

INDEX

- adjustment *see* structural adjustment
 agriculture: Indian 58-59, 68-69, 72, 95, 127; Pakistani 58-59, 80, 129
 Ahmad, Syed 66
 Ahmed, Khurshid 39, 41, 121
 Ahmedabad (India) 24-26, 30, 76, 140, 144, 146
 aid *see* foreign assistance
 Aid to Pakistan Consortium 103
 Alavi, Hamza 17
 Aligarh Muslim University 66
 All India Congress Committee (AICC) 26, 62-63
 All India Forward Block 30
 All India Indira Congress (Tiwarei) 113
 All India Muslim League 11, 27, 50, 65-67; economic development program of 65-67, 87 *see also* Pakistan Muslim League
 All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) 11, 22, 30, 53, 63, 75
 All Pakistan Confederation of Labour (APCOL) 37, 148
 All Pakistan Federation of Labour (APFL) 37
 All Pakistan Federation of Trade Unions (APFTU) 18, 37, 40, 118-119, 121, 172-173
 All Pakistan State Enterprise Workers Action Committee (APSEWAC) 118-122
 All Pakistan Textile Mills Association (APTMA) 85, 147-148
 All Pakistan Trade Union Confederation (APTUC) 37
 All Pakistan Trade Union Federation (APTUF) 37
 Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma 18
 Ambekar Institute of Labour Studies 23
 Anderson, Perry 109
 Andhra Pradesh, 96, 98, 146
 Ansar, Sheikh 113
 Ansari, N.S. 143
 authoritarianism 6, 75; and India 75-76; and Pakistan 12, 15, 21, 36, 83, 102 *see also* bureaucratic authoritarianism; bureaucratic-military oligarchy
 Awami League 84
 Bailadila mines 112-113
 Bakhale, R. R. 19
 Bakhtiar, Bashir Ahmed 18, 37, 41
 Balakrishnan, E. 124
 balance of payments 91, 99
 Baloch, Usman 41, 44
 Bandaranaike Sirimavo 86
 Bangladesh, 18, 84, 147; *see also* East Pakistan
 Banker Equity 107
 Bardhan, Pranab 16
 bargaining, *see* collective bargaining
 Basu, Jyoti 96, 155
 Bendix, Reinhard 9

- Bengal 18, 20-21, 66; *see also* East Bengal, West Bengal
 Bengal Assembly (British India) 21
 Bengal Press Workers Union (British India) 18
 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) 7, 34, 112-113, 117; affiliated union 30
 Bharatiya Mazdoor Sabha (BMS) 29, 30, 34; anti-structural adjustment strikes 109-110
 Bhatt, Ela 40
 Bhiwandi, 144-145, 158
 Bhutto, Benazir 6-7, 47-48, 101, 103-104, 107
 Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali 7, 17, 34, 35, 45-46, 47, 50, 82-84, 86, 101
 Bihar 21, 133, 135
 Birla, G. D. 64
 Blair, Harry 16
 Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR) (India) 110, 115-117, 142
 Bombay Assembly (British India) 21
 Bombay Industrial Relations (BIR) Act 142-143
 Bombay Plan 63-65, 175
 Bombay Textile Labour Union (BTLU) 19, 22
 Bombay Textile Strike of 1982-83 *see* strikes, Bombay Textile Strike of 1982-83
Brief Memorandum Outlining a Plan of Economic Development for India 64
 budget deficits 91, Indian 100; Pakistani 6, 103-105, 107
 bureaucracy: Indian 16; Pakistani 16, 38, 55, 78
 bureaucratic authoritarianism 75-76
 bureaucratic-military oligarchy (Pakistan) 16, 168
 Burki Labour Policy (Pakistan) 39
 business 95; British 20; Indian 17, 56, 63-64, 72, 75, 84, 91, 94-96; Pakistani 7, 76, 80, 85, 104, Indian and Pakistani compared 17, 56, 59-60, 91
 Butt, Zaiuddin 45
 Calcutta 18, 23-24, 40, 76
 Cambridge, Richard 108
 Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907 21-22
 capitalism 32, 42, 57, 67
 Central Legislative Assembly 21
 Centre for Indian Trade Unions (CITU) 29, 30, 33, 75, 155
 Chakravarty, Sukhamoy 68
 Chatterjee, Partha 62
 Chattopadhyay, Raghobendra 64
 Chhattisgarh Mukhti Morcha (CMM) 113
 child labor 27, 136
 Child Labour Prohibition Act of 1986 136
 China 67, 86
 class and classes 11-12, 15-17; business classes 56, 59, 82-83, 96; working classes 12, 15, 26, 28-29, 38; working classes in India 70, 165; working classes in Pakistan 38, 40, 45, 83, 156
 Clausen, A. W. 98
 collective bargaining 4, 13-14, 21, 27, 38-39, 42-44, 46-47, 54, 109, 118, 121, 142, 156, 155-158, 166
 Collective Bargaining Agent (CBA) (Pakistan) 43-44, 47, 162
 Collier David 49
 Collier, Ruth Berins 49
 colonialism 2, 10, 14-16, 17, 154, 163
 Colony Textile Mills (Pakistan) 42, 46
 Commercial Employment (Standing Orders) Ordinance of 1968 137
 communism, 20, 23-24, 39, 63, 71, anti-communism 56, Indian 71; *see also* Socialism
 Communist Party of India (CPI): and 1928 strike 19; 1929 split 23-24, 29, 52-53, 72-73, 113, 159, 160; affiliated union 29, 30; progress toward socialism 70-71
 Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) 29, 96, 110-111, 113, 157, 159; affiliated union 30
 Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML) 28, 30, 113
 affiliated union 30
 Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) 38, 40, 50
 comparative method 8-9
 conditionalities *see* structural adjustment
 conditions of work *see* labor, conditions of work
 Congress *see* All India Indira Congress (Tiwarei), Indian National Congress, Indian National Congress (I),

