Central Cabinet as Labour Minister.

Mr. Anjaiah wanted to become the Chief Minister of the State in 1972 when Mrs. Gandhi asked M. Brahmananda Reddy to relinquish the post.

Except when he was in the Telangana Praja Samithi along with Dr. Channa Reddy, Mr.Anjaiah never opposed Mrs.Indira Gandhi. When there was a split in 1978, Mr. Anjaiah left J.Vengal Rao and remained loyal to Mrs.Gandhi.

As soon as he became the Chief Minister, Mr.Anjaiah rushed to Delhi for consultations and for approval of the list of ministers to be included in his cabinet. The remote control system which had been operating for the past ten years applied to Mr.Anjaiah too. He had to take all the fifteen dissident ministers, the dissident speaker and deputy speaker along with the son-in-law of the President into his cabinet. Thus, twenty two ministers were sworn in on 16th October,1980. Curiously, four of Dr.Channa Reddy's supporters also got in. There was a lot a pressure on Mr. Anjaiah from several quarters for ministership. He made at least three trips to Delhi for finalising the second batch of ministers. He announced many dates as auspicious for the swearing-in ceremony. He had promised a berth in the Ministry to many legislators and at last on 2nd December,1980 he announced the names of the new ministers. The final list of ministers included a number of people from Dr. Reddy's Ministry. Including the State Ministers, the total strength went up to 61, the biggest Ministry ever formed at the State or Centre. The Chief Minister announced that some more legislators would find a place in the Ministry including one or two from Khammam district. The new Ministry was ridiculed throughout India and the State became a laughing stock.

Mr.Anjaiah had a well-defined one point programme, undivided loyalty to Mrs.Gandhi. As Chief Minister he had promised to root out corruption and give a clean administration. But he refused to enquire into the allegations made by Congress-I legislators against Dr.Reddy and his Cabinet colleagues.

1980 was a bad year for Andhra Pradesh. It ended with the bickerings in the ruling party while people were suffering from drought, floods and cyclones. In spite of an absolute majority, the ruling party failed to come to the people's relief as power became the means and end for them.

Mr. Anjaiah had to face dissidents within three months of his rule. The Finance Minister, Mr. G. Rajaram, addressing the Munnuru Kapu Conference at Bhongiri (Nalgonda District) attacked the upper caste rule and named Anjaiah too. Union Law Minister, Shiva Shankar, State Ministers, A. Veerappa and Jagannadha Rao also participated in this Conference.

Mr. Srinivasa Rao, another Congress-I MLA also attacked Anjaiah's Ministry and said that senior members like him were ignored by the party.

1981 did not start on a happy note for Anjaiah. After knowing the mind of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, all the Ministers in the State were asked to submit their resignations on 13th January, 1981. Once again Andhra Pradesh became the laughing stock of the country.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, General Secretary of the Congress-I at that time, publicly insulted and admonished Mr. Anjaiah at the Hyderabad Airport for the ostentatious welcome arranged for him. The media went out of its way to highlight the event all over the State through Vivid photographs. Mr. Anjaiah decided to resign but was persuaded to continue by his cabinet members. In a bid to remain in power, Mr. Anjaiah soon reconciled himself to such insults but his attempts proved futile. Mr. Anjaiah was asked to quit and another "outsider", Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram, was selected by Mrs. Gandhi to become the new Chief Minister. Mr. Anjaiah kept a low profile till the 1983 Assembly Elections when he withstood the Telugu Desam wave and won by a

handsome majority from Ramayampet in Medak Dist. Except mounting vitriolic attacks on the Telugu Desam Government, Mr.Anjaiah could do nothing. In the 1984 Lok Sabha Polls, Anjaiah won the Secunderabad Lok Sabha seat and was made the Labour Minister in Rajiv's Cabinet. It was a great comeback by this diminutive man who has survived many setbacks and yet came up triumphantly.

Anjaiah died in the year 1986.

ONLY SEVEN MONTHS CM BHAVANAM VENKATRAM



Mr.T.Anjaiah was removed unceremoniously from the Chief Ministership and in his place Mr.Bhavanam Venkatram Reddy was asked to head the Government.Mr.Bhavanain was never elected by the people and he never contested in any election. He was elected to the Legislative Council from the Assembly for the first time and became the Minister for Education in Dr.Channa Reddy's Ministry. He earned a good name as the Minister for Education, with his immense patience in dealing with files and various delegations.Mr.Anjaiah also continued him in the same portfolio though for a brief period and then made him the Transport Minister:

Mr. Bhavanann Venkatram was married to Jayaprada a former Congress MLA and a Kamma and thus it was argued that he could satisfy the two dominant castes in the politics of the State. Accordingly, Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram was made the Chief Minister in February 1982. Curiously, Mr.N.T.Rama Rao, who happened to be Bhavanam's room mate at college, attended the oath-taking ceremony in the Raj Bhavan at Hyderabad. It was rumoured that Mr.Rama Rao who had cultivated political ambitions by then would be made a Rajya Sabha Member by the new Chief Minister. But after one month, Mr.Rama Rao, announced the formation of the Telugu Desam Party.

Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram 's rule, lasted only for seven months. His opponents within the Party never allowed him to function properly. They carried a vile campaign against him from the day he entered the office and spread many rumours against him. It was this character assassination by the Congress-I leaders

in the State and a few Parliament Members that swept Mr. Venkatram away from office. Since he could not rely upon any legislators, Bhavanam became indecisive. The procrastination cost him his career. During that short period, Venkatram started the "Open University" a stupendous achievement for his short-lived Ministry. Mr. N.T. Rama Rao was already touring the State and attracting large crowds which baffled the High Command. Everybody was convinced that in Bhavanam Venkatram's rule the Congress-I could not face NTR in the elections. Thus he was asked to step down in September 1982. It was a clear case of a talented and well-meaning politician being tied down by various forces as a result of which the whole administration was faced with the problem "to be or not to be". This short-lived glory effectively submerged all his chances to show his talents. As a politician he failed miserably and in 1985 he was rejected even for an Assembly ticket by the Congress bosses. "In absolute political wilderness" would be an understatement about Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram after that.

Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram spent most of the time in his farm house near Nagarjuna Sagar. He was the president of Lok Jana Satta State Unit, a party, founded by Mr. Paswan in Uttar Pradesh.

READY TO HANDOVER POWER TO NTR VIJAYA BHASKAR REDDY



Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy was a Lok Sabha Member when he was picked up by Mrs. Indira Gandhi to lead the State. He was the Finance Minister in the State during Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's regime and later opted to be in the Lok Sabha. He left the state politics for almost 12 years. There was a wide gap between him and the party cadre. After the emergency, he joined hands with Brahmananda Reddy and became the President of the Congress (R) in the State for a short period. Later, he rejoined the Congress-I and got elected from Kurnool.

Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy could not achieve anything during his four months period from September to December 1982 as the Chief Minister. He failed to face Mr. Rama Rao in the election campaign. He announced that rice would be sold at the rate of Rs.2 per kilo but that did not materialise. He vainly attempted to counter Mr. Rama Rao by introducing the mid day meal scheme in schools.

In the Assembly elections, Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy got elected to the Legislature but later opted to go back to the Lok Sabha since his party was routed and could get only 60 seats. Out of sheer sympathy, Mrs. Gandhi inducted him into her Cabinet and offered him the important portfolio of Industries.

Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy was trounced in the Lok Sabha elections in 1984 at Kurnool. As a Minister in the Centre, he failed to convince the Rayalaseema people that the Congress-I would deliver the goods. And he joined the list of former Chief Ministers and defeated MPs who have little or no role to play in the State.

Mrs.Gandhi's death ended Mr.Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy's contacts at the centre. The ascendancy of Telugu Desam saw his family rivals like K.E. Krishnamurthy establish a healthy lead over him in the politics of Kurnool district and Mr.Reddy lived in the hope that a miracle might Occur yet!

TWISTER IN POLITICS

N.T. RAMA RAO



The Telugu Desam party was born in the mind of Mr.N.T. Rama Rao. Circumstances favoured his coming to power within nine months of the birth of this Regional Party. While the Opposition Parties helped Rama Rao to come to power, the Congress-I too contributed a lot to Rama Rao's victory. When Rama Rao completed 60 years, he was the hero of over 290 films. By this time, he had almost decided to retire from films and there was a lingering thought in him to enter politics to serve the people of Andhra Pradesh. But it was only all abstract idea and he had not yet decided in what form it should materialise. In the cine field, Rama Rao was very authoritative and considered a strict disciplinarian. He was very conservative and never dabbled in politics of any sort. He had no reading habit nor was he interested in the day to day affairs of the country. If there was any natural calamity in the State, Mr. Rama Rao reached spontaneously and collected large amounts of money for the benefit of the victims. He never accepted a secondary role in the film field and was known to be very intolerant towards anarchy or disorder of any sort. With this background, Rama Rao thrust himself into public affairs.

Andhra Pradesh was in turmoil ever since Dr. Chenna Reddy became the Chief Minister in 1978. Corruption was institutionalised and had become the order of the day at all levels of administration. Dr.Reddy cared little for public criticism, about nepotism and corruption in his government. Fortunately, for Dr. Reddy, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was in the political wilderness during those days, leaving been routed by the Janata Party at the centre. She had no alternative but to depend on Dr.Reddy and Mr.Devraj Urs in Karnataka for political support as well as fiends. Dr.Reddy took the maximum

advantage of this predicament of Mrs. Gandhi and at one stage, he even went to the extent of dictating terms to her. But by 1980, the internal dissidence to Dr. Reddy was mounting rapidly, and it soon burst out openly.¹⁵ Cabinet Ministers led by late Sri Rajaram and over 150 legislators demanded the removal of Dr. Reddy. They sustained their agitation within the party for over one year.

Thanks to the bungling of the Janata Party. Mrs. Gandhi and her party were swept to power in a landslide victory with a two-thirds majority. With a massive people's mandate behind her Mrs. Gandhi lost no time in removing Dr. Reddy. The exit of Dr. Reddy from the political arena coincided with Mr. N.T. Rama Rao's decision to enter politics. The later political events spread over two years strengthened Mr. Rama Rao's decision. Immediately after Dr. Reddy's exit Mrs. Gandhi unposed Mr. T. Anjaiah as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Mr. Anjaiah was defeated in 1978 Assembly elections and had been made a Member of the Rajya Sabha. Later he was the Union State Minister for Labour.

Mr. Rama Rao made consultations with his associates in the film industry and members of his family about entering politics. He sounded Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, M.P. whom he had known for a long time but it was actually Mr. Chandra Babu Naidu who persuaded Mr. Rama Rao to jump into politics. Mr. Naidu was a Minister in Anjaiah's Cabinet, and became the son-in-law of Mr. Rama Rao later. At that stage Mr. Naidu and others thought that a seat in Rajya Sabha would satisfy Mr. Rama Rao's political aspirations. Obviously they were underestimating his plans. Mr. Rama Rao met Mr. Anjaiah at Chandrababu Naidu's place but from then on Mr. Anjaiah avoided meeting Mr. Rama Rao. News reached Dethi High Command about Mr. Rao's intentions to start a Regional Party. And by this time, everyone was totally fed up with Anjaiah and his Government which made a mockery of democracy. Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram was selected to replace Mr. Anjaiah as the Chief Minister of Andhra

Pradesh. During this period, there was a pause for the still unborn Regional Party. The High Command made frantic enquiries about the Regional Party but Mr. Venkataram promised them that as long as he was the Chief Minister Mr. Rama Rao would not form any Regional Party. Mr. Rama Rao had sent a congratulatory message to Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram on his coming to power. He also attended the swearing-in ceremony and was seen hugging the new Chief Minister. This gave an impression to everyone that Mr. Rama Rao would not start a Regional Party in the State. However things did not go smoothly. Mr. Venkatram who inducted Mr. Chandrababu Naidu into his Ministry, gave him a State Minister's rank with the Minor Irrigation portfolio while another Congress-I leader Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy was given a berth with Cabinet rank as Excise Minister. This disgusted Mr. Rama Rao and once again he became very active with regard to the Regional Party. Meanwhile, Mr. Nadendla Bhaskar Rao, a senior Congress-I leader, anxiously waited for Venkatram to give him a berth in the Ministry or the Speaker's post in the Legislative Assembly. As nothing materialised, Mr. Bhaskar Rao decided to join hands with Mr. Rama Rao. As Rama Rao was in Ooty, shooting for a film, Mr. Bhaskar Rao telephoned him and asked him to rush back to Hyderabad. Mr. Rama Rao flew back to Hyderabad and held consultations with Bhaskar Rao and Chakradhar (Ex M.P.) along with others and announced that he intended to start a Regional Party under the name "TELUGU DESAM". This news was received enthusiastically all over the State by the numerous fans of Rama Rao. The first convention of the party was to be held on 10th April at the Nizam College grounds in Hyderabad. It was at this juncture that the Telugu Daily Eenadu came into the picture.

On the day Rama Rao announced his intention to start a Regional Party (21 March 1982), Eenadu, the Telugu Daily with the largest circulation took up the cause of Mr. Rama Rao and his party. Rama Rao came into contact with Mr. Ramoji Rao, the Chief Editor of Eenadu and discussed about the future plans and programmes of

the party. From then onwards not a day passed when Eenadu did not give front page publicity to Mr. Rama Rao and his party. While all other newspapers maintained a low-key coverage for Mr. Rama Rao, Eenadu took it up as a personal challenge and decided to help Rama Rao in ousting Congress-I from the State. Since Dr. Reddy became the Chief Minister, Eenadu continuously exposed the faults of the Congress-I Government. In continuation of this policy, the Daily used Mr. Rama Rao and the Telugu Desam Party for an anti-establishment stand.

Mr. Rama Rao formally declared the name of the Regional Party as Telugu Desam on 28th March 1982 at the public gathering in the New MLA Quarters of Hyderabad. The first State-wide convention 'Mahanadu', was held on 10th April 1982 in the Nizamn College grounds in Hyderabad. Enthusiastic workers and supporters from all over the State attended the convention and expressed their support to Telugu Desam. The convention, the first of its kind, was a grand success. Mr. Rama Rao spoke out in a highly emotional tone exposing the slavery of the State Congress-I leaders to the Centre and he explained how the self-respect of the Telugu People was mortgaged to the Delhi High Command.

While political stalwarts failed to measure the pulse of the people Rama Rao managed to provide a viable political alternative in his Telugu Desam Party. The nine-month old Telugu Desam managed to overwhelm the ninety-year old Congress party. When the layers of complacency were lifted, the Congress-I citadel was no more. What was once considered to be the strongest Congress-I bastion proved to be a mere illusion in the face of such a spirited attack mounted by the fledgeling Telugu Desam led by N.T. Rama Rao.

CHILD'S PLAY POLITICAL ACTOR

Mr. Rama Rao, after having decided on the means of his political debut, set a few conditions for his partymen. Any member of legislative assembly or the council from any party was welcomed provided he resigned from the legislative body he was elected to. Accordingly, Mr. Nadendla Bhaskar Rao resigned for the Legislative Assembly and was admitted to the Telugu Desam. Along with him, Mr. Gadde Rataiah, Mr. Adaiah and Mr. C. Narayana joined the Telugu Desam but without resigning from the Assembly. They turned out to be a nuisance, issuing statements against Rama Rao regarding the management of the Telugu Desam finances. These three were removed from the party.

On 29th May, 1982, Rama Rao addressed a convention at Tirupati which electrified the Rayalaseema districts. And from 3rd June onwards, Mr. Rama Rao toured the State addressing mammoth public meetings in almost all the important towns of the State. He was riding a wave of popularity. Youth started enrolling as members of the party from the village level, at one rupee perhead. Even children started wearing Telugu Desam badges and shouting slogans like NTR Zindabad. But all the time, Congress leaders ridiculed Mr. Rama Rao's efforts and asked him to go back to his own field instead of poking his nose in politics where he was a novice. His immensely visible popularity was ridiculed as cute glamour. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress-I High Command sent their own confidants to assess the situation in the State. Even the intelligence departments alerted the centre. Then the Centre came to the conclusion that the Chief Minister,

Mr.Venkatram was not competent enough to face the Telugu Desam Party's threat and that it needed someone who had the capacity to take on the challenge and lead the State Congress -I to a victory. It was decided that the outdated politician Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy would be the ideal person. As usual this decision was taken at Delhi and then ratified in the State Legislature Party meeting. It is indeed strange that four Chief Ministers had to run the show in a five-year term. But that is the Congress-I culture and Andhra Pradesh was no exception. This decision of the Centre to impose Mr.Vijaya BhaskarReddy as the Chief Minister came as a shot in the arm of Mr. Rama Rao. It was another weapon in his arsenal and Mr. Rama Rao made full use of it. He continued with added vigour, his tirades against the centre's domination.

The State was in the grip of a severe drought and Mr. Rama Rao announced his second tour of the State with an intention to collect funds for the drought victims. Throughout October and November Rama Rao toured the coastal districts and some parts of Telangana asking for funds. Wherever he went, people came forward voluntarily with donations both in cash and kind. Even in the remote areas of Telangana, huge crowds came to hear Rama Rao's speeches. In response to Rama Rao's appeal to the intellectuals to join his party, Mr.P. Upendra who was working with the Railways at Delhi resigned his job and joined hands with Rama Rao.Mr. N. Srinivasulu Reddy resigned from the Legislative Assembly and joined Telugu Desam. Along with Mr. Bezawada Papi Reddy, he toured the Andhra and Rayalaseema areas canvassing for support to Telugu Desam. Mr.B.Ratna Sabhapati, MR.K.Rama Chandra Reddy, Ex-IGP and Mr.Veera Swamy, and Ex-APPSC Member, joined Telugu Desam. Mr. Rama Rao succeeded in rousing the consciousness of the people wherever he went. Eenadu kept giving maximum coverage to the party and predicted that Rama Rao would sweep the polls if elections were held then.

The Election Commission decided to hold the Assembly Elections on 5th January, 1983. The same day, Rama Rao reached Hyderabad to chalk out an election programme. The Opposition Parties were anxiously awaiting some sort of electoral understanding with the Telugu Desam. At that stage, Rama Rao was prepared to leave 100 seats to the Opposition Parties. But they were too ambitious and over estimated their respective strengths. The talks went on for ten days and ultimately broke down. The Opposition Parties started selecting their respective candidates for the poll. Mrs. Menaka Gandhi who had formed the Sanjay Vichar Manch only a short while ago flew to Hyderabad and approached Mr. Rama Rao asking for ten seats in Telangana for her party. Mr. Rama Rao conceded five seats and this party was the only one to come to an electoral understanding with the Telugu Desam. This is a clear indication of the attitude and temperament of the opposition in the country.

From the day the elections were announced, thousands of applications started pouring in to the Telugu Desam office at Hyderabad. Eenadu gathered all the background information about the applicants. The selection process continued till the last and the nominations were filed till the last minute. Some people had the cheek to apply for both Congress-I as well as Telugu Desam tickets. A few people who were denied tickets by the Congress were given tickets by the Telugu Desam party. The Congress-I party tickets too were much in demand and as usual the list was finalised at the Center.

Mr. N.T. Rama Rao commenced his third and final tour of the State on 16th December 1982 after offering prayers at the Lord Venkateswara Temple at Tirumala Hills. The state wide tour was to be undertaken in a phased manner covering almost all the constituencies. From that day onwards, a Chevorlet Car turned into election vehicle, named "Chaitanya Ratham" was to

be Rama Rao's home. He lived in the car for nineteen days during his election campaign. The election atmosphere was similar to that of the 1955 elections in Andhra. Donning a khaki dress, Mr. Rama Rao addressed countless meetings and in a short-while his throat became sore and his voice turned gruff. Mr. Rama Rao was not used to such hardships but he withstood all this without flinching. Sleeping for hardly three hours a day, Rama Rao bathed and ate on the roadside. There were places where people anxiously waited for Rama Rao to listen to him even though he was delayed for over 48 hours. Such was the enthusiasms of the people that Rama Rao rarely managed to keep up his schedules, but this never deterred the crowd from waiting and they only left after they had heard his speech. Eenadu provided material for Rama Rao's speeches keeping in view the local problems of the voters. Such was the demand for Rama Rao's speeches that cassettees were prepared and sold like hot cakes everywhere. Rama Rao managed to cover hundreds of villages in almost all the constituencies in the Rayalaseema, Krishna, Guntur and Godavari Districts. Wherever he went, he managed to bring about a radical change in the voters' minds.

The Telugu Desam party made use of all possible material for the election campaign. The propaganda material was very attractive and caught the fancy of the voters. The cassettes were in great demand as most of them were satires on the scandal of the Congress-I Ministers.

The campaign of the Congress-I and other Opposition Parties was no match for that Telugu Desam. The Congress-I arranged meetings for Mr's. Ganthi and Rajiv Gandhi but it became increasingly difficult to rally crowds. The Party leaders used helicopters since they were involved in the Assembly elections in Karnataka and Tripura too. The High Command selected several constituencies which needed special treatment and large amounts were spent there. The candidates got the money

through local politicians who were known to be reliable. The Congress-I sent election material to the tune of Rs.2 lakhs to each candidate. They dumped much more into Tirupathi and Gudivada Constituencies where Mr.Rama Rao was contesting. They made an all out effort to counter the popularity of Telugu Desam.Mrs.Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi cut short of their Karnataka tour and spent more and more time in Andhra Pradesh. It was a race with time for Mr.Rama Rao while the Congress-I was in a better position in this regard as it could use helicopters. The Congress-I leaders including Mrs.Gandhi mounted attacks on Rama Rao in all their speeches, asking him to stick to his own field and labelled his party as a political farce. Even the Opposition Parties attacked Telugu Desam. Several other Opposition leaders also toured the state canvassing for their own candidates.

On 3rd January 1983, Mrs.Gandhi reached Tirupathi to address her last election meeting. On the same day Mr.Rama Rao also wound up his campaign and reached Tirupathi to address his last meeting. The meetings went off peacefully but judging by the response, one could see on which side the masses were. By nightfall, the curtain had come down on what were termed as the hottest Assembly elections that Mrs.Gandhi had to face.

PEOPLE REJECTED CONGRESS

The much awaited election results started pouring in and within no time everyone realised that the Telugu Desam was going great guns as it had established a commanding lead over the Congress-I, its nearest rival in most of the constituencies. The first result from Shadnagar went to the Congress-I candidate. It did not create much gloom in the Telugu Desam ranks as the party was not expected to do very well in Telangana, a traditional Congress-I stronghold. By the second day, almost all the results were out. The Telugu Desam had gained an absolute majority with 199 seats out of 294. The total vote secured was 96,76,590 which was 45.92% of the total valid votes polled. In the 1981 census, over 30 lakhs voters had been added to the lists when compared with the 1978 polls, making it the biggest election that the State had ever witnessed. The Congress-I had contested all the seats with a total polled votes of 70,59,965. In the 1978 elections, the Congress-I had won 177 seats with 79,08,221 votes. Even though they had got only 9 lakhs votes less in 1983, they had lost over 117 seats to the Telugu Desam. That clearly indicated the strength of Telugu Desam which secured the major share of votes. CPI contested for 48 seats and managed to win only 4, losing deposit in 29 constituencies. The CPM fared a little better, winning four seats out of the 28 it contested. Its candidates also lost their deposits in 14 constituencies. The Bharatiya Janata Party which contested in 80 constituencies won only 3 seats, losing deposits in 62 constituencies. The Lok Dal contested for 32 seats and received a thorough drubbing, losing all seats. Its candidates lost their deposit in 26 constituencies. The Congress-S party contested for nine seats and drew a blank losing deposits

for as many as 7 seats. The Congress-J contested in 80 constituencies, won one and lost deposits in 79 constituencies. The Janata Party which had won 60 seats in 1978 polls contested for 45 seats and won only one. Out of the 806 independents who were in the fray, only 17 won. The independents who won, included the candidates of the Majlis party which won five seats in the old city Hyderabad alone. The Sanjay Vichar Manch making its electoral debut with an understanding with the Telugu Desam won four of the five seats it contested in Telangana. The Congress-I candidates lost deposits in only 15 constituencies while the Telugu Desam candidates lost deposits in 28 constituencies. Their candidates lost heavily in Telangana where as many as 25 lost their deposits.

The Telugu Desam contested for almost all the scheduled caste reserved constituencies and won 27. The Congress-I won nine while the Sanjay Vichar Manch won only one. In the constituencies reserved for the Scheduled tribes, the Congress-I and Telugu Desam bagged six seats each while the CPI, the CPM and Independents got one seat each.

Telugu Desam candidates polled over 50% votes in almost 11 districts while the Congress-I candidates crossed this mark in a few constituencies. The Telugu Desam candidates won over 80 seats with a majority of over 20,000. In 60 seats they won by 10,000 and in 26 by over a thousand votes majority.

Among the Telugu Desam candidates who won, were 46 Kammas, 39 Reddys, 33 from Backward communities, 28 Scheduled castes (including Manch), 14 Kapus, 12 Kshatriyas, 7 Scheduled Tribes, 2 Brahmins, 4 Minorities and others 2. There were eight women candidates from this party. And for the first time in the history of Andhra Pradesh, 8 candidates from the Kamma Community were elected from Telangana. There were also record number of 39 Scheduled Caste candidates. The

average age of the contestants was 41 which was much lower than ever before. Out of the 294 legislators, 190 were elected for the first time, some of them came to Hyderabad city for the first time.

The results in Andhra Pradesh along with the results of the Karnataka and Tripura polls created a sensation all over the country. The fact, that the Congress-I was routed in South India, which was considered as a strong base of the Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi attracted even the world media. Magazines like Time, Newsweek and even The Washington Post commented on the results, giving various reasons for the Congress debacle.

Over one third of the total electorate favoured Rama Rao and Telugu Desam candidates. All the other parties put together could not manage that many votes. This clearly indicates that the votes cast in favour of Telugu Desam transcend caste, community and region. There is no doubt of the fact that Rama Rao had managed to take away many votes from the 'vote bank' of the Congress-I in the State. When compared to the 1978 elections, the Congress-I party got nearly nine lakh votes less. This was despite the fact that nearly 30 lakh voters were added to the voting list. A survey of a cross section of voters in the State shows that women and backward classes solidly supported the new party while the scheduled castes had some reservations in supporting the Telugu Desam.

Since 1971, Mrs. Gandhi had supported the Harijans and succeeded in rousing their consciousness. During the emergency too, she announced special schemes for their upliftment. The Congress-I party under her leadership took her line and all over the country several programmes were started for the Harijans with a view to catching their votes and creating a 'vote bank'. The Harijans who were exploited over the decades by the upper caste people found a mentor in the ruling party which appeared

to work for their cause. It went a long way in giving them moral courage. But unfortunately all the schemes did not prove to be vote catching devices. There came a feeling among the Harijans that Mrs. Gandhi was a sincere leader who was doing her best to help them but it was only these State Politicians who were not implementing the schemes. The Congress party exploited these schemes and the doles that were offered to the Harijans almost never reached them.

Meanwhile the Backward Classes began to react sharply against the Congress-I party since they felt that all the attention was being shown to Harijans only and that too at their cost. This paradoxical situation prevails in the villages even now. The upper caste people are not reconciled to Harijans coming up to their level in several spheres. At this juncture, Mr. Rama Rao entered the political arena. He had influenced the people for over thirty years with his historical, social and mythological roles in the films. This charisma helped him immensely in the election. The upper caste voters, especially, the Kamma community to which Rama Rao belongs identified itself with him. This was especially so in the Coastal and Rayalaseema districts. The peasant community welcomed his entry. The backward classes throughout voted against the Congress party which had neglected them in all spheres. Women who had earlier voted for Mrs. Gandhi in the 1978 elections were totally disappointed with her party's performance in the State, and switched over to the Telugu Desam.

Apart from all this, the Congress-I party had created a fertile ground for Rama Rao with its deeds. The opposition parties were considered useless. They did not have the capacity to contest all the seats leave alone providing an alternative to the Congress-I party. The two years of the Janata rule at the centre and the debacle that followed erased the last traces of credibility.

The two communist parties were very active in the 1952-1956 elections. But they lost their support among the Harijans and weaker sections. The leadership of the party remained with the upper caste politicians and despite shedding crocodile tears for the Harijans and other Backward Communities, they could not succeed in the elections. After 1960 both the Communist Parties remained as negligible political forces with a handful of Assembly seats. The Naxalite groups opposed elections and for over a decade adopted violent means to achieve their objectives. Though many people sympathised with their objectives, they did not support the violent methods adopted to achieve social justice. A section of the Naxalites decided to participate in the elections and contested in 78 constituencies. One candidate was elected but he too defected to the Congress-I. This shameful defection completely destroyed the sympathy of the voters. Some of the radicals contested in the 1983 elections too but with little success.

There was no walk of life which the Congress-I had not corrupted during its rule in the State. And Rama Rao with his promise of a clean and efficient administration had a cake walk.

All the elected Telugu Desam Legislators were asked to reach Hyderabad on 7th January. The first Legislature Party meeting of the TDP was held at the Jubilee Hall where Mr. Rama Rao was unanimously elected leader. His name was proposed by N. Srinivasulu Reddy and seconded by Mr.N.Bhaskar Rao, Rama Rao read out a pledge and all the MLAs were asked to take the oath. Mr. N. Srinivasulu Reddy in his speech said that the Telugu Desam must occupy all Zilla Parishaths and Samithis for smooth administration. Senior members of the party went to the Governor and handed over the party's resolution informing him the unanimous election of Rama Rao as its leader. By that time, Mr.Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy submitted his resignation and was asked to continue till further arrangements were made. Mr.

K.C. Abraham, the Governor asked Mr. Rama Rao to form the new Ministry.

The intelligence department swung into action and prepared break-up figures of the legislators, caste and religion-wise. They also prepared the background information of the would be Ministers. The Chief Minister had hurried consultations before finalising the names of the Ministers, and on 9th January the list was submitted to the Governor for his customary approval.

The oath taking ceremony was arranged at the Lal Bahadur Stadium, Hyderabad. And, for the first time, a Chief Minister and his Cabinet was sworn in among the public. It was a fifteen member compact Ministry and everywhere there were signs of relief after enduring the airbus cabinet of the Congress-I. Governments especially that of Mr. Anjaiah. After the Governor left, the Chief Minister read out a prepared speech (the last speech prepared by Eenadu), and promised the thousands of people who had come there that his party would fulfil all its election promises. Several prominent personalities attended the swearing in ceremony including, Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy and Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram.

CENTRAL AUTHORITY QUESTIONED

With the emergence of the Telugu Desam as a powerful Regional Party the Congress-I was unhappy. Mrs.Gandhi had gone on record saying that regional parties are harmful as well as dangerous to the unity of the Nation. She was of the opinion that only a strong Central Government could keep the Nation unified. On the other hand, Mr.Rama Rao countered this argument by saying that only powerful limbs could create a healthy body. He was of the opinion that strong State Governments are necessary for strengthening the unity of the country. In any case the people of Andhra Pradesh backed Rama Rao's ideas and his party was voted to power with a massive mandate. In 1971, the people of Telangana had voted for the Telangana Praja Samithi which was a regional party. Hence, regional parties are not a new phenomena in Andhra Pradesh. But the ruling party at the Centre did not take kindly to the victory of the Telugu Desam. Mrs.Gandhi was not even sportive enough to send a congratulatory message to Mr.Rama Rao on his landslide victory.

The Legislative Council in the State was used as a political asylum for defeated leaders of various political parties. The Telugu Desam decided to abolish this body and made an election promise to press for its abolition. This also meant a saving of over Rs.60 lakhs per annum. The Government passed a resolution in the Legislative Assembly asking the Central Government to introduce a Bill in the Parliament for the abolition of the Upper House. This resolution was passed with two thirds majority and sent to the Centre. In spite of sending several reminders to the

Centre, the resolution was not taken up in the Parliament. Later it was conceded and Council was abolished.

Mr. Rama Rao started playing an important role in the politics of the country. A majority of the opposition leaders were seeking his support. Mr. Rama Rao too did not lag behind in encouraging them. The first ever Conclave of the Opposition Leaders was held at Vijayawada in May 1983 under the stewardship of Mr. Rama Rao. All the opposition parties sent their representatives and it was considered a grand success. The meeting ended with a demand for more powers to the State Governments and it asked the Central Government not to encroach upon the States' powers. The leaders who participated in the conclave were Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the then Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir, Mrs. Menaka Gandhi, Mr. S.S. Barnala (Akali Dal), Mr. L.K. Advani (BJP), Mr. Ravindra Verma (Janata), Mr. S.N. Mishra (Lokdal), Mr. Sharad Pawar (Congress-S), Mr. H.N. Bahuguna (Democratic Socialist Party), Mr. M. Basavapunnaiah (CPI-M), Mr. C. Rajeshwar Rao (CPI), Mr. Rathubhai Advani (Rashtriya Congress).

Meanwhile all the non-Congress-I State Governments raised their voices against the powers of the Central Government and questioned the omnipotent attitude of the Centre. To make them quiet, the Central Government appointed Justice Sarkaria to go into the gamut of Centre-State Relations. But the terms of reference of the Commission were not elucidated. The Opposition Conclave at Vijayawada pleaded for the expansion of the scope of the Sarkaria Commission.

A second conclave was planned at Chandigarh under the leadership of the Akali Dal. The conclave had to be shifted to Delhi due to adverse conditions in Punjab. Nothing came out of this conclave as the various parties could not agree on a national

alternative to the Congress Party. Meanwhile the opposition parties were divided into two camps. The Bharatiya Janata Party and the Lokdal decided to form a National Democratic Alliance keeping their respective identities. The United Front was formed by the Janata Party along with Congress-S, Democratic Socialist Party, Rashtriya Congress, and some other parties. The third Conclave to be held in Srinagar was thus doomed from the beginning with the NDA leaders refusing to attend. Both these alliances approached Mr. Rama Rao for his support in the Lok Sabha Elections. But Mr. Rama Rao decided not to align himself with any Front.

The Central Government started interfering in the affairs of the State, though in a subtle manner. Mrs. Gandhi commented publicly on the decision of the Government in A.P. to reduce the retirement age of government employees from 58 to 55. Mr. Rama Rao immediately sought a clarification and the Prime Minister replied that she had voiced the stand of her party. During the NGO's strike, Mr. Rama Rao approached the AIR for the second time to address the people of the State. The authorities refused to grant permission. This mounted to sheer callousness towards the Chief Minister of a State. Though the issue was sorted out soon, it left a bitter taste and relations with the Centre were even more strained. The entire press took up Mr. Rama Rao's cause and attacked the Central Government over this issue.

When the people of Madras City were suffering from severe shortage of drinking water, the Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu met in Hyderabad. The Telugu Ganga Project materialised at this meeting. The scheme was meant to supply water from the river Krishna to Rayalaseema area of Andhra Pradesh as well as to the people of Madras City. This project was appreciated in all quarters and the Prime Minister attended the inauguration function in Madras. The cost of the

project was to be borne by both the Governments. The Tamil Nadu government named it as Dravida Ganga. The Union Minister Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, stated that the Centre would not give any money towards this project. This came at a time when the State had requested the Centre to take up the project as it served the people of the South. The people of Rayalaseema resented the Centre's attitude. Similarly the State Government has asked the Centre to take up several projects and schemes of the State but nothing has materialised out of these requests.

The Lokayukta Bill was passed by the State Legislature and sent to the President for his approval but he signed it only after six months.

The State suffered extensive losses due to unusual floods and cyclones, storms for nearly a fortnight during October 1983. Though the loss of life was negligible, extensive damage occurred to crops and cattle. The State Government immediately swung into action and took steps to provide help to the people. The Central Government was requested for a sum of Rs.10 crores as interim relief. The Prime Minister asked two Central Ministers of Andhra Pradesh Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy to tour the affected areas. She came to the State on 9th October, 1983. She resented the attitude of the State Government in attacking the Centre. 'Why should I give more funds when they are constantly attacking me?' was the attitude of the Prime Minister. This angered the State Government and all the Opposition Parties. The Press was vehement in criticizing the Prime Minister for politicising the cyclone issue.

