# BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Brook, The Law of Civilization and Decay, (London: Sonnenschein, 1895).

Adams, John and Mohammad Iqbal, Exports, Politics, and Economic Development:

Pakistan 1970-1982, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983).

Addleton, Jonathan, Undermining the Centre: The Gulf Migration and Pakistan, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Ahluwalia, Isher Judge, "Trade Policy and Industrialisation in India," (Bombay: Exim Bank of India, 1992).

Alimed, Emajuddin, Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Ecanomic Growth: Pakistan and Bangladesh, (Dacca: University Press, 1980).

Ahmed, Muneer, "The November Mass Movement in Pakistan," Aspects of Pakistan's Politics and Administration, (Lahore: University of the Punjab, 1974).

Ahmed, Viqar, and Rashid Arajad, The Management of Pakistan's Political Economy, 1947-82, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Alavi, Hamza "The State in Postcolonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh," in Kathleen Gough and Hari Sharma, eds, Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 145-73.

Alavi, Hamza, "Class and State," in Pakiston: The Roots of Dictatorship, (London: Zed Books, 1983).

Ali, Ashraf, "Trade Unions in Pakistan," mimeograph, 1991.

Ali, Karamat, (Multan), "Labour Legislation and Trade Unions," mimeograph, n.d. Ali, Tariq, Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State, (London: Verso, 1983).

Ali, Tariq, "The Colour Khaki," New Left Review, 19, (January-February 2003).

Allana, G., ed., Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents, (Karachi: Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, 1967).

Amjad, Rashid and Khalid Mahmood, Industrial Relations and the Political Process in Pakistan, 1947-77, (Geneva: International Iustitute for Labour Studies, 1982).

Amsden, Alice, Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Amsden, Alice, The Rise of "The Rest": Challenges to the West from Late-Industrializing Economies, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Anderson, Perry, "The Limits and Possibilities of Trade Union Action," in Robin Blackburn and Alexander Cockburn, eds, *The Incompatibles*, (London: Penguin, 1967), 263-80.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ansari, Khizar Humayan, "Roots of Muslim Socialist Activity and Labour Organization in Pre-Partition India," paper presented at the Conference on Labour in Pakistan, Karachi, December 26-28, 1999.

Aristotle, The Basic Works of Aristotle, Richard McKeon, ed., (New York: Random House, 1941).

Arunchalam, M., "Design Protection Measures for Unorganized Labour," in V. V. Giri National Labour Institute Newsletter, (August-September 1996), 1-5.

Arya, P. P., Trade Unions in India: Growth and Recognition, (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1985).

Bakhtiar, Bashir Ahmed, Mazdoor Tehriq aur Mai, (The Labor Movement and Me) (Lahore: West Pakistan Hydro Electric Central Labour Union, 1962).

Bakshi, C. R., "Bailadila Privatisation," Trade Union Record, (20 October and 5 November 1995), 35-36.

Bakshi, Rajni, "The Legacy of a Marathon Struggle," The Hindu, (20 September, 1992).
Balanandan, E., "Presidential Address to the Working Committee Meeting (annual) of the All India Trade Union Congress," 2 November 1995 (Bhilai), The Working Closs. 25: 4. (December 1995), New Delhi: AITUC, 5-6.

Bardhan, Pranab, The Palitical Economy of Development in India, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Basu, Kaushik, "Why India Needs Labor Law Reform," BBC News, 27 June 2005.
Bello, Walden, Shea Cunningham and Bill Rau, Dark Victary: The United States,
Structural Adjustment, and Global Poverty, (London: Pluto Press, 1994).

Bendix, Reinhard, "The Mandate to Rule," Social Forces, 55: 2, (1976), 242-256. Bendix, Reinhard, Nation-Building and Citizenship, (Berkeley, CA: University of

California Press, 1977).

Berberolu, Berch, ed., Class, State and Development in India, (New Delhi: Sage, 1992) Bewely, Truman, Why Wages Don't Fall During a Recession, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Bhargava, Ashok, and Gopalan Balachandran, "Eeonomic Change During the Indian Emergency," Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 9: 4 (October-December 1977), 50-58.

Bhatt, Ela, "SEWA is Heading Towards Full Employment at the Household Level: Interview with Sindhu Menon," Labour File, 2: 4 (April 1996), 19-22.

Bhattacherjee, Debashish, Union-Type, Lobor Market Structure, and Bargaining Outcomes in Indian Manufacturing: An Analysis of the New Unionism in Greater Bombay, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1987.

Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, Speeches and Statements: December 20, 1971-March 31, 1972 (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, Department of Films and Publications, 1972).

Birla, G. D., "Indian Prosperity: A Plea for Planning," speech delivered at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1934.

Blair, Harry, "Mrs. Gandhi's Emergency, The Indian Elections of 1977, Pluralism and Marxism: Problems with Paradigms," Modern Asian Studies, 14: 2, (1980).

Boeke, J. H., Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies, (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953).

Breman, Jan, "The study of industrial labour in post-colonial India: The informal sector: A concluding review," in Jonathan P. Parry, Jan Breman and Karin Kapadia, eds, The Worlds of India Industrial Labour, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999). British Broadcasting Corporation, Summary of World Broadcasts, "Ban on Railway Workers Lifted," Radio Pakistan External Service, 11:00 GMT, 2 May 1995.

Brown, Judith, Gandhi's Rise to Power. Indian Politics 1915-1922, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1972).

