

the steel industry which should draw upon foreign money and services as essentially an export industry and derive maximum advantage from such a transaction. The present government does not; subscribe to this philosophy and stakes a claim to being 'modern' and in favour of industrialisation of the country. When it, therefore, pursues Patnaik's path for the steel industry, the position becomes even more ominous. It has to be seen as part of a wider tie-up that is in view with international capital in the industrial development plans of the regime.

The arrangements for the setting up of the Paradip steel plant as also the ones earlier agreed to for the Orissa aluminium complex, in fact, fall into place in a wider framework of the present government's economic policy. If a bid is made for a large loan from IMF under its extended financing facility to meet the balance of payments deficit arising out of meeting the maintenance and consumption requirements of the domestic economy, core-sector development projects are proposed to be handed over to foreign agencies for construction on turnkey basis and with foreign financing to the maximum extent. It is to be foreign dependence all the way. Foreign support for the running of the economy and its growth becomes

in this scheme of things not supplementary to indigenous resources but their substitute to the point of deliberately deciding that, even available resources in men and materials as in the case of steel, will not be utilised or will be utilised to the minimum extent possible.

The present government and its leading spokesmen are shy of admitting export-led growth as the objective of their policy and planning; they prefer to characterise their effort as one directed towards building up a special export sector which would eventually be big enough to pay for current imports and meet the repayment obligations on credits which they are recklessly seeking. But the line of demarcation between export-led growth and the so-called plans for a special export sector is meaningless, if not wholly deceptive. This is clear from the latest decision on the Paradip steel project and the arrangements for its construction, financing and management. Things are going so far that in the case of the Vizag steel plant, being constructed with Soviet collaboration, the Indian side has approached the Soviet authorities to maximise the import content of the project on the plea that India did not have rupees to spare and would like to use foreign supplies and credits to the maximum extent possible.

quite a notorious and oppressive landlord who had a lot of land in Odedu; moreover he had grabbed about 1,500 acres of forest land in neighbouring Manthani taluka of Karimnagar district. Hand-in-glove with Narayana Reddy were a bunch consisting of the patwari, a couple of teachers and a gentleman who apparently does nothing to earn his living; Mao Tsetung's term 'evil gentry' describes these people aptly. They would mediate between quarrelling people, fine the 'wrong-doer', and swallow half the fine as mediator's fees. They would collect money from the people to get them pattas for land, even when they were legally entitled to these. They would collect 'tax' from those who have traditionally tilled the dry bed of the village tank ('sikhama' land) during the summer months. And they would, of course, molest women. They resented the incursions into their domain by the Radical Youth League (RYL) which had, as part of its annual 'go to the villages' campaign, started propaganda in Enchepalli and neighbouring Velisala. They got an RYL leader, Nnpuraj, arrested. However, it is widely believed that those who killed Narayana Reddy were not the RYL boys, but some people from Manthani.

The second murder, on July 7, was that of a railway employee called Kumaraswamy at Kadipikonda in Warangal taluka, a few kms from Kazipet railway junction. Kadipikonda has recently been in the news because of the activities of the RYL. In March this year the RYL boys of that village had got hold of a trader who was underweighing goods and in a fit of over-enthusiasm shaved his head, sat him on a donkey, and taken him around the village. This initiated a bitter feud between the RYL on one side and the local Congress (I) bosses (backed by a minister who hails from Warangal) and the police on the other. At the time of the RYL's state conference at Warangal in May, a delegation of RYL boys from Kadipikonda proceeding to the conference was laid upon and attacked with axes injuring 48 people, two of them seriously. It is this long-standing quarrel that led to the death of Kumaraswamy who is described as a 'police agent'.

The other two murders are those of a landlord Nukala Narayana Reddy of Upparigudem in Mahabubabad taluka on July 11, and Perumandla Jagannadham, a CPI(M) leader, at Gurthur village, also in Mahabubabad, on July

ANDHRA PRADESH

Police Repression in Warangal

K Balagopal

"A MASSIVE hunt is on for underground extremists in Warangal district and the Superintendent of Police...is confident of rounding up the major Naxalite leaders within the next fortnight" said an Express News Service (ENS) report dated July 28. The DSP is quoted as having said to ENS: "We have clipped the wings of the underground cadre and they cannot escape the police dragnet for long."

That a massive hunt is on is quite true. That its aim is only to round up 'underground extremists' is patently false: And the DSP's avowed confidence that he will mop up 'the major Naxalite leaders within the next fortnight' is mere whistling in the dark. But to continue with the DSP's statement, he said that, as of July 28, 124 'extremists' belonging to different groups have

been arrested (the number grew to 193 by the first week of August). The context of the arrests was "extremist violence in the district earlier this month resulting in the murder of four persons". He also disclosed that "investigations further revealed that various groups of extremists were being hired by village leaders and landlords to settle scores with their enemies".

The number of 193 arrests reported in the Press merely indicates that the police have chosen to produce that many people in court. The actual number is nearer 250. As for the context for these arrests, the details about the four murders mentioned by the DSP are as follows:

The first was that of Kasarla Narayana Reddy of Enchepalli in Chityal taluka on July 3. Narayana Reddy was

18. Narayana Reddy is believed to have been killed by his farm-servant, and not by any 'extremist' The CPI(M) leader Jagannadham, who is president of the toddy tappers association, was in all probability a victim of the Congress (I)CPI (M) feud that has bedevilled Warangal during the last three years. Only two years ago, on August 14, 1979, an attempt had been made on the life of CBI(M) MLA Omkar in Mahabubabad town.