The State Government attacked the Centre over the release of funds. A Central Team came to Andhra Pradesh and visited the flood affected areas. The Central Team was to assess the extent of damage done and the financial help needed by the State. Mr. Rama Rao appealed to the people to donate liberally to the victims. The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister gave Rs. 1 crore towards

the relief fund and several other private bodies came forward with donations. The Central Government released Rs.78.88 crores at last and meanwhile, the State Congress-I leaders attacked the Chief Minister for neglecting the relief works.

On the whole, the relations between the State and the Centre were not cordial. There were areas of constant conflict which appear to have no solutions. The Telugu Desam Government had demanded more financial autonomy and opposed the levying of Excise Duty replacing the Sales Tax on several items as proposed by the Central Government. But it had not adopted openly the anti-Centre stance like that of the West Bengal Government. Being a non-Congress Government it was able to raise its voice against the domination of the Centre. The conflict between the National and the Regional Parties was continued. With the new Government of Rajiv Gandhi coming to power, there is renewed hope for the betterment of Centre State relations. As far as Andhra Pradesh was concerned both the Parties knew that criticising each other would lead them nowhere. And with Telugu Desam having a strong lobby in the Lok Sabha, it was expected that the areas of conflict especially regarding overdrafts and taxation would receive much needed overhauling.

Dr. Y. S. RAJASEKHAR REDDY IN OPPOSITION



For the State Congress-I leaders, sitting in the opposition was an experience about which they were not at all happy. But the peoples' verdict was final and they had no option. For some weeks after the new government was sworn in 1983 the Congress-I leaders were confident that they would be able to topple the Telugu Desam Government in a short time. For a Party which had engineered mammoth defections under Mr.Bhajan Lal in Haryana, toppling a Government would be very simple. But Andhra Pradesh was not Haryana and the Congress-I found the going rather tough. Soon the idea of toppling the Government was postponed and the Congress-I Legislators reconciled themselves to the idea of being in the opposition for a long time to come.

Several leaders held Press Conferences, undertook Padayatras and resorted to other gimmicks to regain public sympathy. The prominent leaders who attacked the policies of the Telugu Desam Government were Dr.Y.S. Rajasekhhar Reddy, Mr.Rosaiah, Mr.T. Anjaiah, Mr. Govardhan Reddy and Mr.Kesav Rao. Dr.Rajasekhhar Reddy, Deputy Leader of the Congress-I Legislature Party, was very vocal in his opposition to the Government.

Seeing Dr. Rajasekhhar Reddy's defiant posture, Mrs. Gandhi appointed him as the PCC President in 1983.Mr.K.Obul Reddy, a Lok Sabha Congress-I Member from Cuddapah resigned from the Party in protest against this appointment as they had been rivals in the Cuddapah District for a long time.

Dr. Rajasekhhar Reddy (34) was the youngest PCC President

and was supposed to enthuse a demoralised Congress-I cadre and inject new spirit into the Party workers. The Congress-I Party in the State is full of dissidence and Dr.Reddy's appointment was not received favourably by the Party's Legislators and leaders of Telangana region. An Executive Committee was nominated by the Centre and it had every Congress-I leader of the State in it. This offset the enthusiasm over the nomination of Dr. Reddy as the Party President.

On the whole, the Congress-I Party had not been able to create the image of a good Opposition Party and had no sympathy from any quarter so far.

Came the Bhaskar Rao saga, and the Congress leaders scenting a comeback went all out in backing the lies and political blackmail of Bhaskar Rao. All of them temporarily united to wreck the Telugu Desam Party. The fact that they were helping Bhaskar Rao, their old foe did not matter to them. The fact that they were contributing to the murder of democratic norms and ideals was not their concern. What mattered was that Rama Rao had demolished them and they were unable to stomach their disgrace. They solely missed their cars, official status and power and were willing to go to any extent to get them back. Such was the moral and political degeneration of these so-called leaders. The move misfired and only led to a deeper distress among the people.Mrs. Gandhi's death, though shocking, came as a boon to these local Congress men. Their inertia disappeared and once again all the fending groups came together to inflict a defeat on Rama Rao in the 1984 Lok Sabha polls. The elections came and went. So did the 1985 Assembly elections. The Congress was once more hounded out and barely retained a majority of their old seats.Dr.Rajasekhara Reddy who incidentally got the highest winning margin, for any Congress candidate in the State (30,000)resigned from the Presidentship of the PCC. Mr. Jalagam Vengal Rao, M.P.was nominated as the President of the PCC. Mr.

Baga Reddy replaced Madan Mohan who did not contest despite being given the Party nominations, as the Legislature Party Leader. The Congress MLAs who were now only 50 in a house of 294 were but a despaired lot. Most of them were old hands but helpless in front of such a massive Telugu Desam and its allies. Even in Telangana the Party has lost its grass roots and grass root workers. There was no structural organisation worth the name. Internal squabbles have further aggravated this political isolations. Whether the party learnt from its past mistakes and try to redeem its lost glory by 1990 elections was yet to be seen. So far, nothing seemed to suggest such an introspection.

POLITICAL SABOTAGE

Mrs.Indira Gandhi and the Congress-I Party proved that in a democracy, majority is not the sole criterion to decide upon the leadership. What happened in Andhra Pradesh from 14th August to 15th September 1984 was a fraud in the name of democracy and elected governments. Mrs. Gandhi and her party showed the least respect to the Assembly and the sovereign people. But they ultimately failed in their power game and had to obey the voter's will and surrender the power to the legitimate leader who had the majority support among the people and the legislature.

In the Andhra Pradesh Assembly N.T. Rama Rao was the leader of 199 Members out of the total house of 294 legislators. He started the Telugu Desam Party in 1982 and won the elections with a massive mandate and displaced the Congress-I which had been ruling the State ever Since independence. Congress-I became the main opposition with 60 members. All the non-Congress-I members and independents put together were only 19 and they were extending support to Rama Rao.

N.T. Rama Rao inducted into his cabinet in January 1983 four former Congress Members one of them, N. Bhaskar Rao, the Finance Minister, was in the Cabinets of Dr. Channa Reddy and also T. Anjaiah during 1978-81. At that time, he had developed a close association with the late Sanjay Gandhi and Dr.Channa Reddy punished him for his clandestine activities by taking away the major portfolios from him. He remained a Minister for Weights & Measures. Mr. Bhaskar Rao rebelled against Dr. Channa Reddy and led a campaign until the latter

was replaced by Mr. Anjaiah. But Bhaskar Rao could not continue for long in the Cabinet of Mr. Anjaiah who dropped him very soon. Mr. Bhaskar Rao waited in vain hoping to get a berth in the Ministry of B. Venkatram during 1982. A frustrated Mr. Bhaskar Rao could induce quite a few of his followers into Telugu Desam Party and later some of them got elected as Legislators. He became the Finance Minister in Rama Rao's Cabinet. Ever since, Bhaskar Rao had aspired to become the Chief Minister and had been waiting for an opportunity. Meanwhile was in touch with his former colleagues in Congress-I and planned sabotage from within at the appropriate time. He defied the Party discipline by abusing Rama Rao both privately as well in public. The disciplinary committee of Telugu Desam recommended his removal from the Cabinet but Rama Rao was lenient towards him, underestimating Bhaskar Rao's strength and wily manoeuvres.

Mr. N.T. Rama Rao was advised by his doctors to undergo heart (bypass) surgery in the USA. While Mr. Ramna Rao was planning to go in July, Bhaskar Rao planned to topple the Ministry. The plot was hatched on 17th July, 1984 in Delhi where Mr. Bhaskar Rao had detailed discussions with the Congress-I leaders. Mr. Bhaskar Rao promised them that he would lure 95 legislators away from Telugu Desam and the Congress-I promised to extend its support to form a Ministry. This event was to take place on 22nd August at Hyderabad. Somehow the news reached Mr. Ramna Rao and he decided to rush back to the Capital from USA. Communal tensions were created in old Hyderabad between Muslims and Hindus so that the Government could be removed as it failed in maintaining law and order. Curfew was imposed in the old city for nearly two weeks continuously. Central Ministers visited the city to observe the law and order situation. But actually they were holding discussions with Bhaskar Rao to execute their plot. Mr. Bhaskar Rao telephonically asked Mr. Rama Rao to take sufficient rest in

USA and requested him to handover the administration to him temporarily. He collected the signatures of 95 MLAs supporting his proposal.

Mr.N.T. Rama Rao landed Hyderabad on 14th August and he was received at the airport by Mr. Bhaskar Rao who embraced him with an outward show of affection. Minutes after this incident, Mr.Rama Rao recommended the dismissal of Mr. Bhaskar Rao from the Ministry. To pre-empt this action, Mr. Bhaskar Rao sent his resignation to the Governor. Mr.Ram Lal, the Governor was obliged to accept the recommendation of Mr. Rama Rao. On 15th August while Mr. Rama Rao was taking the salute in the parade grounds, Mr. Bhaskar Rao went to the Governor with the claim that he had the majority support in the Telugu Desam Legislature Party and hence he should be invited to form the Ministry. He submitted a list of 95 legislators. On the same day Mr.Rama Rao's followers also visited Raj Bhavan to show their strength in person but Mr.Ram Lal refused to see them and dispersed them saying that he would invite them at the appropriate time, if necessary. On 16th August Mr. Ram Lal was told by the Congress-I Legislature Party Leader, Madan Mohan, that their party would extend support to Bhaskar Rao. The Congress-I High Command sent Mr.Panikkar from Delhi as observer and they certified that they had seen 95 Legislators in the camp of Mr. Bhaskar Rao. The green signal came from Delhi and the Governor asked Mr. Rama Rao to resign since he had lost the majority and invited Mr.Bhaskar Rao to form the Ministry. Mr. Rama Rao refused to resign and then brought all his followers (150 in Telugu desam and 19 in combined Opposition) to Raj Bhavan. They were initially refused permission but later Mr. Ram Lal allowed Rama Rao and the Opposition Leaders inside. The Governor was deaf to the reasonable pleas of the leaders. He repeatedly said that he was thoroughly satisfied about the loss of majority support to Mr.Rama Rao. He abruptly asked the police

officers to remove Mr. Rama Rao and others and arrest them. He hurriedly sworn in Bhaskar Rao as Chief Minister. While this drama was going on inside the Raj Bhavan, the followers of Rama Rao (all legislators) were sitting on the road outside Raj Bhavan. they were molested and insulted by the goondas of Bhaskar Rao and that too in the presence of the police. Then the Legislators and Rama Rao were removed and taken to the police control room. The police announced that they had arrested 169 Legislators. The same list was released by Mrs.T. Venkataratnam, Secretary Legislature TDP to the Press. When the legislators were later released, all of them drove to the Ramakrishna studios located in the heart of the city. Mr. Rama Rao's legitimate Ministry was dismissed and Bhaskar Rao became the new Chief Minister.

The entire State reacted against the action of the Governor and observed bundh on 17th August which resulted in 17 deaths. The horse trading began with the active support of the Congress-I party. The legislators in Ramakrishna Studios were harassed, lured, enticed and offered bribes. Mr. Rama Rao decided to take all his followers to meet the President of India. On 19th August they started out for Delhi by the Andhra Pradesh Express from Secunderabad. They were refused reservation and the police repeatedly interrogated them both at the railway station and at the studios. But all of them firmly told them that they were willingly going to Delhi. They were to meet the President on 20th August but the train was delayed wantonly. Mr. Rama Rao travelled by air but his plane was also deliberately delayed on 20th August. The President of India said that he was willing to receive Rama Rao and his followers whenever they went. They were paraded on 21st August at Rashtrapathi Bhavan in the presence of the National and International press. Then all the Legislators were flown to Bangalore in a chartered plane. Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde, the Chief Minister of Karnataka took great interest in safeguarding the Legislators and kept them at Nandi Hills in Mysore for nearly 19 days. Bhaskar Rao and the

Congress-I party made all sorts of attempts to lure some more legislators from Rama Rao's camp, but in vain.

The opposition parties in both Houses of Parliament condemned the undemocratic action of the Governor and Congress-I. Mrs. Indira Gandhi in her reply lied that she was never consulted by Ram Lal and she came to know of it only through some news agency. Earlier Mr. Ram Lal had given 30 days time to Mr. Bhaskar Rao to prove his strength in the Assembly. After the statement of Mrs. India Gandhi in the Parliament, Mr. Ram Lal resigned (4th August) and left for Delhi. Mr. Shankar Dayal Sarma was appointed in his place and took charge on 19th August and on the same day Mr. Bhaskar Rao inducted 17 ministers into his cabinet. Mr. Tangi Satyanarayana, Mr. Bhim Reddy, who were the speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Assembly respectively in Ramarao's Government were among these 17 Ministers. He appointed 15 MLAs as Chairmen of various bodies. He also started taking vital decisions and undoing many of the decisions of the earlier Government.

Mr. Rama Rao repeatedly demanded convening of the Assembly and asked the Governor not to allow Mr. Bhaskar Rao to expand his Ministry. Mr. S.D. Sarma maintained a stoic silence on all these representations. The entire country reacted against the actions of the Governor and Congress-I in A. P. The Press in the country and abroad also vehemently protested against the rape of democracy. Congress-I and Mr. Bhaskar Rao in turn asked for the release of the legislators from Rama Rao's camp, so that they maybe "purchased". They said that Assembly could not be convened unless and until the legislators were released from Karnataka. Mr. Bhaskar Rao attracted land grabbers, goondas, rowdies and pairaveekars into the Secretariat and anti-social elements gained the upper hand. Shady deals were struck. Money changed hands. M. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, the Central Minister from A.P. camped at Hyderabad to help Bhaskar Rao.

Rama Rao was advised complete rest due to erratic pulse beat but he did not pay any heed to the doctor's advice. He addressed public meetings at Vijayawada, Guntur, Tenali, Hyderabad, Nellore, Ongole, Tirupati, Anantapur, Bangalore and Madras. Lakhs of people attended these meetings and expressed their support for the cause of democracy. The Opposition Party leaders too joined in this crusade.

PUCI took up the cause and Mr.V.M.Tarkunde,Mr.N.A. Palkhivala,Mr.Arun Shourie addressed public meetings at Hyderabad on 1st September where thousands of youth and intellectuals participated.

At last, the Governor was forced to convene the Assembly inspite of Bhaskar Rao and Congress-I. The Assembly was to meet on 11th September.Mr.M.Baga Reddy, a senior legislator of Congress-I, was nominated as protem speaker.Mr.Baga Reddy, a staunch follower of Mrs.Indira Gandhi, had earlier resigned from the State Cabinet to work as the election agent of Mrs.Indira Gandhi in Medak, A.P. The Assembly was convened to prove the strength of Mr.Bhaskar Rao.Instead,Mr.BagaReddy introduced other items like condolence motions etc. in the agenda.

When the date of the Assembly was announced, Mr. N.T. Rama Rao appealed to the people to come to Hyderabad in large numbers, so that they could hear the messages of the National Opposition Leaders in a public meeting on 11th September. To prevent this attempt Mr. Bhaskar Rao's camp created law and order problems and imposed curfew.On 9th September, processions which had to converge by the evening at Hussain Sagar to immerse Ganesh idols were allowed in the old city. This sort of religious revivalism was encouraged during Dr. Channa Reddy's regime in 1978 and every year the religious frenzy is on the increase. The goondas from Mr.Bhaskar Rao's camp went round with petrol and burnt shops belonging only to Muslims

on the main roads through which the procession moved. They attacked the Muslim residents in several localities. As communal riots flared up, curfew was clamped. An impression was created that the entire arson was indulged in by BJP Mr. Bhaskar Rao also gave that impression in his address to the people over Doordarshan.

The next day i.e., 10th September, Mr. Rama Rao along with the legislators supporting him and several PUCL leaders arrived at the outskirts of the city from Mysore. The police harassed them for hours and asked them to travel in police vans. After prolonged negotiations, the police allowed them to drive directly to the Assembly building where they collected their identity cards. Here again Bhaskar Rao's followers tried in vain to abduct a few legislators.

The Assembly session was held on 11th September under heavy security and curfew. The Press from abroad and the National Press were not allowed into the galleries. Visitors were prohibited. Legislators were screened with the help of metal detectors. Earlier Mr. Rama Rao had asked the protem speaker to arrange a separate block for his supporters. Mr. Baga Reddy could not recognise Telugu Desam members on either side though his party had extended support to Bhaskar Rao's faction. On the first day of the Assembly, Bhaskar Rao's group came with the determination not to allow the proceedings to run smoothly. They know pretty well that if the vote of confidence was sought they would be the losers. They created ugly scenes, in the Assembly, abused Rama Rao and his followers, and attempted to manhandle some legislators. Surprisingly, Congress-I also joined in this rowdiness. They pulled out mikes, broke the benches and created pandemonium. Mr. Baga Reddy adjourned the House till the next day, giving more time to Mr. Bhaskar Rao for horse-trading. On 12th and 13th September also similar incidents occurred in the Assembly. On the last two days the Congress-I kept quiet, but Bhaskar Rao's group even went to the extent of

throwing on the floor a hand bomb which however failed to explode and was later diffused. But for the presence of marshals, Bhaskar Rao's group would have whisked away some legislators in the hired taxis which were kept ready outside.

During the Assembly Session Mr. Rama Rao called on the Governor and appraised him of the situation and took all the legislators supporting him and presented them to the Governor. Bhaskar Rao's group abused the legislative forum and converted it into a fish market. On 13th September Mr. Baga Reddy adjourned the house and intimated to the house that he had resigned as Protem Speaker. He was admitted into the hospital for treatment of his blood pressure and discharged after a couple of days.

The Governor appointed Mr. Salauddin Owaisi, leader of Itihad Majlis group as Protem Speaker. Mr. Owaisi had hurled unprintable abuses in the Assembly against Rama Rao during the earlier session. Naturally Rama Rao objected to his appointment. Mr. Owaisi can neither speak nor write English or Telugu which are essential to conduct the House. He was also involved in communal riots and criminal charges were pending against him. Already the Majlis members were supporting Bhaskar Rao.

Meanwhile Mr. Bhaskar Rao made futile efforts to wire over the legislators from Rama Rao's side. The opposition parties throughout the country were prepared for agitation against the attitude of Mr. Bhaskar Rao's Government and Congress-I. Mr. Owaisi, the Protem Speaker decided to convene the Assembly on 20th September. By 16th September the one month's time given to Mr. Bhaskar Rao to prove his majority was to be over.

Mr. Wali, the Union Home Secretary visited Hyderabad and reported back to the Home Minister about the grave situation in Hyderabad. Mr. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, Union Minister who was camping in Hyderabad to buy the Legislators for NBR rushed to

Delhi and gave his report to the High Command. Mr. Rajeev Gandhi and Indira Gandhi reiterated in the meetings that they had nothing to do with the internal quarrels of Telugu Desam Party. Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, Home Minister and Mr. Rajeev Gandhi defended the action of Mr. Ram Lal, the ousted Governor. The political pundits of the county were not able to predict the outcome from the stalemate. Some expected President's rule. Mr. Mukhasir Shaw, the Chairman of the Legislative Council visited Bangalore and called on the Prime Minister. He appraised her of the situation in Hyderabad. Informed sources say that by then the Prime Minister had already indicated to the Governor that Mr. Bhaskar Rao should be asked to step down. Had the Congress-I withdrawn its support to Bhaskar Rao, automatically he would have resigned. But Congress-I wanted to throw the blame on Bhaskar Rao for failing to muster the required strength.

On 16th September, Mr. Bhaskar Rao completed one month of his usurped Chief Ministership. He was asked by the Governor to resign for not being in a position to prove his majority. Mr. Bhaskar Rao reluctantly submitted his resignation and it was a political murder for all his followers.

Mr. Rama Rao was sworn in as Chief Minister on 16th September and the Governor asked him to prove his strength in the Assembly within one month. Mr. Rama Rao said that he was willing to prove it within three days. Mr. Salauddin Owaisi was removed as Protem Speaker and Mr. Mahendranath was nominated as Protem Speaker. On 20th September, the Assembly met. The entire Press was allowed to witness the proceedings. Mr. Bliaskar Rao and his supporters thought that they would lose face if the Confidence Vote took place. They played the same old game of disruption, but this time the Protem Speaker was fine and ordered the marshals to remove members who were obstructing the proceedings. While the election of the regular Speaker was taking place, Mr. Bhaskar Rao objected to the Protem Speaker's nomination and started shouting. His followers alleged

that the secrecy of voting was being violated and thus created a scene. Five legislators were removed from the House. On that pretext Mr. Bhaskar Rao and Congress-I legislators left the House and met the Governor. Meanwhile, the election of the Speaker was over. Mr.N.Venkatratnam got 169 votes and Mr.Vijayaramaraju (Bhaskar Rao's candidate) got 9 votes. Immediately the Speaker called for the vote of confidence and put the figure in favour of Rama Rao as 161 and opponents nil.

This was how the month-long defection drama ended. All the Opposition Parties, PUCL and the people hailed the victory of democracy for which Mr. Rama Rao had become a symbol. When the dust settled over the issue, it left a trail of destruction all over the State. Several people were killed in the violent agitations especilally in Anantapur and Rayalaseema, property worth several crores of rupees was destroyed. But perhaps the most significant aspet of this sordid episode was the assertion of the strength of the common man who had rallied behind Rama Rao all the way. It was proved beyond doubt that the basic tenets of democracy all our country could survive and triumph despite several strains. As long as men like Bhaskar Rao and Ramlal exist, politics in our country will never be free from corruption and vice. It is for the people to act as check to such nefarious activities that almost succeeded in dealing a mortal blow to democracy.

Mr.Bliaskar Rao served as Lok Sabha Member and later marginalised in Congress Party.

N.T.R. BOUNCED BACK

N.T. Rama Rao retained all the former Ministers who had stayed with him during the crisis and also inducted a few others. When the Telugu Desam MLAs realised that Rama Rao was not as invincible as they thought, they resorted to political blackmail of the lowest order by threatening to defect and thereby topple his Ministry which had a slender majority. The political circles commented on it and it was only then, that Mr. Rama Rao realised the importance of legislators! The same people who once feared to talk before Rama Rao now got away with anything they said.

On 31st October, 1984, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two of her own security guards. As the whole Nation remained stunned and silent, Rama Rao rushed to Delhi to pay homage to the departed leader. There was a tremendous outburst of sympathy for Rajiv Gandhi who was sworn in as the new Prime Minister. And to cash in on this, the Congress party decided to go in for the Lok Sabha polls. Elections to the State were announced once again and for a brief period, the voter was the sovereign Mr. Rama Rao was fed up with the constant pressures and threats and in a surprise move, recommended the dissolution of the Assembly. The Congress party did not want to repeat its past mistakes and the Governor, Shankar Dayal Sharma promptly dissolved the house and asked Mr. Rama Rao to continue as the care-taker Chief-Minister. This decision was received with dismay by the Telugu Desam supporters who thought that it was an ill-timed move. The Congress ranks were jubilant as they expected the Indira wave to destroy the Telugu Desam party.

The campaign began in earnest. The Congress-I contested

all the 42 seats with as many as five former Chief Ministers contesting on its ticket. The Telugu Desam and its allies in the Opposition also contested all the 42 seats. The rest of the country solidly voted for the Congress party but in Andhra Pradesh, the Telugu Desam bagged 30 seats, with its allies and Congress-I getting 6 seats each. The people had not forgiven the Congress-I for its role in unseating Rama Rao. A thoroughly demoralised Congress gave up all hopes of winning in the Assembly polls and lost even before the fight began.

INNINGS AGAIN TELUGU DESAM

The Assembly Elections were fixed for 5th March 1985. The Telugu Desam contested in 249 places while its allies contested for the rest. The Congress-I put up candidates in all the 294 constituencies, while Nadendla Bhaskar Rao who formed the Democratic Telugu Desam Party contested for 210 seats. The Congress Party fielded several new faces in a bid to give itself a clean image. But the odds were so high against it that several prominent leaders like Madan Mohan, Jalagam Prasada Rao and Pinnamaneni Koteswara Rao opted to sit out despite being given the party tickets. Telugu Desam's victory was evident even as the campaign went under way. Despite this, Rama Rao toured almost all the 292 constituencies that were going to polls. The Prime Minister came to the State thrice and attacked the Telugu Desam for its wrong policies. He derided Rama Rao's decision to contest from three seats-Gudivada, Hindupur, and Nalgonda representing the three zones of the State. The local Congress-I leaders claimed that the popular measures of the Telugu Desam were in fact gifts of the Centre. This propaganda failed to click and the Telugu Desam bagged 202 seats while its allies got 38. The Congress-I was reduced to rubble getting 49 seats, eleven less than what it got in 1983. The most notable feature of these polls was the total rout of Bhaskar Rao and his party. He lost by over 17000 votes to BJP's Indrasena Reddy in the Malakpet constituency of Hyderabad and 218 of his party candidates out of 220 lost their deposits! Telangana, which had contributed the major chunk of Congress seats in 1983, overwhelmingly rejected the party and the Telugu Desam won very convincingly in many

districts. Guntur, Krishna and Kurnool districts were the saving grace for the Congress. As ever, the Godavari districts, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam backed the Telugu Desam to the hilt. NTR won with handsome margins in Hindupur and Nalgonda and with a considerably reduced margin in Gudivada. His entire Cabinet was re-elected including Vasantha Nageswara Rao, the Agricultural Minister who scraped through with 1700 votes in Nandigama. The prominent losers were G.Latchanna, the State President of DMKP who lost his deposit, Mr. Ramana Reddy, the former Telugu Desam MLA and President of the Rayalaseema Vimochana Smithi, Mr.D. Muniswamy and Mr.Venkaiah Naidu, the BJP Legislature Party leader who lost by over 800 votes in Atmakur. Prominent winners included Mr. Baga Reddy who won from Zaheera bad for a record 7th time, Mr.Pidathala Ranga Reddy, Mr. Ratna Sabhapathy, Dr. Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy, Mr.Yathi Raja Rao, Mr.K.E.Krishna Murthy, Mr.M.Omkar and Mr. Chanumolu Venkata Rao.

Mr. Rama Rao along with twenty four of his Cabinet colleagues was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh in the presence of a mammoth crowd at Lal Bahadur Stadium. The Assembly elected Mr.G. Narayana Rao as the Speaker.

With this victory, Mr.Rama Rao got a fresh and massive mandate for another five years. But it was to be seen whether he could provide a smooth, stable, and clean government to the people who were fed up with the constant elections. It would be a mighty blow to the aspirations of the people if the Telugu Desam ended like the Congress-I, corrupt, inefficient and top heavy.

CHARISMA ESTABLISHED

People in Vijayawada enjoyed Christmas holiday and slept peacefully. They woke up to hear the most foul murder of V Ranga Rao (Ranga) a Congress Legislator in Vijayawada. The T.V., Radio flashed the news on (26th December, 1988). At that time Ranga was fasting, demanding protection for his life. It was on the fifth day of his fast, he was murdered brutally. Along with Ranga four of his associates were also killed in the attack. In the early hours of 26th some goondas came in a jeep and a bus, hurled country bombs at the Satyagraha Camp of Ranga and killed him. The news was a shock to many people in the state. There was a chain reaction. Ranga belonged to Kapu Caste (sudra, according to Hindu heirarchy). The Kapus of Andhra Pradesh reacted violently and attacked Kammias (another Sudra Caste) indiscriminately. Property worth Rs.100 Crores was destroyed. Curfew was clamped in several coastal towns and villages for nearly a month! 42 people lost their lives in the violent incidents that followed Ranga's murder.

V.Ranga defeated his Kamma rival, Telugu Desam Candidate Y. Rajagopala Rao (A lecturer of Physics in a local college). Prior to the election Ranga was a local factional leader. Earlier his elder brother was murdered by some Kamma faction leaders. Congress Party started grooming Ranga against Telugu Desam and made him City Congress President. In the Congress Party there had been two factions, one faction supported Ranga the other opposed him. G.S.Raja, a rich businessman was the leader of rival group. He was supported by J.Vengal Rao, Union Minister for Industries. At one stage Ranga was suspended from

the Congress Party by J.Vengal Rao, then President of the State Congress Party. Dr.Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy, Congress Legislator from Rayalaseema supported Ranga Rao. It is curious to know that though Ranga married Ratna Kumari from Kamma community the caste rivalry did not stop. Telugu Desam Party headed by N.T. Rama Rao (Kamma) groomed Devineni Nehru (Kamma) to counter Ranga in Vijayawada. Thus Kapu - Kamma caste conflict went on since 1983. Ranga championed the cause of Kapus. Gradually he became the unrivalled leader of Kapus. Ranga's followers murdered Murali, D.Nehru's brother, (10th March, 1987) and his associates. At that time some Kapus were attacked. Ranga went underground and surrendered himself to the Court. Later he was released. But he sensed danger to his life. He sought police protection. Two constables were provided to be his guards. He asked for more protection and commenced fasting unto death near his residence in Vijayawada. That was where the murder took place on 26th December, 1988. A bundh call was given by the Congress Party. The Kapus took revenge on Kammas. The houses, theatres, shops belonging to Kammas were destroyed, the caste rivalry spread to the nook and corner of the coastal areas. Kammas in Congress Party were in a fix. They condemned the attacks on innocent Kammas. But Kapu Congress Leaders treated the Kamma Congress Leaders as excommunicated politicians. K.S.Rao, Member of Lok Sabha, Ch. Venkat Rao, Legislator, P. Koteswara Rao, Zilla Parishad Chairman, P.Venkat Rao, ex-Minister, R.Sambasiva Rao, M.P., were insulted by Kapu leaders. P. Krishna Murthy, Ammulu and other Kapu leaders did not appreciate the role of Congress. Kamma Leaders condemned the murder of Ranga as well as the attack on Kammas.

Congress Party took sides and fully supported Ranga group. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi paid tributes to Ranga,

describing him as a National Leader. This surprised many impartial observers. The Congress High Command sent Sheila Dixit, Mohsina Kidwai, Union Ministers. Ghulam Nabi Azad, Jagannath Pahadia, Sitaram Kesari to be present at the funeral of Ranga. These leaders gave provocative speeches. They commented that the property loss is nothing when compared to the murder of Ranga. This again roused the feelings of Kammas. Shiva Sankar, Union Minister, who aligned himself with Kapus played havoc with the explosive situation and instigated Kapus for violence with his out-bursts.

N.T. Rama Rao, the Chief Minister condemned the murder of Ranga. But he did not visit Vijayawada immediately. At that time Mr. P. Rama Mohan Rao (Kamma) was the Director General of Police. He too failed to visit the town. The local Police Officials failed to control the situation. A little later N.T. Rama Rao tried to call on Mrs.V. Ranga at Vijayawada, but her followers did not allow him. Curfew continued in coastal towns for a full month. The victims of riots were given liberal help. But Kapu-Kamma rivalry crystalised. Kammas organised themselves, collected donations to help the victims and consoled the sufferers. They got prepared to counter the attempts of Kapus.

Chegondi Harirama Jogaiah (kapu) ex-Minister in Telugu Desam resigned from the party in favour of Kapus. Maganti Ravindranath Chowdary' resigned to Congress Party in favour of Kammas. He is a prominent contractor from West Godavari. Opposition Party leaders and editors of prominent Dailies, Peoples Union for Civil Liberties visited the riot victims and gave different versions but all of them condemned the murder and the looting and arson followed gruesome incidents.

Kapu Nadu, the caste organisation was formed in 1987, (December,10) and Ranga became its leader. Ranga toured coastal districts to enthuse kapus. Mudragada Padmanabham, a Minister

in N.T. Rama Rao's Cabinet resigned and joined Kapu Nadu in May, 1988. There were 24 Kapus in Andhra Pradesh Assembly at that time. Kapus claim to be 15% of the State population (60 million). This claim could not be established by Census statistics. Many sub-castes were there among Kapus. They have different names in different regions. Some of them are listed under backward class. Thoorpu Kapus in Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam, Vrijayanagaram are entirely different from Balijas of Rayalaseema. Munnuri Kapu in Telangana is a powerful caste to which Mr. Shiv Sankar, the Union Minister belongs. All these castes wanted to rally under one banner and claim to enlist themselves as backward class.

Kammas in Coastal District differ from Rayalaseema and Telangana Kammas. Most of the Kammas in Telangana, are settlers, whereas in Rayalaseema majority of the Kammas are economically backward. The rich Kammas in coastal area are mainly agriculturists and of late they entered film industry, trade and commerce. Some of them exhibited their wealth in a vulgar-fashion. This has become an eye-sore to others. Vijayawada is a place where Kammas started Kakathiya Society, established student hostels, colleges, schools and technical institutions. When N.T. Rama Rao came to power Kammas were jubilant though all did not vote for him and his party. Many key positions were occupied by Kammas and they became the target of criticism.

Caste is like Maya. One cannot catch it. But caste is practised. It has become reality for all practical purposes. Politics entered into caste. Gradually caste has become vote catching concept.

DECLINE OF N. T. RAMA RAO

Mr.N.T. Rama Rao came into politics in 1982, created Telugu Desam, a Regional Party in Andhra Pradesh and captured power within 9 months. His charisma, anti-Congress atmosphere helped him to come to Government in such a short time. He ruled the State for seven years with a short break of one month. He faced 1984 Lok Sabha elections,1985 Assembly elections and retained his power with 200 Assembly seats. He also conducted Panchayat Raj elections, Co-operative elections and Municipal elections. Gradually his popularity started eroding and his charisma waning. Meanwhile the youth of 18 years too became eligible to vote.

Mr.Rama Rao depended on bureacracy and Police in the day to day problems. The elected representatives and the Ministers were not given free hand in administration and in solving people's problems. State-Centre relations deteorated day by day. Naxalites created havoc in three districts which the Telugu Desam could not tackle.

Mr.Rama Rao depended upon welfare activities to sustain his popularity. The poorer sections were given rice at the rate of two rupees per kilo. The hand-loom cloth was distributed at subsidised rate. Pukka houses were constructed for weaker sections. Mr. Rama Rao wanted to strengthen his charisma among weaker sections especially the backward communities by reserving 44 per cent jobs, educational facilities etc. for them. This was resented by the upper castes while the scheduled castes were luke warm to this attempt. The upper caste youth violently reacted against these reservations and demanded the withdrawal

of the concessions. The backward classes could not resist the movement. The High court through its verdict asked the government to assess the situation which saved the state from chaos.

During N.T Rama Rao's tenure communal tensions and riots were absent at Hyderabad and other places. But the ugly caste war tarnished the image of N.T. Rama Rao and his Telugu Desam Party. It was clubbed as Kamma party. A Kapu legislator from Vijayawada was murdered while he was fasting for the protection of his life. The Kapus from coastal Andhra reacted violently and attacked. Curfew was clamped for a month during early 1988. The bitterness creating conflicts between the Kapus and Kammas reflected in the elections and also had its impact on political parties.

Telugu Desam has become one man's charismatic rule. Mr. Rama Rao's two sons-in-law have become the suprimos in the party. While Mr. Rama Rao rose to the level of President of National Front, his party's performance was under bitter attack from all political parties in the State. Friendly Parties like CPM and BJP charge sheeted Mr. Rama Rao for arbitrary rule and misdeeds. CPI constantly attacked the policies of Mr. Rama Rao. Congress-I did not spare Mr. Rama Rao and his Party and attacked them from all angles. Congress Party exposed Mr. Rama Rao through High Court and Supreme Court. The High Court passed some strictures and made some observations against Mr. Rama Rao's behaviour:

When the general elections were declared in November 1989, Mr. Rama Rao asked for the Assembly elections simultaneously. He gave tickets to 50 percent new candidates. Earlier the Ministers who resigned from the Cabinet (or removed by Rama Rao) rebelled and started Telugu Nadu Party. Later they joined the Congress. Some others who were denied tickets contested against the party. They also played and contributed

their might to erode the margins in the Assembly and Parliament. People by and large became anti-establishment. Rama Rao is the only leader in Telugu Desam who attracted crowds. His actor son Mr. Balakrishna also toured and attracted crowds. Congress Party gave stiff fight and encashed on the mistakes of Telugu Desam Party. Mr. Rama Rao lost his seat in Kalwakurthy (Telangana) and won in Hindupur (Rayalaseema). His party's strength was reduced to the main opposition (from 200 to 73 in Assembly and from 36 to 2 in Lok Sabha).