Brown, Judith, Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). Burki, Shahid Javed, "Ayub's Fall: A Soeiocconomic Explanation," Asian Survey, 12: 3, (March 1972), 201-12.

Burki, Shahid Javed, "Cotton Industry's New Importance," mimeograph, April 1972.
Callaghan, Johu, "Fabian Socialism, Democracy and the State," in Gracine Duncan, ed., Democracy and the Capitalist State, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Candland, Christopher, "International Labour Rights: Situating the Debate," New Political Economy, 1: 2, (June 1996).

Candland, Christopher, "The Cost of Incorporation: Labour Institutions, Industrial restructuring, and New Trade Union Strategies in India and Pakistan," in Christopher Candland and Rudra Sil, cds, The Politics of Labor in a Global Age: Continuity and Change in Late-industrializing and Post-socialist Economies, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Candland, Christopher, "The Political Element in Economic Reform: Labor Institutions and Privatization Patterns in South Asia," in Linda Cook and Marsha Pripstein Posusney, eds, Labor and Privatization: Responses and Consequences in Global Perspective, (Brookfield: Edward Elgar, 2002).

Candland, Christopher, "Workers' Organizations in Pakistan: Why No Role in Formal Politics?" Critical Asian Studies 39: 1, (March 2007), 35-57.

Chakravarti, K. P., Law of Industrial Disputes, (Calcutta: Eastern Law House, 1987).
Chakravarty, Sukhamoy, Development Planning: The Indian Experience, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Chakravarty, Sukhamoy, "Nehru and Indian Planning," South Asian Research, 9: 2, (November 1989).

Chandra, Bipan, "Jawaharlal Nehru and the Capitalist Class, 1936," Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India, (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979), 171-203.

Chandra, Bipan, The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1966).

Chandra Das, Prafulla, Trade Unions and Politics in India: A Study of Orissa, (New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 1990).

Chhachhi, Amrita and Renee Ilene Pitkin, eds, Confronting State, Capital and Patriarchy: Women Organizing in the Process of Industrialization, (New York: St. Martins Press, 1996).

Chatterjee, Partha, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World, (London: Zed Books, 1986).

Chattopadhyay, Raghabendra, "Indian Business and Economic Planning (1930-56)," in Dwijendra Tripathi, ed., Business and Politics in India: A Historical Perspective, (Delhi: Manohar, 1991), 308-50.

Chowdhury, Supriya Roy, "Old Classes and New Spaces: Urban Poverty, Unorganized Labor and New Unions," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38: 50, (I3 December 2003).

Clad, James, "The IMF cometh," Far Eastern Economic Review, 153: 42, (18 October 1990). Collier, Ruth Berins, and David Collier, Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement and Regime Dynamics in Latin Americo, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Cooke, William N., "Product Quality Improvement Through Employee Participation: The Effects of Unionization and Joint Union-Management Administration," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 46: 1, (October 1992), 119-34.

Danskin, Kerri, "Made In India; Made in Thailand" Clamor, 20, (MaylJune 2003), 59.Das Gupta, Ranajit, "Social Security and Mutual Assistance in India: A Preliminary Account," International Social Security Review, 46: 3, (1993), 53-68.

Datar, B. N., Ideology and Trade Unions - Indian Experience, (Bombay: Maharashtra Institute of Labour Studies, 1987).

Davenport, Andrew, "Indira's Industrial Balancing Act," Far Eastern Economic Review, (22 August 1975), 55-56.

de Rivero, Oswaldo, The Myth of Development: The Non-Viable Economies of the 21st Century, (London: Zed, 2001).

Dewey, Clive, ed., Arrested Development in India, (Riverdale, MD: Riverdale Company, 1988).

Dix, Robert, "Populism: Authoritarian and Democratic," Latin American Research Review, 20: 2, (1985), 29-52.

Dutt, Rajani Palme, India To-day, (London: V. Gollancz, 1940).

Dutt, Rajani Palme, The Problem of India, (New York: International Publishers, 1943).

Economist Intelligence Unit, Pakistan, Afghanistan, 411988, (31 October 1988).

Economist Intelligence Unit, Pakistan, Afghanistan, 211989, (10 May 1989).

Economist Intelligence Unit, Pakistan, Afghanistan, 4/1989, (23 October 1989).

Economist Intelligence Unit, Pakistan, Afghanistan, 211990, (6 April 1990).

Economist Intelligence Unit, Pakistan, Afghanistan, 411990, (25 October 1990).

Economist Intelligence Unit, Pakistanl Afghanistan, 211994, (8 June 1994).

Economist Intelligence Unit, Pakistanl Afghanistan, 411994, (25 November 1994).

Economist Intelligence Unit, Views Wire, "Pakistan Investment: Power Plant Sell-Off Spurs Violence," (10 May 1995).

Economist Intelligence Unit, "Outlook: A Tough Budget is in Prospect," (31 May 1995).

Elster, Jon, "Marxism, Functionalism, and Game Theory," in Sharon Zukin and Paul DiMaggio, eds, Structures of Capital: The Social Organization of the Economy, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 97.

Embassy of Pakistan, Pakistan's Third Five-Year Plan, 1965-70, (Interim Report Series, December, 1969).

Erikson, Erik, Gandhi's Truth on the Origins of Militant Nonviolence, (New York: Norton, 1969).

Facts on File, "India: Gandhi Gives Up Defence Ministry," Facts on File World News Digest, 22 January 1982.