All this is certainly known to the police. That is to say they know perfectly well that of the four murders mentioned by the DSP only one can be attributed to naxalites in Warangal, and even in that case, according to the July 28 statement of the DSP, "15 members of the RYL who had allegedly killed Kumaraswamy, have surrendered to the police".

And yet, 250 alleged extremists have been arrested and subjected to torture that has become routine with the police. Not only that; while only one of the four murders took place in Warangal taluka and none in Jangaon, the overwhelming majority of the arrests have been from these two talukas. The 124 arrests mentioned by the DSP were made from a total of eight places, of which six are in Warangal taluka; and according to knowledgeable people, out of the 250 arrests made so far 60 are from Jangaon where the only violence has been that of the police and landlords. The only thing the 'extremists' have done in Jangaon is to successfully lead a strike by farm-servants for a 50 per cent increase in their annual wages.

Indeed a look at the police raj let loose in this district shows that the four murders constitute only an excuse. After all, just one taluka of Narsampet has seen 30 murders in the CPI(M)-Congress(I) feud of the last three years, and no such eradication operation has ever been contemplated.

Here are a few samples: on July 19 the DSP, in the company of a circle inspector and a sub-inspector raided a library of the RYL in Warangal town and took away books worth Rs 800, 2 carpets, 2 pairs of clothes and photographs of dead CPI(ML) leaders; they beat up and arrested a boy who was sleeping there and warned the owners of the room not to let out rooms to RYL people. The performance was repeated twelve days later in a different part of the same town. A day prior to the state-wide civic polls of August 9, the police in Warangal arrested (and beat UP severely in lock-up) seven RYL

boys who were campaigning for boycott OP the elections. While all the Marxist-Leninist groups and associated organisations hate suffered at the hands of the police, the taunt of the brutality appears to have been borne by the RYL, a very conspicuous and militant organisation which has all along been a special target of the police. This is particularly true of villages like Kadipikonda where the police have the full backing of an influential minister.

The reason for all this is not very clear. One possibility is that the state government is acting under Central pressure. It is probably no accident that a newspaper report from New Delhi that appeared only two days prior to the DSP's statement quoted at the begin-

ning says that Andhra is "the state worst affected by extremist violence" and that the "Home Ministry would like the states to evolve a proper mix of ameliorative and stringent administrative measures to cope with this problem". The Andhra Pradesh government no doubt took the implied hint that if 'ameliorative measures' are likely to take too much time and effort, there is no reason why 'stringent administrative measures should wait. Another possibility is that the DSP is reacting, to the rumour that he might be transferred and replaced by his more militant (so to say) colleague from neighbouring Nalgonda who has successfully superintended five encounters within, ten months.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Trade Union's Rights

A G Noorani

THE Judgment of Justice Dbarmathikari in the case of Federation of Western India Cine Employees vs Filmalaya Private Ltd is of more than ordinary interest. It is very relevant because it strikes a blow for trade unions' rights and, thus, runs, counter to the Establishments anti-labour approach.

The facts of the case were simple. Filmalaya Private Ltd owned and let out on hire the Filmalaya Studio to various film producers and afforded them the usual facilities. The Federation of Western India Cine Employees is a trade union registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926. Way back in December 1979 it made various demands on behalf of 19 workers in the studio and alleged unfair practices such as that the workers were shown-as temporary employees of sister concerns. It also complained of the dismissal of a worker. The company claimed that in January 1980 it closed down the business of the concerned department after terminating the services of permanent employees and that the 19 workers were not its employees at all. On May 3, 1980 the Federation sent a letter to all its affiliates which read as follows:

This is to bring to your notice that there was a strike in the Filmalaya Studio since the last two months in support of certain demands of the workmen, including reinstatement of two active workers belonging to the Indian Motion Picture Employees' Union (our affiliate), whose services were terminated illegally and by way of victimisation. The management

consistently trying to break the strike. In the interest of solidarity and to support the just cause of the Filmalaya workers, you, are, advised to direct your members forthwith not to report for any shooting and/or work at Filmalaya Studio till further advice from us. This directive is in respect of the shooting and/or any work at Filmalaya Studio only and not against any particular films.

The company filed a suit against the Federation in the Bombay City Civil Court and as an interim relief, pending the disposal of the suit, obtained an injunction which restrained the Federation and its affiliates and members from doing any of the following acts:

(i) Acting upon, enforcing, implementing or taking or continuing any step, action or proceeding for enforcement or implementation of the directions contained in the letter dated May 3, 1980 and/or the ban imposed by the federation and various bodies or associations of cine artists, technicians and workers affiliated to it on their respective members reporting for any shooting and/or work at the studio.

(ii) Preventing or obstructing the plaintiffs' staff/and/or any of the producers of cinematograph films, cine artists, technicians and workers and/or visitors from entering into or working at the studio;

(iii) Entering into remaining or being upon and/or squatting in or around or near about the Studio and the entrance and exits thereof;

(iv) Damaging, destroying or causing