N.T. Rama Rao did not accept the defeat on its face value. Instead he blamed rigging, alcohol, money for this change. Obviously he has not learnt lesson from the game of election rules. He accepted to sit in the opposition. One had to wait and see how long Telugu Desam would remain intact under Rama Rao.

WHERE IS THE POPULARITY GONE?

Telugu Desam Government under N.T. Rama Rao's Chief Ministership, conducted all the elections due to Local Bodies, Panchayat, Praja Mandal Prishads, Praja Zilla (District) Parishad the three tier system - Congress Party postponed these elections for a long time. The Presidents of Mandals and District Bodies were elected directly by the people. In the process Congress Party gained some District Bodies, some Mandals too. Similarly elections were conducted to all the Municipalities. Telugu Desam lost majority of the towns and the State Capital Hyderabad Municipality which went to Ittehad Majlis. Co-operative Body elections were also conducted, thus completing the democratic process at all levels. Elections to Library Bodies were not conducted, instead the Government nominated its own Body. In the universities elections were not allowed. Autonomy was not respected.

Many decisions of the State Government were struck down by the Courts saying that they were either illegal or extra constitutional.

Karshak Parishad, a Peasant Body, was constituted with Sri N.Chandrababu Naidu, the son-in-law of the Chief Minister, as its President but the Court held it invalid.

N.T. Rama Rao tried to woo the Backward Classes, by declaring 43% reservation to them in educational institutions, jobs etc. But the upper castes did not take it as a friendly gesture. The upper caste youth of all parties and groups came out on to the streets and violently demonstrated against Government's decision. The voice of Backward Class became feeble. When the violence was mounting up the State High Court struck down

the Government Order as invalid. Then the students withdrew their agitation.

During his tenure, N.T. Rama Rao faced a couple of Court cases with charges of corruption, misrule, nepotism, abuse of power etc. At one stage the High Court found that in 7 charges N.T.R's Government has prima facie reasons to be enquired into. Congress Party took active part in dragging the issues to the Court and many times demanded resignation of N.T. Rama Rao. In the Legislative Assembly too Congress Party blamed NTR for corrupt practices, caste biased administration and nepotism. They mentioned some names to indicate how N.T.R. favoured his own caste people in key posts, Corporations, Autonomous Public Sectors and few other Committees.

Dr. K. Ramakrishna Rao was made Chairman to Education Commission. But the Hight Court clearly stated that its formation was not proper. Mr. Ramakrishna Rao was appointed as the Advisor to Government in Educational matters.

Rama Rao stressed on Telugu Culture. He established Telugu University under his Chancellorship by merging all the Academies in it. The UGC objected to his Chancellor's Post and refused to give grants to the University. N.T.R erected statues of famous Telugu Personalities from 10th Century onwards which has become tourist attraction. He favoured Buddhist Culture, Sculpture and Architecture which has become eye sore to Kanchi Sankaracharya. The Orthodox Hindu section condemned N.T.R. for his taking sides with Buddhist Culture. A huge Buddha Statue was erected on gibraltar rock in the midst of Hussain Sagar in Hyderabad.

The opposition parties like CPL, BJP came out with long list of charges blaming NTR and Government for their failure. Similar charges were constantly made by the Congress Party. Centre-State relations were strained. Mutual blames became the order of the day. Prime Minister during his visits to the State

accused N.T.R. and his Government for diversion of Central funds and for claiming Central Schemes as their own. Congress Party echoed the views of the Prime Minister and demanded the dismissal of Rama Rao's Government.

During 1989 there was budget leakage and Rama Rao made all his 30 Cabinet colleagues tender their resignations. He replaced all of them with new members. A few Ministers left the party, started a new party, Telugu Nadu, which met premature death.

1988 saw bitter struggle between Kapu caste and Kamma caste. Both castes are non-brahmins (sudras). Congress Party sided Kapu and TDP sided Kammas. A Congress Kapu legislator from Vijayawada, Sri Vangaveeti Ranga was murdered and that led to violence, destruction of properties belonging to Kamma Community. Month long curfew had to be clamped in coastal districts of Andhra following the disturbances.

The welfare measures of TDP like providing rice at Rs. 2/- per kilo, house construction and supply of cheap rate clothes to the poor were the main attractions. Yet, TDP lost some votes in urban areas but its base remained with backward classes.

N.T. Rama Rao continued to be the cine actor and produced a mythological film "Viswamitra" during his tenure. Congress party took this issue to the Courts but the Courts could not decide anything against Sri Rama Rao since there is nothing to say against him constitutionally. The film could not be released during 1989 election, though audio cassettes were used for election propaganda.

Charisma was the main plank of Rama Rao in politics. In the party as well as in the Government, Rama Rao was omnipotent. Political corruption was reduced to the minimum level but administrative corruption was on the increase. Police also proved to be inefficient in facing extremist violence (Naxalite Communists) in some districts. Rama Rao made use of religion

in politics and secularism was weakend. Muslims agitated for more benefits, jobs, recognition to Urdu language and demanded more Urdu medium educational institutions. Congress Party jumped into the fray but it did not pay dividends to them.

Constant friction between N.T. Rama Rao and TDP on one side and the Governor and Congress Party on the other side became an irritant point in politics. The Government controlled media, T.V., Radio encouraged anti Rama Rao propaganda with the support of Congress Party and the Central Government. Opposition parties solidly stood with Rama Rao.

Telugu Desam Party under the monolithic charismatic leadership of N.T. Rama Rao was in power for 7 years (1983-90) which is the longest period for any Chief Minister since the formation of the State in 1956.

The Naxalites belonging to Peoples War Group under Kondapalli Seetharamaiah, constantly gave trouble to Telugu Desam Government in Karimnagar, East Godavari, Warangal and Adilabad Districts. They blamed the Government for false encounter deaths and curbing civil liberties. The Centre negotiated with them through Civil Liberties Association and blamed the State Government for its failure in curbing Naxalite menace. The State created Grey Hounds-Special Police cadre but they too failed to check Naxalites.

In the administration, constant transfer of IAS and IPS Officers had become a laughing matter. These Officers did not act firmly since uncertainty of their tenure was always hanging on them. No officer was retained for 3 years in any post. Financial Administration has weakened so much, so Rs. 800 crores were returned to Centre due to non-utilisation by T.D.P. Government.

Occasionally, important persons deserted Telugu Desam Party and Government. N. Srinivasulu Reddy, Rajagopal Reddy left the party and formed Sena. They joined Congress after the initial enthusiasm died down. M. Padmanabham left the Cabinet

to form a caste organisation. He joined Telugu Nadu Party. Jana Reddy, K.E.Krishna Murthy, Vasanta Nageswara Rao too sailed with Telugu Nadu Party for a while but later merged with Congress-I. All of them except Vasanta Nageswara Rao won the election in 1989 and Mr.M.Padmanabham was accommodated in Channa Reddy's Ministry.

N. Bhaskar Rao who sabotaged N.T.R. and T.D.P. joined the Congress Party and won election from Tenali in 1989. Some of his one month Cabinet Colleagues also joined the Congress Party. The Congress Party as the main opposition, changed its State Presidents frequently. J.Vengal Rao, N. Janardhan Reddy, M. Channa Reddy became Congress Party Chiefs in quick succession. Internal bickerings continued in the Congress Party. The official media (T. V , AIR) tried to play down the importance of N.T.R. and TDP in its telecast and broadcast. State-Centre conflict reached its climax with bitter criticisms between the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister. They called names, abused each other and degraded themselves in the eyes of the public.

Mr. Rama Rao after his defeat in elections during 1989, remained the main opposition in the Assembly. He blamed money, terrorism and rigging for the success of Congress Party. This comment was not received well by the public.

Mr P.Upendra, Rajya Sabha member from T.D.P, was inducted in V.P.Singh's Central Cabinet as Minister for Information.Mr.Mallu Ananta Ramulu was nominated as Persident of A.P. Congress in the place of Dr. Channa Reddy.

NO TELANGANA ONLY POWER MATTERS

After seven years eclipse, Congress-I was voted back into power in the State. The situation was similar to that of 1978. Dr. Channa Reddy the President of Praesh Congress Committee was elected as the leader of Congress Legislature Party in the presence of three observers. Earlier Mr.N.Janardhana Reddy claimed majority in the party. He was supported by a few Legislators, Members of Parliament and former Chief Ministers. But the final choice fell on Dr.Channa Reddy.

Dr. Channa Reddy consulted the high command of his party and constituted the Ministry. Like Mr. N.T. Rama Rao he too made his ministry take oath in the Nizam College grounds. The opponent groups were also accommodated in the Ministry.

Dr. Channa Reddy's Ministry started reviewing the deeds of Telugu Desam Government and started reversing some measures. They also faced the extremists (Naxalites) and terrorism. People from all walks of life were demanding quick results from the Congress Ministry.

Since the Congress Party was no longer in the Centre, the Ministry in the state had to move carefully. Already the Channa Reddy's Ministry announced that they will co-operate with the Centre.

Channa Reddy's administration faced several calamities. During summer (May) 1990 severe cyclone hit the coastal Andhra, damaged crops. Peasants were put to heavy loss. Congress and opposition parties indulged in mutual criticism. Entire cyclone relief work was politicised. Dr. Channa Reddy

had to postpone his visit to U.S.A. for two weeks. People faced the hardships bravely and normalcy was restored. Due to the frequent cyclones on the coastal area, the administration had to gearup for rational attitude towards cyclone damages.

Dr. Channa Reddy wanted to eliminate bogus ration cards. This led to severe criticism from the T.D.P. and allied parties. Even some dissident Congress leaders felt that Congress would lose popularity among weaker sections if ration cards were controlled indiscriminately.

Dr. Channa Reddy had to face Naxalite problem as soon as he came to power: He announced concessions and freedom to the extremist Communists, no more arrests, even if the extremists openly addressed the public meetings. Some Communists welcomed this move. But the seniors watched the Move of the government carefully. The front organisations came out and organised meetings and cultural programmes. Gaddar was the main attraction in the programmes. Simultaneously the extremists collected huge amounts of money throughout the state. The State Government sought the help of Centre in curbing extremist activities. The dissident Congress leaders also were critical of the State Government's policy towards Naxalite problems. Peoples War Group of Kondapalli Seetharamaiah and Chandra Pulla Reddy's factions continued their activities. They kidnapped persons, burnt the buses, and indulged in violent activities. People felt that there was no law and order. Police failed. Government machinery came to stand still in a couple of districts. Again encounters started. Naxalites condemned encounters as killings. Police justified them as self protection action. The Central Government blamed the state for its failure. The State Government issued statements saying that they will not keep quiet if Naxalites resort to violence.

Dr.Channa Reddy was suffering from kidney trouble for some time. He went to U.S.A. during May 90 and underwent kidney transplant. His son donated kidney. Dr. Channa Reddy had to stay for 50 days in U.S.A. for treatment. During his absence, the dissident activity mounted in the State. His Cabinet Colleagues G.V.Sudhakara Rao,N.SrinivasuluReddy, Sangeetham Venkat Reddy too joined the dissident camp and were critical of Dr. Channa Reddy. Dr. Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy, Bala Goud, K.S.Rao (M.Ps) toured the State to expose Dr. Channa Reddy. The followers of Channa Reddy countered the dissident statements.

On 26th July, 90 Dr. Channa Reddy returned to the State. Mean while Mr. Rajiv Gandhi toured the State and declared that Dr. Channa Reddy would not be removed. After the death of Mr. Mallu Ananta Ramulu the post of the State Pradesh Congress President was not filled.Congress Party activity rallied round power politics.

Mr.Koneru Ranga Rao was dropped from the Ministry as there were allegations regarding his file disposals.

In the beginning conflicts arose between the Speaker Mr. P. Ramachandra Reddy and the Chief Minister due to personality clashes. Similarly there were conflicts between Mr.Mallu Anantaramulu the PCC Chairman and the Chief Minister. Due to sudden demise of Mr.Mallu, Channa Reddy emerged as unquestioned Chief Minister temporarily Dr. Channa Reddy was the President of Congress-I in Andhra Pradesh when he was elected as Legislator from Sanatnagar (Hyderabad). Some persons tried to contest for Chief Minister's post. Dr.Y.S.Rajasekhar Reddy, M.P., spearheaded the campaign against Dr. Channa Reddy, Dr.Y. S. Rajasekhar Reddy was humiliated in 1978 by Dr. Channa Reddy when he was Chief Minister. Since then, Y.S.

Rajasekhar Reddy took cudgels against Channa Reddy. But the option of Rajiv Gandhi and High Command fell on Dr. Channa Reddy. Mr.N.Janardhana Reddy who emerged as potential candidate withdrew at last minute. Hence Dr.Channa Reddy was unanimously elected as the leader of State Congress Legislature Party. Dr. Reddy was sworn in as Chief Minister but could not form the Ministry immediately. He rushed to Delhi, consulted the High Command on Ministry making. Due to several counter pulls, couple of dissidents also found place in Channa's Cabinet. Among them Mr.N. Srinivasulu Reddy, Mr.G.Sudhakara Rao, Mr. Sangeetham Venkata Reddy, Mohd. Jani were there. Dr. Channa Reddy pushed his son M. Sashidar Reddy into prominence. The recommendations of Sashidhar Reddy gained importance, politics milled round him. Mr.Hashim, (M.P.), Mr. B.N.Reddy, Mr. Sashidhar Reddy and few others formed as close circle of Dr. Channa Reddy. But Dr. Reddy was sick with kidney trouble. There was cyclone devastation in coastal area during Dr. Reddy's tenure. After attending to rescue operations, Dr.Reddy rushed to U.S.A. for kidney transplantation. After his return, he had to face dissident activity from Congress circles. Again Dr.Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy, M.P. belled the cat and all others rallied round him. Though a brief lull was there before the storm. Dr. Rajasekhar Reddy did not keep quiet. Meanwhile two Ministers Mr.G.V. Sudhakara Rao, and Sangeetam Venkata Reddy were dropped by Dr.Reddy. In the shuffling of Ministry, Dr.Reddy humiliated Mr. N. Srinivasulu Reddy by cutting his portfolios. The dissident Congress people represented their grievances to High Command. Prominent dissident leaders being Dr.Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy, Mr. J.Vengal Rao, Mr.Sivashankar etc.

Mr. V Hanumantha Rao resigned from Dr. Reddy's cabinet to take up the Presidentship of State Congress Party. He became extra constitutional party authority.

Congress high command did not act in a fairway. They did not remove Dr: Channa Reddy officially. But some ugly situations were created in the state capital which worked as pretext to remove Dr. Channa Reddy. When the opposition parties moved a No Confidence motion against Dr.Reddy in State Assembly on 12th, 13th October, 1990 Congress Party rejected it. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi declared that Channa Reddy would continue. During December, 1990, communal riots were engineered in old city of Hyderabad.On December, 7th these incidents triggered communal stabbings. Mr.Srinivasulu Reddy resigned from the Ministry, blaming Dr.Channa Reddy's failures. The army was called in, shoot at sight orders were issued. As Chief Minister could not do anything, situation went out of control. Hindus and Muslims, inspired by communal parties, indulged in riots, stabbings, arson and looting. Curfew was clamped in Hyderabad. Congress dissidents as well as opposition leaders blamed Dr.Channa Reddy. On moral grounds Dr.Reddy resigned, of course with reluctance. Before submitting resignation to the Governor, Dr. Channa Reddy distributed several posts to his followers, henchmen and loyalists. The Congressmen took the orders, hurriedly took charge fearing they might lose the opportunity.

After the resignation of Dr. Channa Reddy was accepted, the High Command choose Mr. N. Janardhan Reddy for the Chief Ministership. He was aspiring to become Chief Minister since a decade. All anti-Channa Reddy circles rallied round Mr. Janardhan Reddy.

On 16th December, 1990 Mr. N. Janardhan Reddy (54) was elected as the Leader of Congress Legislature Party. The High Command representatives blessed him. As usual Mr. Janardhan went to Delhi for consultation on Ministry making. Surprisingly Mr.Janardhan Reddy's induction as Chief Minister ended commnunal riots in Hyderabad city. Normalcy was restored at

once. Mr. Janardhan Reddy's Ministry took oath in Lal Bahadur Stadium on 21st December, 1990. Earlier Mr. N.T. Rama Rao took oath twice in the stadium before huge gatherings. Mr. Janardhan Reddy imitated the same.

Later Dr.Channa Reddy was appointed as Governor of Tamil Nadu. He was at loggerheads with Ms.Jayalalitha, the Chief Minister of the State. He died during Governorship on 2nd December, 1996.

N. JANARDHAN REDDY MANIPULATED



Congress culture once again proved to be wrong in 1990. Frequent changes in the State Leadership resulted in defeat during 1982 elections. Congress refused to learn lessons. It repeated the same political game. After much hesitation, Congress High Command decided to change the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Second time Chief Minister Dr. Marri Channa Reddy was replaced with Nedurumalli Janardhan Reddy. (N.J.)

N.J. assumed power on 1990 Dec 17. On the same day one of his Cabinet colleagues Mr. Maganti Ravindranath expired due to heart attack. All the prominent leaders in Congress Party rallied against N.J. from the beginning. State Congress President Mr. V. Hanumanth Rao was running parallel unofficial Government from Party office. Mr. Nadendla Bhaskar Rao, Dr. M. Channa Reddy joined hands after a decade to oppose N.J. Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy, Mr. Jalagam Vengala Rao (Ex- Chief Minister) and Mr. Siva Sankar played opposition role within the Congress Party.

Initially N.J. curbed the communal tension in Old city of Hyderabad. In Nellore, his own district ladies started a movement demanding prohibition of liquor. That movement spread in the entire state.

During N.J.'s regime, Lok Sabha elections came. Andhra Pradesh started showing strength to Telugu Desam Party. In the middle of Lok Sabha elections on May, 21 1991. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by LTTE suicide squad near Chennai. That incident changed the results of elections in the

State and Congress regained 24 seats. The results gave a boost to N.J.

P.V.Narasimha Rao became the Prime Minister. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, Kamaluddin, Chinta Mohan, G. Venkataswami, M.Mallikarjun, P.Rangaiah Naidu, Mrs.Kamala Kumari from Andhra Pradesh were inducted into the Central Cabinet.

Suddenly N.J. issued an order sanctioning 12 Medical Colleges and 8 Dental Colleges. The order favoured private management to have 50% seats for them and empowered to collect capitation fee. Among them, N.J. favoured one Medical College to his own family members under the name of Janapriya Endowments. This led to an agitation. High Court struck down the order as illegal. The Central Government tried to save N.J. through an Ordinance stating that prior permission from Medical Council is necessary to start Medical and Dental Colleges.

Despite all the agitations, and stiff opposition within the Congress Party, N.J. had solid support from 160 Legislators. But that is of no consequence in Congress culture.

N.J. reconstituted his Ministry on Aug 5,1991, inducted some of his former opponents like Madala Janakiram. The Legislators were sanctioned 25 Lakh rupees each to spend in their respective constituencies.

Central Government and Congress High Command decided to change the state leadership. Mr.K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy was deputed to assess the situation. As a result, N.J. had to yield and resign to his Chief Ministership.

Mr.N. Janardhan Reddy's was elected later to Lok Sabha but remained in side lines.

VIJAYA BHASKAR REDDY SECOND DEFEAT



K.Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy was enjoying as Minister in P.V. Narasimha Rao's Central Cabinet in 1992. Suddenly he was asked to saddle on Chief Minister's seat in Andhra Pradesh. That was his second coming to the post. Earlier he was in that position for 4 months and handed over power to N.T. Rama Rao's Telugu Desam Party with humiliating defeat in Assembly elections. Perhaps he never dreamt of repeating the same performance. But it happened. Mr. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy could not save Congress Party in the State. After devastating defeat he had to transfer power to Mr. N.T. Rama Rao again.

K.B.R tried to sustain power through several popular schemes and programmes. Yet they became futile with the inner pasty strunggle.

On Nov 9, 1992 K.Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy was sworn in as Chief Minister of A.P with 31 Ministers. He reconstituted his Ministry on Sep 8, 1993.

Keeping up Congress culture all the dissident Congress leaders Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy, Jalagam Vengal Rao, K.E. Krishna Murthy, P Siva Sankar and M. Padmanabham were united against K.B.R' s regime.

There is a joke circulated on K.B.R during his second term of Chief Ministership. 90% of visitors to KBR were Reddys, among them 90% were from Kurnool district; among them 90% were above 70 years; among them 90% were from his constituency; among them 90% were his relatives!

That apart, KBR could not rise above factions. All his populist slogans and programmes were futile and could not

catch votes Kanumuri Bapiraju, Minister involved in distilleries scandal contributed to the unpopularity of KBR. As a result Bapiraju had to quit the Ministry. Kapu Community expressed discontent against KBR through Pantam Padmanabham. Mudragada Padmanabham expressed his discontent through fast unto death which roused the Kapus.

Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy campaigned against KBR for various reasons, including the cancellation of Barites Mining Lease contract in Cuddapah district. KBR demanded disciplinary action against Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy but Congress High Command failed to follow it up.

KBR faced Assembly elections during Dec 1994. TDP routed Congress in that election, NTR came back to power. Congress could get only 26 seats while the stalwarts lost to TDP.

CPI and CPM supported TDP and mutual understanding helped the leftists to get 19 (CPI) and 15 (CPM) seats and TDP won 219. BJP could get only 3 seats. It contested independently.

K.Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy remained as a prominent leader in Congress Central party till his death on 27 Sep, 2001.

NTR SUFFERED IN OPPOSITION

Nandamuri Taraka Ramarao the charismatic movie star, ruled the state for seven years. During 1989 Assembly elections N.T.Ramarao was relegated to Opposition Leader with 71 T.D.P. seats. Congress came back to power with 180 seats.

NTR was not successful as Opposition Leader. He had no habit of sitting in Assembly, observe the proceedings carefully, follow the rules and regulations. N.T.R. had no habit of reading Assembly procedures. He was a demagogue, good speaker and intolerant to criticism.

During 5 years of opposition role, NTR was helped by his son-in-law Chandrababu Naidu and others. During 1991 Lok Sabha elections NTR wave was seen. Suddenly with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi the trend was reversed and Telugu Desam lost 24 seats. Congress workers attacked N.T.R. properties in Hyderabad and considerably damaged NTR's properties. N.T.R. demanded inquiry into the rowdy actions and punish the guilty. He observed fast unto death on Tank bund but was forcibly removed to hospital.

N.T.R. concentrated on movies and played hero roles in his movies Samrat Ashok and Major Chandrakant.

On 1993 Aug 7 Mr.Sivareddy, legislator from Jammalamadugu, Cuddapah was murdered. N.T.R. protested against this murder and demanded inquiry. He sat in the premises of Governor Bungalow and submitted a memo to Governor Mr.Krishna Kant. This issue was discussed in the Assembly.TDP Legislators went to podium to protest for

government's inaction. All TDP members were suspended from Assembly including NTR, making him to boycott Assembly.

NTR lost his wife Basavatarakam in 1984. Then onwards NTR had indifferent health problems. He suffered paralysis stroke. His large family could not attend on him regularly. At that juncture NTR met Lakshmi Parvathi. She wanted to write the biography of NTR. She served NTR in crucial health crisis. Obviously this pleased him. They agreed to marry. Lakshmi Parvathi divorced her husband Veeragandham Subba Rao on Sep 11th 1993.

NTR and Lakshmi Parvathi married happily and lived together. The family members of NTR resented the marriage. People did not look down NTR for this marriage. On the other hand they voted him back to power in 1994 Assembly election. NTR and Lakshmi Parvathi jointly campaigned in the elections. As the wife of NTR naturally, Lakshmi Parvathi played prominent role until his death.

The male dominated society blamed Lakshmi Parvathi for tipping NTR. There were many stories spread around the marriage. NTR was a public figure, who came into politics since 1982. He was not innocent to marry a lady as blamed by some gullible persons. N.T.R married Lakshmi Parvathi and willingly allowed her to play dominant role in his public life. Naturally, all those persons who were important hitherto felt neglected. That made them angry. That was all part of power game.

N.T.R. as the Chairman of National Front played a key role in rallying the various parties against Congress. When NTR was in opposition at State level his importance at National level was marginal.

NTR and Lakshmi Parvathi toured the State during 1994 elections. People received them well. Lakshmi Parvathi was also a good speaker in Telugu. She was in key position to select TDP

candidates. Both sons-in-law of NTR were not given importance. That made them soar against Lakshmi Parvathi.

1994 December Assembly elections put NTR again on the Chief Minister's throne. CPI and CPM parties supported TDP and gained seats in Assembly. On 12 Dec, 1994 NTR constituted his Ministry with 32 members.

NTR kept his election promise and introduced total prohibition. Another order was issued to give rice to poor people at Rs. 2 per kilo.

NTR was a bundle of contradictions. He saffronised education system in the State by introducing Astrology in Potty Sriramulu Telugu University. He wanted Vatican status to Tirumala Tirupati. He practised religious ceremonies in official functions.

On the other hand NTR put Andhra Pradesh on India's map prominently. Telugu people got recognition for the first time.

NTR imitated Vivekananda in formal dress and later gave it up. There was a gulf between his rhetoric and practice.

Though NTR returned to power with absolute majority (219 seats) he could not enjoy power any longer. Within eight months NTR faced an unusual situation. 162 MLAs rallied in Viceroy Hotel, Hyderabad under the leadership of Mr. Chandrababu Naidu, the son-in-law of NTR. Poor NTR tried to win back the Legislators by driving his Chariot all the way to the hotel, along with his wife Lakshmi Paivathi. But none came out to meet him or greet him. With utter disappointment NTR went back.

The political game started on August 24, 1995 and ended within a week. All venues were closed to NTR. He was compelled to resign on 30 August 1995.

Mr. Chandrababu Naidu successfully managed the sabotage show. Unlike Nadendla Bhaskar Rao, he won the confidence of majority of MLAs and legally saddled in Chief Minister's post.

NTR could not survive his humiliating removal from Chief Minister ship. On his behalf his wife Lakshmi Parvathi went round the State to explain the sabotage game. Mr.Harikrishna, son of NTR also toured the state to narrate his version of the political gimmick and the role of Lakshmi Parvathi. People heard both versions. But there were no elections to decide the fate of persons. NTR did not reconcile with his son-in-law Mr. Chandrababu Naidu. The power game continued. The leaders of National parties remained dumb witnesses of the game.

NTR died on 18th Jan 1996. Sympathy wave attracted huge gatherings who mourned the sad demise of the great movie hero and politician. National leaders were physically present to pay their tributes. Lakshmi Parvathi the wife of NTR was not allowed to follow the dead body to the cremation ground. Thus ended 15 years of political charisma of the saffron star.

SEPERATION GAME

After 30 years gap, seperate Telangana agitation once again started in Sep 2001. Mr K. Chandrasekhar Rao former Minsiter in TDP and Deputy Speaker of Assembly resigned to his post, started separate Telangana agitation. People in Telangana received him sympathetically. He contested the bye election in Siddipet, Medak district and won with over whelminig majority. He also won the Zilla Parishad of Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts. While Mr.K.Chandrasekhar Rao was gaining popular reception, BJP leader Mr.Narendra came out of Party to commence his own wing of separate Telangana agitation. Congress legislators in Telangana too started their own agitation.

During 70's separate Telangana agitation was led by Mr. M.Channa Reddy, Telangana Praja Samithi contested and won 10 out of 14 Lok Sabha Seats. But surprisingly they dissolved the party, sabotaged the movement and merged in Congress. Thus a great mass agitation was mortgaged for the sake of political power. At least 4 Chief Ministers fromTelangana area ruled the State afterwards. 2001 again witnessed Telangana agitation with starting trouble.

M. Satyanarayana, nominated President of State Congress asked Legislators to resign before demanding separate Telangana. Mr. Indrakaran Reddy, Legislator and others strongly opposed Mr.M.Satyanarayana's proposal. Congress infighting, as usual, continued.

BILL CLINTON BLESSED CHANDRA BABU NAIDU



After removing his father-in-law from elected Chief Ministership, Mr. Chandrababu Naidu was nominated as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh (Sept, 1995). Once in power, Mr. Chandrababu consolidated his position quickly. Legislators solidly stood behind his leadership. Election Commission recognised his Party. Assembly supported him with 227 Legislators. After the Ministry was formed, Mr. Daggupati Venkateswar Rao another son-in-law of NTR left Chandrababu and rejoined his father-in-law. Harikrishna son of NTR was inducted into Ministry.

Mr. Chandrababu Naidu faced Lok Sabha elections in 1996. His party won 16 seats. That made Mr. Chandrababu a prominent figure in Central politics. Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee stayed only 13 days as Prime Minister. At that crucial juncture Mr. Chandrababu supported Deve Gowda from Karnataka who became the Prime Minister on May 14th, 1996.

Telugu Desam candidates were inducted into Central Cabinet. Then onwards Mr. Chandrababu became very prominent in decision making even at the Centre. Leftist parties-both CPI and CPM supported Mr. Chandrababu. BJP charged Mr. Babu with 100 mistakes.

During March 1998 Lok Sabha elections were conducted. TDP gained 12 seats. Mr. Chandrababu changed his strategy and supported BJP. The Left parties started campaigning against Mr. Babu. Mr. Balayogi, TDP candidate was elected as Speaker of Lok Sabha. Mr. Chandrababu refused to join Central Cabinet and started playing key role from outside.

1999 Assembly elections were crucial for the leadership of Mr. Babu. There was the Congress wave and Dr.Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy was projected as impending Candidate for Chief Minsiter post. His meetings were largely attended.

Chandrababu emerged as strong personality after 1999 Assembly election. His rivals Mrs.Lakshmi Parvathi, Mr.Harikrishna, son of NTR who opposed Babu then were routed. Congress was pushed to main opposition party. CPI and CPM were relegated to irrelevant positions.

On 1999 Oct 11 Mr.Chandrababu assumed power once again as Chief Minsiter. He started to concentrate on converting the State to Hitech methods. Information Technology was introduced. Tele conferences became the order of the day.

Mr. Naidu toured USA. He was received well in the World Bank, and he met Bill Gates, the Microsoft icon. Telugu people in USA were delighted at the elevation of Mr. Naidu.

Bill Clinton visited Hyderabad to see the Hi-Tech city. That was a prestigious event to Mr.Babu.

The Chief Ministers of other States and Prime Minister of India are attracted to the techniques of Mr. Chandra Babu Naidu. The special features are, using information technology for adm inistration, retaining water trough watersheds, construction of flyovers, widening the roads, etc.

The criticism against Mr. Chandrababu Naidu was that the State economy was in bad state, mortgaged to the World Bank, privatisation of Government sectors, heavy concentration of power at State level, Corruption in elections etc.

One recurring problem faced by the State Government was extremist violence. To curb the Peoples War Groups, The Police often indulged in encounters. This was depicted as violation of Human Rights. But violence was unabated in the State.

Mr.Chandrababu Naidu reversed the total prohibition of liquor policy and allowed it in 21st Century.

Socially, reactionary policies were adopted for expediency. Politics entered into religion. Babas galore was promoted. State Government, Chief Minsiter and Ministers visited temples “Officially”, promoted anti-secular- trends among people. Superstitions like Astrology, Geomancy (Vastu), Yogic, Pranic healing etc., were encouraged.

State Government did not realise that Hi-Tech and reactionary social religious trends cannot go together and society will have imbalance in growth which is regressive.

TELUGU DESAM PAVING THE WAY TO CONGRESS

Machiavelli divided the rulers into two types the lions and the foxes. N.T. Rama Rao belonged more or less to the category of lions. With an acting career that spread more or less half a century, he had earned the charisma that none in the political field could challenge. He acted mostly as the gods and heroes of ancient Hindu mythology and never as a villain. He had acted in so many films that people started identifying him with the hero of the epics. The tragedy was that he himself began to imagine himself as the reincarnation of the mythological characters like Lord Krishna or Rama and began to feel that he can change the society with his summary orders even as those mythological heroes did. He had absolutely no political experience to realise that societal changes cannot take place with the turn of finger or the oral orders.

But the situation in Indian politics gave him a chance to exploit it to full advantage. The Indian National Congress was becoming unpopular and its influence over Andhra Pradesh was shaky. Which meant that the Chief Minister every time was a Reddy and just a few times a non-Reddy. The other more influential community, the Kammas, never had the chance to rule the State. The time was now for the Kammas to strike and strike they did when they discovered NTR who could fill the bill! The purse strings of the Kammas were loosened and NTR with his tremendous capacity for rousing the people with his well

structured speeches and his histrionic talents was chosen as the candidate to voice the general grievance of the masses and the hidden aspiration of the Kamma community to claim leadership that was denied to them all these years. NTR with his newly found opportunity to dominate the State politics rose heroically to the occasion. His hurricane tours allover the State, in his specially built automobile which he called Chaitanya Ratham or the Chariot of Resurgence and consciousness attracted thousands of people wherever he went. His calling the car a chariot is also a gimmick. People waited for hours to hear booming voice condemning the misrule of the Congress and the insult that Rajiv Gandhi hurled against the previous Chief Minister-Anjaiah, as an insult to the pride of Andhra.

Behind all these tactics of Rama Rao was a dark horse who was a wily politico who had imbibed the tactics of the Congress since he was originally a member of that party. Congress Party knew all the tricks of the election trade. Impersonating the voters, bribing the voters, making all sorts of promises, using rowdyism, ballot - snatching, appealing to appropriate castes at appropriate places, all these just to win the seats at any cost. The whole election politics in India became a mockery of democracy and people began to wonder and still wonder whether democracy is such a great virtue that people have to put up with all sorts of misrule. Anyway, there is no going back on democracy whatever its havoc is in civic life of India. The man who knew the whole book of Indian democracy' chapter and verse was Chandrababu Naidu. He is one of the sons-in-law of NTR. He hails from the southern-most district of Andhra Pradesh where the Kammas sport the suffix 'Naidu' to their name unlike those in Circar districts.

Thus NTR established his dominance over the State politics and could even fight against Mrs.Gandhi's usual threat of imposing Central Rule over any one whom she did not like. He

could muster general opposition to her imposition of one Bhaskar Rao as the Chief Minister.

It is of interest to note that once this very same Bhaskar Rao was one of the close confidants of NTR. During all these days Chandra Babu Naidu was lying low but was silently building up his own support structure. NTR too in his own way helped Naidu to do so, whoever came to NTR with a proposal, he insisted that the proposal be first shown to Naidu Garu' and then to him. Thus silently and unostentatiously the son-in-law was slipping into the shoes of his father-in-law.

One of the typically Indian diseases of the Indian professionals is the anxiety to promote their dynasty. Actors make their sons actors, advocates make their sons follow their line and more than these the political leaders want their sons or daughters to succeed them. From Motilal up to his great grand son Rajiv Gandhi, his wife Sonia Gandhi it was the trend. Others may not have this long line of succession but the ambition among there is unmistakable. Only leaders like Kamaraj and Gandhiji are exceptions. NTR too was a victim to this disease. Of course one of his sons got into the tinsel world. Others did not do well. NTR being a highly superstitious person became a victim to this sorcery. He was a widower and his sons were worthless for political mantle that he could pass on. Then appeared a crafty woman who under the excuse of writing NTR's biography, approached him and became very close to him by tending to his requirements and became so indispensable that finally she divorced her legally wedded husband. She became a widower's second wife and he a divorcee's second husband. True it was that none of his sons and daughters ever cared very much for his health and welfare and when he got some affection from the middle-aged woman he gave her more than she bargained for political power. But he could not give her a son to create a dynasty. Before she came into his life rumours were rife that he

had married some one for some tantric ritual and worshipped corpses brought from the morgue. Some of them were half-truths. When this middle aged divorcee, came into his life as his life-partner, hopes of a successor were kindled not only in his heart but also in the heart of this new wife Laxmi Parvathi. She was equally anxious to give NTR a successor and be a dowager till the issue grew up.