Farooq, Mukhtar, "The Textile Sector - An Employer's View," in Qutubuddin Aziz, ed., Working Conditions in the Textile Industry in Pakistan, (Karachi: Pakistan Media Corporation, 1992).

Fishlow, Albert, "Lessons from the Past: Capital Markets during the 19th Century and the Interwar Period," in Miles Kahler, ed., The Politics of International Debt, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 35.

- Freeman, Richard, "Labor Market Institutions and Policies: Help or Hindrance to Economic Development," Proceedings of the World Bank Annual Conference on Development Economics, (Washington, DC: 1992).
- Ganapathy, R., Chairperson of the BIFR, comments to FICCI Workshop on Exit Policy for Sick Industrial Undertakings, New Delhi, 4 December 1991.
- Gardezi, Hassan, "Neocolonial Alliances and the Crisis of Pakistan," in Kathleen Gough and Hari Sharma, cds, *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 130-44.
- Geertz, Clifford, Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970).
- Glover, David, "A Layman's Guide to Structural Adjustment," Canadian Journal of Development Studies, 13: 1, (1991), 173-86.
- Goswami, Omkar, "Sickness and Growth of India's Textile Industry, Analysis and Policy Options," Economic and Political Weekly, November 10, (1990), 2429–39 and 2496–2505.
- Gothoskar, Sujata, "Managerial Strategies in the 1990s and the Case for Evolving New Union Strategies," (Bombay: Workers' Solidarity Centre, 1991).
- Gonrevitch, Peter, Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 10.
- Government of India, *Indian Labour Gazette*, (Simla: Labour Bureau, September 1946). Government of India, *First Five Year Plan*, (Simla: Government of India Press, 1950).
- Government of India, "The Industrial Policy Resolution," (Simla: Government of India Press, 1950).
- Government of India, Economic Survey 1978-79, (New Delhi: Ministry of Finance, 1979). Government of India, Ministry of Coal, "A Record Note of the First Meeting of the Special Tripartite Committee held in Bombay on 21.12.1991 at 10.00 am under the
- Chairmanship of Shri P. A. Sangma, Minister of State for Coal," mimeograph, n.d. Government of India, Ministry of Finance, Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction, *Industrial Sickness Case Studies: Metallurgical*, volume 1, part 4, (July 1991), mimeograph.
- Government of India, Ministry of Finance, Economic Survey 1990-91, (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1991).
- Government of India, Ministry of Industry, Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, (New Delhi: Ministry of Industry, 1956).
- Government of India, Ministry of Industry, Report 1977-78, (New Delhi: Ministry of Industry, 1978), 268-84.
- Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Road to Welfare State, (Delhi: Government of India, May 1957).
- Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, K. Swammathan, ed., (Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1958–1963).
- Government of India, Ministry of Labour, Indian Labour Yearbook, 1947-2004 (Shimla: Labour Bureau, 1991).
- Government of India, Ministry of Law, The Constitution of India, (New Delhi: B. V. P. Press, 1956).
- Government of India, Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs, "The Sick Textile Undertakings (Nationalisation) Act, 1974," (No. 57 of 1974), (Gangtok: Government of India Press, 1984).

- Government of India, National Sample Survey Organization, Employment and Unemployment situation in India, 1999–2000, (Calcutta: National Sample Survey Organization, 2001).
- Government of India, Planning Commission, Papers Relating to the Formation of the Second Five-Year Plan, (New Delhi: Government Printing Press, 1955).
- Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Statistical Yearbook, (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan Printing Press, 1964).
- Government of Pakistan, Industrial Relations Ordinance, (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan Printing Press, 1969).
- Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Labour Gazette: A Journal of Labour Affairs, (Karachi: The Manager of Publications, 1995).
- Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Fiscal Policy in Pakistan A Historical Perspective, Volume one, (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan Printing Press, 1972).
- Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Pakistan Economic Survey 1990, (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan Printing Press, 1991).
- Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, The Sixth Five-Year Plan, 1983-88, (Islamabad: Planning Commission, 1983).
- Government of the United States, Department of Labor, Foreign Labor Trends: Pakistan, (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1990).
- Griffin, Keith, and Azizur Rahman Khan, eds, Growth and Inequality in Pakistan, (London: Macmillan, 1972).
- Gupta, Bharat Bhushan, The Welfare State in India: Theory and Practice, (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1966).
- Gupta, P. D., Welfare State in India, (Agra: Agra University, 1955).
- Gurtu, Shachi Rani, ed., Jagjivan Ram on Labour Problems, (Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons, 1951).
- Gusinger, Stephen and Mohammad Irfan, "Pakistan's Informal Sector," Journal of Development Studies, 16, 1980, 412-26.
- Haidari, Iqbal, ed., The New Labour Policy: Impact and Implications, (Karaehi: Economic and Industrial Publications, 1972).
- Hameeduddin, Syed, "Government Exempts Daewoo from Labor Laws," (Karaehi: mimcograph, 1992).
- Hameeduddin, Syed, "Workers Protest Labor Leader's Arrest," (Karaehi: mimeo-graph, 1992).
- Haq, Mahbub ul, The Strategy of Economic Planning, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).
- Haq, Mahbub ul, "A Critical Review of the Third Five Year Plan," in M. A. Khan, ed., Management and National Growth, (Karachi: West Pakistan Management Association, 1968).
- Harrison, Selig, India: The Most Dangerous Decades, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960).
- Harriss, John, "The State in Retreat? Why has India Experienced Such Half-Hearted 'Liberalisation' in the 1980s," IDS Bulletin, 18: 4, (October 1987), 31-38.
- Harriss, John, K. P. Kannan, and Gerry Rodgers, Urban Labour Market Structure and Job Access in India: A Study of Coimbatore, (Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies, 1990).
- Hart, Henry, ed., Indira Gandhi's India: A Political System Reappraised, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1976).