In her over-ambition this 'Harikatha' artist from a remote village in Guntur district, coastal Andhra, became rather over-bearing and had alienated every political leader and every member of the NTR family including the son-in-law who was waiting behind the side curtains for stepping into his father-in-law's shoes.

Till this woman came into the life of NTR, the whole family was loyal to him and he commanded respect and fear from them. His eldest son earlier drove his chariot during his whistle-stop campaign. With the marriage of NTR and Lakshmiparvathi the whole family turned against him. For one thing NTR had earned a lot of money in the cinema and was extremely niggardly and the sons and daughters may have had their eye on the property. They would have inherited a property duly divided among all of them. Now the whole lot will devolve on this 'usurper'.

NTR during his campaign was supported by the two faction of the Communist Party- the CPI and the CPI (M). These two parties are part of the communist movement which was as old as 1926. But the charismatic power of NTR was such that they had to go to him asking for a few seats in the elections. He had formed the usual hackneyed thing called 'United Front' of all anti Congress Parties. He was even asked to lead the country.

During the hey-day of his rule. NTR did many populist and hare-brained things. In a flamboyant style on the day he took his oath he signed the order prohibiting liquor before a huge

crowd of people who were asked to gather in the play-ground instead of in the Assembly. This was a gimmick. He also announced a measure to distribute rice at the rate of Rs.2 per kilo. Other such uneconomic and quixotic actions characterised his rule. But the marriage was the last straw that broke the patience of his advisers and relatives.

The behaviour of his new wife was no less unpopular. She began to show off her power and the party-men began to feel the heat of the kitchen rule. Corruption reached the lowest limits. The party men and the members of Rama Rao's family began to protest and finally demanded the reversal of his actions. NTR is known for his obstiancy and thus he paved the way for a split. This was a great opportunity for the son-in-law of NTR and soon the party men also joined him.

Now it was the turn of the Fox. Mustering all the dissident MLA's in the Viceroy Hotel, Hyderabad. Where all sorts of comforts were provided, he openly rebelled against NTR and Parvathi's domination. The MLAs who were housed in the Viceroy Hotel were not allowed to leave the premises and he provided all things to see that they did not have to move out. NTR for his part dramatically came before the people who had gathered at the Hotel premises to harangue about his son-in-law's betrayal. He appealed to the MLAs to abandon Naidu and come back to the old camp. But none proved to be a prodigal son. No fatted calves attracted them since Naidu was also making all promises that proved more attractive to them. He was able to parade his followers before the Governor and claimed the Chief Minister's post. Seeing a majority of members in Naidu's camp even the Communist party offered their support. Thus Chandrababu Naidu was declared the Leader of the House and he promptly began to form his cabinet. These tensions told upon NTR's health. None of his kith and kin came to see him regularly

in his last days. Perhaps Laxmi Parvathi was the only companion to this fallen lion. During the rule of NTR nothing of any great significance was done except some statues being installed on the Tank Bundh, Hyderabad to remind the Andhras of their imaginary or perhaps real glory.

Once Naidu got the leadership of the party well in his hands, he tightened his grip and did not give any quarter to the other members of the family. In the next elections Laxmi Parvathi won a seat and remained as a Member of the Legislative Assembly. But she did not impress anyone and in the next election lost her seat. The other relatives, other son-in-law Dr. D. Vekateswara Rao and son HariKrishna duly lost their stakes and were thrown on the scrapheap of history. Babu was the sole monarch.

Babu holds a Masters degree from Sri Venkateswara University. He was a student leader of sorts during his college days and was in the Congress till his father-in-law formed the Telugu Desam party.

Even after he assumed his leadership, he wisely used NTR's name and claimed NTR as his leader and guide. He did not disrespect the memory of NTR. The Fly Over road near the Tank Bund Hyderabad which was deservedly called Sir M. Visweswarayya Road was renamed after NTR. NTR's portraits adorned his party offices. This reminds us of the way Stalin elevated the name of Lenin though he was least fond of the dead leader. Both Naidu and Stalin pretended to be the true followers of their respective leaders though in their heart of hearts they did not like them.

Naidu unlike his father-in-law is generally systematic and talks less. He does his home-work thoroughly before he makes his speeches, Facts generally are on his finger tips. He is not flamboyant. In the troubled politics of India he has been able

to hold his flock and also by virtue of this strength became a crucial factor in the formation of the Government at the Centre.

The decision to support the BJP-led NDA was taken after very thorough analysis of the situation. He did not want to act like Jayalalitha on the previous occasion betraying the trust she had given Vajpayee. At the same time he did not want to go the whole hog with NDA. There is a considerable Muslim population in Hyderabad and their votes would be solid. They were a prejudiced lot going by what their mullah proclaims.

They have no love last for the Congress. But they have a vague unproved idea that the Congress is secular and their interests would be safe in Congress' hands. Now if Naidu were to support the NDA, he would automatically become the enemy of the Muslims though Naidu supported the NDA for pragmatic considerations and also to show to the people that he is opposed to the Congress which has been a corrupt organisation. He had opposed the Congress and now to switch on to support the Congress would be a betrayal of the trust that his supporters had reposed in him. Moreover his pretended bargaining power with the NDA is more. The proof of the pudding was in the eating. He held the balance even by mere extension of support from outside without joining the Government. Thus he thought he would please the Muslims and their blind supporters, the communists. Communists are more royal than the king' so to say. They would champion the Muslim cause even if the Muslims donot feel that they have any cause. So even before the Muslims withdrew Support to Naidu, the Communists loudly procalimed from house tops that they withdrew support to Chandrababu Naidu because he was supporting the NDA. One or two muslims did join Naidu but the withdrawal of support by the communists was total.

Without joining the Goverment so that he could keep his options open or atleast pretend to keep them open, he forced

Mr. Balayogi, an inexperienced person as his candidate for Speakership.

Naidu kept the Telugu Desam Members of the Parliament who had ambitions of becoming Ministers in the Central Government under leash. Such was the power of Naidu that none could oppose him on any count. The fact that none in the Parliament including the 'selfless' Communists wanted another collapse of Government and re-election. That would be not only risky but also involve huge expenditure. So the wafer thin majority of the NDA prevailed and Naidu began to squeeze as much juice as possible from the precarious Centre. He would issue mild threats to the Centre whenever he asked for more. Here was Oliver Twist in reverse.

He had a very good business acumen. Vast lands on the outskirts of the city were purchased for a song keeping view in the fixture prospects. He felt that Information Technology was the in-thing and went for it very vigourously. His aim was to make the State of Andhra Pradesh the number one State in Computer Software Technology and towards this end he encouraged construction of a huge building in the outskirts of the Hyderabad, the High tech City, for the use of Computer and Information Technologists. A number of Andhras had already gone to the USA as Software Technologists and he visited the US to appeal to them for help and assistance. He borrowed a good deal of money from the World Bank in order to bring about some face-lifting schemes like widening the roads and other structures and in the process none was listening to the poor. He had already quashed the populist scheme of his father-in-law regarding cheap rice. He slowly announced to lift prohibition which was causing a lot of deficit in the budget without achieving any beneficent results. Many flyovers were built in the capital city and the traffic was supposed to move more easily thereby cutting down the distances. Of course these helped the rich and had

absolutely no effect on the poor. But Naidu would assure people that with the improvement in Information Technology every village would get the benefits.

Already the State of Karnataka had become the foremost centre for Information Technology and Naidu was hellbent on making Andhra the foremost. He worked very hard to make AP the foremost centre and, he was successful in making the President Clinton visit Hyderabad instead of Karnataka or any other place. It was at the last quarter of Clinton's term as the President of USA. He visited India and he was prevailed upon by Naidu to visit Hyderabad. Clinton's visit to Hyderabad, the only city he visited in this connection, added to the prestige of Naidu and he became quite well-known all over India as the most dynamic State Chief Minister. Even the West acknowledged his abilities.

In addition to these, he instituted other populist schemes like 'Janma Bhoomi' — an attractive name to rouse the patriotic sentiment and make the administration work with the people at the grassroot level. Lot of money was spent on popularising this scheme and except for paper records nothing much seemed to have been achieved. Using the techniques of communication, he was in direct contact with the District Collectors and stopped the Collectors from frequently visiting the headquarters. This was a good thing since the District Collectors on some flimsy excuse used to visit Hyderabad. That was controlled. Whether it improved the efficiency in the old rotten administrative structure of India is a matter of doubt.

He felt that the middleman in the vegetable market was making a lot money. Neither the peasantry nor the consumer got the benefits. So he instituted what was known as 'Rytu Bazaar' a central market where the producer would bring his produce and sell it straight to the consumer thus eliminating the middle man. For some time it worked well. But for people to go

to the Rytu bazaar and buy proved to be more expensive than buying in the local market. Apart from that, even the ryots also began to play their tricks of disposing of rotten stuff along with good ones.

He held tele - conferences with the District Collectors in the name of economy and direct contact. This did not prevent his own tours undertaken to see whether every thing went alright. Suspicion is the characteristic of a fox. Though he talks eloquently about the benefits of decentralisation, in practice a suspicious person hesitates to give full responsibility to a subordinate. The rest of the Ministers became his tools and they did not have the courage to express their difference of opinion. Like in the case of Mrs.Indira Gandhi, the Ministers became mere yes-men and the Democles's sword of dismissal was always hanging over their heads. They were not leaders in their own right but puppets installed by him. Money makes many things.

He is a bundle of contradictions so to say. He believes in scientific and technological advancement and talks of scientific spirit but himself is as crazily superstitious like his father-in-law. He believes in astrology, Vastu (Georuancy) and such other nonsensical mumbo-jumbo.

In Andhra there is no party which could challenge him effectively. The Congress became so corrupt that people at large would prefer anyone to the Congress. The Communist parties with their meaningless theoretical hairsplitting behind which their personality conflicts were concealed fared no better. They also have become as bad as any other 'bourgeois' parties. Naidu never ruffled the feathers of the NTR. admirers as he was always invoking his name. In the elections of 1999 he won comfortably establishing his monopoly in State politics and also a very influential position in the Centre by successfully evading any criticism of the Central Government and taking credit for the

good they did. He resisted the temptation to become an all India leader.

The opposition did not have much to oppose and most successful one was the protest against the enhancement of electricity bills. The Communists and the Congress joined together to protest against the higher power tariff and called upon the people to refuse payment. A sort of a degenerate no-tax' campaign was launched. But none seems to have obliged since consumers were flocking at the collection centres to promptly pay the bills. The next thing that the opposition tried was to unleash a violent demonstration in the city. They brought goons and some Communist Party (ML) groups which were waiting for some excuse to cause chaos also joined in. Rocks were collected for hurling at the Police men. Every one witnessed that the stone-pelting was done without much Police provocation-infact it was the Naxalite crowds that started provoking the Police to open fire so that they could complain that the Police committed excesses. But people did not buy this, though one demonstrator was killed in police firing.

Naidu spun out many schemes and one of these was on drinking water. Every one knows that thousands of villages donot have potable water and most diseases are caused by the horribly impure water that they drink. Every Ministry talked about providing water to every village but none succeeded in doing anything good. Naidu pitched upon this and made much noise without any water trickling down in the villages. Water, power, literacy, telephones, roads, village markets, women's welfare, etc. were the problems he legitimately raised without doing much about any of the these issues. He made a demonstration of rebuking the Civil Servants for their inefficiency. It was said that he had many benami transactions including urban land and dairy Plant.

Like Napoleon III, he too indulged in great populist measures without affecting his own interests in the bargain. Roads looked comparatively cleaner, there are many beauty spots like the Necklace Road, a number of flyovers, and so on in Hyderabad. But public services were like in the old days working on bribery, indifference and red-tape. These have not changed. Nothing reached the people or what were known as the target groups. There was also no way of checking these things. Hospitals were not helping people and they did not trust either the Government Doctors or even the private ones. Gutters overflowed all over the place.

One might ask whether it was worse than the other States in India. The answer was obvious no'. There were much worse States with much worse Chief Ministers. Atleast Naidu had some ideas and the others had bankrupt brains. His own father-in-law was one such hare-brained obstinate populist. So are the Ministers in other States with Bihar being the worst in the list. Hence one had to ponder- if Chandrababu Naidu was replaced with the Congress Ministers, even this marginal benefits will be rare. There is no meaning in the Congress kettle calling Chandrababu Naidu's pot black. India was said to have three rather efficient and young Chief Ministers. Chandra Babu is one of them the other two being Krishna of Karnataka and Digvijay Singh of Madhya Pradesh.

The disgruntled elements in his cabinet had threatened him with the separatist cry saying that Telangana was treated badly by Naidu and hence a separate State should be formed. The other threat to his Government was the Naxalites. Universities have become big breeding grounds for rowdies, with political backing. Muslim element was opposed to him just because he supported the NDA and more than the Muslim elements, the Communists were flying at his throat for this offence and only this offence.

Otherwise they were supporting him and were the beneficiaries of Naidu Government's largesse. Then they clung to his coat tails.

The last gimmick that Naidu imposed on the city was the Great Mall, where he contemplated to bring various products from different countries and make it a great show in 2001. There is no business like show business; But that time the terrorists attacked on US Trade Centre (Sep 11, 2001) and the Pentagons rendered general participation of various countries difficult. At the same time the transport workers went on strike thus preventing many pleasure seekers for visiting the Mall. So it was a fiasco.

Like the Ramzan moon he was a mere streak and then developed into a full moon and whether he would shrink back to the original shape or completely lose his position like the moon on the new moon night was a political puzzle. But Naidu will be remembered for the concrete structures like the flyovers and the Hightech Industry, for whatever they are worth.

DR. Y. S. RAJASEKHAR REDDY EMERGED TRIUMPHANT

After a long spell of Telugu Desam rule, the Congress Party came back to power under the leadership of Dr.Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy (YS) in 2004 and repeated the performance in 2009 elections as well.

Y.S. undertook a walkathon(tour by foot-paadayaatra) during the scorching summer of 2003 commencing from Chevella near Hyderabad and ending at Ichapuram of Srikakulam district bordering Orissa. He walked for more than fifteen hundred miles stopping at villages and meeting thousands of people. The *paadayaatra* was well received by the poorer sections of the society. The campaign had a great impact on the people. Similar impact was witnessed only during the chariot tour of late N.T. Ramarao during 1982 soon after launching the Telugu Desam Party.

Nara Chandrababu Naidu, the then Chief Minister, was attacked by naxalites of People's War Group(now Moists)on October, 2003 at Alipiri in Tirupati. He and his Minister Bojjala Gopalakrishna Reddy had a miraculous escape from the heavy explosion caused by land mines. Naidu calculatedly tried to encash on a perceived sympathy that the people might have for him in the wake of the dastardly attack. He, as a strategy, opted for early elections, a move which did not fetch him the desired result.

The Congress had entered into an alliance with both the Communist Parties and Telangana Rashtra Samithi (a separatist outfit demanding formation of a Telangana State) in order to defeat the ruling TDP in 2004 elections. As a run up to the

elections, the Congress and both the Communist Parties(in fact, a coalition of nine Communist Parties) had spearheaded a popular agitation against power sector reforms implemented by Naidu's government. The mood of the people was very much against the Ruling Party what with crisis in the farm sector due to continuous failure of monsoon and rising prices of essential commodities. The grand alliance led by the Congress Party won the 2004 elections with a comfortable majority and Y.S. became the Chief Minister. While the Communist Parties supported the Congress Government in Hyderabad and the Government of Congress-led United Progressive Alliance in New Delhi from outside, the TRS chose to join both the Governments. However, the honeymoon did not last long. The Communist Parties distanced themselves from the ruling party in no time. On the issue of formation of a separate Telangana State, the TRS fell out of Congress and left the governments at the Centre and in the State. The Congress engineered a split in the TRS. Y.S. ruled the State with a comfortable majority in the Assembly. A huge loan of 15 thousand crores of rupees was waived and a subsidy of five thousand rupees was given to the peasants in the State. This was in keeping with the promises made by Y.S. during the walkathon to rescue the hapless farmers who were committing suicide out of frustration caused by crop failure and the pressure mounted by private money lenders. Arrears to the tune of Rs.1400 crores towards power bills were waived. Agricultural loans were disbursed on the spot and one-time settlements were made in case of arrears. These measures gave the farmers a ray of hope. The suicides by farmers did not altogether stop even though the frequency and the number have come down.

Y.S. gave impetus to Power and Agriculture sectors. Under a much publicized Jala Yagnam'(a scheme to construct a series of irrigation projects) a considerable progress has been registered bringing thousands of acres of land into cultivation. This

ambitious plan to build more than twenty five small, medium and major irrigation projects with a layout of more than 56 thousand crores is unprecedented. No other state in the country can boast of such a massive initiative by a Government. Andhra Pradesh would live up to its reputation of the rice bowl of India (The food giver- Annapurna) if all the proposed irrigation projects were completed. Similarly 'Arogya Sri' (a health scheme for poor) was implemented with a lot of publicity. Talking about the '108 ambulance' Services in the election meetings Y.S. used to mimic the sound of the vehicle's siren (kui kui...). Under this scheme, poor people can get health services at the corporate hospitals without any charges to be paid. Old-age pension was enhanced and disbursed at the door-steps of the poor people on the first day of every month. Thousands of houses have been constructed for the poor under various yojanaas. Despite numerous defects in implementation, these and similar other Welfare Schemes had tremendous impact on the poorer sections and resulted in retaining the Congress in power in 2009 elections. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme funded by the Centre also helped the Ruling Party in winning hearts of the people.

George Bush , President of USA, visited the State during the first term of Y.S. rule and paid tributes to the agricultural sector(President Bill Clinton and Bill Gates of Microsoft too came calling during the TDP regime and patted Chandrababu Naidu for the impressive progress made by the State in the field of Information Technology) So did British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

The All India Congress Committee meeting, successfully organized by the State Unit, has added yet another feather in Y.S. 's cap. He became an unquestioned leader of the party in the state. Unlike the previous Congress Chief Ministers, Y.S. was not bothered by dissidents as they were not encouraged by the Party High Command. The Congress was changing its Chief

Ministers very frequently till then. It is no more the case. Y.S. had not only split the TRS, he made the Telangana protagonists in the Congress irrelevant. Senior leaders like Venkataswamy, Jaipal Reddy, D. Srinivas and Purushotham Reddy had to toe Y.S. 's line as they found the Party High Command giving unstinted support to the Chief Minister. So much so, Telangana sentiment took a back seat in the recent elections and Y.S. came to be considered as the protector of the integrity of the State. While all the other political parties, excepting Loksatta, supported the Telangana sentiment in various degrees in the elections, the Congress party was non-committal though leaders were making ambiguous statements.

As against this background, the Congress party faced elections in 2009 and won 157 seats in the 12th Assembly and 33 in the 15th Lok Sabha. Analysis of the results show a clear mandate for the UPA Government led by Dr. Manmohan Singh which helped the Congress to romp home in the State. Had there been no goodwill for the UPA dispensation, the Congress would not have managed to win in the State for the second time. Y.S. was the first politician to realize this factor. He told a conference of District Collectors that the people of the State gave him a pass mark and not a first class mark as expected. He exhorted the Permanent Executive to strive to improve the performance of the Government so that people would be more favourably disposed towards the establishment.

The second term of the Congress party in the State started on a positive note. A special effort has been mounted to encourage cooperative farming with the blessings of reputed agriculture scientist Dr. Swaminathan. Earlier the late Jawahar Lal Nehru proposed Socialistic Pattern of Society with cooperative farming as the mainstay.

But Nehru's idea never materialised in its true sense. Even

the Collective Farming System as envisaged by Vinoba Bhave, the disciple of M.K. Gandhi, failed miserably. In the light of the past experience, the State Government has to take several measures to overcome the obstacles and make the experiment a success. It is a new challenge that the new government has taken upon itself.

The uniqueness of Dr Y S Rajasekhara Reddy:

It was during Jalagam Vengal Rao's regime (1972-1978) that Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy entered into active politics. He finished MBBS at Gulbarga in Karnataka and returned to his native Pulivendula in Kadapa district. He practiced medicine for a while. But that was not his cup of tea. His father Mr. Rajareddi was already in local politics and he made a solid foundation for his son to succeed in politics. Mr. Bandaru Ratnasabhapathy (a backward classes leader from Kadapa) and Mr. Kunda Ramaiah advised Mr. J. Vengal Rao to induct Dr. Y.S. into politics against Mr. Basireddi. Mr. Basireddi emerged as a strong leader and was also a Minister. His rivals wanted to counter him with a forceful young leader. Mr. Vengal Rao followed the advice and brought Dr. Y.S. into politics. Dr. Y.S. was campaigning for Pulivendula seat even before the elections were announced in 1978, the year in which the Congress was split once again by Indira Gandhi. Y.S. was with the break-away group called Congress(R). Though there was a lot of pressure on the young Y.S. to contest on Congress (I) ticket, he preferred, true to his character, to sail with Congress(R). Though the Congress(I) with Dr. Chenna Reddy as the PCC president swept the polls in the elections, Y.S. won from Pulivendula thus making his debut in electoral politics. And then on there was no looking back for him. He never, since then, lost any election, be it for Assembly or Lok Sabha. He was first inducted into Ministry by Mr. Anjaiah and continued in the Ministry of Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram and Kotla Vijayabhaskar Reddy as well.

When the matinee idol N. T. Ramarao entered politics like a colossus and swept the state with an unprecedented victory in 1983, Kadapa district also felt the impact though Y.S. got elected. The Congress had to do some thing spectacular to stop the TDP chariot. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, made Dr.Y.S. the PCC President at very young age with a view to giving impetus to the youth. Y.S. spearheaded the Congress campaign in the midterm polls for the Assembly in 1985. The elections were preceded by a huge movement for restoration of democracy in the wake of arbitrary removal of NTR from the Chief Ministership by the then Governor Ramlal. NTR's deputy in the TDP, Mr. Nadendla Bhaskar Rao, had revolted when the Chief Minister was away in the US for medical treatment. NTR, like a wounded lion, led a historic movement which was whole heartedly supported by all the opposition parties. The Central government has realized the folly in dethroning a popular leader and quickly decided to restore the order. Ramlal was duly replaced by Dr.Shankardayal Sharma who went on to become President of India. It was an uphill task for any PCC president to conduct an election campaign in the face of a popular upsurge. Not surprisingly, the Congress lost the elections badly ending up with 50 seats. When Congress came to power once again in the State with Dr.Channa Reddy as Chief Minister for the second time, Dr.Y.S. emerged as a strong and resourceful dissident leader within the Congress party. He opposed all the three Chief Ministers Dr.Channa Reddy, N.Janardhan Reddy and K. Vijayabhaskar Reddy. Y.S. was playing his cards deftly and boldly though he was a Member of Loksabha.

Vijayabhaskar Reddy had the mortification of handing over power to NTR, as he did in 1983, again in 1994. However, with in one year of assuming the reigns, NTR was replaced by his son-in-law Mr. Chandrababu Naidu in a Palace coup. NTR's second wife Lakshmi Parvathi became the divisive force. Her

influence on the supreme leader was the cause of heartburn and a feeling of insecurity among NTR's kith and kin. All of them rallied around MR. Naidu in the name of saving the party from the hands of the leader who was under 'evil influence'. NTR did not live to fight his son-in-law. He died reportedly of heart attack. It was at that time that Dr.Y.S. became the president of Pradesh Congress Committee for the second time. He was also the main opposition leader in the Assembly. He led agitations against the rule of TDP and campaigned for Congress.

Dr.Y.S. had the good fortune of having a loyal and good friend in Dr. K.V. P. Ramachandrarao, who was also his classmate at Gulburga. Both of them remained best friends in need and continued to be so. They sail together in rain and shine. When Dr.Y.S. came to power in 2004, Dr. KVP became the official advisor to the State Government. He was overseeing the party affairs and also helping the implementation of welfare schemes. He is seen here, there and everywhere tirelessly working for his friend and mentor.

YSR's son Mr.Jagan Mohan Reddy, in the meanwhile, established a newspaper called 'Sakshi' and a news channel of the same name to counter Eenadu and Andhra Jyothi, the two newspapers which, according to him, were bent on showing Y.S. in poor light. Having succeeded in creating an alternative newspaper, Jagan entered into politics in a big way and contested for Kadapa seat in Lok Sabha. He won without much effort. In fact, he did not have to campaign in his constituency. He toured other parts of the State canvassing for his party. Mr. Jaganmohan Reddy is a dynamic Youngman and has to be watched with interest.

Praja Rajyam and Lok Satta

Two new parties had emerged in the State since 2004 when Y.S. became the Chief Minister. One of them is Lok Satta, a

political party founded by Dr. Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly known as JP, a civil servant who resigned from service to devote himself to public life. JP was very successful as District Collector. He also worked as Personal Secretary to NTR while he was the Chief Minister. After leaving the Government, JP organized Lok Satta, a voluntary organization. It was about ten years ago. Lok Satta was fighting for electoral reforms and clean public life. It was also responsible for the Right To Information Act. Realising that voluntary service alone will not be able to change the society without political power, Dr. Jayaprakash Narayan, had decided to launch a political party. The party contested alone in a majority of the constituencies (246 to be precise) and secured a respectable percentage of votes. However, only JP had won from Kukatpally Assembly constituency while all other candidates of Lok Satta lost.

Cine hero Chiranjeevi launched Praja Rajyam Party' (PRP) on August 15, 2008. A lot of hype was created by his fans and friends who held meetings both in Andhra Pradesh and the US urging him to take the plunge into politics. He kept the watchers guessing for months before ultimately taking the call. The huge rally at the time of announcing Chiranjeevi's entry into politics organized at Tirupati was attended by an estimated crowd of eight lakh people. This has created a lot of hope in the hearts of his admirers. But the way in which Chiranjeevi built the party and persons he surrounded himself did not do any good to him or to his party. His excessive dependence on his brother-in-law Allu Aravind affected the morale of the senior leaders who left the TDP and the Congress to join the new party. PRP toyed with the idea of aligning itself with the left parties and the TRS. There were negotiations which were not fruitful. The PRP contested the election alone and won 18 Assembly seats. It could not win a single Lok Sabha seat. Aravind also lost in Anakapally Lok Sabha constituency. Mr. Chiranjivi himself lost in Palakole (Godavari

District) while managing to win from Tirupati , the temple town from where he commenced his election campaign perhaps with a belief that the blessings of Lord Venkateswara would ensure his success.

Dr.Mitra, Dr.Brahmareddy, Gattu Ramachandraiah, T.V.Rao were some of the key persons who helped Mr. Chiranjeevi at the formation stage. After announcing the political party several defectors from other political parties joined PRP Mr.C. Ramachandraiah, Mr.Hariramajogaah, Mr.P.Upendra, Mr. P.Sivasankar, Mr.Parakala Prabhakar were some of the senior politicians who nurtured the party. Chiranjeevi came into politics when he almost reached a point in his film career where he cannot expect many new roles. His popularity among youth and students was also on the wane. Another factor was the caste colour the PRP came to acquire, perhaps without any contribution from the mega star who in his film life was supported and sponsored by other caste groups. But the elections proved that even the kapu voters in Congress Party did not vote for the PRP.

Mahakutami (Grand Alliance)

During 2009 elections, four parties came together and formed a grand alliance (MahaKutami). Telugu Desam, Telangana Rashtra Samithi, both Communist Parties (CPI and CPM) came together to challenge the ruling Congress. In fact it was a case of reversal of roles. In 2004 elections both the Communist Parties and the TRS joined hands with the Congress in order to beat the then ruling TDP. The three parties which helped the Congress in dethroning the TDP had come round in five years to support the TDP in its fight against the Congress. But the grand alliance this time around did not succeed. TDP went out of the way to lure the TRS by declaring its willingness to support the formation of a separate Telengana state. This stand did not seem to have gone well with the people. The CPI also

supported the Telangana cause while the CPM stood for integrated state even though it aligned with the rest of the opposition parties with a view to defeating the Congress. But the Congress has won a second term in the State for the first time in 31 years. While the Congress bagged 157 Assembly and 33 Lok Sabha seats, the TDP got only 90 Assembly seats and six Lok Sabha seats. The third position went to PRP which won 18 Assembly seats. The TRS had to be content with ten Assembly and two Lok Sabha seats. The CPI won in four constituencies while the CPM was successful only in one. Bharatiya Janata party(BJP) got only two Assembly seats and not a single Lok Sabha seat.

Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen(MIM) unproved its tally from the five in 2004 to seven in 2009. It also retained the lone Lok Sabha seat. The MIM had an understanding with the Congress. On August 9,2007 Bangla Desh writer Ms. Taslima Nasrin came to Hyderabad to release her novel 'Shodh' and another book entitled 'Wild Swans' by Jung Chang (both translated into Telugu by Venigalla Komala), the MIM legislators along with rowdy gang physically attacked her in Press Club. But the Congress Government failed to arrest them and book cases against them. Thus Congress Government behaved in a very anti secular way. The Lok Satta was victorious only in one constituency while four independents had won.

While the Congress had polled 37.03 percent of votes, the TDP got 29.09 and the PRP 15.6 percent. TRS got 4.16 percent while the BJP was given 2.88, the Lok Satta 1.72, the CPM 1.16 and the CPI got 1.15 percent. Overall, the difference in the percentage of votes got by the Congress (37.03) and the grand alliance (35.56) was minimal and it does not justify the difference in the number of seats won by them.

Dr. YS. seemed to be a changed politician when he started

his second term in right earnest. He was talking about implementing the welfare measure more vigorously. He was obviously trying to make sure of a third innings for the Congress and himself.

Unexpectedly, Dr.Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy the Chief Minister died on 2 September 2009 while travelling, from Hyderabad to Chittoor District in a helicopter: The crash took place around 9.40 am in Nallamalai forest hills near Kurnool. It was a tragic demise. His body was traced on 3 Sep 2009.

Mr K.Rosaiah, the senior Minister in the Cabinet of Dr.Rajasekhara Reddy, was sworn in as Chief Minister on 3 September 2009.

CHIEF MINISTERS I MET

Narisetti Innaiah

Dedicated to
my friend
REKHA SARASWAT
Editor
Radical Humanist
with admiration and affection

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CHIEF MINISTERS
I MET

RAJAJI (C. RAJAGOPALACHARI)



Although I did not meet Rajaji (C. Rajagopalachari) when he became Chief Minister of Madras State for the second time, I had the privilege of associating myself much later after he formed the Swatantra Party.

Rajaji had to take over as Chief Minister to save the State from slipping into Communist hands. The first general elections in the country in 1952 witnessed Communists getting elected in large

numbers to the Madras Assembly. Naturally, they aspired to assume power. Tanguturi Prakasam was willing to oblige them since he was offered chief ministership. Prakasam had worked against the Congress Party and played a key role in the defeat several popular Congress Ministers in the Andhra area.

The Central leadership of the Congress Party, however, put in all efforts to stall Prakasam from forming the Ministry with Communists as partners. It sought the cooperation of Rajaji. He accepted the offer, mustered enough strength, and prevented the Communists from coming to power under Prakasam's leadership. Prof. N G Ranga supported Rajaji. With the support of the Krishikar Lok Party legislators Rajaji became Chief Minister.

I followed the political developments as a college student.

Both Rajaji and Rangaji came out of the Congress and founded the Swatantra Party in 1958.

After launching the new party, Rajaji and a galaxy of other leaders toured Andhra during 1958-59. The tour started at Bapatla and ended at Bobbili.

I had just joined as personal assistant to Rangaji. I was at Sangareddi in Medak district with my sister when I received a post card from Rangaji asking me to join him as personal assistant. Surprised at the offer, I called on Mr. Avula Gopalakrishna Murty at Tenali and sought his advice. AGK described the offer as a great opportunity to get in touch with national leaders and movements. He counseled me not to involve myself in active politics as personal assistant to Rangaji.

I went to Nidubrolu where Rangaji lived and joined duty. My association with Rangaji provided me the opportunity to meet Rajaji.

I followed Rajaji and other leaders from Bapatla to Bobbili and witnessed the massive rallies and meetings. I had occasion to

converse with Rajaji during breakfast, lunch and dinner every day in guesthouses/travelers' bungalows as he moved from place to place.

Since Rangaji introduced me to Rajaji on the first day of the tour itself, I faced no problem in interacting with him. I asked him about many things which others dared not.

In response to a query, I told Rajaji that I was reporting to *Vahini*, the Telugu weekly of Rangaji, about the campaign. The weekly covered the tour elaborately.

At Kakinada we met at Mr. M V Sastri's house. Rajaji had his hot coffee holding the cup with a kerchief. I asked him why he needed a kerchief to hold the cup. He gave me the cup and asked me to hold it. I could not since it was very hot. That did not prevent Rajaji from sipping and finishing the hot coffee. It was black coffee without sugar. He told me that I could not enjoy black coffee unless habituated. He offered me a small quantity asking me to try it. It tasted like *kashaayam* (a bitter potion) to me.

Then Rajaji went on narrating his personal experiences.

Starting from Bapatla, several persons tried to translate Rajaji's speeches in English into Telugu. Veerachary, Vijayaraja Kumar, Usha Sri, Sunkara Satyanarayana and a few others failed to translate his lucid, simple, witty, and sarcastic speeches. At last, Gouthu Latchanna took the mike and received thunderous applause for rendering Rajaji's speeches into idiomatic Telugu. Rajaji praised him and asked him to continue translating him.

I traveled with Bezwada Ramachandra Reddi from Bapatla to Bobbili in his Fiat car. Mr. S. V. Pantulu joined me during the tour.

Spending time with Rajaji was a unique experience. Every day, he asked me if I had done my report faithfully and without distortions. He commented that reporters were given to putting

their own idiosyncrasies into reporting. I reported as I understood his speeches, I told him.

I asked Rajaji how he viewed the speech of Mr. Avula Gopalakrishna Murthy at Bapatla. That concerned the 17th amendment to the Constitution under which the Nehru Government opposing on cooperative farming. Rajaji, who was on the dais, applauded his speech as wonderful, and said that there was no need for him to speak after hearing AGK. That was a great compliment to AGK.

I never involved myself in Swatantra party politics. After a couple of years, I withdrew as PA of Rangaji. My stint with Rangaji provided me the unique opportunity of coming close to Rajaji, M. R. Masani, and Bezwada Ramachandra Reddi.

My differences with Rajaji on religion never came in my admiration for his genius.



TANGUTURI PRAKASAM PANTULU (1872-1957)



Few could rival Mr. Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu in contemporary India in one sterling leadership quality: He spent all that he earned as a successful lawyer in fighting the British and in serving the nation after Independence. The thought that he should set aside at least a part of his earnings for the rainy day never crossed him.

Living and moving amidst people, he led many a battle with unrelenting zeal and courage. That was why people did not fault him whether he changed parties, or committed indiscretions or ran into debts.

He excelled not merely as a State leader but also as a national leader. Along with Swarajya Party's Motilal Nehru, he took part in the Central Assembly debates. He worked for some time in the National Party founded by Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Undeterred by financial constraints, Prakasam Pantulu founded Swarajya daily and published it in both English and Telugu from Madras. His staff would not protest even he did not pay their salaries on time. Immersed as he was in the freedom struggle, he reportedly asked his sub-editors to touch up his writings for want of time.

Although he too found himself entangled in factional politics, he ushered in many reforms like the constitution of firkas to decentralize administration and abolition of spinning mills to safeguard the khadi industry when he was in power. He exemplified how a genuine public servant should behave.

He took on veterans like C. Rajagopalachari and fought them both within and outside the Assembly.

His requisitioning of the Malabar police to stamp out the Communist menace in the Andhra region constituted an important milestone in his life's journey.

Despite Herculean efforts, Prakasam failed in getting Madras included in the newly constituted Andhra State. He fought from the Madras Beach constituency to establish that Madras belonged to Andhras but tasted defeat.

He launched the election campaign in Andhra and made Congress veterans ranging from Kalluri Chandramouli to Kala Venkata Rao bite dust. He tried to become the first Chief Minister of Andhra by joining hands with the Communists. When he could

not strike a deal, he joined hands with the Congress and succeeded. Mr. Tenneti Viswanadham stood by him unto the last.

I had the privilege of meeting Prakasam for the first time in Kurnool when I was a student. I was studying in A. C. College in Guntur when I had the opportunity to go to Kurnool and meet him. I met at him at Guntur also on some other occasions.

The Kurnool meeting took place in peculiar circumstances. Mr. Gouthu Latchanna's followers, Mr. Vaddegunta Venkateswarlu and Mr. Madala Pedda Thimmayya, were the leaders of the Rickshaw Workers' Union. Those days, there were cycle rickshaws and as per rules a rickshaw should carry only one passenger. On learning that the police in Vizianagaram permitted two passengers, they wanted to meet Inspector General of Police Nambiar to seek a similar relaxation in rules for Guntur rickshaw drivers. Since they felt Mr. Nambiar could not understand Telugu, they wanted me to accompany them to Kurnool so that I could be their translator. Not that I was proficient in English. All of us went to meet Mr. Nambiar in his tent in Kurnool. As I fumbled and faltered in conveying the Rickshaw Union leaders' plea in English, Mr. Nambiar understood my predicament and spoke in Telugu. I sighed in relief. He readily conceded the request for permitting two passengers in rickshaws.

Having accomplished our mission, we wanted to call on the Chief Minister also. We walked into Mr. Prakasam's bungalow. Those were the days when the security apparatus did not stand as a stumbling block between leaders and people. We offered *namaskarams* to Mr. Prakasam, and took our seats. He had already grown too old to move about freely. His eyesight fell and memory power dwindled. He had developed tremors in his hands. He spoke to us affectionately. Since we had gone to him in a reverential and deifying mood, we were happy with the reception we had. He

inquired of Guntur affairs. I met him a couple of times later at Kurnool along with Mr. Latchanna.

I still cherish the memory of my first meeting with Prakasam. Unmindful of my young age, he made me feel at home. He showered similar affection when I accompanied Mr. Latchanna on a visit to him. Mr. Latchanna was a family friend of ours. My father Rajaiah and my brother Vijayaraja Kumar happened to be Prof. N. G. Ranga's followers. Mr. Latchanna was a frequent visitor to our home. That way I became close to him as also Mr. Obula Reddy and Mr. Neerukonda Rama Rao. However, I had little to do with Prof. Ranga's party politics and I had never dabbled in any party politics. All that I had was personal regard and affection for them. Even when I served as personal assistant to Prof. Ranga I could function transcending his party politics.

Whether he was in power or not, Prakasam used to inquire of my welfare and wellbeing. I could meet him freely when he stayed at the Municipal Travellers' Bungalow in Guntur. By then, he had ceased to be Chief Minister. I was surprised when he recalled our meeting in Kurnool. Few had addressed me in first person singular in Telugu. Yet, his address reflected his affection. He asked Mr. Latchanna to propose his name as Chief Minister. Mr. Latchanna exited after saluting him. Mr. Prakasam had already been deserted by people. He was too old to continue in politics. After coming out, Mr. Latchanna commented that Pantulu garu was still enamored of becoming Chief Minister even at his advanced age.

On another occasion, Mr. Yenugula Venkataramaiah, Mr. S. V. Pantulu and I went to see Mr. Prakasam at the Travellers' Bungalow in Guntur. Outside his room, there was a basket full of oranges. Mr. Neti Chalapathi was seated in a chair eating the oranges. After getting in, Mr. Venkataramaiah told Mr. Prakasam that Mr. Neti Chalapathi had been gorging on oranges brought in by his admirers. Mr. Prakasam asked Mr. Chalapathi whether he was helping himself

to all the oranges. He claimed in reply that he was distributing them to all visitors. We came out laughing.

Asked why he was so discourteous to Mr. Chalapathi, he said he was not rough in his treatment of Mr. Chalapathi. Mr. Venkatramaiah used to work in the Bharat Sevak Samaj office in Guntur. Mr. Paruchuri Veeraiah was his boss. Mr. Venkatramaiah was known for his ready wit and humor. He was an ardent admirer of Mr. Prakasam.

Mr. Prakasam passed away shortly afterwards. Later on I studied his life thoroughly by reading his writings. I incisively examined what he did when he occupied positions of power. Mr. Prakasam wrote his autobiography. In that he dwelt at length on the Simon Commission's visit to Madras in 1927 and the police firing it sparked. The story doing the rounds then was that Mr Prakasam bared his chest to the police and asked them to shoot him. Mr. Prakasam's action was touted as a testimony to his courage.

In his autobiography, Mr. Prakasam made it clear that when he was on his way to visit a person killed in police firing, a police constable tried to halt him. When his followers told the constable that the visitor was Mr. Prakasam, the constable stood aside and permitted him. Contrary to what Mr. Prakasam himself narrated in his autobiography, the story of his baring the chest had become a legend. When I wrote an article in *Eenadu* in 1982 quoting Mr. Prakasam himself, his fans spewed fire at me. Mr. Gajjala Malla Reddy, then *Eenadu* Editor, told me that he had received thousands of protest letters.

Mr. Prakasam's association and disassociation with Prof. Ranga led to many twists and turns in Andhra Politics. Mr. Prakasam, a bed-mate of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, provided a different leadership to the Congress.

My association with Mr. Prakasam when he was Chief Minister and later remains etched in my memory. Mr. Prakasam those days

was a hero in politics. He was a synonym for courage.

In his last days, he earned some bad name because of his son Hanumantha Rao. Although his health deteriorated, he died without retiring from politics.

Mahatma Gandhi said that Mr. Prakasam, who collected money from the public and squandered it without accounting for it after being released from jail after the Quit India movement, did not deserve to be Chief Minister. Mr. Prakasam, however, defied Gandhiji, then the undisputed national leader, joined hands with Mr. Kamaraj Nadar and became Madras Chief Minister. Even Rajagopalachari lent his voice to Mahatma Gandhi and defied Mr. Prakasam. Mr. Praksam withstood all such challenges and showed his mettle as an unrivalled people's leader. Mr. Prakasam figuratively bared his chest to Maharma Gandhi himself, if not to the police during the Simon Commission visit.

Mr. Prakasam was the first Chief Minister I acquainted myself with. It was a pleasant experience. But I had to content myself with a few meetings and a little acquaintance because by the time I met him for the first time, he had already entered into his 80's and died a few years later.



BEZWADA GOPALA REDDY (1907-1987)



When Andhra's last Chief Minister Bezwada Gopala Reddy changed the name of Bezwada to Vijayawada, people asked in a lighter vein whether Bezwada Gopala Reddy too would hereafter be known as Vijayawada Gopala Reddy.

Even as a newspaper reading high school student, I learnt about Mr. Gopala Reddy, as he had become a Minister by 1937. When

Kurnool was Andhra's capital, I happened to visit it frequently on some work. I was a college student when I met Mr. Gopala Reddy at his bungalow in Kurnool for the first time in the company of Mr. Gouthu Latchanna and Mr. Govada Paramdhamaiah. I greeted Mr. Gopala Reddy and sat quietly as the elders engaged themselves in a discussion. Mr. Latchanna introduced me to Mr. Gopala Reddy by referring my keenness to see him. Mr. Gopala Reddy expressed his happiness and made some inquiries of me. Although I did not see him for a long time later, I kept following Mr. Gopala Reddy's political career.

When I met Mr. Gopala Reddy for the second time at his bungalow in Kurnool, cine artiste Bhanumathi was there. Artistes and poets used to call on Mr. Gopala Reddy because of his interest in language, literature, arts, and culture. He interacted with such people wherever he went.

I listened to Mr. Gopala Reddy's speeches during the 1955 elections to the Assembly. He used to distinguish himself from others by speaking with dignity in his Nellore accent. Post-elections, he lost importance in State politics. Later on, he served as Governor and Union Minister. I did not meet him for a long time then.

However, we met whenever he visited Hyderabad. Staying in Mr. Maganti Subbarami Reddy's guesthouse in Jubilee Hills, he sent word for me. We enjoyed listening to poetry and having dinner together. I accompanied him if he attended any programs in the city. Some times, Mr. Alapai Ravindranath, *Misimi* Editor, one of Mr. Gopala Reddy's close friends, joined us.

Mr. Gopala Reddy and I had exchanged many letters. I handed over some of them to the State Archives in Hyderabad. Whenever I visited Nellore, I spent time with Mr. Gopala Reddy. On one occasion, he was seated alone in his big house. His wife was somewhere in the interior. Intending to offer me a cup of coffee,

he shouted for domestic help. There was no response. To relieve him of embarrassment I told him not to bother about offering me coffee since I had come to have some good time with him. Yet, a sense of disappointment creased his face. Mr. Gopala Reddy, who had occupied many positions of power, led a simple and austere life after retirement. His lifestyle presents a stark contrast to that of present-day politicians.

During his Madras visits, Mr. Gopala Reddy called on friends at their homes or invite them to his place of stay. Among those he interacted with were Mr. Chandur and Mr. D. Amnjaneyulu. I met Mr. Gopala Reddy at Mr. Anjaneyulu's residence some times.

I used to ask Mr. Gopala Reddy to shed light on certain events in the country's political history and his own career. He skirted some questions altogether and was economical with answers to some others.

A fan of Rabindranath Tagore, he translated some of his poems into Telugu. He wrote some pieces under the influence of Bengali literature. Although I could not relish the Bengali influence on him, he presented me a copy whenever he published a book. When he read out poetry he wrote under the title 'She', I asked him whether 'She' stood for somebody in real life. He avoided a straight reply. My interactions with Mr. Gopala Reddy most of the time transcended politics.

Although I quizzed him repeatedly on the conferment of 'Gnanapith' Award on Viswanatha Satyanarayana by referring to people's doubts and the reported backroom maneuvers, he would merely say, "Let bygones be bygones" but not share the facts.

Mr. Gopala Reddy was deeply interested in arts, chess, and Hindi language. Poets, singers, and artistes kept him company all the time.



NEELAM SANJIVA REDDY (1913-1996)



Mr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy was a veteran who rocked politics in Andhra, Andhra Pradesh and the country. Although he studied only up to Intermediate, he rose to become the President of the Indian Republic and played a key role in national affairs.

I met him for the first time in Kurnool, the then capital of Andhra State. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy had become a contro-versial politician by then. His dislike for Prof. N. G. Ranga put me off. Nevertheless,

he was a leader I could not ignore. I could not describe my first encounter with him as pleasant.

Mr. Sanjiva Reddy visited Tenali as Minister in 1954-55 when Mr. Avula Gopalakrishna Murthy was Municipal Chairman. At a public meeting, Mr. Gopalakrishna Murthy urged Mr. Sanjiva Reddy to sanction two roads in Tenali. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy said he was sanctioning one of the two roads, conceding 50 percent of what the Chairman had asked for. He added that he was conceding such a request on the spot for the first time as Minister.

Thanking Mr. Sanjiva Reddy for the gesture, Mr. Gopalakrishna Murthy said that sanction of one of the two roads did not amount to conceding 50 percent of his request as one road was to cost Rs.1.5 lakh and the other Rs.50,000 only. Amidst applause from the audience, he told Mr. Sanjiva Reddy that he would be happy if he sanctioned the road costing Rs.1.5 lakh.

Later, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy vent his ire at Mr. Alapati Venkatramaiah, who had invited him Tenali. He felt he had been insulted at the public meeting. As a spectator in the audience, I could not but admire Mr. Gopalakrishna Murthy.

Sri Venkateswara University conferred honorary doctorate on Mr. Sanjiva Reddy when he was Chief Minister. My brother, Mr. Vijaya Rajakumar, a Senate member, filed a case accusing Vice Chancellor Govindarajulu Naidu of unilaterally and undemocratically deciding to confer the doctorate without taking the Senate into confidence. Chief Secretary Bhagwan Das issued a directive on behalf of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy against prefixing his name with 'Dr.' until the case was disposed of. Mr. Avula Gopalakrishna Murthy, who took up the case in the Nellore court, abandoned it midway. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy did not take it seriously when I told him that Mr. Vijayaraja Kumar who had filed the case was my brother. Later on, we became friends.

Mr. Sanjiva Reddy and Mr. N. G. Ranga campaigned jointly

during the 1955 Andhra elections, mounting an unprecedented anti-Communist blitz. My brother Vijaya Rajakumar took part in many meetings as a follower of Mr. Ranga. I met Mr. Sanjiva Reddy on some occasions as a well-wisher of Mr. Ranga.

After he became Chief Minister and Union Minister, I met Mr. Sanjiva Reddy only on a few occasions. Gora and his followers observed '*satyagraha*' in front of 'Greenlands,' the Chief Minister's residence, in 1963 demanding that politicians lead a simple life and promote the raising of vegetables in place of flowers. I too squatted on the road along with Gora, his wife Saraswati, Mr. Patti Sessaiah, Vempo, Kana and some others. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy invited Gora for discussions and hosted him a lunch. Later, at the instance of Gora, he called in all others. He asked me whether we had not met earlier at Kurnool and Tenali. "Your memory is phenomenal," I told him.

I met Mr. Sanjiva Reddy many years later when had become a Janata leader after going through many vicissitudes in the political maelstrom. I met him along with Mr. M. V. S. Subba Raju, a family friend of ours, and an ardent disciple of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy.

Thanks to *Commando* Editor Vinukonda Nagaraju, I met Mr. Sanjiva Reddy many times. I became close to Mr. Nagaraju following our meetings at Hotel Sarovar in Hyderabad. Mr. Nagaraju, who became close to Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, contested elections on behalf of the Janata Party and lost. Later on, he used to meet Mr. Sanjiva Reddy in Delhi when he became the President of India. I used to meet Mr. Sanjiva Reddy in Hyderabad, though not in Delhi. I used to meet Mr. Sanjiva Reddy also in the company of *Misimi* Editor Alapati Ravindranath, a long-time friend of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy.

In his last days, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy got his autobiography published by my friend, Book Links K. B Satyanarayana. I became closer to Mr. Sanjiva Reddy as I went through the manuscript and

offered my suggestions. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, who was brutally frank in disclosing certain matters in the manuscript, deleted them for some reason or the other when the book appeared in print. Apparently, he wanted to avoid controversies. The book carried the title '*From Farmhouse to Rashtrapathi Bhavan.*' Allied Publishers brought out another autobiographical piece of his under the title '*Without Fear or Favor*'.

As Speaker of the Lok Sabha and President of India, he extensively read modern literature. Pleasantly surprised, Justice M. C. Chagla congratulated Mr. Sanjiva Reddy on his learning.

Compared to many politicians, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy led a simple and austere life. Shortly before he arrived in Hyderabad, he used to ask Mr. S. V. Pantulu to book him accommodation in Hotel Sarovar. His Hyderabad visits provided me an opportunity to spend some time with him.

Mr. Sanjiva Reddy outgrew politics by keeping himself abreast of modern developments. It is a matter of pride and pleasure that I could associate myself with him closely in his last days.

A highlight of his life was the way he differed with Mrs. Indira Gandhi by describing the Emergency imposed by her as undemocratic. After his brother-in-law Tarimela Nagireddy (Communist) trounced him for the first time in Anantapur, he never contested from the district again. He won all the time from outside the district.

Mr. Sanjiva Reddy distinguished himself by coming out of narrow Congress politics and blossoming as a democrat in the Janata Party.



DAMODARAM SANJIVAYYA
(1921-1972)



I developed a great liking for Mr. Damodaram Sanjivayya, although I had only a brief acquaintance with him. I met him twice or thrice when he was Chief Minister, incidentally at Tenali on all the occasions.

Mr. Nannapaneni Venkata Rao, Tenali legislator and prominent Socialist leader, provided me the opportunity for my fruitful interactions with Mr. Sanjivayya. Mr. Venkata Rao organized a

three-day workshop on problems of weaker sections at the VSR College in Tenali after Mr. Sanjivayya took over as Chief Minister. At the instance of Mr. Venkata Rao, I drew up a list of subjects for discussion at the workshop, chose the participants, and prepared background papers.

Dr. R. V. R. Chandrasekhara Rao, Dr. Raghavendra Rao, Mr. Ravela Somayya, Mr. Suryadevara Hanumantha Rao and others dealt with the subjects in depth and elevated the discussions to a higher plane in the presence of Mr. Sanjivayya.

Mr. Sanjivayya burned with a desire to help Dalits and other weaker sections but could do little, as he had to reckon with factional rivalries within the party and hostility from higher castes, and limited tenure as Chief Minister.

An orator in both Telugu and English, Mr. Sanjivayya captivated audiences with his pleasing speeches. He spoke with anguish and passion when he dealt with weaker sections. I had the privilege of discussing weaker section development with him from many angles.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's ideology, Mr. Rammanohar Lohia's philosophy, and Mr. M. N. Roy's vision provided the compass for weaker sections' development. However, vote bank politics prevented the Congress from appropriate actions. Mr. Sanjivayya could not air his views in public although he shared them with friends in private. His concern and agony over the plight of weaker sections was palpable. Delighted over my views, he wanted to know my background. Mr. Nannapaneni Venkata Rao described me as a Radical Humanist to Mr. Sanjivayya. Those experiences would remain etched in my memory.

I met Mr. Sanjivayya in the company of Mr. Avula Gopalakrishna Murthy on another occasion, again in Tenali. Mr. Sanjivayya as Chief Minister was to visit a girls' orphanage located atop a hill in Vijayawada old town. Having gone up to the foothill, Mr. Sanjivayya

beat a retreat claiming he could not go up the hill. The Chief Minister's failure to turn up deeply disappointed both the inmates and the management, who had been anxiously waiting to extend him a warm reception. *Andhra Patrika* daily carried the news report of Mr. Sanjivayya's failure to make it the orphanage. On seeing the report, Mr. Avula Gopalakrishna Murthy commented, "Could not one who crawled up to the Chief Minister's seat walk up a small hillock?" *Andhra Patrika* carried the comment, reported by its Tenali correspondent Venkatappayya Sastry, verbatim, and displayed it prominently.

Struck by the barb, Mr. Sanjivayya immediately set off for the orphanage. After visiting the orphanage, he came to Tenali and congratulated Mr. Gopalakrishna Murthy on his well-meaning comment. I was a witness to the affection he showered and respect he bestowed on Mr. Gopalakrishna Murthy. We discussed many issues on that occasion.

Soon after entering politics, Mr. Sanjivayya attracted Mr. Rajagopalachari's attention in Madras. By acting with dignity in whatever position he happened to occupy, the man from the backward Kurnool district drew the attention of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in Delhi.

Mr. Sanjivayya became Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister in 1960 as a compromise and stopgap candidate when Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy had to resign following Supreme Court's strictures over nationalization of certain bus routes. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy resorted to nationalization to undermine Mr. Pidathala Ranga Reddy, his political rival and bus operator. Being a nominated and not elected Chief Minister, Mr. Sanjivayya had to live with caste and factional rivalries. The strong Reddy lobby revolted against Mr. Sanjivayya and formed its own group. An arrogant A. C. Subba Reddy insulted Mr. Sanjivayya by making caste-oriented remarks.

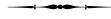
Mr. Sanjivayya wanted to become Chief Minister again when the Congress returned to power in the 1962 elections. However,

the Congress High Command did not give its green signal.

A day after submitting his resignation to the Governor, Mr. Sanjivayya, accompanied by his wife, walked to Ajanta Talkies in Secunderabad to watch a movie. At his instance, Mr. S. V. Pantulu, who he ran into en route, accompanied him to the theatre. We cannot imagine a present-day Chief Minister behaving like Mr. Sanjivayya.

Mr. Sanjivayya, who later served as Union Minister for Labor, earned a good name for himself with his mastery of labor problems and industry limitations. Oxford University Press published his work, *Labor Problems and Industrial Development*.

Mr. Sanjivayya's death in 1972 was a great loss for Dalits and other weaker sections. My acquaintance with him might have been limited. But I had unlimited insights into his life and work.



KASU BRAHMANANDA REDDY
(1909 – 1994)



Mr. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy, committed to politics all through his life, left his imprint on politics at both the State and national levels. Having tried and failed to become a public prosecutor, he started his political career as a Minister in the Neelam Sanjiva Reddy Cabinet. Later on, he found himself occupying many prominent positions.

I met Mr. Brahmananda Reddy for the first time in the 1950's when I was a student of A. C. College, Guntur. I went to his residence on Amaravati Road to invite him for the marriage of my brother Vijayaraja Kumar. He treated me to a cup of coffee as he received the wedding card. That he did not turn up for the function was another matter.

I used to see him playing cards at the LVR & Sons Club, then opposite the AC College. I sat in a bookshop of my brother on the club premises during my leisure time and handled sales. I used hear the discussions Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, Mr. Salam, and some other Guntur celebrities had as they played cards.

Mr. Salam, a member of the Madras Legislative Council (???) and Guntur Municipal Council, was a good conversationalist known for his quick wit and repartee. One day, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, looking at Mr. Salam, asked him, "I understand you are stooping so low as to accept even Rs.25 or Rs.50." Mr. Salam retorted without batting an eyelid, "What can I do? People tell me they will approach Mr. Brahmananda Reddy if it were to cost them Rs.100 or Rs.200." Every one had a hearty laugh.

Mr. Brahmananda Reddy graduated himself from a district to State leader over the years. However, right from the beginning, he was deeply immersed in factional politics. Initially, he attained prominence by serving as the right hand man of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy. Later on, he rebelled against Mr. Sanjiva Reddy and became Chief Minister. As one of the most prominent national leaders, he split the Congress and became its President. He earned name and fame for fiscal management.

I met Mr. Brahmananda Reddy on many occasions when he was Chief Minister. I interviewed him and did a piece for *Telugu Vidyarthi* monthly, edited by Mr. Kolluri Koteswara Rao. When Mr. Brahmananda Reddy convened a meeting at Jubilee Hall in the wake of communal riots in Old City in 1968, I took part in it as a

representative of the Radical Humanist organization and offered my suggestions.

The separate Telangana movement in 1969 badly dented Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's image as Chief Minister. At one stage, he and his ministerial colleagues could not move about freely in Hyderabad. Those days, Mrs. Tella Lakshmikanthamma, Member of the Lok Sabha, and I used to call on him. He looked dejected in his deserted bungalow. Separate Telangana activists resorted to obscene graffiti against Mrs. Raghavamma, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's wife. Telangana women leaders like Mrs. J. Eswari Bai, Mrs. Sangam Laxmi Bai, and Mrs. Sarojini Pulla Reddy condemned the wall writings and launched a drive to erase them. Mrs. Lakshmikanthamma and I gave him a lot of solace by meeting him and tendering our advice in such a critical situation.

Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, true to his notoriety as a factional leader, sought to bring *Andhra Jyoti* and its Editor Narla Venkateswara Rao to their heels. He sought to deny Government advertisements to *Andhra Jyoti* and muzzle the Press in general by introducing a Bill in the Assembly. The Rationalist Association of which I happened to be a leader organized a meeting at the YMIS Hall in Sultan Bazar and put up a stiff opposition to the Bill. Mr. Mamidipudi Venkata Rangaiah was the star attraction at our meeting, which condemned the Chief Minister's move unequivocally. Our protests had their echo in newspapers at the national level. Mr. Brahmananda Reddy wriggled out of the embarrassing situation by referring the Bill to a Select Committee.

Mr. Kapila Kasipati brought out a biography of Mr. Brahmananda Reddy under the title, '*Brahmananda Yatra*.' Although Mr. Kasipati made many critical observations in the book, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy was generous enough not to fault him. He organized a meeting at Jubilee Hall, distributed copies of the book, and listened to speeches made by his admirers.

The Congress appointed a committee under the leadership of Mr. Neti Chalapati to go into his anarchic actions as Guntur District Board President. The committee reportedly upheld the allegations against him. When I asked Mr. Brahmananda Reddy whether there was any truth in the charges, he fiddled with his cap and skirted a reply with a smile. It was very difficult to draw out Mr. Brahmananda Reddy both within and outside the Assembly. Colleagues and party people could not make out what was on his mind. He played with his cap whenever he wanted to avoid a reply.

Mr. Brahmananda Reddy displayed political astuteness by making his erstwhile bete noire Mr. Jalagam Vengala Rao Home Minister. He was adept at both cultivating and crushing his opponents. Once a close associate of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, he rebelled against him later.

When Mr. Sanjiva Reddy was Union Minister of Steel, an agitation for the establishment of a steel plant at Visakhapatnam rocked the State. Mr. Brahmananda Reddy was said to have instigated Mr. Tamanampalli Amrita Rao, a party activist, to go on a fast unto death in support of the steel plant demand. Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's hand was seen in agitators pulling down a bust of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy in Vijayawada.

Dr. M. Channa Reddy, who served as a member of the Brahmananda Reddy Cabinet and later went to take up a position in Delhi, plunged himself into the Telangana agitation after he lost his position following a court verdict. Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, however, did not capitulate because he enjoyed unquestionable majority in the Assembly. Yet, Mrs. Indira Gandhi replaced him with Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao as Chief Minister in the State's interest.

Mr. Brahmananda Reddy occupied many other positions like Maharashtra Governor and Union Minister for a long time. He had no children. History will pronounce its verdict as to what extent he rendered justice to the positions he occupied. I met him frequently even when he was out of power.

P. V. NARASIMHA RAO
(1921-2004)



“Serpents and scorpions are making our lives miserable.”

When prominent Janata Party leader G. C. Kondaiah made the wisecrack, it sounded like a riddle wrapped in an enigma. A little later, every one addicted to politics realized he was alluding to the affinity between Pamulaparthi Venkata Narasimha Rao and Tella Lakshmikantamma. (*Pamulu* in Telugu means serpents and *Tellu*, scorpions).

My acquaintance with Mr. Narasimha Rao began when he was Education Minister in the Kasu Brahmananda Reddy Cabinet. His interviews to *Telugu Vidyarthi*, a monthly brought out by Editor Kolluri Koteswara Rao, made excellent copy. Gradually, we became closer.

We invited Mr. Narasimha Rao as the chief guest for the 50th birthday celebration of the then *Andhra Bhoomi* (Telugu daily) Editor Gora Sastry (formerly Editor of *Telugu Swatantra*) at Kurnool in 1968. Mr. Kotla Vijayabhaskara Reddy was then Kurnool Zilla Parishad Chairman. Agricultural Development Bank Officer Mandava Srirama Murthy, Mr. C. Dharma Rao of the Telugu Official Language Commission and I organized the felicitation function and extended some financial assistance to Mr. Gora Sastry. We also brought out a souvenir. Mr. Narasimha Rao delivered an erudite lecture on the occasion. I had the opportunity of discussing a number of issues with Mr. Narasimha Rao then.

Mr. Gora Sastry, Mrs. Tella Lakshmikanthamma, and I used to meet Mr. Narasimha Rao when he served as Minister and Chief Minister in Hyderabad. Mrs. Lakshmikanthamma was a close friend of our family. Having been in politics for for a long time, she became close to Mr. Narasimha Rao. Her encounters with Mr. Narasimha Rao surprised me because she openly displayed her affinity towards him some times and made fun of him some other times. Later on, Mr. Narasimha Rao portrayed Mrs. Lakshmikanthamma as a character in his English novel, *The Insider*, and took potshots at her indirectly. Realizing it, Mr. Lakshmikanthamma condemned Mr. Narasimha Rao publicly.

Mr. Narasimha Rao regarded me only as a Radical Humanist. I used to call on him as a friend and talk to him freely whether he occupied any position or not. Prying into the mind of Mr. Narasimha Rao was not an easy task because he was adept at camouflaging his thinking. Mrs. Indira Gandhi kept him at a distance for some time before she declared internal Emergency.

Mr. Narasimha Rao, then staying in Adarsh Nagar in Hyderabad, did a satire on Mrs. Indira Gandhi and read out a few excerpts to me. Asked whether he aimed his barbs at Mrs. Gandhi, he greeted me with silence. As he left for Delhi at the invitation of Mrs. Gandhi and began to play a key role in national politics, he concealed his indignation against her.

Mr. Narasimha Rao translated Viswanatha Satyanarayana's '*Veyi Padagalu*' in Telugu into '*Sahasra Phani*' in Hindi. On a couple of times, I conveyed my resentment against his venture. He did not fault me.

Those days, I used to meet my friend Mr. Dandamudi Mahidhar and his colleague Mr. Ramamurthy Venu in the Hindi wing of All India Radio, Hyderabad. I then learnt that Mr. Ramamurthy Venu was doing '*Sahasra Phani*' in Hindi. When the book finally appeared, it carried the name of Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao as the translator. I did not know to what extent they shared the translation work. Mr. Ramamurthy chose to remain silent when I quizzed him about it.

Mr. Narasimha Rao excelled as a member of both the Legislative Assembly and the Lok Sabha because he did his homework thoroughly whether he had to deliver a speech in the House or tackle the Opposition in debates. He stood for a united Andhra Pradesh when the separatist Telangana movement rocked the State. The land-owning classes turned against him when as Chief Minister he ushered in land reforms including imposition of a ceiling on land holdings. Mr. Narasimha Rao had to go through the pangs of witnessing a separatist Andhra agitation too.

I saw him only rarely after he moved to Delhi, although we had occasion to meet and talk at Raj Bhavan on his Hyderabad visits.

As Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao visited Washington DC and addressed the American Congress. Sitting in the Press lobby, I felt impressed by his scholarly address. I was then Washington correspondent of Telugu daily *Vaarta*. My friend and *Vaarta* Editor

K. Ramachandra Murthy helped me get the American Government accreditation as a correspondent. He published news reports and features sent by me.

Surprisingly, American newspapers did not carry a single line of the Indian Prime Minister's address to the American Congress. Prime Ministers of small countries like South Korea received good and prominent publicity in the Press when they address the Congress. When I broached the subject with a few friends of mine in the Washington Press Club, they pointed out that the Press ignored Mr. Narasimha Rao because he did not say anything new or did not propose anything that would have appealed to the super power. It was no reflection on the quality of his address, they added. The newspapers, however, carried his visit to a museum as an important piece of news.

I met Mr. Narasimha Rao then. Among the journalists accompanying him was Ms. Kalyani Sankar. She had worked under Mr. Sitaram in UNI, Hyderabad. She used to seek clarifications and details from me frequently after Press conferences. Later on as a journalist in Delhi, she occupied many prominent positions and became close to Mr. Narasimha Rao. Mr. Narasimha Rao took part in a '*kalyana mahotsavam*' in Tirupati, seating her beside him.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao deserved credit for opening a new chapter in India's economic history by inducting Dr. Manmohan Singh as Finance Minister. He, however, had to bear the cross for the Babri Masjid demolition. That he looked the other way as miscreants brought down the Masjid was the allegation against him.

Mr. Narasimha Rao learnt working on a computer in his ripe old age. He started his political career as a journalist and ran *Kakatiya* newspaper. He used to write articles in the newspaper under the pseudonym of Jaya in the 1950's. He was a master of many languages.

Mr. Narasimha Rao earned notoriety for indecisiveness in politics. Time turned out to be the best healer when he allowed some issues to fester. He was a lover of arts and literature.

Mr. Narasimha Rao had many close associates. He helped some directly and some others indirectly. He faced an embarrassing situation when he got his childhood friend Kaloji Narayana Rao for the Padmabhushan award. When Kaloji, who was close to Communists, hesitated to accept the award, Mr. Narasimha Rao persisted and persuaded him to accept it.

Mr. Narasimha Rao, a deshmukh, was known as a lord in villages. His land running into many acres remained fallow.

He attracted charges of indirectly encouraging BJP's communalism following the Babri Masjid incident.

Happy over a fellow Telugu-speaking man becoming Prime Minister, Telugu Desam Chief Minister N. T. Rama Rao did not field a candidate against him in the Nadyal Lok Sabha by-election.



JALAGAM VENGALA RAO (1922-1999)



Revolutionary writer Sri Sri forecast in an interview in 1978 that Jalagam Vengala Rao would go down in history as the last Congress Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. That he miserably failed in anticipating the shape of things to come was evident from the fact that Congress Chief Ministers continued to rule the State later on also.

I had occasion to interact with Mr. Vengala Rao when he served as Panchayati Raj Chamber President, Home Minister and Chief Minister and developed affinity with him. As Chief Minister, he used to address some Press reporters in his chambers in the first person singular. *Hindu's* Rajendra Prasad and I were among the few exceptions. Although we were hurt by the way he treated some reporters, surprisingly the reporters themselves did not take any exception. Beholden to the Chief Minister for the small favors they sought and received, they put up with the way he dealt with them. Of course, it did not redound to the honor of journalists.

Drawn by his commitment and dedication to the panchayati raj system, Mr. G. Rami Reddy, K. Seshadri and I became close to Mr. Vengala Rao and discussed many relevant issues. Later on, Mr. Vengala Rao outgrew his district-level factional politics and played a key role as a loyal follower of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy.

Mr. Vengala Rao initiated the Telangana agitation in Khammam district by making a student, Ravindra, to go on an indefinite hunger strike. Mr. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy was the Chief Minister then. In no time, Mr. Vengala Rao became Home Minister and abandoned his pro-Telangana stand.

As Home Minister, Mr. Vengala Rao gave a free hand to the police to tackle naxalites. He curtly told them, "I don't bother how you go about your way; but ensure that I don't get any complaints. I will ensure that you are not blamed."

The police took advantage of the Chief Minister's stance and killed many naxalites in the name of encounters. Later on, a commission headed by Justice Vimad Lal was appointed to go into allegations of fake encounters. People like me working in humanitarian organizations resented Mr. Vengala Rao's policy. Mr. M. V. Rammurthy and I persuaded Justice V. M. Tarkunde to argue before the Vimad Lal Commission. Friend and lawyer Kannabiran

stood by us. The Leftist parties welcomed Justice Tarkunde arguing on behalf of victims of police atrocities.

Mr. Venagala Rao became Chief Minister in peculiar circumstances. To bring the situation under control after the separatist agitations in both the Telangana and Andhra regions subsided, the Union Government appointed Mr. Sarin as Advisor to Governor. Politicians who had enjoyed power felt like fish out of water within six months of Governor's rule. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi felt that the next Chief Minister should be from Telangana and acceptable to leaders of both regions. Mr. Nookala Ramachandra Reddy and Mr. Raja Ram figured prominently among the probables. Mr. P V. Narasimha Rao, who had to resign as Chief Minister, surreptitiously propped up Mr. Vengala Rao. As the battle raged between prospective candidates, a rough estimate showed that as many as 155 legislators were opposed to Mr. Vengala Rao. However, common people are ignorant of backroom machinations and manipulations that influence decisions in politics.

Navabharat (Company) Chowdary, a long-time friend of Mr. Vengala Rao, and some others decided to project him as the next Chief Minister. They suggested his name to people like Mr. Dikshit who were close to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Even Mr. Kotha Raghuramaiah plumped for Mr. Vengala Rao. They told Mrs. Indira Gandhi's associates that Mr. Vengala Rao enjoyed total support, concealing the opposition to his candidature. Once Mrs. Gandhi gave her nod, all those who opposed him became his supporters. Even some top police officials played their part in enthroning Mr. Vengala Rao. He was fortunate enough to become Chief Minister. Since Emergency was in force during his reign, he ruled the State unhindered by opposition or obstacles. Even the Vimada Lal Commission could not destabilize him.

Mr. Vengala Rao was reputed for quick decision-making and prompt implementation. He did not earn the opprobrium of a man

after money. His personal staff used to handle money, if necessary. However, he appeared to be personally above board.

Mr. Vengala Rao wanted to expose the secret behind Mrs. Indira Gandhi clamping Emergency on the country. He brought out his autobiography after he retired from politics. In it, he made certain observations on the judgment of Justice M. L. Sinha of the Allahabad High Court. Taking serious exception to them, Justice Sinha threatened to file a contempt of court case against Mr. Vengala Rao. Tendering an unqualified apology, Mr. Vengala Rao recalled the publication, made amends, and brought out another edition. In his book, he criticized Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, Mr. Nadendla Bhaskara Rao and Mr. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy in many matters. His daughter Vani and some journalists like J. Umamaheswara Rao (Savyasachi) took notes as he dictated.