Hossain, Moazzen, Iyanatul Islam, and Reza Kibria, South Asian Economic Development: Transformation, Opportunities, and Challenges, (London: Routledge, 1999).

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, State of Human Rights in Pakistan 1990, (Lahore: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 1990).

Huntington, Samuel, Political Order in Changing Societies, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968).

Hussain, Akmal, Strategic Issues in Pakistan's Economic Policy, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1988).

IDS Bulletin, "Quality and Productivity in Industry: New Strategies in Developing Countries," 24: 2, (April 1993).

Indian Cotton Mills' Federation, Handbook of Statistics on the Cotton Textile Industry, (Bombay: Indian Cotton Mills' Federation, 1993).

Indian National Textile Workers' Federation and Ambekar Institute for Labour Studies, "Problems of Powerloom Industry in India: A Trade Union Point of View." (Brussels: International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation, 1984).

Industrial Research Service, Cotton Textile Industry in Pakistan, (Karachi: Economic and Industrial Publications, 1990).

International Labour Office, "India: Tripartite Cooperation for Structural Adjustment," Social and Labour Bulletin, (June, 1992), 143-45.

International Labour Office, "Pakistan: Developing a Labour Policy," Social and Labour Bulletin, (June 1992), 146-48.

International Labour Organization, Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1972).

International Labour Organization, Bulletin of Labour Statistics, 1992, (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1992).

International Labour Organization, Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion, Employment and Structural Change in Pakistan - Issues for the Eighties, (Bangkok: ILO, 1983).

International Monetary Fund, 1991 IMF Annual Report, (Washington, DC: IMF, 1991). Itzigsohn, José, Developing Poverty; The State, Labor Market Deregulation, and the Informal Economy in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

Jahan, Rounag, Pakistan: Failure in National Integration, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

Jain, L.C., "1985 Textile Policy. End of Handloom Industry," Economics and Political Weekly, (6 July 1985), 1121-1123.

Jaitely, Nandika, "The Triumph and the Tragedy," Business India, (19 March-1 April 1990), 138-40.

Jalal, Ayesha, The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah and the Making of Pakistan, (New York: Oxford, 1990).

Jalal, Ayesha, The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Jenkins, Rob, Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Jhabvala, Renana, "Liberalization and Women," Seminar, 531, (Footloose Labour: A Symposium on Livelihood Struggles of the Informal Workforce), November 2003.

John, J. ed., Labour File: A Monthly Journal of Labour and Economic Affairs: 6: 8

and 9, (August-September 2000).

Joshi, G. V., Writings and Speeches of G. V. Joshi, (Poona: Aryabhushan Press, 1912). Joshi, Vijay, and I. M. D. Little, India: Macroeconomics and Political Economy, 1964-1991, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Joshi, Vijay, and I. M. D. Little, "Macro-Economic Stabilization in India, 1991-93 and Beyond," Economic and Political Weekly, 28: 49, (4 December 1993).

Karnik, V. B., Indian Trade Unions: A Survey, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1978), 1-14. Kaveri, V. S., and Megha Bhalerao, Sick Industrial Companies Act, (Delhi: Ajanta, 1991). Kazmi, Shabbir, "Charting the Progress of the Textile Industry," Dawn, (5 September 1992).

Keesing's Contemporary Archives, (6-12 October 1975), 27369-70. Keesing's Record of World Events, 34: 10, (October 1988), 36219.

Keesing's Record of World Events, 35: 12, (December 1989), 37151.

Kemal, A. R., "Privatisation: The Experience of Pakistan," in V. Kanesalingam, ed., Privatisation: Trends and Experiences in South Asia, (New Delhi: MacMillan India, 1991).

Khan, Badiuddin A., "The Myth of Labour Policy," Industrial Relations Journal, 9: 3. (May-June 1992), 29-33.

Khan, Khalimullah, "Growth of Pakistan's Textile Industry: A Trade Union's View," mimeograph, 1992.

Khan, Mohammad Ashgar, The First Round, (Lahore: Taabeer Publishing House, 1978). Khan, Omar Asghar, "Impact of Foreign Aid on Economic Development," in Viqar Ahmed and Rashid Amjad, eds, The Management of Pakistan's Economy, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1984), 288-305.

Khare, H. P., Current Trends in Indian Trade Union Movement: A Study of White-Collar Trade Unions, (Allahabad: Chugh Publications, 1987).

Khattak, Saba, "The State and Industrial Policy in Pakistan: The Zia Regime, 1977-88," paper presented to the Association for Asian Studies, 5-8 April 1990.

Kiernan, V. G., "A Note on the Author," Poems by Faiz, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1971). Kochanek, Stanley, Interest Groups and Development: Business and Politics in Pakistan, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Kohli, Atul, "Managing the economy: halfhearted liberalization," in Atul Kohli, ed., Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 305-38.

Kooiman, Dick, Bombay Textile Labour: Managers, Trade Unionists and Officials 1918-1939, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1989).

Kothari, Rajni, "The Politics of Planning," paper delivered to Jawaharlal Nehru University, 13 November 1991.

Kothari's Industrial Directory of India, 1990, (Madras: Kothari Enterprises, 1990).

Kotovsky, G., "The Origins and Development of the Communist and Workers' Movement in India, with Focus on the CPI," in Berch Berberoglu, ed., Class, State and Development in India, (New Delhi: Sage, 1992), 243-79.

Krishna, K. B., Plan for Economic Development of India: A Critical and Historical Survey, (Bombay: Padma Publications, 1945).

Krishnakumar, Asha, "Weavers in Distress," Frontline, 18: 8, 14-27 April, 2001.

Kurian, Paul and Amrita Chhachhi, "New Phase in Textile Unionism?," Economic and Political Weekly, 20 February 1982.

Lakha, Salim, "Organized Labor and Militant Unionism: The Bombay Textile Workers' Strike of 1982," Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 20: 2, April-Junc 1988, 42-53.

Lari, Azhar, "Mills One-day Closure to Cut Yarn Output." The Muslim. 3 August 1992. 9. Lewis, Stephen, Economic Policy and Industrial Growth in Pakistan, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969).

Lewis, Stephen, Pakistan: Industrialization and Trade Policies, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Lewis, W. Arthur, "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour," Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies, 22: 2 (May 1954), 139-91.

Lewis, W. Arthur, The Theory of Economic Growth, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1955). Lin. Sharat G., "Delhi Textile Strike: Implication of Linking Wages to Productivity," Economics and Political Weekly, 30 August, 1986, M85-M92.

Lindblom, Charles, Unions and Capitalism, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949). Lipietz, Alain, Mirages and Miracles: The Crisis of Global Fordism, trans. D. Marcey, (London: Verso Press, 1987).

Lodhi, Maleeha, Bhutto, the Pakistan Peoples Party and Political Development in Pakistan, 1967-77, unpublished PhD dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, 1980.

McQucen, Cheryl, "Pakistan: A Bold Agenda for Economic Reform," Business America, 113: 1, (13 January 1992), 8.

Macridis, Roy, and Bernard Brown, Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings, (Homewood, IL: The Dorescy Press, 1961)

Maddison, Angus, Class Structure and Economic Growth: India and Pakistan since the Moghuls, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971).

Mancha, Nagarik, Against the Wall: West Bengal Labour Scenario, (Calcutta: Spokesman, 1991).

Mani, Mohan, "New Attempt at Workers' Resistance: National Centre for Labour," Economic and Political Weekly, 7 October 1995, 2486.

Manor, James, "Tried, then Abandoned: Economic Liberalization in India," IDS Bulletin, 18: 4, (October 1987), 39-44.

Mathur, Aject, "The Experience of Consultation during Structural Adjustment in India (1990-92)," International Labour Review, 132: 3, (1993), 331-45.

Mchdi, Istaqbal, "State Intervention and Public Enterprises in the Market Place -Some Issues and Problems with Special Reference to Pakistan," mimeograph, n.d.

Menon, Sindhu, "The Relentless Struggle of Rickshaw Pullers," Labour File, 6: 8 and 9, (August-September 2000), 3-9.

Mill, John Stuart, A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive Logic, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1961, (1843)).

Millowners' Association, "Facts about the Cotton Mill Industry of India," (Bombay: Millowners' Association, 1953).

Mir, Amir, "Pakistan-Labor: Privatization Increases Labor Woes," Interpress Services, (14 May 1995).

Morris, David, The Emergence of an Industrial Labor Force in India: A Study of the Bombay Cotton Mills, 1854-1947, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1965).

Morris, David, "Toward a Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History," Indian Economic and Social History Review, 5, 1968.

Murillo, Maria Victoria, Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions, and Market Reforms in Latin America, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Murillo, Maria Vietoria, "Partisan Loyalty and Union Competition: Macroeconomic Adjustment and Industrial Restructuring in Mexico" in Christopher Candland and Rudra Sil, eds, The Politics of Labor in a Global Age: Continuity and Change in Late-industrializing and Post-socialist Economies, (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2001), 31-68. Muttahida Labour Federation, "Mnttahida Labour Federation: An Introduction," mimcograph, May 1992.

Myrdal, Gunnar, Objectivity in the Social Sciences, (New York: Pantheon, 1969).

Naoroii, Dadabhai, "Commerce of India," (London: W. J. Johnson, 1871).

Naoroji, Dadabhai, Poverty and Unbritish Rule in India, (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1901).

Narayanan, M. S., "Trading Charges," Economic Times, 19 May 1991.

Narayanan Madhavan, "India: Indian Mining Plans Draws Opposition Ire," Reuters News Service, (31 March 1996).

Nayar, Baldev Raj, The Modernization Imperative and Indian Planning, (New Delhi: Vikas, 1972).

Nayar, Baldev Raj, India's Mixed Economy: The Role of Ideology and Interest in Its Development, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1989).

Nayar, Kuldip, India: The Critical Years, (Delhi: Vikas Publishing, 1971).

Nehru, Jawaharlal, An Autobiography, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, (1936)). Nehru, Jawaharlal, The Discovery of India, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, (1946)).

Niraja Gopal Jayal, "Introduction," in Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, Indian Diary, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990),

Noman, Omar, The Political Economy of Pakistan 1947-85, (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988).

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics, (Berkeley: Institute for International Studies, 1973).

PILER, Unfree Labour in Pakistan: Work, Debt and Bondage in Brick Kilns, (Geneva: International Labour Office, March 2004).

Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, Understanding Labour Issues in Pakistan, Briefing Paper for Pakistani Parliamentarians, 2002.

Pakistan Peoples Party, Foundation Documents of the Pakistan Peoples Party, (Lahore, November, 1967).

Pakistan Peoples Party, "Election Manifesto of the Pakistan Peoples Party," (Lahore: Classic, 1970).

Papanek, Gustav, Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Incentives, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967).

Papanek, Gustav, "Market or Government: Lessons from a Comparative Analysis of the Experience of Pakistan and India," The Pakistan Development Review, 30: 4.1, (Winter 1991), 601-46.

Parveen, Farhat and Karamat Ali, "Research in Action: Organising Women Factory Workers in Pakistan" in Amrita Chhaehhi and Renée Ilene Pitkin, eds, Confronting State, Capitol and Patriarchy: Women Organizing in the Process of Industrialization. (New York: St. Martins Press, 1996).

Pasha, Mnstafa Kamal, "Neoliberal Recipe and Pakistan," South Asia Journal, 5 (July-September 2004).

Patankar, Bharat, "The Bombay Textile Workers' Strike of 1982: The Lessons of History," Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 20: 2, (April-June 1988), 54-56.

PILER, "Trade Union Leadership Development Course," mimeograph, February 1989. Piramal, Ajay, "Much depends on exit policy," *Business India*, 15th Anniversary Issue, 1993.

Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin, ed., Foundations of Pakistan: The All-India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947, Volume III, (1906-47), (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970).

Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin, ed., Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence, third revised and enlarged edition, (Karaehi: East and West Publishing Company, 1977).

Podar, Ramnath, The Indian Cotton Mill Industry: Nation's Premier Enterprise, (Bombay: Podar Trading Company, 1959).

Prügl, Elisabeth, The Global Construction of Gender: Home-Based Work in the Political Economy of the 20th Century, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

Publie Interest Research Group, "Structural Adjustment: Who Really Pays?," (Delhi: Publie Interest Research Group, 1992).

Purie, Aroon, "Letter from the Editor," Business Today, (22 March-6 April 1992), 1. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla, Ardeshir Dalal, Shri Ram, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, A. D. Shroff, and John Matthai, Brief Memorandum Outlining a Plan of Economic Development for India, (Bombay: The Commercial Printing Press, part 1, January, 1944, part 2, January, 1945), 48.

Rahman, Habibur, Growth Models and Pakistan: A Discussion of Planning Problems, (Karaehi: The Allied Book Company, 1962).

Ramaehandran, Hari, "India shuns labour reforms to stall unemployment," Reuters, (9 March 1994).

Ramanujam, G., The Honey Bee: Toward a New Culture in Industrial Relations, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1985).

Ramanujam, G., Indian Lobour Movement, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1990).

Ramaswamy, E. A., "Bombay," Worker Consciousness and Trade Union Response, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 17-78.

Ramaswamy, E. A., "A Chastened Trade Uniouism," Business India, 15th Anniversary Issue, 1993, 161.

Rashid, Ahmed, "Easier Said: Pakistan shows how divisive deregulation can be," Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 June 1994.

Rehman, Shaheed-ur, Who Owns Pakistan? Fluctuating Fortunes of Business Moghuls, (Islamabad: Aekia Communications, n.d.)

Rehman, Shaheed-ur, "Textile Crisis Needs a Nationalistic Solution," Pakistan and Gulf Economist, 10-11 (April 1993), 7-9.

Rosen, George, Democracy and Economic Change in India, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966).

Rosen, George, Contrasting Styles of Industrial Reform: China and India in the 1980s, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Rudolph, Lloyd, and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State, (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1985). Rudolph, Lloyd, and Susaune Hoeber Rudolph, "Dependent Labor and the Politics of Economic Reform in India: Left and Right Protectionism in the Nineties," paper presented at the University of California-Harvard University Workshop on Political Parties and Working Class Constituencies, 25 April 1999.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrieh, Evelyn Huber Stephens and John Stephens, Copitalist Development and Democracy, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Sarkar, Tanika, Bengal 1928-1934, the Politics of Protest, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Sarwar, Beena, "Pakistan: Greens to Blockade Import of Danish Ship," Interpress Services, 15 November 1994.

Sawney, V. P., Comments before Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry's Workshop on Exit Policy for Siek Industrial Undertakings, New Delhi, (4 December 1991).

Sen, Amartya, On Ethics and Economics, (Basil Blackwell, 1987).

Sen, Sunanda, "Dimensions of India's External Economic Crisis," Economic and Political Weekly, 29: 14, (2 April 1994), 808.

Setalvad, Teesta, "Workers Mean Business," Business India, (6-19 July 1992), 99-100.

Shaheed, Zafar, The Organisation and Leadership of Industrial Labour in Pakistan (Karachi), unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Politics, University of Leeds, 1977.

Shaheed, Zafar, "Union Leaders, Work Organization and Strikes: Karaehi 1969-72," Development and Change, 10, (1979), 181-204.

Shahid, Zahid, The Herald, July 1988, 58,

Shaw, G. Bernard, Sidney Webb, William Clarke, Sydney Oliver, Annie Besant, Graham Wallas, and Hubert Bland, Fabion Essays in Sociolism, (London: The Fabian Society, 1889).

Shroff, Manu, "Liberalisation of the Economy: The Indian Experience," South Asia, 1, (1990).

Shukla, Vishnu, "Rickshaw: A Convenient Conveyance," Labour File, 6: 8 and 9, (August-September 2000), 13-15.