Mr. Vengala Rao, who lived in Dwarakapuri Colony both when he was in power and out of it, became a voracious reader of books. Mr. S. V. Pantulu and I used to meet him regularly. Police officer Balaji served Mr. Vengala Rao loyally and affectionately.

Mr. Vengala Rao responded to most questions promptly and without any reservations. He, however, skirted replies to questions on Sanjay Gandhi's visit to Andhra Pradesh during the Emergency and his weakness for pleasures of life.

When I met Mr. Vengala Rao as *Andhra Jyoti* Bureau Chief after elections had been announced, I saw money being distributed to candidates in a rear room of the Chief Minister's chambers. His personal assistants like Mr. Prakasa Rao and Mr. Sitapati played a key role in his office. His peon Lokayya too was highly sought after.

All of Mr. Vengala Rao's programs took place without any hassles since he was time conscious.

He gave full freedom to his Cabinet colleague Mandali Venkata Krishna Rao in organizing the World Telugu Conference in 1975.

The successful conduct of the event earned Mr. Vengala Rao and Mr. Krishna Rao a good name. I introduced Prof. Robert Freekenburg to Mr. Krishna Rao, who in turn took him to Mr. Vengala Rao. He was born in Guntur district in a pastor's family. He speaks Telugu fluently. He retired as Professor of Political History in Wisconsin University where. Mr. Velcheru Narayana Rao too had served. While in the U.S. I used to correspond with Mr. Freekenburg. He congratulated Mr. Vengala Rao and Mr. Krishna Rao on the successful conduct of the World Telugu Conference. The Oxford University Press published his historical research work titled '*Guntur District*'.

When poet Kaloji Narayana Rao contested the election to the Assembly from Sattupalle constituency, the Left parties supported him. Visiting the area for election reporting, I met Mr. Vengala Rao. He commented why the Left parties were making so much fuss about a seat in which they would forfeit deposit.

On some occasions, Mr. S. V. Pantulu and I accompanied Mr. Vengala Rao on his visits to Khammam district. He treated us with great affection. When the Chief Minister visited Girijan areas, I accompanied him, interviewed Girijans, and wrote a lengthy report in *Andhra Jyoti*. When Mr. H. K. Babu, Director of Tribal Affairs, complained against my critical observations, Mr. Vengala Rao not merely ignored him but congratulated me on opening Government eyes to the situation at the ground level.

Dr. Marri Channa Reddy **(1919-1996)**



Dr. Marri Channa Reddy's anger knew no bounds when he saw the *Secularist* monthly's cover page. The magazine, edited by Prof. A. B. Shah, carried a picture of Deoars Baba blessing Dr. Channa Reddy by placing his foot on his head. The godman of Uttar Pradesh, where Dr. Channa Reddy had served as Governor, used to live on a treetop.

Swaying with rage, Dr. Channa Reddy ordered, "Summon Innaiah wherever he is. We will thrash out the matter with him."

When I called on Dr. Channa Reddy, he hurled the magazine at my face shouting, "Should you stoop so lowever much you might have been cut up with me?"

I quietly pulled out a souvenir his fan Paramahamsa brought out on Dr. Channa Reddy's '*shashtipurthi*' (completion of 60 years) in consultation with him. It carried a full-page color picture of the Baba blessing Dr. Channa Reddy by placing his foot. Dr. Channa Reddy was stunned. Discretion deserts when anger takes over.

My love-hate relationship with Dr. Channa Reddy dated back to 1958. Addressing a meeting at Vijayawada in the presence of Prof. N. G. Ranga and others in the wake of the Swatantra Party formation, Dr. Channa Reddy thundered, "A fatal plunge into River Krishna is preferable to clinging to the Congress." Mr. S. V. Pantulu too was present at the Vijayawada meeting.

That he joined the Congress after his return to Hyderabad was another matter. My relationship with Dr. Channa Reddy, which began with the Vijayawada meeting, continued until he passed away.

On another occasion, Dr. Channa Reddy reportedly threw away a book of mine on Andhra Pradesh political history when friends drew his attention to references in the book to corruption allegations against him.

I cannot recall the number of times I met him when he launched and led from the forefront the separate Telangana agitation and rocked the entire State. Despite his occasional outbursts, he treated me with affection.

When the Telangana movement was at its zenith, some friends of mine including advocate S. K. Acharya, Radical Humanist Kosaraju Sambasiva Rao and journalist A. L. Narasimha Rao from the Andhra region wanted to call on him. Those days people from

the Andhra region shuddered to meet Dr. Channa Reddy. When I took them to Dr. Channa Reddy's residence in Lalapet, he counseled them, "If all of you join hands with the Telangana people and take part in their movement, none would touch you." Those who called on him beat a retreat in silence.

Not keeping quiet, I asked Dr. Channa Reddy after my friends had left, "Are you sending a message that their interests will not be safe if they do not join the Telangana movement?" Instead of replying, he made me take a seat and inquired of Prof. N. G. Ranga and Mr. Gouthu Latchanna, the staple food of our dialogues.

I had had innumerable encounters with Dr. Channa Reddy when he was Chief Minister. On a visit to the Journalists' Colony, he said he wanted to open more journalist colonies but he could not locate prominent Telugu journalists to name the colonies after them. He made the point as he inaugurated the M. Chalapathi Rao colony. Mr. Konda Laxma Reddy asked me to propose a vote of thanks. I thanked Dr. Channa Reddy for his offer and added that I was prepared to give him the names of as many prominent journalists as the number of colonies he proposed. For instance, I said amidst applause from journalists, the colonies could be named after Narla Venkateswara Rao, Kotamraju Punnayya, Kotamraju Rama Rao, C. Y. Chintamani and Khasa Subba Rao. Dr. Channa Reddy was hurt but kept quiet.

When he constituted his Ministry, Dr. Channa Reddy initially did not give importance to Mr. Nadenda Bhaskara Rao, who claimed closeness with him. When he sulked, he gave him the Finance portfolio. Later on, Dr. Channa Reddy clipped his wings once again. Mr. Bhaskara Rao could not harm Dr. Channa Reddy by lodging complaints against him with the High Command.

I used to shoot many embarrassing queries at Dr. Channa Reddy during Press conferences. When he found them inconvenient, he asked me to come up with a reply.

On one occasion, when Dr. Channa Reddy returned from Delhi to Hyderabad a large Press contingent turned up to meet him at the Begumpet airport. It was because of the widespread rumor that he was about to be replaced as Chief Minister. As the reporters talked to him sympathetically as if he had already lost power, I told Dr. Channa Reddy, "Congratulations, Sir, on continuing as Chief Minister." He said with a smile, "You should know better."

My Press colleagues were surprised. A happy Mrs. Uma Venkatram Reddy rushed to me asking anxiously, "Is it true? Only much later, Mr. T. Anjaiah replaced Dr. Channa Reddy.

I met Dr. Channa Reddy at Gandhi Bhavan when he served as State Congress President.

Dr. Channa Reddy, a man of extreme likes and dislikes, never concealed his passion and anger. Asked about Justice Mr. Pingali Jaganmohan Reddy and some other Congress leaders, he used to react sharply.

He used to dwell at length on his practicing medicine and running a newspaper.

The role he played in the Telangana movement was different from the one he played as Chief Minister and Governor. Corruption in politics was a hot subject of discussion during his reign as Chief Minister. His participation in '*tulabharams*' attracted a lot of public attention.

Dr. Channa Reddy conducted himself without fear. He used to invite the people he liked to share the dais with him. People like Mrs. Durga Bhatavatsalam enjoyed such an honor. Mr. V. B. Raju used to remark that it was safer to keep Dr. Channa Reddy in power than out of it.

Dr. Channa Reddy was adept at winning over even his political rivals. Only he could appoint Mr. Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao, who contested against him in the Assembly elections, Chairman of the Official Language Commission, name a district

after his father-in-law K. V. Ranga Reddy without any inhibitions and persuade CPM leader Puthalapalli Sundaraiiah to take over as Drainage Board Chairman.

As Chief Minister, Dr. Channa Reddy underwent some diagnostic tests by joining the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in New Delhi. In a neighboring room, Mrs. Menaka Gandhi had given birth to a boy. As Dr. Channa Reddy readied himself to congratulate her, Mr. Sanjay Gandhi who was present stunned him by asking him to be ready to quit. By the time he returned to Hyderabad, the stage had been set for his exit.



T. Anjaiah **(1919-1986)**



After he became Chief Minister, Mr. Anjaiah declared his original name was Tanguturi Krishna Reddy, and not Talla Anjaiah as some believed. He also asserted that he belonged to the Reddy caste and dispelled the notion that he was from a backward caste.

Mr. Anjaiah began his career as a six-anna (equivalent to less than 40 paise now) daily wage earner in Allwyn Company. He strove politically for the welfare of the poor, especially hut dwellers,

for a long time. Leading a simple life without any pomp, he laughed a lot and made others laugh with his witty and lively dialogues.

I met him for the first time when Dr. M. Channa Reddy galvanized the separatist Telangana agitation. Mr. Anjaiah too used to take potshots at Mrs. Indira Gandhi as part of the agitation. He contested on the Telangana Praja Samiti ticket and won. Once the TPS merged with the Congress, he became an ardent and unwavering follower of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Mr. Anjaiah staked his claim when the Congress High Command was on the look out to replace Mr. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy as Chief Minister in 1972. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, however, did not oblige him. Subsequently, Mrs. India Gandhi lost popular support after she imposed Emergency in 1975. Yet, Mr. Anjaiah stood behind her like a rock. He used to visit Delhi frequently and meet Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her son Sanjay Gandhi. He became one of the close followers of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi. Mr. Sanjay Gandhi's death in an air crash stunned and shocked Mr. Anjaiah. (I happened to be with him when the news broke).

In his discussions with me at his Barkatpura residence in Hyderabad, he was brutally frank and forthright in commenting on politics and his colleagues in the Congress Party.

Right from the day Dr. M. Channa Reddy became Chief Minister, Mr. Anjaiah used to lodge complaints against him with the Congress High Command by mail and occasionally in person.

Mr. Anjaiah renewed his interest in becoming Chief Minister when an unpopular Dr. Channa Reddy steered the party downhill along with him. Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao extended his support to Mr. Anjaiah. Since Mr. Anjaiah was a favorite of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, Mrs. Indira Gandhi chose him Chief Minister and fulfilled his long cherished dream.

Even before he became Chief Minister, Mr. Anjaiah had built bridges of understanding with Central Congress leaders. He acted

as in-charge of Congress affairs in Bihar. His fluency in Hindu and Urdu and his genuflecting tendencies stood him in good stead.

He stunned political circles by constituting a 61-member jumbo jet Ministry as Chief Minister. To the inquisitive reporters, he disclosed who recommended whom and how he had to oblige all of them. When the High Command directed him to prune the Ministry, he dropped 20 members and promised to accommodate them in other positions.

Miffed over denial of an important portfolio, Mr. Nadendla Bhaskara Rao behaved as if he did not care the Chief Minister. When an indignant Anjaiah sacked him, Mr. Bhaskara Rao lodged a 17-page complaint with Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Promising an inquiry into his allegations, Mrs. Gandhi sent word to Mr. Bhaskara Rao through Mr. Balraj Chopra that he should not quit the party or attempt to float a new party in haste. Complaints against Mr. Anjaiah did not sway the party High Command, which had a soft corner for him.

I used to meet Mr. Anjaiah a number of times those days. He entrusted the Department of Archeology to his loyal disciple Mr. P. Janardana Reddy (PJR) . He wanted me to explain to PJR what the department did. I took him to the State Archives in Tarnaka, Hyderabad, and made him study its working. I used to guide him on answering questions that cropped up in the Assembly. He followed my suggestions with humility and respect.

When we took part in functions, Mr. Anjaiah directed organizers to feed the media and drivers first.

When poet Dasaradhi commented that Mr. Anjaiah spoke in real Telugu, some newspapers lampooned his Telugu with cartoons. There were many jokes centering round Mr. Anjaiah those days. Some had their origin in Mr. Anjaiah's comments, while some others were the figments of imagination of others. Mr. Anjaiah used to mix Urdu and Telugu words in his comments as was evident from

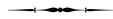
a remark of his in Telugu that “we need not worry about oil scarcity hereafter since ‘tel’ (oil) has been struck in the sea.” Some sought to make fun of his love for laborers by alleging that he enquired whether there was no labor ward in an eye hospital.

To extend a grand welcome to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on a visit to Hyderabad, Chief Minister Anjaiah assembled a large number of people at the Begumpet airport. Irked by Mr. Anjaiah’s pompous welcome, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi called him a ‘*bufoon*’ disregarding that he was the Chief Minister of a State. When the newspapers carried Mr. Rajiv Gandhi’s acerbic comment in banner headlines, all parties were enraged. Mr. Anjaiah wanted to resign as Chief Minister but his supporters thwarted his plans.

The affront to Mr. Anjaiah had gained currency as an affront to all Telugu-speaking people by the time elections to the State Assembly took place. The elections witnessed the trouncing of the Congress by the Telugu Desam Party led by Mr. N. T. Rama Rao.

By inducting Mr. Anjaiah whom he had insulted into his Cabinet, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi exemplified Congress culture.

Mr. Anjaiah passed away in 1986. He was a great man for friendship.



BHAVANAM VENKATRAM
(1932-2002)



Mrs. Indira Gandhi treated Chief Ministers in Andhra Pradesh as pawns on her political chessboard. She replaced Dr. M. Channa Reddy by Mr. T. Anjaiah, and Mr. Anjaiah by Mr. Bhavanm Venkatram as Chief Minister.

Dr, Channa Reddy inducted Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram as Education Minister in 1978 and later made him a member of

the Legislative Council. Dr. Tangirala Subhash introduced me to Bhavanam for the first time.

Bhavanam was a Congress man with socialist leanings. He was a politician deeply interested in arts, culture, language, and movies. Although a Reddy, he married Jayaprada, a Kamma. It was a marriage of the dry land and wetland cultures of Guntur district. A good conversationalist, Bhavanam was adept at converting others to his viewpoint. He, however, found himself a square peg in the round hole of Congress factional politics.

When he was Education Minister in Andhra Pradesh, Mrs. Shiela Kaur, a family friend of the Nehru family, was Union Education Minister. On a study visit to Andhra Pradesh, she complimented Bhavanam on his style of functioning and good taste. It paid him rich dividends later on.

Mrs. Shiela Kaur proposed Bhavanam as a successor to Mr. Anjaiah when the High Command considered a change of the Chief Minister in Andhra Pradesh. She marketed the idea to the right persons at the right time. It was she who finally swung the decision in his favor, although many others claimed credit for his elevation as Chief Minister,

Bhavanam gained rich experience as Education Minister. I helped him address educational conferences. When he had to inaugurate a conference of scientists at Jubilee Hall in Hyderabad, I drafted his speech dwelling on the importance of promoting scientific culture among students, keeping in mind the country's future as also Constitutional obligations. Bhavanam received compliments from the scientists for his progressive thinking. Overwhelmed by the reception he got, Bhavanam thanked me profusely later on. Since then, we had virtually become Siamese twins in thinking.

Bhavanam used to dilly dally in taking decisions because he did not enjoy political support within the party although he had admirers in all parties.

Bhavanam took me along with him to Delhi when the High Command considered him as the prospective Chief Minister. Even after he became Chief Minister, I accompanied him on all his Delhi visits. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's personal assistant helped us meet her. Delhi is a center for nocturnal politics. Even Bhavanm as Chief Minister held discussions with Mrs. Indira Gandhi only late in the night. That is part of Congress culture.

Since I was close to the Chief Minister, a number of people wanted to use my good offices for personal benefit. As I ignored them, they drifted away.

I regarded Bhavanam as a friend. I did not allow my friendship to come in the way of my objective journalism. Occasionally, my critical commentaries stung Bhavanam. However, he soon forgot them, dropped in at my rented house in Adarshnagar as usual, and accepted our hospitality. Among those who came to see him at my residence were Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy, Mr. Nara Chandrababu Naidu, and Mr. Paladugu Venkata Rao. Although such meetings had become a daily ritual, I did not dabble in politics. Our friendship continued even after Bhavanam stepped down as Chief Minister.

In retrospect, one should say that Bhavanm as Chief Minister accomplished little. Leaders like Mr. N. Janardana Reddy ignored him even as they continued to be members of his Cabinet. Mr. Nadendla Bhaskara Rao tried in vain to get into some position with Bhavanam's help.

The presence of Mr. N. T. Rama Rao during the swearing in of Bhavanam as Chief Minister surprised many. Bhavanm and NTR had been friends in college at Guntur. In addition, Bhavanam was a movie fan.

Bhavanm was an admirer of Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao.

I did not believe reports that Mrs. Indira Gandhi brought money to Hyderabad and entrusted him with the responsibility

of distributing it among party candidates in Anantapur district. Without disclosing the purpose, Bhavanm wanted me to accompany him to Anantanpur in his car. We talked a number of things all along the way.

At the Travelers' Bungalow in Anantapur, I saw Bhavanm handing over cash to Mr. B. T. L. N. Choudary towards election expenses. Mr. Choudary wanted Bhavanm to ensure that he got some more money. Bhavanam told me later in response to a query that it was a fact that Mrs. Gandhi had brought cash and gave him a portion of it for distribution among party contestants.

Mr. Nara Chandrababu Naidu was a Minister of State in the Bhavanm Ministry. Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy wanted Bhavanam to elevate Mr. Chandrababu Naidu to Cabinet status. He broached the matter with me before I accompanied Bhavanm to Delhi and asked me too to put in a word if possible. Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy used to help friends without any reservations. I, however, did not intervene.

Without the High Command's nod, Bhavanam could not make any changes in his Cabinet. Bhavanm himself unburdened his helplessness to me.

As a close associate of the Chief Minister, I had some good opportunities in life. One morning, the Queen of Melody Lata Mangeshkar dropped in Bhavanams' residence to seek a site in Musheerabad for establishing an institution named after her father. Since none was around, Bhavanam asked me to keep her engaged until he readied himself. I had the privilege of talking to her for a long time and learning of her rich experiences in life. Surprisingly, there was not even a camera in the Chief Minister's residence to record the visit of such a famous singer. There is a world of difference between Chief Ministers then and now.

When Bhavanam was Education Minister, UGC Chairperson Madhuri Dikshit visited Srikrishnadevaraya University at Anantapur to deliver the convocation address. I accompanied Bhavanam to Anantapur. Being a Satya Saibaba devotee, she decided to visit the deemed university at Puttaparti first. I told Bhavanam that her behavior was an affront to the university in that she gave priority to her personal faith. Agreeing with my contention, Bhavanam too stayed away from Puttaparthi.

Bhavanam did not bother about god men and god women who called on him. One Sivaswami from Kadapa dropped in one day and placed 'sacred ash' and a fruit in Bhavanam's hands. He claimed he had created them out of thin air. Sitting by the side of Bhavanam, I whispered that he ask the Swami to produce a pumpkin. When Bhavanam made the request as suggested, the helpless Swami beat a retreat. The fake swamis materialize only those objects that fit in a fist. With sleight of hand, they pull out the objects before the gullible and cast a spell on them. The swami had come to seek permission for a junior college. Largely, Bhavanam kept them at a distance.

Bhavanam had the opportunity of appointing a Vice Chancellor for Andhra University. When he asked me to suggest some suitable person, I mentioned Mr. Avula Sambasiva Rao, who had just retired as Chief Justice of the Andhra Pradesh High Court. He immediately approved the idea and entrusted me with the task of persuading Avula to accept the assignment. I could accomplish that.

One good initiative taken by Bhavanam concerned the establishment of an Open University to provide higher education opportunities to rural students who could not afford studies in a regular university. At the Chief Minister's instance, Mr. G. Rami Reddy studied the functioning of Open University in Britain

and submitted a report. Bhavanam wanted to establish it at Nagarjunasagar.

When Bhavanam considered Mr. Rami Reddy for appointment as Open University Vice Chancellorm, the Head of the Department of Genetics in Osmania University emerged as a competitor. My friends and I supported Mr. Rami Reddy, although Mr. O. S. Reddy too happened to be a friend of ours. He was hurt. We persuaded Bhavanam to appoint Mr. Rami Reddy.

Once he quit as Chief Minister, Bhavanam did not play any active role in politics. He remained close to me until he breathed his last. Few visited him as his health deteriorated. In Congress culture, those who cease to be in power become 'un-persons.'

Bhavanam went down in history as a Chief Minister who lasted a mere seven months.



KOTLA VIJAYABHASKARA REDDY
(1920-2001)



I met Mr. Kotla Vijayabhaskara Reddy for the first time in 1968. I was then organizing a function in Kurnool to celebrate the 50th birthday of Mr. Gora Sastry (Govindu Rama Sastry), Editor of *Telugu Swatantra* and *Andhra Bhoomi* and writer of radio plays. As Kurnool Zilla Parishad Chairman, Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy extended his cooperation and helped us make the function a success. He delivered a fine speech on the occasion.

The acquaintance I struck with him enabled me to meet him now and then in Hyderabad subsequently. In contrast to other politicians, Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy was a gentleman. He enjoyed playing cards with friends in the Old MLA Quarters and Gopi Hotel in Hyderabad.

After he quit State politics and migrated to Delhi, he did not concern himself with local politics. Concerned over the miserable state of the party and its bleak prospects in the 1982 elections, the Congress High Command made him Chief Minister. Having already changed three Chief Ministers in the State earlier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi had made the party a laughing stock in the State. With a view to retrieving the lost prestige, Mrs. Indira Gandhi made Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy Chief Minister. He, however, could not prove himself a match to Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, who had just entered politics and enlisted massive public support by undertaking a whistle-stop tour of the State. Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy offered to supply rice at Rs.1.90 a kg to counter NTR's promise of rice at Rs.2 a kg. Yet, the people ignored his offer.

Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram, Mr. Madan Mohan, and I were seated opposite Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy when he took oath of office as Chief Minister.

Shortly before he stepped down as Chief Minister, Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram had signed on a file providing for reservation of 11 medical seats to Karnataka on a reciprocal basis. The incoming Chief Minister too was to approve it. Bhavanam and Mr. Madan Mohan, the outgoing Health Minister, wanted me to request Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy to clear the file since they found it embarrassing to approach him. When I conveyed the request, Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy, immediately after assuming office, asked the Chief Secretary to get the file and signed on it immediately, much to my pleasant surprise. My friendship with him served a good purpose.

I did not meet Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy frequently later. Whenever I met him, he spoke affectionately. Having stepped down as Chief Minister within four months, he left for Delhi and returned to Andhra Pradesh as Chief Ministers once again. He was a failure even during the second term. He earned ignominy by leading the Congress to defeat for the second time and virtually handing over power on a platter to NTR's Telugu Desam Party.

When he became Chief Minister for the second time, Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy appointed a friend of mine, Mr. Abburi Varada Rajeswara Rao, as Chairman of the Official Language Commission. They had known each other in Delhi. However, Mr. Abburi died of illness in hospital even before he could take over.

When Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddy was breathing his last in Apollo Hospital, Hyderabad, few bothered to call on him. His death exemplifies Congress culture, in which persons sans power become *unpersons*.



N. T. RAMA RAO
(1923-1996)



Mr. N. T. Rama Rao (NTR) made history by leading the Telugu Desam Party he founded in 1982 to a resounding victory within nine months. He had plunged into elections with the objective of restoring the self-respect of Telugu-speaking people and making Delhi open its eyes to Andhras' great history and rich culture. Donning military fatigues, he roared, "Naxalites too are patriots, Brother." Wedded to the world of movies all through his life, he

entered politics all of a sudden and brought about a sea change in Andhra Pradesh history. Apparently, he had his finger firmly on the people's pulse.

Before his advent into politics, handsome NTR had cast a spell on four generations of Telugu-speaking people with his marvelous acting. The mythological and social roles he played left an indelible imprint on people's minds. People on a pilgrimage to Tirupati invariably went to his residence in the then Madras and had his 'darshan' too.

By 1981, Mrs. Indira Gandhi had replaced four Chief Ministers in Andhra Pradesh in as many years. They were shuffled like cards in a pack. People perceived her actions as repulsive and insulting, demeaning to the prestige of Telugu-speaking people and detrimental to democracy. Although a novice in politics, NTR played his cards adroitly by forming a party to fill the developing vacuum.

I used to meet NTR oft and on at that point of time. He received visitors at Ramakrishna Studios right from early in the morning. Mr. Mahipal Reddy, Mr. Bhim Reddy, and Mr. Tummala Gopala Rao were among those who accompanied me. Some people eager to contest elections on behalf of the newly formed TDP wanted me to put in a word to NTR. Since I would not succumb to such pressures, I could drop in at NTR's place any time and talk to him without any inhibitions.

When NTR unleashed a political tsunami on the eve of elections, I happened to write a lengthy piece in *Eenadu* on Mr. Tanguturi Prakasam. In that article, I referred to an incident during the Simon Commission visit to Chennai. When Mr. Prakasam was on his way to visit a person who died in police firing, a constable obstructed him. When others explained to the constable who Mr. Prakasam was, he stood aside and gave way to Mr. Prakasam. Quoting from Mr. Prakasam's autobiography, I added that the legend about Mr. Prakasam baring his chest when a constable aimed his gun at him

was a figment of imagination. Unable to digest the truth, diehard supporters of Mr. Prakasam took cudgels against me. Although I cannot claim that my piece in *Eenadu* influenced NTR, his barbs at Mr. Prakasam infuriated some people.

Both as reporter and in my individual capacity, I met NTR on a number of occasions when he was Chief Minister. He always treated me with affection. Mr. Vemuri Satyanarayana of the Hindi Academy wanted me to contribute an article on NTR for a publication the academy planned. He had offered to get my piece in Telugu translated into Hindi and paid me Rs.1000. When I handed over the article, Mr. Satyanarayana remarked that NTR might not relish my incisively critical observations. Mr. Yarlagadda Lakshmi Prasad whose opinion NTR sought, said the article was worthy of publication. Mr. Vemuri Satyanarayana, who had not bargained for NTR's clearance, was, not pleased.

NTR received many recommendations when he had to make a choice between Mr. Parvataneni Upendra and Dr. Yalamanchili Sivaji for a Rajya Sabha seat. Mr. Upendra, miffed over my accompanying Dr. Sivaji to NTR, stopped talking to me for some time.

NTR as Chief Minister ushered in a social revolution by initiating reforms like conferring the right on women to a share in their parents' ancestral property, providing for reservations to backward classes and doing away with the caste barrier for appointment of temple priests.

NTR had some good advisors like Mr. Parvataneni Koteswara Rao, Mr. V. Appa Rao and Mr. P. S. Ramamohana Rao among police officers. He also had some IAS officials like Dr. Jayaprakash Narayan who rendered him unbiased and rational advice. There were indeed some officials, who with their superstitious beliefs sought to mislead NTR. NTR was not enamored of either god men or god women. He, however, was a theist. His great reverence for Lord Buddha prompted him to get a gigantic Buddha statue

sculpted and installed on Gibraltar Rock in Hussain Sagar lake in the heart of Hyderabad city. He got statues of Telugu legends installed on Tank Bund as a tourist attraction.

I once accompanied Potti Sriramulu Telugu University Registrar Sivarama Murthy to NTR as he wanted to present some university publications to NTR. As we were about to return after presenting the books, NTR said, "May God bless you." I immediately asked him which god he had in mind and added, "Why should you invoke other gods? Deeming you god, people prostrate before you?" Perhaps, few people would have talked to him in that vein. NTR smiled and commented, "Why do you take exception to a routine greeting?"

I understood that NTR ordered an inquiry into the murder of some people at the Puttaparthi Ashram and directed police to arrest Sai Baba if necessary. He merely smiled when I met and congratulated him on his decision. However, the police did not carry out the Chief Minister's orders. What I learnt later on was that Sai devotees among his officials thwarted NTR's orders without his knowledge. Sai Baba did not put his foot on the soil of Hyderabad as long as NTR was Chief Minister. In fact, NTR lampooned a character like Sai Baba in one of his movies.

Immediately after he became Chief Minister, NTR appointed renowned journalist and Editor Narla Venkateswara Rao as his Cultural Advisor. Narla used to clear files after taking my suggestions. NTR felt happy when he learnt of my role. Narla's recommendation that all the cultural academies be abolished angered vested interests.

Some people exploited NTR's weaknesses to get their work done. As a tribute to Prof. N. G. Ranga's services to the nation, his followers collected donations, built a Ranga Bhavan in Hyderabad, and formed a trust to manage it. Some relatives of Prof. Ranga bent upon appropriating Ranga Bhavan got the public trust converted into a private trust. They made Prof. Ranga himself to

put in the request to NTR. NTR, without going into its propriety, conceded it. It would have been better had NTR not committed such mistakes.

When NTR was Chief Minister, I organized a seminar on the functioning of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Open University under the aegis of ICSSR in the Osmania University Library. Taking part in the seminar, I criticized how Mr. G. Rami Reddy, the founder Vice Chancellor, surrounding himself with sycophants, had whittled down standards. While his followers vehemently protested against my remarks, Dr. Yarlagadda Lakshmi Prasad observed that the criticism was well intentioned and that a debate on the university's strengths and weaknesses was unexceptionable. However, Mr. Rami Reddy and his followers could neither rebut the criticism nor digest it.

Although Mr. Rami Reddy had migrated to Delhi by then, he instigated his followers over phone to counter my criticism. Not knowing how to go about their job, the Vice Chancellor, the Registrar, and some professors used university vehicles to call on people in positions of power and launch a calumny campaign against me. Newspaper editors turned down their demand against publishing my writings. Book publishers like K. B. Satyanarayana of Book Links refused to take my publications off their shelves. Seminar participants like Prof. Wilson would not oblige them by tendering an apology. Mr. V. Hanumantha Rao of Data News and Features spurned their demand for dropping me from his organization.

Finally, Mr. N. Chandrababu Naidu, Mr. Gali Muddukrishnama Naidu, Mr. Indra Reddy, Justice Jaganmohan Reddy, and Justice Avula Sambasiva Rao laughed away their charge sheet against me. As a last resort, they called on Chief Minister NTR and sought action against me. He laughed loudly and asked, "How are we concerned with such things? Rebut him, if you can."

At the end of the month-long drama, an Open University professor commented that their operation was a success except that the patient died. "We have thoroughly been exposed for what we are — fools."

Could you imagine the *dramatis personae*? They included Prof. Haragopal, Mr. Chekuri Rama Rao, Mr. K. Madhusudhana Reddy, Registrar Nagaraju, Prof. Sivalinga Prasad, Vice Chancellor Navaneetha Rao and Dr. C. Narayana Reddy. People run berserk if they throw discretion to the winds. The fact did not dawn on them until NTR upbraided them in his inimitable style.



NADENDLA BHASKARA RAO



Mr. Nadendla Bhaskara Rao was a practicing lawyer before he entered politics.

As a Youth Congress leader, he was a frequent visitor to the *Andhra Jyoti* office opposite the Secretariat when I was the daily's Bureau Chief. He talked to me over phone almost daily and released press statements some times. Mr. Bhaskara Rao was astute and

intelligent in grasping political issues quickly. A man of initiative and drive, he moved with all people irrespective of their status in the party.

Early in his political career, he became close to Dr. M. Channa Reddy. He served as Minister for Legislative Affairs in the first Channa Reddy Cabinet. He had expected a more important portfolio because of his intimacy with Dr. Channa Reddy. Since Dr. Channa Reddy did not oblige him, he boycotted the dinner hosted by Governor Sarada Mukherjee to the new Ministers to register his protest. Although Dr. Channa Reddy gave him a better portfolio later on, he could not retain it. Suspecting that he carried tales against him to Delhi, Dr. Channa Reddy cut him down to size again by allocating an insignificant portfolio.

Mr. Bhaskara Rao went through such vicissitudes during the Channa Reddy and the Tanguturi Anjaiah regimes. Even Mr. Anjaiah dropped him from the Ministry once. He tried in vain to become a Minister in the Bhavanam Venkatram Ministry.

It was then that Mr. N. T. Rama Rao entered the political scene even as Opposition parties tried to forge an alternative to the Congress. Mr. Bhaskara Rao became close to NTR and played a prominent role in the Telugu Desam Party. He handled key portfolios in NTR's first Ministry and described himself as a co-pilot. Given to extreme likes and dislikes, he could not sail together with some leaders like Mr. Uppendra. After all, he had joined the Telugu Desam Party ignoring Mrs. Indira Gandhi's advice against acting in haste. Carrying the genes of Congress culture in his blood, he found himself a misfit in the Telugu Desam Party.

When NTR left for the US for heart surgery, Mr. Bhaskara Rao conspired with other parties and dethroned him with High Command support and Governor Ram Lal's blessings. In contrast to NTR who came to power democratically, Mr. Bhaskara Rao staged a coup to become Chief Minister. He ushered in curfew-like

atmosphere in Hyderabad. He lured weaklings among TDP legislators with promises of a bright future for them. That was how legislators like Mrs. Tripurana Venkataratnam and Mrs. Nannapaneni Rajakumari became Ministers.

Mr. Bhaskara Rao acted at electronic speed in sanctioning colleges and doling out favors to his backers. He, however, had not bargained for indignation against his coup not merely in the State but all over the country. He lost his position within less than a month, paving the way for NTR regaining power.

What is surprising is that the Congress, which had promised to stand by him, dropped him like a hot potato. The party rehabilitated Mr. Anjaiah as Union Minister, although Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had humiliated him. However, Mr. Bhaskara Rao became politically untouchable to the Congress.

I stopped meeting and talking to Mr. Bhaskara Rao as I could not reconcile myself to his treacherous and undemocratic behavior.



N. JANARDANA REDDY



My acquaintance with Mr. Nedurumalli Janarana Reddy began when I was Bureau Chief of *Andhra Jyoti* in Hyderabad. When Dr. M. Channa Reddy became Chief Minister in 1978, Mr. Janardana Reddy joined him as a Cabinet Minister and played a prominent role. We used to meet frequently and discuss political and other matters.

As Political Correspondent for *Zamin Ryotu*, published from Nellore, I used to contribute weekly reports to it at the request of its Editor Mr. Sreerama Murthy. Mr. Janardana Reddy, who had good relations with the weekly's management, wanted to find out who its Political Correspondent was. Mr. Sreerama Murthy found Mr. Janardana Reddy's curiosity embarrassing. Since I happened to be *Andhra Jyoti* Bureau Chief, I could not assume authorship for the reports I contributed to *Zamin Ryotu*. Whenever Mr. Janardana Reddy found reports and features unpalatable, he used to pressurize Mr. Sreerama Murthy to reveal who the contributor was. Mr. Sreerama Murthy narrated his plight to me. However, he was not inclined to ask me to stop writing because he got excellent feedback for the reports I contributed. When the pressure from Mr. Janardana Reddy became unbearable, Mr. Sreerama Murthy unburdened himself to me. I told him that I would stop writing and spare him embarrassment, but he would not agree. A little later, Mr. Sreerama Murthy passed away paving the way for Mr. Dolendra becoming Editor and my bidding goodbye to *Zamin Ryotu*.

Mr. Janardana Reddy is a good friend of mine. We used to meet several times and discuss many issues freely and without any reservations. He is a great host and the courtesies he extends some times suffocate the guests. On days when the Assembly adjourned to meet in the evening after its morning session, we went to his residence, had Scotch whisky and Nellore food, and attended the Assembly session in the evening. He used to address many people in first person singular and occasionally appeared to be arrogant.

Right from the day Dr. Channa Reddy became Chief Minister in 1978 Mr. Janardana Reddy coveted that position and tried in vain to accomplish his life's ambition. As a member of the Bhavanam Venkatram Cabinet, he ignored the Chief Minister taking advantage of his soft nature. After many political

vicissitudes, Mr. Janardana Reddy realized his dream of becoming Chief Minister. The Congress High Command chose him to replace Dr. Channa Reddy in his second term.