Siddhanta, T. N., "Brutal Killings at Dalla Cement Factory," (New Delhi: AITUC Publication, August 1991).

Siddiqi, Fasih ul Karim, "Identification of the Problems and Prospects of Contract Labour in Pakistan (Employers' Point of View)," paper presented to the National Institute of Labour Administration and Training/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung National Seminar on Contract Labour, 25-26 May 1992, mimeograph.

Singh, Arbind, "Rickshaw to the Puller," Labour File, 6: 8 and 9, (August-September 2000), 16-19.

Singh, Manmohan, "1991-92 Budget Speech of Uuion Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh," in Debendra Kumar Das, ed., Structurol Adjustment in the Indian Economy, volume 2, (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1993), 253-75.

Skocpol, Theda, "Emerging Agendas and Recurrent Strategies in Historical Sociology," in Theda Skoepol, ed., Vision and Method in Historical Sociology, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Institute of Policy Studies Working Group on Economy, 1984), 369-70.

Solow, Robert, The Labor Morket as o Social Institution, (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

Specker, Konrad, "'De-Industrialization' in Nineteenth Century India: The Textile Industry in the Madras Presidency, 1810-70," in Clive Dewey, ed., Arrested Development in India, (Riverdale, MD: Riverdale Company, 1988)

State of Employment in Pakistan: Report of a Working Group, (Islamabad: Institute for Policy Studies, 1987), 15-17.

Stiglitz, Joseph, "Employment, Social Justice, and Societal Well-Being," International Labour Review, 141: 1-2 (2002), 9-29.

Syed, Mohammad Anwar, The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, (London: Macmillan, 1992).

Talbot, Ian, "Planning for Pakistan: The Planning Committee of the All-India Muslim League 1943-46," Modern Asian Studies, 28: 4, (1994), 875-89.

Teitelbaum, Emmanuel, "Was the Indian Labour Movement Really Coopted: Evaluating Standard Accounts," Critical Asian Studies, (forthcoming October 2006).

Textile Labour Association, "In the Service of Women," (Ahmedabad: Gandhi Majdoor Sevalaya, 1986), 3.

The All Pakistan Textile Mills Association report of 1987 (Karaehi: IPS Publications, 1987).

Tiwari, et al., Report of the Committee to Examine the Legal and Other Difficulties Faced by Banks and Financial Institutions in Rehabilitation of Sick Industrial Undertakings and Suggest Remedial Measures Including Changes in the Law, (Bombay: Reserve Bank of India, 1984).

Tulpule, Bagaram, "Bombay Textile Strike," Economic and Political Weekly, 28: 3 and 4, (16-23 January 1993).

United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2005, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Uphoff, Norman, Learning from Gal Oya: Possibilities for Participatory Development and Post-Newtonian Social Science, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

van Wersch, Hubert, Bombay Textile Strike 1982-83, (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Verma, Amita, "Workshop on Exit Policy for Sick Industrial Undertakings," report prepared for the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, (December 1991).

Vijapurkar, Mahesh, "Steps to check eriminalisation of textile unions," The Hindu (International Edition), 20: 43, (22 October 1994), 12.

Wainwright, Martin, "The Development of India's Defense Industries during the Second World War: Implications for the Partition of the Subcontinent," paper presented at the Association for Asian Studies, 6 April 1990.

Waterston, Albert, Planning in Pakistan, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963).

Webb, Sidney, The Necessary Basis of Society, (London: Westminister, 1911)

Weeks, John, "The Myth of Labour Market Clearing," in Guy Standing and Victor Tokman, eds, Toward Social Adjustment: Labor Market Issues in South Asia, (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1991), 53-77.

Who's Who in India, Burma and Ceylon, 1941-42, (Bombay: Who's Who Publishers, 1942).

Wolpert, Stanley, Jinnah of Pakistan, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Workers Education Research and Welfare Society, "Nijkari ke sub Pakhtunkhwa aur mazdooron par asrat," ["The privatization of the entire Pakhtun nation and its effect on workers"] Peshawar: WERWS., n.d.

World Bank, "Pakistan: Country Economic Memorandum FY93: Progress Under the Adjustment Program," (Washington, DC: World Bank, 23 March 1993).

World Bank, India: Poverty Study, Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1997.

World Bank, World Development Reports, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990-2006).

World Resources Institute, United Nations Environment Programme, United Nations Development Programme, and The World Bank, World Resources 1996-97, (Washington, DC: World Resources Institute, 1997).

Zaher, Hasan, "The Communist Connection," The Times and Trial of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy 1951, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 204-23.

Zar, Zulaekha, "Contract Labour," paper presented to the National Institute of Labour Administration and Training/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung National Seminar on Contract Labour, 25-26 May 1992, mimeograph, 14.

## Newspaper articles

"13 Labourers convicted by ML Court in Karachi," Palitical Observer, (19 November 1969).

"40 Trade Unions Back Striking Workers," Dawn, (6 November 1969).

"6 Workers Hurt in Firing by Multan Mills' Watchmeu," Dawn, (18 March 1969).

"9 killed in U.P. Firing on Workers," Times of India, (4 June 1991).
"Bhutto's Speech at Labour Moot: Text," Dawn, (22 November 1973).

"British Textile Embargo a Political Decision," Business Recorder, (4 April 1972).

Daily News, editorial, 15 November 1969.