Once in power, Mr. Janardana Reddy sanctioned private dental and medical colleges left and right, got works done in haste and earned notoriety. Even the High Court faulted his policy decisions. Despite disapproval among the public, he enjoyed the confidence of 160 party legislators. He expanded his Ministry by inducting new faces within a year. Yet, concerned over the deteriorating party position, the Congress High Command replaced him with Mr. Kotla Vijayabhaskara Reddy. Mr. Janardana Reddy thus let the opportunity of serving people as Chief Minister slip through his fingers. Hostility within the party dogged him.

Mr. Janardana Reddy, always cordial with me, invited me for functions like marriages in his home. The man who started his career as a teacher rose to great heights in the State and the country.



NARA CHANDRABABU NAIDU
(1950)



I had met Mr. Nara Chandrababu Naidu long before he became Mr. N. T. Rama Rao's son-in-law. One evening in 1977, Mr. Ratna Sabhapati, Mr. S. V. Pantulu and I were chatting over drinks in the Old MLA Quarters when an agitated Mr. Chandrababu Naidu and Mr. Subrahmanyam rushed in with anxiety writ large on their faces.

Going by their discussion with Mr. Ratna Sabhapati, I made out that they had come straight from Tirupati where Kamma and Reddy

students had clashed. After listening to them, Mr. Ratna Sabhapati called up Mr. Nedurumalli Janardana Reddy and requested him to ensure that clashes did not recur. That was how I met Mr. Chandrababu Naidu for the first time.

Following his election to the Assembly in 1978, Mr. Chandrababu Naidu lived in the New MLA Quarters. Mr. Lakshminarayana stayed with him. I was living in Mr. Kolluri Kotewara Rao's quarters. As a result, our meetings became frequent and relations stronger. I used to draft questions and call attention motions Mr. Chandrababu Naidu might raise in the Assembly.

Chief Minister Dr. M. Channa Reddy kept Mr. Chandrababu Naidu and Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy at a distance. Mr. Chandrababu Naidu, Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy, Mr. K. E. Krishna Murthy, Mr. Karanam Balaram and I met frequently. Even after Mr. Chandrababu Naidu moved to Jubilee Hills, we discussed politics over lunch or dinner. Those days, Mr. P. Rajagopala Naidu, a disciple of Prof. N. G. Ranga and the political guru of Mr. Chandrababu Naidu in Chittoor district, used to drop in.

Once Mr. T. Anjaiah replaced Dr. Channa Reddy as Chief Minister, both Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy and Mr. Chandrababu Naidu gained importance. That was when NTR offered his daughter in marriage to Mr. Chandrababu Naidu.

In the Anjaiah Ministry, Mr. Chandrababu Naidu as Minister of State handled Animal Husbandry and Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy, Medical Services. Following the pruning of his Ministry, Mr. Anjaiah entrusted Libraries to Mr. Chandrababu Naidu, and Rural Development to Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy. A proposal to make NTR a member of the Rajya Sabha did the rounds then.

Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram, who succeeded Mr. Anjaiah, made Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy prominent by entrusting him with the Excise portfolio. He made Mr. Chandrababu Naidu a Minister of State in charge of Minor Irrigation. Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy strove to get

Cabinet rank status to Mr. Chandrababu Naidu. He wanted me also to put in a word to Bhavanam when I accompanied him to Delhi. Since the Congress High Command alone made such decisions, Mr. Chandrababu Naidu did not get the Cabinet rank. I used to meet Mr. Chandrababu Naidu in his chambers frequently.

Later in the Kotla Vijayabhaskara Reddy Ministry, Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy got Education and Mr. Chandrababu Naidu Technical Education portfolios.

Once Mr. Chandrababu Naidu became NTR's son-in-law, politics in the State underwent a change. Mr. Chandrababu Naidu contested on the Congress ticket in the 1982 Assembly elections and lost to the Telugu Desam Party. In fact, he had made a couple of statements critical of his father-in-law but attended the swearing in of NTR as Chief Minister at the Lal Bahadur Stadium in Hyderabad.

Mr. Chandrababu Naidu drifted away from the Congress, joined the Telugu Desam Party, and gained importance. Although he held no position, he grew into a power center as NTR's son-in-law.

Mr. Chandrababu Naidu visited me at my Adarshnagar residence in Hyderabad many times and I visited him at his Jubilee Hills residence. He dropped in invariably whenever Bhavanam as Chief Minister came to my place. He always brought a Tirupati laddu for us. However, he never accepted hospitality from our end.

Mr. Chandrababu Naidu was quick at grasping things and prompt in acting on good suggestions. Noticing my closeness to him, many people were after me to avail of my good offices. I never obliged them since it was foreign to my nature. Mrs. Renuka Choudary, contesting on behalf of the Telugu Desam from the Nandyal parliamentary constituency, wanted me to put in a word to Mr. Chandrababu Naidu concerning dispatch of money as early as possible for her election expenses. Mr. Chandrababu Naidu commented that the rich woman did not deserve the party fund.

I met Mr. Chandrababu Naidu formally after he became Chief Minister following his revolt against NTR, but I could not bring myself to congratulate him. Later on, I stopped meeting him altogether.

Mr. Chandrababu Naidu visited New York when I happened to be there. He met my son working in Wall Street Journal and invited him to India. Although I was aware of his presence in New York, I did not feel like meeting him. Our meetings became rare after he became Chief Minister.

Mr. Chandrababu Naidu earned encomiums from all for waging a determined battle for reinstatement of NTR as Chief Minister and restoration of democracy in Andhra Pradesh. He safeguarded the MLAs from being poached upon by the Congress by taking them from Hyderabad to Delhi initially and later to Mysore and Bangalore. Finally, he brought them back to Hyderabad for a trial of strength in the Assembly.

I attended a tea party hosted by Karnataka Education Minister Raghupathi to Mr. Chandrababu Naidu in Bangalore and congratulated him on his Herculean efforts. Setting off for Hyderabad, he wanted me to come along with him in the convoy of vehicles. Among his fellow travelers were Mr. M. Venkayya Naidu, Mr. S. Jaipal Reddy, and Mr. Parvataneni Upendra. In Bangalore, I counseled MLAs like Mrs. Katragadda Prasuna not to fall into Mr. Nadendla Bhaskara Rao's trap.

I was hurt when Mr. Chandrababu Naidu, who fought for restoration of democracy in Andhra Pradesh, confined MLAs in Viceroy Hotel and staged a coup against NTR.

He returned to power in the elections that took place subsequently. As Chief Minister, he did commendable things like placing Andhra Pradesh on the world map, making US President Clinton visit the State and encouraging information technology.



DR. Y. S. RAJASEKHARA REDDY
(1949-2009)



I met Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy for the first time in 1978 when he became an MLA. A medical professional by training, he never wielded the stethoscope.

As we became closer, I used to provide him questions, call attention notices, and short notice questions he might raise in the Assembly. He chose what appealed to him and raised them in the House.

I used to write on Andhra Pradesh politics for publications in both Telugu and English. He took a liking for my reports in English.

We used to visit a number of friends together. Whenever he accepted hospitality of a friend either in the form of a breakfast or lunch or dinner, he invariably asked, "Can we be of any assistance to him/her?" Among such friends of his are Mr. D. Seshagiri Rao and Mr. Alapati Ravindranath. They in turn maintained they merely cherished his friendship and needed no favors. I mention this to drive home his helpful nature.

Our family was happy to have him for breakfast or lunch many a time. Innumerable were such occasions when Mr. Bhavanam Venkatram was Education Minister and later Chief Minister. In turn, we enjoyed his dinner hospitality at his residence on the way to Jubilee Hills. Bhavanam, Mr. K. V. P. Ramachandra Rao and I moved together like a triumvirate. We savored a peg or two of whisky before dinner together. Those days, KVP did not relish alcohol although he smoked heavily. Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy's spouse, Vijayalakshmi, a great cook, personally served food with warmth. She is a good-natured woman.

Mr. Raja Reddy, Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy's father, narrated me many of his experiences in life when I met him for the first time at their house. He talked about his Burma visit and his conversion to Christianity. Suri (Suryanarayana) used to live with them. We moved together like family for many years.

When Bhavanam became Chief Minister, Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy, without my knowledge, pressured him to give me some position or the other. In response, Bhavanam sent for me and asked in what way he could be of assistance to me. I told him respectfully but categorically that I was interested in merely

being a friend of his and not in any position. Dr. Rakasekhara Reddy was always intent upon helping friends.

Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy was initially in the Reddy Congress. Later on, he pitted himself against Chief Ministers Dr. M. Channa Reddy, Mr. Kotla Vijayabhaskara Reddy, and Mr. N. Janardana Reddy. He earned the sobriquet of a dissident in the party.

Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy once shared with me the magnitude of the impact Mr. N. T. Rama Rao (NTR) made on Andhra Pradesh. NTR founded the Telugu Desam Party, undertook a whirlwind tour of the State, and stormed into power within nine months. Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy told me that he survived the tsunami unleashed by NTR and won the election to the Assembly from Pulivendula with great difficulty.

After he became Chief Minister, Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy became prominent both in the State and at the Center. The importance he accorded to agriculture impressed even US President George Bush.

When I sent him a message of congratulations from the U. S. after he took over as State Congress President, he wrote back promptly.

I did not meet him frequently after he became Chief Minister. Whenever my name figured in press conferences, he reportedly asked whether I happened to be in India. It was but natural since I lived far away from India and could not focus on politics.

Dr. Rajasekhara Reddy's sudden death in a helicopter crash was unthinkable. He left an indelible imprint on politics in Andhra Pradesh.



KONIJETI ROSAIAH



“Life becomes miserable if one does not believe one is handsome,” Mr. Rosaiah told me one day in 1954, as he shaved looking into the mirror in his room at Guntur.

Those were the days when he distinguished himself as a student leader in the Hindu College, Guntur, and as a disciple of Prof. N. G. Ranga. He contested as President of the college Students’ Union

on behalf of the Vidyarthi Sammelan, the student wing of the Krishikar Lok Party, and won. My friends and I, then students in the A. C. College, Guntur, campaigned for him. Mr. Jasti Jagannadham, a Radical Humanist, was elected as Secretary of the Students' Union. They used to collect donations for Vidyarthi Sammelan and spend it on breakfast and coffee those days. Mr. Rosaiah was very active in organizing programs like *kavi sammelans* and delivering speeches.

Mr. Rosaiah hailed from Vemuru near Tenali. He started his political career at Tenali where Prof. N. G. Ranga organized the first State-level conference of the Krishikar Lok Party, which he founded after quitting the Congress in 1951. Since then, we have remained close friends.

When Prof. Ranga campaigned on behalf of the United Congress against the Communists in the 1955 elections, Messrs Rosaiah, Veerachari, Vijayaraja Kumar, Sunkara Satyanarayana and others undertook a whirlwind tour of the State, and enlisted people's support in trouncing Communists. When later on Prof. Ranga distanced himself from the Congress and became Swatantra Party President, Mr. Latchanna and Mr. Rosaiah sailed with him. Although Dr. Channa Reddy too joined Mr. Ranga initially, he dropped out later.

Whenever politicians visited Tenali, Mr. Rosaiah used to welcome them on behalf of Prof. Ranga and translated their speeches into Telugu. Among those whom he translated was Mr. Rajagopalachari. Starting his life thus as an active worker, he became a prominent State-level leader.

Mr. Rosaiah attained prominence as an Opposition leader. Mr. S. V. Pantulu and I issued Press statements backing him and gained good publicity for his viewpoints. Mr. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy as Chief Minister helped Mr. Rosaiah become a member of the Legislative Council.

Mr. Rosaiah was my neighbor when I stayed in the New MLA Quarters from 1972. We met almost daily until he joined hands with Dr. Channa Reddy in 1978. By going hammer and tongs at Dr. Channa Reddy during his early days as Chief Minister, Mr. Rosaiah deprived him of sleep. Mr. S. V. Pantulu and I were then the right and left hands of Mr. Rosaiah in people's perception.

Notwithstanding such a backdrop, Dr. Channa Reddy inducted him into his Cabinet as a Minister. Mr. Rosaiah who had excelled in the Opposition till then settled down in the Congress. Whoever happened to be Chief Minister, Mr. Rosaiah became indispensable. His reputation spread up to Delhi. We used to meet even after he shifted to his own house in Ameerpet. He used to inquire of my family's welfare whenever we met.

The Congress High Command chose Mr. Rosaiah as Chief Minister following the sudden death of Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy in a helicopter crash. Perhaps, it is a great turning point in his life.

Off and on, he used to tell me, "All through my life, I have been wedded to politics and nothing else. I cannot change course at this stage and at my age. I have to stick to politics willy-nilly."



Appendix

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

CHIEF MINISTER: **N. SANJEEVA REDDY**

1-11-1956 to 16-4-1957

Name	Portfolio
1. N. Sanjeeva Reddy	General Administration, Information, Planning & Transport
2. K.V. Ranga Reddy	Land Revenue
3. Kala Venkat Rao	Finance & Land Reforms
4. B. Gopala Reddy	Home
5. V.B. Raju	Commerce, Industry & Labour
6. P. Timma Reddy	Agriculture & Forests
7. G. Venkata Reddy Naidu	Law
8. J.V. Narsing Rao	Electricity & Irrigation
9. S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao	Education
10. D. Sanjeevaiah	Co-operation
11. M. Narsinga Rao	Buildings, Highway, Excise & Prohibition
12. Mehdi Nawaz Jung	Health
13. K. Brahmananda Reddy	Local Administration

CHIEF MINISTER: **N. SANJEEVA REDDY**

17-04-1957 to 10-01-1960

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. N. Sanjeeva Reddy | General Administration,
Industries, Commerce, Health,
Information, Planning &
Transport |
| 2. K.V. Ranga Reddy | Home |
| 3. B. Gopala Reddy | Finance |
| 4. Kala Venkat Rao | Land Revenue & Land
Reforms |
| 5. J.V. Narsing Rao | Irrigation & Power |
| 6. P. Timma Reddy | Agriculture & Forests |
| 7. V.B. Raju | Planning & Publicworks |
| 8. S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao | Education |
| 9. M. Narsinga Rao | Buildings & Highways. |
| 10. K. Brahmananda Reddy | Local Administration |
| 11. D. Sanjeevaiah | Social Welfare & Labour |
| 12. G. Venkata Reddy Naidu | Law |
| 13. Mehdi Nawaz Jung | Co-Operation |
| 14. A. Bhagavantha Rao | Endowments, Small-Scale &
Cottage Industries |

CHIEF MINISTER: **D. SANJEEVAIAH**

11-01-1960 to 11-03-1962

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. D. Sanjeevaiah | General Administration |
| 2. K.V. Ranga Reddy | Land Revenue |
| Deputy Chief Minister | |
| 3. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju* | Public Works |
| 4. S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao | Education and Transport |
| 5. Pidathala Ranga Reddy | Planning & Development,
Local Administration & Information |
| 6. Kalluri Chandramouli | Endowments & Co-operation |
| 7. K. Brahmananda Reddy | Finance, Law & Courts |
| 8. M. Narsinga Rao | Home |
| 9. M. Pallam Raju | Forests, Animal Husbandry & Fisheries |
| 10. A.C. Subba Reddy | Industries & Municipal Administration |
| 11. P.V.G. Raju | Medical & Health |
| 12. Mrs. Masuma Begum | Social Welfare & Wakfs |
| 13. N. Ramachandra Reddy | Agriculture, Food & Labour |
| 14. Konda Laxman Babuji | Small Scale Industries & Excise |

***MLC**

CHIEF MINISTER: **N. SANJEEVA REDDY**

12-03-1962 to 28-02-1964

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. N. Sanjeeva Reddy | General Administration, Home,
Social Welfare & Major
Industries |
| 2. N. Ramachandra Reddy | Land Revenue & Land Reforms |
| 3. K. Brahmananda Reddy | Finance & Co-Operation |
| 4. M. Pallam Raju | Forests & Animal Husbandry |
| 5. Dr. M. Channa Reddy | Planning, Panchayats &
Panchayat Raj |
| 6. P.V.G. Raju | Education |
| 7. A.C. Subba Reddy | Irrigation & Power |
| 8. Mir Ahmed Ali Khan | Buildings, Communication &
Wakfs |
| 9. Y. Siva Rama Prasad | Health & Medical Services |
| 10. Dr. M.N. Laxminarasaiah | Medicine & Small-Scale
Industries |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 11. M.R. Appa Rao | Excise & Prohibition |
| 12. P.V. Narasimha Rao | Law & Information |
| 13. Alapati Venkataramaiah | Municipal Administration |
| 14. T.N. Sada Laxmi | Endowments & Small Savings |
| 15. A. Balarami Reddy | Agriculture |
| 16. B.V. Guru Murthy | Labour & Transport |

CHIEF MINISTER: **K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY**

29-02-1964 to 6-03-1967

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. K. Brahmananda Reddy | General Administration & Finance |
| 2. N. Ramachandra Reddy | Land Revenue |
| 3. Dr. M. Channa Reddy | Planning & Panchayat Raj |
| 4. P.V.G. Raju | Education |
| 5. A.C. Subba Reddy | Public Works |
| 6. Mir Ahmed Ali Khan | Home |
| 7. Y. Sivaram Prasad | Health & Medical Services |
| 8. M.N. Lakshmi Narasaiah | Industries |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 9. M.R. Appa Rao | Excise & Prohibition |
| 10. P.V. Narasimha Rao | Law & Jails |
| 11. Alapati Venkataramaiah | Municipal Administration |
| 12. Mrs. T.N. Sada Laxmi | Endowments & Small Savings |
| 13. A. Balarami Reddy | Agriculture |
| 14. B.V. Guru Murthy | Labour & Transport |

CHIEF MINISTER: **K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY**

6-03-1967 to 18-07-1969

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. K. Brahmananda Reddy | General Administration,
Planning & Major Industries |
| 2. P. Thimma Reddy | Agriculture & Animal
Husbandry |
| 3. V.B. Raju | Land Revenue |
| 4. Thota Ramaswamy* | Panchayat Raj |
| 5. J.V. Narasing Rao | Buildings & Highways |
| 6. T.V. Raghavulu | Excise, Prohibition &
Education |
| 7. Konda Laxman Bapuji | Labour & Information |
| 8. Dr. M. Channa Reddy | Finance |
| 9. A.C. Subba Reddy | Home & Commercial Taxes |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 10. P.V. Narasimha Rao | Law & Endowments |
| 11. B.V. Guru Murthy | Industries |
| 12. M. Chenchu Rama Naidu | Municipal Administration |
| 13. K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy* | Co-operation |
| 14. R. Ramalinga Raju* | Social Welfare |
| 15. S. Sidda Reddy | Medicine & Minor Irrigation |
| 16. K.V. Narayana Reddy | Planning & Commerce |
| 17. Md. Ibrahim Ali Ansari | Prisons & Wakfs |
| 18. Arige Ramaswamy | Social Welfare |
| 19. V. Satyanarayana Rao* | Excise & Prohibition |

***MLC**

CHIEF MINISTER: **K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY**
1969 to 1971

1. K. Brahmananda Reddy	General Administration, Finance, Major Industries Excise & Prohibition
2. J.V. Narasing Rao	Planning, Roads & Buildings
3. J. Vengal Rao	Home
4. P. Thimma Reddy	Land Revenue
5. Kakani Venkata Ratnam	Agriculture
6. Thota Ramaswamy*	Panchayat Raj
7. Dr. M.N. Laxmi Narasaiah	Transport
8. M. Chenchurama Naidu	Municipal Administration
9. R. Ramalinga Raju*	Endowments
10. S. Sidda Reddy*	Major Irrigation
11. M. Ibrahim Ali Ansari	Health & Medical
12. A. Bhagawantha Rao	Handlooms
13. V. Krishna Murthy Naidu*	Power
14. G. Sanjeeva Reddy	Labour
15. D. Perumallu	Social Welfare
16. K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy*	Co-operation
17. P.V. Narasimha Rao	Education

***MLC**

Ministers of State

18. Sagi Suryanarayana Raju	Forests
19. A. Vasudeva Rao	Information
20. Anam Sanjeeva Reddy	Civil supplies
21. Ramachandra Rao Kalyani	Marketing
22. Ronda Narapa Reddy*	Medium Irrigation
23. Mrs. Roda Mistry*	Women's Welfare & Tourism
24. Gurram China Venkanna	Small Scale Industries
25. V. Purushotham Reddy*	Minor Irrigation
26. C. Raja Narasimha	Housing & Accommodation Control
27. P. Ankineedu Prasad	Commerce & Export Promotion
28. S.R.A.S. Appala Naidu	Fisheries & Ports

***MLC**

CHIEF MINISTER: **P.V. NARASIMHA RAO**

30-09-1971 TO 2-03-1972

Deputy Chief Minister : **B.V. Subba Reddy**

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. P. V. Narasimha Rao | General Administration,
Excise, Home, Labour &
Social Welfare. |
| 2. B.V. Subba Reddy | Planning, Roads & Buildings |
| 3. Kakani Venkat Ratnam | Agriculture & Animal
Husbandry |
| 4. K. Achuta Reddy | Land Revenue |
| 5. J. Chokka Rao | Industries |
| 6. S. Sidda Reddy* | Irrigation |
| 7. Mohd. Ibrahim Ali Ansari | Health & Medical |
| 8. M. Manik Rao | Municipal Administration |
| 9. Battina Subba Rao | Co-operation |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| 10. A. Vasudeva Rao | Information |
| 11. C. Raja Narasimha | Housing |
| 12. K. Gopala Naidu | Transport |

***MLC**

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|---------------------|----------------|
| 13. P. Mahendranath | Forests |
| 14. K. Bhim Rao | Tribal Welfare |

Ministry Expanded on 6th October 1971

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| 15. Thota Ramaswamy* | Panchayat Raj |
| 16. R. Ramalinga Raju* | Endowments |
| 17. V. Krishna Murthy Naidu* | Power & Excise |
| 18. A. Bhagawantha Rao | Handlooms |
| 19. Ch. V.P. Murthy Raju | Marketing |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------|
| 20. Dr. Ch. Devananda Rao* | Tourism |
|----------------------------|---------|

Ministry Expanded on 28 October, 1971

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 21. N. Chenchurama Naidu | Handlooms |
| 22. P. Basi Reddy | Medium Irrigation |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 23. Challa Subba Rayudu | Civil Supplies |
| 24. A. Madan Mohan | Technical Education |
| 25. Mrs. Padma Bhaskara
Reddy | Women's Welfare &
Child Welfare |

***MLC**

CHIEF MINISTER: **P.V. NARASIMHA RAO**

20-03-1972 to 18-01-1973

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. P. V. Narasimha Rao | General Administration,
College Education, Land
Revenue & Information. |
| 2. B.V. Subba Reddy | Planning & Highways |
| 3. Kakani Venkata Ratnam | Food & Agriculture |
| 4. T. Hayagrivachary | Panchayat Raj |
| 5. Md. Ibrahim Ali | Health, Medical & Wakfs |
| 6. J. Vengal Rao | Industries |
| 7. A. Bhagawantha Rao | Finance |
| 8. V. Krishnamurthy Naidu* | Home |
| 9. M. Manik Rao | Municipal Administration |
| 10. B. Subba Rao | Co-operation |
| 11. Ch.V.P. Murthy Raju | Endowments |
| 12. P. Basi Reddy | Medium Irrigation |
| 13. Sagi Suryanarayana Raju | Forests |
| 14. L. Lakshman Dass | Housing |
| 15. P. Narasa Reddy | Major Irrigation |
| 16. T. Anjaiah | Labour |
| 17. M.V. Krishna Rao | Social Welfare |
| 18. B. Jaya Prada | Power |
| 19. K. Prabhakara Reddy* | Transport |

***MLC**

CHIEF MINISTER: J. VENGAL RAO

10-12-1973 to 5-03-1978

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. J. Vengal Rao | General Administration,
Planning, Home,
Land Reform, Major Irrigation |
| 2. B.V. Subba Reddy | Food & Agriculture |
| 3. N. Ramachandra Reddy | Finance |
| 4. P. Basi Reddy | Industries |
| 5. J. Chokka Rao | Transport |
| 6. K. Rajamallu | Medical & Health |
| 7. Sagi Suryanarayana Raju | Endowments |
| 8. M. Ibrahim Ali Ansari | Information & Wakfs |
| 9. V.Krishna Murthy Naidu* | Medium Irrigation |
| 10. B. Subba Rao | Co-operation |
| 11. L. Lakshman Dass | Labour & Employment |
| 12. G. Raja Rao | Power |
| 13. Challa Subba Rayudu | Municipal Administration |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 14. Dr. Ch. Devananda Rao | Tourism & Public Libraries |
| 15. Mrs. Lakshmi Devi* | Women & Child Welfare |

Ministry Expanded on 12th January 1974

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 16. M.V. Krishna Rao | Education |
| 17. Ch. Venkat Rao | Roads & Buildings |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| 18. B. Sriram Murthy | Social Welfare |
|----------------------|----------------|

Ministry Expanded on 25th September 1974

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 19. Pidathala Ranga Reddy | Finance & Information |
| 20. T. Anjaiah | Labour & Employment |
| 21. P. Narasa Reddy | Land Revenue |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| 22. A. Venkat Reddy | Minor Irrigation |
| 23. V. Purushotham Reddy* | Excise |
| 24. P. Mahendra Nath | Marketing |
| 25. D. Muniswamy | Fisheries |
| 26. S. Venkat Ram Reddy* | Animal Husbandry |
| 27. Asif Pasha | Law |
| 28. K.V. Keshavulu | Handlooms |

Ministry Expanded on 13th August 1976

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------|
| 29. Ch. Hanumaiah* | Transport |
|--------------------|-----------|

Ministers of State

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 30. Mrs. Krishnaveni
Sanjeevaiah* | Women's Welfare |
| 31. K.B. Narasappa | Sugar Industries |
| 32. P. Seshavatararam | Rural Development |
| 33. P. Dharma Reddy | Housing |
| 34. Y. Narayana Swamy* | Small -Scale Industries |

Ministry Expanded on 4th September 1977

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| 35. R. Narapa Reddy | Panchayat Raj |
| 36. Manikya Rao | Commercial Taxes |
| 37. K. Appadu Dora | Marketing |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 38. K. Rami Reddy | Civil Supplies |
| 39. P. Venkat Rao | Irrigation Devp Corporation |
| 40. Laxminarayana Yadav* | Backward Classes Welfare |

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CHIEF MINISTER: **Dr. M. CHANNA REDDY**

6th March 1978 to 1980

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--|
| 1. | Dr. M. Channa Reddy | General Administration, Land Reforms, Industries, Information, Excise, Law & Order |
| 2. | N. Amarnath Reddy | Co-operation |
| 3. | M. Baga Reddy | Panchayat Raj |
| 4. | P.V. Chowdhary* | Textiles |
| 5. | C Dass | Sugar Industry |
| 6. | M.M. Hashim* | Home |
| 7. | T. Hayagrivachary | Commerce & Technical Education |
| 8. | P. Ganga Reddy | Agriculture |
| 9. | N. Janardhan Reddy* | Land Revenue |
| 10. | A. Madan Mohan | Medical & Health |
| 11. | M. Manikya Rao | Highways, R & B |
| 12. | V. Nageshwar Rao* | Animal Husbandry |
| 13. | K.B. Narasappa | Small-scale Industries |
| 14. | K. Obul Reddy | Medium Irrigation |
| 15. | G. Rajaram | Finance & Power |
| 16. | B. Ramdev* | Municipal Administration |
| 17. | Mrs. Roda Mistry* | Tourism & Public Libraries |
| 18. | G.V. Sudhakar Rao* | Major Irrigation and Commercial Taxes |
| 19. | V. Venkat Narayana* | Endowments |
| 20. | B. Venkat Ram Reddy* | Education |
| 21. | Y. Venkat Rao | Planning, Law & Courts |
| 22. | G. Venkatswamy* | Labour & Employment |

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Ministers of State

23. Ahmed Shariff	Forests
24. N. Bhaskar Rao	Legislative Affairs
25. Nizam Wali	Wakfs & Small Savings
26. K.V.R. Padmanabha Raju	Tribal Welfare
27. S.V. Prasad	Marketing
28. G. Ramaswamy	Civil Supplies
29. K. Ranga Rao	Harijan Welfare
30. P. Seshavataram	Rural Development
31. A. Vengal Reddy	Transport
32. A. Veerappa	Fisheries
33. S. Venkat Reddy	Mines

CHIEF MINISTER: **T. ANJALIAH**
1980

1.	T. Anjaiah	Chief Minister
2.	Ahmed Shareef	Ports
3.	N. Amarnath Reddy	Co-operation
4.	M. Baga Reddy	Panchayat Raj
5.	Nadendla Bhaskara Rao	Small-scale Industries
6.	P.V. Choudary	Endowments
7.	C. Dass	Textiles
8.	T. Hayagrivachary	Technical Education
9.	Divi Kondaiah Choudary	Roads & Buildings
10.	A. Madan Mohan	Medical Services
11.	K. Obul reddy	Medium Irrigation
12.	K. Prabhar Reddy	Home
13.	G. Rajaram	Finance
14.	C. Rambhupal Reddy	Revenue
15.	B. Ramdev	Animal Husbandry
16.	Koneru Ranga Rao	Housing
17.	B. Sarojini Pulla Reddy	Municipalities
18.	P. Seshavatararam	Transport
19.	G. Sriramulu Naidu	Minor Irrigation
20.	Y. Venkata Rao	Agriculture
21.	A. Veerappa	Power
22.	B. Venkatarama Reddy	Education
23.	C. Jagannadha Rao	Excise
24.	M.A. Aziz	Forests
25.	N. Janardhan Reddy	Industries
26.	G.V. Sudhakar Rao	Major Irrigation
27.	Bhattam Sreeram Murthy	Girijan Welfare
28.	M. Manika Rao	Commercial Taxes
29.	E. Ayyapa Reddy	Courts and Law
30.	D. Munuswamy	Tourism

31. Chebrolu Hanumaiah	Marketing
32. G. Vedanta Rao	Rural Development
33. S. Venkata Reddy	Mines
34. T. Lakshmikanthamma	Women's Welfare
35. N. Srinivasulu Reddy	Sugar Industries
36. M.M. Hashim	Commerce and Export
37. R. Ramalingaraju	Ports
38. K. Rosaiah	Housing
39. K. Kesavarao	Small-Scale Industries
40. Chanumolu Venkatarao	Agriculture

Ministers of State

41. P. Janardhan Reddy	Co-operation
42. Paladugu Venkatarao	Panchayat Raj
43. K.E. Krishnamurthy	Excise
44. N. Narasappa	Handlooms
45. G. Prakasa Rao	Forests
46. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy	Medical Services
47. M. Srinivasa Rao	Education
48. V. Venkateswara Rao	Revenue
49. K. Satyanarayana Raju	Major Irrigation
50. M. Tulasidas	Medium Irrigation
51. D. Ravindra Naik	Girijan Welfare
52. B. Rukminidevi	Social Welfare
53. Ch. Parasurama Naidu	Fisheries
54. N. Chandrababu Naidu	Animal Husbandry
55. T. Bala Goud	Roads and Buildings
56. Alwar Das	Municipal Administration
57. Goka Ramaswamy	Transport
58. Gogineni Nageswara Rao	Agriculture
59. K. Papaiah	Electricity
60. M.N.Vijayalakshmi	Women's Welfare
61. K.V. Krishna Reddy	Ports
62. C. Rajanarasimha	Housing

CHIEF MINISTER: T. ANJIAH
SECOND MINISTRY 1980 to 1982

1. T. Anjaiah	Chief Minister
2. N. Amarnatha Reddy	Co-operation
3. E. Ayyapa Reddy	Law
4. M.A. Aziz	Forests
5. M. Baga Reddy	Major Industries
6. P.V. Choudary	Endowments
7. C. Dass	Minor Irrigation
8. Ch. Hanumaiah	Marketing
9. M.M. Hashim	Ports
10. T. Hayagrivachary	Technical Education
11. C. Jagannadha Rao	Home
12. N. Janardhana Reddy	Revenue
13. Divi Kondaiah Choudary	Roads and Buildings
14. A. Madan Mohan	Medical Services
15. M. Manikya Rao	Commercial Taxes
16. K. Prabhakara Rao	Finance
17. B. Ramdev	Animal Husbandry
18. K. Ranga Rao	Social Welfare
19. K. Rosaiah	Transport
20. B. Sarojini Pulla Reddy	Municipal Administration
21. Bhattam Sreerama Murthy	Cultural Affairs
22. N. Sreenivasulu Reddy	Panchayat Raj
23. G.V. Sudhakar Rao	Major Irrigation
24. A. Veerappa	Power
25. S. Venkata Reddy	Mines
26. B. Venkataram Reddy	Education
27. G. Venkataswamy	Labour
28. C. Rajanarsimha	Tourism

29. G. Ramaswamy	Fisheries
30. M. Tulasidas	Backward Classes Welfare
31. Paladugu Venkatarao	Rural Water Supply
32. M.N. Vijayalakshmi Devi	Women's Welfare
33. K. Kesava Rao	Small-Scale Industries
34. Ch. Venkatarao	Agriculture

Ministers of State

35. S. Alwar Das	Municipal Administration
36. N. Chandrababu Naidu	Libraries
37. Bala Goud	Sugar Industries
38. P. Janardhana Reddy	Youth Services
39. G. Nageswara Rao	Handlooms
40. Y.S. Rajashekara Reddy	Rural Development
41. D. Ravindra Naik	Girijan Welfare
42. K. Satyanarayana Raju	Housing
43. V. Venkateswara Rao	Ground Water

CHIEF MINISTER:
BHAVANAM VENKATRAM REDDY
February 1982 to Sept, 1982

1. B. Venkatram Reddy	Chief Minister
2. C. Jagannadha Rao	Home and Transport
3. N. Janardhana Reddy	Revenue and Power
4. Kona Prabhakara Rao	Finance
5. N. Amarnatha Reddy	Co-operation
6. M.A. Aziz	Forests
7. M. Baga Reddy	Major Industries
8. T. Bala Goud	Sugar Industries
9. P.V. Choudhary	Endowments
10. T. Hayagrivachary	Technical Education
11. K. Kesavarao	Education
12. A. Madan Mohan	Medical Services
13. M. Manik Rao	Roads and Buildings
14. Y.S. Rajashekara Reddy	Excise
15. C. Rambhupal Reddy	Panchayat Raj
16. B. Ramdev	Animal Husbandry
17. K. Ranga Rao	Social Welfare
18. B. Sarojini Pulla Reddy	Municipal Administration
19. Majji Tulasidas	Medium Irrigation
20. A. Veerappa	Handlooms
21. Chanumolu Venkatarao	Agriculture
22. Paladugu Venkatarao	Marketing
23. G. Venkataswamy	Civil Supplies
24. V. Venkateswara Rao	Small Industries

Ministers of State

1. S. Alwar Das	Education
2. N. Chandrababu Naidu	Minor Irrigation
3. P. Govardhan Reddy	Youth Services
4. P. Janardhan Reddy	Archives
5. G. Nageswara Rao	Commerce
6. I. Ramakrishna Raju	Tourism
7. D. Ravindra Naik	Underground Water
8. B. Sammaiah	Fisheries
9. B. Seshasayan Reddy	Housing
10. Ch. Syamala Rao	Girijan Welfare

CHIEF MINISTER:
K. VIJAYA BHASKAR REDDY
September 1982 to December, 1982

1. K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy	General Adminsitration, Information, Urban Land Ceiling, 20-point Programme & Housing
2. C. Jagannadha Rao	Industries
3. N. Janardhana Reddy	Agriculture
4. A. Madan Mohan	Revenue and Commercial Taxes
5. M.A. Aziz	Forests
6. M.V. Krishna Rao	Co-operatives
7. Kona Prabhakar Rao	Finance and Planning
8. M. Manik Rao	Roads and Buildings
9. B. Ramdev	Animal Husbandry
10. D. Munuswamy	Panchayat Raj
11. C. Alwar Dass	Social Welfare
12. B. Sarojini Pulla Reddy	Health and Medical Services
13. M. Baga Reddy	Transport
14. K. Rosaiah	Home
15. A. Veerappa	Minor Irrigation
16. Ch. Venkat Rao	Major and Minor Irrigation
17. N. Amarnath Reddy	Civil Supplies
18. Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy	Education
19. Ahmed Shareef	Trade and Commerce

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 20. V. Venkateswara Rao | Law Department |
| 21. K. Keshava Rao | Labour, Women's Welfare |
| 22. Paladugu Venkata Rao | Marketing |

Ministers of State

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 23. N. Chandrababu Naidu | Technical Education |
| 24. G. Nageswara Rao | Endowments |
| 25. I. Ramakrishna Raju | Excise |
| 26. P. Govardhan Reddy | Handloom Industry |
| 27. R. Vemanna | Municipal Administration |
| 28. Amarsingh Tilawat | Tourism |
| 29. P.V. Raghavulu | Fisheries |
| 30. B. Sammayya | Small-Scale Industries |
| 31. V. Sanyasi Naidu | Sugar and Village Industries |
| 32. V. Hanumantha Rao | Girijan Welfare |

CHIEF MINISTER: **N.T. RAMARAO**
FIRST CABINET
1983 January - 1984 August

1.	N.T. Rama Rao	Chief Minister
2.	N. Bhaskara Rao	Finance
3.	N. Srinivasulu Reddy	Roads & Buildings
4.	P. Mahendranath	Revenue
5.	S. Satyanarayana	Transport
6.	E. Anjaneyulu	Endowments
7.	K. Ramachandra Rao	Panchayat Raj
8.	P. Anand Gajapathi Raju	Education
9.	K. Jana Reddy	Agriculture
10.	S. Ramamuni Reddy	Medical & Health

Ministers of State

1.	Mrs. K. Pratibha Bharathi	Social Welfare
2.	M. Ramachandra Rao	Labour
3.	Y. Ramakrishnudu	Municipal Administration
4.	T. Jeevan Reddy	Excise
5.	Mohammad Shakir	Tourism

When Eli Anjaneyulu died, Mr. Harirama Jogaiah was inducted and given Home and Information portfolios.