"Dishonest Staff in LBs: IBRD Threatens to Stop Aid to Punjab," Dawn News Service, (13 February 1995).

"Fair Wages, Right of Strike for Labourers," Dawn, (26 April 1969).

"Government Urged to Announce Revised Labour Policy Soon," Dawn, (1 July 1969).

"Govt, workers reach agreement," Business Recorder, (16 October 1991).

"IMF supports Govt's economic policies," Dawn, (29 September 1993).

"India: How to Keep Out Investors," Economist, (11 June 1994).

"Industrial Unrest," The Pakistan Times, (15 November 1969).

"Industrialists demand ban on strikes," Business Recorder, 15 January 1972, 1.

"Kaniz Fatma in City," Dawn, (20 November 1969).

"Labour Body Conference Held," Morning News, (1 February 1969).

"Labour Federations Support Friday's General Strike Call," Morning News, (13 February 1969).

"Labour Unrest," Morning News, (7 March 1969).

"Landmarks," Business India, (14-27 August 1995).

"Let the Workers Take Over," Business India, (13 January 1992).

"More private units falling sick: panel," Times of India, (19 July 1993).

"National Council (sic) of Labour to Launch Agitation," The Pioneer, (26 June 1995.

"New Labour Policy Hailed," Dawn, (8 July 1969).

"No Textiles from Pakistan: UK for 2-Month Moratorium," Pakistan Times. (20 March 1972).

"PM to Convene Special Meet on Textile Policy Soon," Economic Times, (13 April 1992).

"Privatization - Need for Checks and Balances," Economic Review, (February 1992), 7.

"Protest Rallies by Valika Mill Workers," Dawn, (1 November 1969).

"Qadir Outlines Package for Employees," Dawn Business Review, (20 August 1991).

"RS Call for Probe into U.P. Firing." Times of India, (5 June 1991).

"Safeguarding Workers' Interest," Business Recorder, (25 October 1991).

"Six Oil Wells, New Gas Finds to be Privatized," Dawn Wire Service, (22 May 1999).

"Tributes Paid to Martyrs of March, 1963," paper unknown, (3 March 1969).

"Workers Offered Three Packages," Dawn, (16 October 1991).

"Workers' Processions, Meetings," Morning News, (24 February 1969).

"Workers Walk Out of Joint Council Meeting," Morning News, (22 February 1969).

"World Cotton Textile Agreement," Business Recorder, 20 June 1970, 4.

### Interviews

Ahmed, Khurshid, [General Secretary of Bata Mazdoor League Pakistan], Lahore, 4 September 1992.

Ahmed, Naved, [Privatization Commission, Experts Advisory Cell], Islamabad, 9 February 1992.

Ali, Subashini, [Communist Party of India Member of Parliament from Kanpur districtl. Kanpur, 22 December 1991.

Baloch, Usman, [former President, Muttahida Mazdoor Federation], Karachi, 27 September 1992.

Bhakt, R. K., [General Secretary, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh], New Delhi, 18 February 1992.

Bidwai, Praful, [Senior Correspondent, Times of India], New Delhi, 9 January, 1992. Cambridge, Richard, [Senior Economist for Indial, World Bank, Washington, DC. 17 July 1992.

Chudhary, Gulzar Ahmad, [General Secretary, All Pakistan Trade Union Federation], Lahore, 5 Scptember 1992.

Gonsalvez, Colin, Mumbai High Court Labor Advocate, Mumbai, 21 February 1993. Hussain, Riffat, [trade union leader], Rawalpindi, 9, 12 and 24 September 1992.

Ishaque, Mohammad, [President, Pak China Fertilizer Mazdoor Union], Rawalpindi, 5 December 1995.

Keinal, A. R., Member and Chief Economist, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan], Islamabad, 29 November 1995.

Khan, Ahsanullah, [Chairman, Human Resources Committee, Sindh Industrial and Trading Estate Association of Industry and Member of the Standing Committee on Labourl, Karachi, 25 August 1992.

Khan, Faizullah, [President, Valika Textile and Woolen Mills Workers Union], Karachi, August 1992.

Khan, Noor, Deputy Martial Law Administrator 1969-1971, Karachi, 28 and 29 March, 1995.

Khanna, Sushil, [Professor, Indian Institute of Teehnology, Calcutta] Calcutta, 26 December 1991.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mathur, Ajeet, [Professor, Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta], Calcutta, 30 December 1991.

Muzumdar, Kamal, [INTUC official], New Delhi, 28 November 1991.

Naik, Haribon, President of Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh], Bombay, 20 April 1992. Pasha, Mustafa, [Professor, American University], Washington, DC, 25 February 1995. Rao, S. N., [Secretary, Indian National Trade Union Congress], New Delhi, 15 December 1995.

Singhvi, Sanjay, [Mumbai High Court labor advocate], Mumbai, 8 March 1993. Talbot, Steve, [World Bank Economist for India], Washington, DC, 15 July 1992. Thankappan, Damodar, [Director, Centre for Workers' Management and Working

President, Kamani Employees Union], New Delhi, 22 March 1992. Wajid, Sayed, [Chief Economist, Pakistan Desk, IMF], Washington, DC: 15 July 1992. Yaqoob, Malik Muhammad, [Chairman, APSEWAC], New Delhi, 29 March 1992. Zahid, Salman, [Privatization Commission], Islamabad, 7 November 1995.

Zaman, Haider, [Human resource management consultant to the 1979 and 1986 Labour Commissions of Pakistan], Karachi, 26 August 1992.