CHIEF MINISTER: N. BHASKAR RAO

August 16 to September 16, 1984

1. N. Bhaskar Rao	Chief Minister
2. Jeevan Reddy	Excise
3. Ramamuni Reddy	Medical Services
4. S. Satyanarayana	Transport
5. Tangi Satyanarayana	Revenue
6. A. Bheem Reddy	Civil Supplies
7. M. Kishen Rao	Education
8. M. Ramachandra Rao	Labour
9. P. Ramaswami	Technical Education
10. M. Rambhoopal Choudary	Roads & Buildings
11. S.V. Subba Reddy	Power & Mines
12. Anam Venkata Reddy	Irrigation
13. C.R. Surender Reddy	Small Scale Industries
14. E.V. Gopalaraju	Endowments
15. V. Lakshminarayana	Industries
16. G. Mohan Reddy	Agriculture
17. G. Mallikarjun Rao	Housing
18. M. Narasaiah	Harijan Welfare
19. Mrs. Tripurana Venkataratnam	Municipal Administration
20. V.V. Narayana Reddy	Forests
21. Mrs. Nannapaneni Rajakumari	Cultural Affairs

CHIEF MINISTER: **N.T. RAMA RAO**
 SECOND CABINET
 September, 1984 to December 1984

1. N.T. Rama Rao	Chief Minister
2. N. Sreenivasulu Reddy	Finance
3. P. Mahendranath	Revenue
4. Ch. Harirama Jogaiah	Home
5. K. Jana Reddy	Panchayat Raj
6. Y. Ramakrishnudu	Municipal Administration
7. Mohd. Shakeer	Forests
8. Mrs. K. Pratibha Bharathi	Social Welfare
9. K. Ramachandra Rao	Co-operation
10. K. Narayana Swamy	Medium & Minor Irrigation
11. R. Rajagopala Reddy	Transport
12. Vasantha Nageswar Rao	Agriculture
13. A. Prabhakar Rao	Labour & Employment
14. A. Satyanarayana	Food & Civil Supplies
15. S. Ramachandra Reddy	Animal Husbandry & Fisheries
16. B.V. Mohan Reddy	R & B
17. N. Raja Reddy	Handlooms & Textiles
18. Areti Kotaiah	Marketing
19. Anand Gajapathi Raju	Medical & Health Services

Ministers of State

1. K. Appala Naidu	Endowments
2. G.M.K. Naidu	Education
3. D. Satyanarayana	Excise
4. N.A. Krishna	Small Scale Industries, Khadi & Village Industries
5. Boyina Rajaiah	S.C. Welfare
6. M. Narasimhulu	Mines & Geology
7. P. Chandrasekhar	Law
8. S. Rajeshwar	Tourism & Cultural Affairs

CHIEF MINISTER: **N.T. RAMA RAO**

THIRD CABINET

January 1985 to December 1989

1.	N.T. Rama Rao	Chief Minister
2.	N. Sreenivasulu Reddy	Revenue
3.	P. Mahendranath	Finance
4.	K. Jana Reddy	Transport
5.	K. Ramachandra Rao	Panchayat Raj
6.	Mrs. K. Pratibha Bharathi	Cultural Affairs & Women's Welfare
7.	Y. Ramakrishnudu	Co-operation
8.	R. Rajagopal Reddy	Agriculture
9.	Vasanth Nageswar Rao	Home
10.	S. Ramachandra Reddy	Small Scale Industries
11.	Muddu Krishnama Naidu	Education
12.	K.E. Krishnamurthy	Major Industries
13.	P. Yathiraja Rao	Endowments
14.	Ashok Gajapathi Raju	Commercial Taxes
15.	M. Padmanabham	Excise
16.	D. Satyanarayana	Mines

Ministers of State

1.	Ayyannapatrudu	Technical Education & Sports
2.	Farooq	Wakfs
3.	P. Indra Reddy	Labour Welfare
4.	M.S.S. Koteswara Rao	Medical & Health
5.	Mahipal Reddy	Forests
6.	G. Rama Rao	Harijan & Girijan Welfare
7.	Rajesham Goud	Law
8.	K. Kala Venkata Rao	Municipal Administration

Expanded on 14th May 1986

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. Patti Manemma | Women and Child Welfare,
Women's Employment
Schemes & Tourism |
| 2. H.B. Narse Goud | Law, Courts, Security and
Registration Act, Mines &
Geology |
| 3. M. Narsimhulu | Power |
| 4. M. Kasi Reddy | Handlooms, Textiles &
Sericulture |
| 5. T. Nageswara Rao | Minor Irrigation, Ground
Water & Drainage |

CHIEF MINISTER: **Dr. M. CHANNA REDDY**

3rd December 1989 to 1990

1.	Dr. M. Channa Reddy	Chief Minister
2.	R. Changa Reddy	Panchyat Raj
3.	J.C. Diwakar Reddy	Co-operation
4.	N. Janardhan Reddy	Agriculture
5.	M. Padmanabhan	Handlooms & Textiles
6.	Koneru Ranga Rao	Housing
7.	M. Ravindranath Chowdhury	Endowments
8.	K. Rosaiah	Finance & Power & Legislative Affairs
9.	D.K. Samarasimha Reddy	Revenue
10.	N. Srinivasulu Reddy	Road & Buildings, Mines & Geology
11.	G.V. Sudhakar Rao	Transport
12.	S. Venkata Reddy	Animal Husbandry
13.	Chittaranjan Das	Labour & Employment
14.	Geetha Reddy	Social Welfare
15.	K. Easwara Kumar	Technical Education
16.	Mond. Jani	Wakfs & Urdu Academy
17.	R. Samanthaka Mani	Women & Child Welfare
18.	M. Venkateswar Rao	Marketing
19.	V. Hanumantha Rao	Youth affairs & Sports

Expanded on Sept 25, 1990

20. Dr. Jagan Mohan Rao	Revenue & Commercial Taxes
21. Bhim Rao	Tribal Welfare
22. Kanumuri Bapiraju	Endowments & Legislative Affairs
23. Uma Venktaram Reddy	Housing & Minor Irrigation Mines & Geology
24. Chegondi Harirama Jogaiah	Information & Public Relations
25. Alluri Subhas Chandra Bose	Handlooms & Textiles
26. M. Narsimha Reddy	Municipal Administration, Law & Courts
27. Md. Ali Shabbir	Wakfs Boord & Urdu Academy
28. J. Chittaranjan Das	Labour & Employment
29. P. Jagan Mohan Rao	Revenue & Commercial Taxes.
30. G.V. Seshu	Diary Development Corporation and Lid Cap
31. D. Srinivas	B.C. Welfare, Sports & Youth Affairs

CHIEF MINISTER: **N. JANARDHAN REDDY**
MINISTRY 1990

1.	N. Janardhan Reddy	Chief Minister
2.	P. Ramachandra Reddy	Major Industries
3.	S. Venkata Reddy	Animal Husbandry and Fisheries
4.	M. Lakshmi Devi	Social Welfare
5.	Paladugu Venkata Rao	Civil Supplies
6.	P. Janardhan Reddy	Labour, Employment and Housing
7.	J.C. Divakar Reddy	Agriculture
8.	P. Sambasiva Raju	Transport
9.	D.L. Ravindra Reddy	Minor Irrigation & Power
10.	S. Santosh Reddy	Roads and Buildings
11.	Dr. G. Kuthuhallamma	Medical and Health
12.	K. Bhim Rao	Tribal Welfare, Printing and Stationary
13.	Mohd. Jani	Sugar Industry, Commerce & Export Promotion
14.	J. Chittaranjan Das	Backward Classes Welfare
15.	P. Padmanabham	Endowments
16.	M. Chandrasekhar	Forest
17.	J. Prasada Rao	Small Scale Industries - Village and Khadi.

CHIEF MINISTER
N. JANARDHANA REDDY
RECONSTITUTED COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Aug 5, 1991 to 1992

1.	N. Janardhan Reddy	Chief Minister
2.	K. Bapiraju	Commercial Taxes
3.	K. Bhim Rao	Tribal Welfare, Forests
4.	M. Chandra Shekhar	Small Scale Industries
5.	R. Changa Reddy	Forests
6.	Chittaranjan Das	B.C. Welfare
7.	R. Damodar Reddy	Ports, Ground water
8.	J.C. Diwakar Reddy	Roads & Buildings
9.	P. Ramachandra Reddy	Major Industries, Khadi & Village Industries
10.	P. Janardhan Reddy	Labour, Employment & Housing
11.	Dr. G. Kutuhamma	Women & Child Welfare
12.	Smt. M. Lakshmi Devi	Social Welfare
13.	Mohd. Jani	Sugar, Commerce & Engineering
14.	M.V. Mysoora Reddy	Home Affairs
15.	M. Narasimha Reddy	Municipal Administrations & Urban Development
16.	Pantam Padmanabham	Endowments
17.	Jalagam Prasada Rao	Panchayat Raj

18.	P. Rajam	Medium Irrigation
19.	C. Ramachandra Reddy	Minor Irrigation
20.	K. Rami Reddy	Marketing & Ware-Housing
21.	Dr. D.L. Ravindra Reddy	Revenue
22.	K. Rosaiah	Medical & Health
23.	D.K. Samarasimha Reddy	Law Courts
24.	P. Sambasiva Raju	Transport
25.	S. Santosh Reddy	Finance
26.	V. Rambhoopal Chowdary	Co-operation
27.	Smt. Uma Venkatram Reddy	Rural Development
29.	Sangeetham Venkata Reddy	Animal Husbandry & Dairy Development
31.	G. Gurunatha Rao.	Technical Education
32.	Madala Janakiram,	Mines & Geology
33.	P. Lakshmaiah	Fishries
34.	K. Lakshmi Narayana	Sports & Youth Services
35.	Dharmana Prasada Rao.	Handlooms and Textiles
36.	P.V. Ranga Rao	Primary Education, Secondary Education.
37.	D. Sreenivas	Sericulture & Self Employment.
39.	P. Venkat Rao	Civil Supplies

CHIEF MINISTER: **K. VIJAYA BHASKAR REDDY**

RECONSTITUTED MINISTRY Sep 8, 1993

1. K.Vijayabhaskar Reddy Chief Minister

Cabinet Ministers

2. P. Sambasiva Raju Sugar, Commerce & Export Promotion
3. Kudipudi Prabhakar Rao Commercial Taxes
4. Sangeetam Venkata Reddy Marketing
5. Ch. V. Harirama Jogaiah Small Scale Industries, Mines & Geology
6. Koneru Ranga Rao Social Welfare
7. Alapati Dharma Rao Home, Jails & Fire Services
8. J.C. Diwakar Reddy R & B and Ports
9. Smt. M. Lakshmi Devi Rural Development
10. M.V. Mysooru Reddy Transport
11. D.L. Ravindra Reddy Medical, Health & Family Welfare
12. Rambhoopal Chowdary Major Industries
13. D.K. Samarasimha Reddy Panchayat Raj & Rural Water Supply
14. K. Rami Reddy Revenue
15. P. Janardhan Reddy Civil Supplies
16. D. Sreenivas Information & Public Relations
17. K. Bheem Rao Tribal Welfare
18. P. Rajam Higher Education & Adult Education

19. K. Rosaiah	Finance, Planning & Legislative Affairs
20. M. Narasimha Reddy	Municipal Administration
21. P.V. Ranga Rao	Primary, Secondary Educations
22. N. Chandrashekhar	Endowments
23. K. Jana Reddy	Agriculture
24. P. Penchalaiah	Housing

State Ministers

25. D. Prasada Rao	Youth Welfare & Sports
26. P. Jagan Mohan Rao	Forest
27. B. Satya Rao	Medium Irrigation
28. Malladi Swami	Fisheris
29. Smt. M. Varalakshmi	Women & Child Welfare
30. M.K. Beigh	Technical Education
31. Kanaa Lakshmi Narayana	Labour & Employment
32. Gade Venkata Reddy	Excise & Prohibition
33. K. Yanadi Reddy	Co-operation
34. M. Raghuveera Reddy	Animal Husbandry
35. P. Shankar Rao	Minor Irrigation
36. Puli Veeranna	Handlooms & Textiles
37. M. Shashidhar Reddy	Environment & Pollution
38. D. Narasing Rao	Khadhi & Village Industries
39. Smt. J. Geetha Reddy	Culture & Tourism
40. Mohd. Ali Shabbeer	Minority Welfare, Wakf & Urdu Academy
41. G.M. Gaddenna	B.C. Welfare
42. P. Jagan Naik	Horticulture & Sericulture

CHIEF MINISTER
N.T. RAMA RAO
MINISTRY Dec 12, 1994

1. N.T. Rama Rao	Chief Minsiter
Cabinet Ministers	
2. Nara Chandra Babu Naidu	Revenue, Relief, Finance, Planning, Small Savings & Lotteries
3. Ashok Gajapati Raju	Commercial Taxes & Legislative Affairs
4. Ch. Aiyanna Patrudu	Roads & Buildings
5. Basheeruddin Babukhan	Minorites, Wakf & Urdu Academy
6. G. Buchaiah Chowdary	Civil Supplies, Weights & Measures
7. P. Chandra Shekhar	Transport
8. M. Damodar Reddy	Mines & Geology
9. T. Devendar Goud	B.C. Welfare, Cooperation & Prohibition
10. P. Indra Reddy	Home, Jails & Fire Services
11. A. Madhava Reddy	Health & Medical Education
12. B.V. Mohana Reddy	Municipal Administration & Urban Development
13. Mudddu Krishnama Naidu	Higher Education & Intermediate Education
14. Dr. M. Peda Rathaiah	Medium Irrigation & Drainage
15. Smt. K. Pratibha Bharathi	Social Welfare & Women Welfare
16. M. Narsimhulu	Tourism, Culture & Museums

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 17. Devineni Raja Shekhar | Technical Education |
| 18. Chikkala Ramachandra Rao | Primary Education &
Secondary Education |
| 19. Karanam Ramachandra Rao | Panchayat Raj |
| 20. Paritala Ravi | Labour |
| 21. S. Satyanarayana | Endowments |
| 22. D. Veerabhadra Rao | Information & Public
Relations |
| 23. K. Vidyadhara Rao | Agriculture, Horticulture &
Sericulture |

State Ministers

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 24. P. Brahmaiah | Small Scale Industries |
| 25. G. Nagesh | S.T. Welfare |
| 26. Pranay Bhaskar | Sports & Youth Services |
| 27. Prasanna Kumar Reddy | Sugar & Commerce |
| 28. P. Rama Rao | Animal Husbandry |
| 29. P. Rama Subba Reddy | Forest & Environment |
| 30 T. Seetha Ram | Courts & Justice |
| 31. K. Sreehari | Marketing & Warehousing |
| 32. K. Subba Rayudu | Housing |

CHIEF MINISTER
N. CHANDRABABU NAIDU
FIRST MINISTRY Sep 1, 1995

1. N. Chandra Babu Naidu Chief Minsiter

Cabinet Ministers

2. Ashok Gajapati Raju	Finance & Planning
3. Devendar Goud	Revenue, Relief & Rehabilitation
4. A. Madhava Reddy	Home, Jails & Fire Services
5. K. Vidyadhara Rao	Panchayat Raj, Rural De- velopment & Rural Water Supply
6. Nandamuri Harikrishna	Transport
7. Ch. Aiyanna Patrudu	R & B, Courts
8. M. Simhadri Satyanarayana	Endowments
9. T. Seetha Ram	Municipal Administration & Urban Development

State Ministers

10. Kadiyam Sreehari	Social Welfare
11. G. Nagesh	Tribal Welfare

N. CHANDRABABU NAIDU

Expanded Ministry October 1995

Cabinet Ministers

12. Kodela Sivaprasad	Major & Medium Irrigation
13. Basheeruddin Babukhan	Higher Education
14. Tummala Nageswara Rao	Minor Irrigation
15. Suddala Devayya	Co-operation
16. S. Venugopalachari	Information & Tourism
17. S.V. Subba Reddy	Agriculture
18. B. Veera Reddy	Animal Husbandry & Fisheries
19. K. Jayaram	Housing
20. Smt. Evuuri Setharamamma	Women & Child Welfare

State Ministers

21. T. Ramesh Reddy	Markets
22. B. Durga Prasada Rao	Secondary Education
23. T. Sreenivas Yadav	Labour & Employment
24. N. Janardhan Reddy	Prohibition
25. G. Hanumantha Rao	Civil Supplies
26. L. Ramana	Handlooms & Textiles

CHIEF MINISTER
N. CHANDRABABU NAIDU
SECOND MINISTRY Oct, 11 1999

1 N. Chandra Babu Naidu Chief Minister

Cabinet Ministers

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 2. Ashok Gajapati Raju | Revenue |
| 3. T. Devendar Goud | Home & Jails |
| 4. A. Madhava Reddy
(Died in Naxalite blast
His wife Uma inducted
into cabinet.) | Panchayat Raj & Rural
Development. |
| 5. B.V. Mohana Reddy | Transport |
| 6. Yanamala Rama Krishnudu | Finance & Planning |
| 7. Vadde Sobhanadreeswara Rao | Agriculture |
| 8. K. Vijaya Rama Rao | R & B and Ports |
| 9. Smt. S. Saraswathi | Women & Child Welfare |

(Expanded Later)

CHIEF MINISTER
N. CHANDRABABU NAIDU
 RECONSTITUTED MINISTRY Nov 27, 2001

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. N. Chandra Babu Naidu | General Administration and portfolios not allotted to other Ministers |
| 2. P. Ashok Gajapathi Raju | Revenue, Relief and Rehabilitation. |
| 3. Ch. Aiyyana Patrudu | Forests, Environment, Science & Technology. |
| 4. S. Chandramohan Reddy | Information & Public Relations |
| 5. P. Chandrasekhar | Law and Courts |
| 6. T. Devender Goud | Home, Jails, Fire Services, Sainik Welfare, Film Development Corporation, Cinematography, NCC |
| 7. M.D Farooq | Municipal Administration, Urban Development, Minorities Welfare, Wakf & Urdu Academy |
| 8. B. Gopalakrishna Reddy | Employment generation, Information Technology enabled services, Small Scale Industries, Khadi & Village Industries, LIDCAP & DWACRA. |
| 9. N. Janardhana Reddy | Medical, Health & Family Welfare. |
| 10. B.V. Mohan Reddy | Transport |
| 11. T. Nageswara Rao | Roads & Buildings & Ports |

12. K.E. Prabhakar	Minor Irrigation, Irrigation Development Corporation, Ground Water Development & Sericulture.
13. J.R. Pushparaj	Social Welfare
14. Chikkala Ramachandra Rao	Co-operation.
15. Karanam Ramachandra Rao	Higher Education
16. Y. Ramakrishnudu	Finance, Planning, Small Savings, Lotteries & Legislative Affairs
17. P. Ramasubba Reddy	Housing
18. S. Saraswati	Women & Child Welfare
19. T. Seetaram	Prohibition & Excise
20. K. Sivaprasada Rao	Food, Civil Supplies, Legal, Metrology & Consumer Affairs
21. D. Sivarama Raju	Endowments
22. V. Sobhanadreeswara Rao	Agriculture
23. K. Srihari	Major Irrigation & Medium Irrigation
24. P. Srinivasa Reddy	Panchayat Raj, Rural Development, Rural Water Supply, Drainage & Employment.
25. T. Srinivasa Yadav	Tourism & Culture
26. K. Subbarayudu	Energy, Coal & Boilers
27. M. Venkateswara Rao	School Education, Adult Education, Libraries, Museums, Archeology & Archives
28. K. Vidyadhar Rao	Major Industries, Commerce & Export Promotion
29. K. Vijayarama Rao	Commercial Taxes
30. A. Uma Madhava Reddy	Mines & Geology

Ministers of State (Independent Charge):

32. D. Anjaneyulu	Marketing & Warehousing
33. P. Bhoomanna	Handlooms & Textiles, Printing & Stationary
34. M. Damodar Reddy	Technical Education & Training
35. S. Devaiah	Labour & Factories
36. N. Kishtappa	Animal Husbandry & Dairy
37. M. Manikumari	Tribal Welfare and Disabled Welfare
38. N. Narasimha Rao	Backward Class Welfare & Fisheries
39. P. Narayanaswamy Naidu	Sugar & Horticulture
40. P. Ramulu	Sports & Youth Services, Chief Minister's Employment Programme

CHIEF MINISTER
DR. Y. S. RAJASEKHARA REDDY
MINISTRY April, 2004

Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy	Chief Minister & General Administration, Law & all other Portfolios not allotted to other ministers
Sri Konijeti Rosaiah	Finance, Planning, Small Savings, Lotteries & Legislative Affairs
Md. Ali Shabbir	Energy, Coal, Minorities Welfare, Wakf & Urdu Academy
Sri J.C. Diwakar Reddy	Panchayat Raj
Mohammad Fareeduddin	Cooperation
Dr. J. Geetha Reddy	Major Industries, Sugar, Commerce & Export Promotion
Sri K. Jana Reddy	Home, Jails, Fire Services & Sainik Welfare
Sri Ponnala Lakshmiah	Major Irrigation & Medium Irrigation
Sri Kanna Lakshmi Narayana	Transport
Sri D. Prasada Rao	Revenue, Relief & Rehabilitation & Urban Land Ceiling
Sri N. Raghuveera Reddy	Agriculture, Agriculture Technology Mission, Horticulture, Sericulture & Rain Shadow Area Development

Smt. N. Rajya Lakshmi	Women Development & Child Welfare, Disabled Welfare & Juvenile Welfare
Sri K. Rama Krishna	Commercial Taxes
Sri J. Ramamohan Rao	Excises & Prohibition
Sri Koneru Ranga Rao	Municipal Administration & Urban Development
Sri D. Redya Naik	Tribal Welfare, Remote & Interior Areas Development
Smt. B. Sabitha Reddy	Mines & Geology, Handlooms & Textiles, Spinning Mills
Sri B. Satyanarayana	Housing, Weaker Section Housing Programme, A.P. Cooperative Housing Societies Federation, Housing Board
Sri Gollapalli Surya Rao	Small Scale Industries and Khadi & Village Industries Board
Sri P. Venkateswara Rao	Rural Water Supply
Sri S. Vijayarama Raju	Forest, Environment, Science & Technology
Sri G. Vinod	Labour, Employment, Factories & Boilers
Smt. Galla Aruna Kumari	Medical Education & Health Insurance
M. Hanumantha Rao	Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, DPEP, Adult Education, Open Schools, Public Libraries, Jawahar Bal Bhavan, Mahila Samata Society, State Institute of Educational Technology

T. Jeevan Reddy	Roads & Buildings
R. Mukesh Goud	B.C. Welfare
Anam Ramanarayana Reddy	I&PR, Tourism, Cinematography, Culture Archaeology & Museums, Archives Endowments, Stamps & Registration
P. Subash Chandra Bose	Social Welfare
K. Venkata Krishna Reddy	Food, Civil Supplies, Legal Metrology, Consumer Affairs
M. Venkata Raman Rao	Infrastructure & Investment Ports, Airports, Natural Gas
Maganti Venkateswara Rao	Minor Irrigation, APIDC, Lift Irrigation, A.P. Water Resource Dev. Corporation, Walamtari Ground Water Development
V. Venkateswara Rao	Vaidya Vidhana Parishad & Hospital Services
Mandali Budha Prasad	Animal Husbandary, Dairy Development, Veterinary University, Fishers
Sambhani Chandrasekhar	Health & Family Welfare
R. Chenga Reddy	Law & Court, Technical Education & Industrial Training Institutes
G. Chinna Reddy	Rural Development NREGP, Self Help Group
C. Damodar Rajanarsimha	School Education, Government Examinations, SCERT, Text Book Press, Residential Schools Society, Hyderabad Public School
R. Damodar Reddy	Information Technology, Communications, Youth Services & Sports

CHIEF MINISTER
DR. Y. S. RAJASEKHARA REDDY
April 2009 to 2-9-2009

Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy	Chief Minister
P Sudarshan Reddy	Medical Education
D. Sridhar Babu	Higher Education & NRI Affairs
Damodar Raja Narasimha	Marketing & Warehousing
V. Sunitha Laxma Reddy	Minor Irrigation, A.P. Irrigation Development Corporation, Lift Irrigation, Ground Water Development & WALAMTARI
J. Geeta Reddy	I & PR, Cinematography, FDC, Tourism, Archaeology, Museums, Archives & Culture
P. Sabita Indra Reddy	Home, Jails, Fire Services, Sainik Welfare, Printing & Stationery
D. Nagender	Health & Family Welfare, APVVP & Hospital Services
M. Mukhesh Goud	B.C. Welfare
D.K. Aruna	Small Scale Industries, Sugar, Khadi & Village Industries
J. Krishna Rao	Food, Civil Supplies, Legal Metrology & Consumer Affairs

Komatireddy Venkat Reddy	IT, Youth Services & Sports, Communications
P. Lakshmaiah	Major & Medium Irrigation, A.P. Water Resource Develop. Corpn.
Konda Surekha	Women Development & Child Welfare, Disabled Welfare & Juvenile Welfare
R. Venkat Reddy	Cooperation, Labour, Employment, Factories & Boilers
S. Vijayaramaraju	Transport
D. Prasada Rao	Revenue, Relief, Rehabilitation, U.L.C.
B. Satyanarayana	Panchayat Raj
P. Balaraju	Tribal Welfare & R.I.A.D.
P. Subash Chandra Bose	Social Welfare
P. Viswarupu	Rural Water Supply
Pitani Satyanarayana	Arogya Sree, Health Insurance, Medical Infrastructure
V. Vasant Kumar	Rural Development, IKP, Pensions, NREGP & Self Help Groups
K. Pardha Saradhi	Animal Husbandry, Dairy Development, Fisheries & Veterinary University
M.V. Raman Rao	Law & Courts, Technical Education & ITIs

Gade Venkata Reddy	Endowments, Stamps & Registration
Kanna Lakshmi Narayana	Major Industries, Commerce, Export, Promotion & Food Processing
D. Manikya Vara Prasada Rao	Secondary Education, Government Examinations, A.P. Residential Educational Institutions Socety, Hyderabad Public School & Intermediate Education
K. Rosaiah	Finance, Planning, Small Savings, Lotteries & Legislative Affairs
B. Srinivasa Reddy	Mines & Geology, Handlooms & Textiles, Spinning Mills
Anam Rama Narayana Reddy	Municipal Administration & Urban Development
Mohd. Ahmadulla Syed	Minorities Welfare, Wakf, Urdu Academy, Primary Education, SSA, Adult Education, AP Open Schools Socety, Jawahar Bal Bhavan, A.P. Mahila Samata Socety, SIET, Public Libraries, SCRET & A.P. Text Book Press

C. Silpa Mohan Reddy	Housing, Weaker Section Housing Programme, A.P. Coop. Housing Societies Federation & A.P. Housing Board
N. Raghuveera Reddy	Agriculture, Agriculture Technology Mission, Horticulture, Sericulture & R.S.A.D.
P. Ramachandra Reddy	Forest, Environment, Science & Technology
G. Aruna Kumari	Roads & Buildings

Defections

Indian politicians are known for their defections for power. They evolved indigenous methods to support their actions. They split the party and circumvent the defection laws. Here is a typical example of famous and not so famous defectors in Centre and particularly in Andhra Pradesh.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Chowdary Charan Singh Ex- P.M. | Congress - Bharatiya Kranti Dal - Bharatiya Lok Dal - Janata - Lok Dal |
| 2. Chandra Sekhar | Praja Socialist Congress - Janata - Janata Dal (S) |
| 3. Jagjeevan Ram Deputy P.M. | Congress - Congress for Democracy - Janata - Congress (U) |
| 4. N.G. Ranga | Congress - Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party - Krishikar Lok Party - United Congress - Congress - Swatantra - Congress |
| 5. T. Prakasam Ex. Chief Minister | Congress - Swarajya - Congress - Praja Party - Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party - Praja Socialist - Congress. |
| 6. Dr. M. Channa Reddy Chief Minister, Governor, Central Minister | Congress - Socialist Democratic Party - Congress - Telangana Praja Samithi - Congress - National Democratic Party - Congress. |
| 7. J.B. Kripalani | Congress - Kisan Mazdoor Party - Praja Socialist Party - Bharatiya Kranti Dal - Janata |
| 8. Humayun Kabir | Congress - Jana Congress - Bangla Congress - Bharatiya Kranti Dal. |

9. Subrahmanya Swamy Jana Sangh - Janata - Janata (S)
- 10.N. Sanjiva Reddy Congress - Congress (O)- Janata

ANDHRA PRADESH

1. N. Bhaskar Rao Congress - Telugu Desam - Democratic Telugu Desam - Congress.
2. Tanneti Viswanatham Congress - Praja Party - Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party - Praja Socialist - Janata
3. G. Latchanna Congress - Krishikar Lok - United Congress - Socialist Democrat - Swatantra - Bharatiya Lok Dal - Janata - Andhra Pradesh Janata - Lok Dal - DMKP
4. P.V.G. Raju Socialist - Praja Socialist - Socialist Democrat - Congress
5. P. Thimma Reddy Congress - Krishikar Lok - Congress - Janata - Janata-S - Congress-I.
6. Bhattam Sriram Murthy Socialist - Praja Socialist - Congress U - Congress-I - Telugu Desam
7. K. Rosaiah Krishikar Lok - Swatantra - Congress-O - Congress-I.
8. Pidathala Ranga Reddy Congress - Janata - Congress-I - Telugu Desam
9. Kakani Venkatarathnam Congress - Socialist Democratic - Congress
- 10.K. Prabhakar Reddy
Ex. Minister Congress - Janata - Janata-S - Congress-I

11. Kandula Obul Reddy	Congress - Krishikar Lok - Socialist - Democratic - Swatantra - Congress-I.
12. B. Ratnasabhpathy	Socialist - Swatantra - Congress - Congress-I - Telugu Desam
13. Rebala Dasarathram Reddy	Congress - Congress-O - Janata - Congress-I
14. G.C. Kondaiah	Communist Socialist - Socialist - Socialist Democratic - Congress - Congress-O - Janata
15. K.E. Krishna Murthy	Congress - Telugu Desam - Democratic Telugu Desam - Telugu Desam - Democratic Party - Congress-I - Telugu Desam
16. T. Lakshmi Kanthamma	Communist - Socialist - Congress - Janata - Congress-I
17. Ch. Kasaiah	Congress - Janata - Praja Samithi - Congress-I - Telugu Desam
18. Konda Laxaman Bapuji	Congress - Telangana Congress - Janatantra Samaj - Janata - Telugu Desam
19. Kotha Raghuramaiah	Congress - Janata - Congress-I
20. A. Indrakaran Reddy	TDP - Cong
21. Ch. Rajeshwara Rao	CPI - TDP
22. U. Krishnam Raju	Congress - BJP - Prajarajyam
23. SBK Satyanarayana Rao	Congress - BJP
24. Thota Subba Rao	Congress - TDP - Congress
25. Vijaya Kumar Raju	Congress - TDP - Congress

26. P. Upendra	TDP - Congress - Prajarajyam
27. P. Shiva Shankar	Congress - Prajarajyam
28. Ch. Harirama Jogaiah	Congress - TDP - Congress - Prajarajyam
29. Danam Nagender	TDP - Congress
30. Gali Muddu Krishnama Naidu	TDP - BJP - Congress - TDP
31. C. Ramachandraiah	TDP - Prajarajyam
32. Devander Goud	TDP - Nava Telangana - PRP-TDP

Political Heredity

Motilal Nehru in a calculated move encouraged his son Jawaharlal to be a close associate to Gandhiji. Then started hereditary politics in India. Jawaharlal deliberately put his daughter into Congress politics. Indira Gandhi brought her son Sanjay into stormy politics. When he died in accident, she brought her reluctant son Rajiv into Congress politics. Heredity in politics was accepted by people by virtue of familiarity which breeds consent and contempt too.

Others followed their example, when politician dies, political parties exploit the sentiments of people by choosing the near relative as candidate.

Charan Singh	(Son)	Ajit singh
Jagjivan Ram	(Son)	Suresh
Govind Vallabh Pant	(Son)	K.C. Panth
P.V. Narasimha Rao	(Son)	P.V. Ranga Rao
J. Vengal Rao	(Son)	J. Prasada Rao
Siva Sankar	(Son)	Sudhir Kumar
Dr. M. Channa Reddy	(Son)	Sashidhar Reddy
Kona Prabhakar Rao	(Son)	K. Govinda Rao
Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy	(Son)	Prakasa Reddy
T. Anjaiah	(Wife)	Manemma, M.P.
K. Brahmananda Reddy	(Brother's Son)	Venkata Krishna Reddy
Amarnath Reddy	(Son)	Kiran Kumar
P. Thimma Reddy	(Son)	Changal Reddy
D. Sanjeevaiah	(Wife)	Krishna Veni

Alluri Satyanarayana Raju	(Wife)	Annapurnamma
	(Son)	A.Subhas Chandraraju
A.C. Subba Reddy	(Son)	A. Sanjiv Reddy
Alapati Venkataramaiah	(Daughter)	Indira
Narasimha Reddy	(Wife)	Ratnamma
Muktyala Raja	(Wife)	Rajyalakshmamma
S. Venkatarama Reddy	(Wife)	Uma
G. Bapanaiah, CPM	(Wife)	Suryavathi
Raja of Tuni	(Daughter)	Vijayalakshmi
Chadalavada Venkat Rao	(Wife)	Mrs. Venkat Rao
G. Raja Ram	(Wife)	Sushila
P. Seshavataram	(Wife)	Kalikamba
Eli Anjaneyulu	(Wife)	Varalakshmi
Vangaveeti Mohan Ranga Rao	(Wife)	V. Ratna Kumari
Madhava Reddy	(Wife)	Uma
Indra Reddy	(Wife)	Sabitha
Chiranjeevi	(Brother)	Pavan Kalyan
	(Brother)	Naga Babu
	(Brother-in-law)	Allu Aravind
K. Chendra Sekhar Rao	(Son)	Rama Rao
	(Nephew)	Harish Rao
Botsha Satyanarayana	(Wife)	Jhansi
	(Brother)	Appala Narasaiah
N. Bhaskar Rao	(Son)	N. Manohar
Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy	(Son)	Y.S. Jagan

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