- Indian National Congress (O),
 Indian National Congress (R)
 Congress Parliamentary Party 72
 Congress Working Committee (CWC)
 27, 72
 Constitution of India (1950) 22, 28, 36,
 68, 69, 75, 98, 141, 163
 Constitution of Pakistan (1956) 17-19,
 22, 39, 178
 Constitution of Pakistan (1962) 79
 Constitution of Pakistan (1973) 85
 Constitution of Pakistan (1985) 102, 167
 construction industry 125, 136
 construction labor *see* labor,
 construction
 contract labor *see* labor, subcontracted
 contract labor system *see* labor,
 subcontracted
 Contract Labour (Regulation and
 Abolition) Act of 1971 136
 Contract Labour Board (India) 136
 Convention on Home-based Workers 160
 corporatism *see* state, incorporation of
 unions
 corruption 12, 155, 165; in Pakistan 7,
 102, 165, 167; India and Pakistan
 compared 3, 60, 152
 Daewoo 121
 Dalal, Ardeshir 64
 Dalmia Group 112
 Dange, Shripad Amrit 19, 143
 Das, C. R. 27
 Datar B. N. 23, 30
 De Beers 113
 "de-industrialization" 61
 democracy 1-9, 67, 73, 75, 79, 89, 90,
 102, 156, 164-166 *see also* democratic
 consolidation; political regimes
 democratic consolidation 15, 164-166;
 in India and Pakistan compared 11-12,
 21; in Pakistan 82, 103 *see also*
 democracy; political regimes
 dependency 61, 151
 deregulation *see* industrial, deregulation;
 labor, deregulation of conditions of
 work and terms of service
 Desai, Morarji 71, 73, 74
 Deshmukh, C. D. 79
 devaluation: Indian Rupee 76, 97, 100;
 Pakistani Rupee 104, 148; British
 Pound Sterling 76-77
 development *see* economic
 development; human development;
 political development
 "development compromise" 154-155
 developing countries *see* low-income
 economies
 Directive Principles of the State (India) 28
 Disinvestment and Deregulation
 Committee (Pakistan), 105 *see also*
 Privatization Commission (Pakistan)
 Dock Labourers' Act of 1934 27
 dominant proprietary actors (India)
 15-16
 East Pakistan 17, 35-38, 51, 74, 76, 78, 84
 East Pakistan Labour Disputes Act of
 1965 172
 East Pakistan Trade Unions Act of
 1965 172
 economic development 1, 5, 9-13, 165-
 166; and All India Muslim League
 66; and economic growth 1-3, 5, 9-
 10; ideologies 7, 10-12, 56-57; and
 import substitution 56-57, 75-76, 77,
 81, 86, 89; in India 56-58, 123; and
 Indian National Congress 7, 26-27,
 62, 69-73, 91, 96, 99; and neo-
 classical growth models 56, 79; in
 Pakistan 76-82, 101, 126, 129, 152;
 and planning 64, 125; statist 138,
 154; strategies 56-58 *see also* human
 development; Nehruvian Socialism;
 "Socialist Pattern of Development,"
 structural adjustment
 economic populism: 86, 89; in India 72,
 89, 95, 97; in Pakistan 82-83
 Economic Reform Ordinance of 1972
 (Pakistan) 84-85
 Eighth amendment (Pakistan) 102
 elections: 1861 elections in British India
 15; 1937 elections in British India 22,
 169; 1950 elections in India 16, 69;
 1962 elections in India 70; 1967
 elections in India 72; 1971 election in
 India 73; 1972 (legislative) election in
 India 143; 1977 election in India 7,
 16, 74, 96; 1984 election in India 143;
 1989 election in India 98; 1991
 election in India 98-99, 112; 1996
 election in India 113, 115; 1959
 elections in Pakistan 78; 1970
 elections in Pakistan 10, 11, 17; 1977

- election in Pakistan 83, 85; 1984
 elections in Pakistan 50, 54; 1988
 elections in Pakistan 7, 48, 101, 103;
 1990 elections in Pakistan 104; 1992
 elections in Pakistan 49; in British
 India 22, 169; of V. V. Giri 73; in
 India 10, 11, 15-16, 22, 28-29, 55,
 73, 156; in Indian unions 28-29; in
 Pakistan 7, 10, 15, 16, 86, 102, 157-158;
 in Pakistani unions 43-44, 47, 162
 Emergency, State of (India) 67, 75-76, 95
 Emigration Act of 1922 27
 Employees State Insurance
 Corporations Act of 1948 (India) 27
 employment: estimates of 135;
 estimates in India 126-127; estimates
 in Pakistan 128-129; security of 4,
 135, 157; public sector 124-128;
 terms of service 10, 12, 54, 115, 125,
 128, 130, 131, 150-151, 153-154,
 161, 165; in textiles industry 146,
 149-150 *see also* labor; unemployment
 enterprise unions *see* unions, enterprise
 equality, economic 68
 Essential Services Maintenance Act of
 1952 (Pakistan) 38
 Exit Policy (India) 108, 114-116
 export orientation 5, 47, 57, 97
 Fabian Socialism 57, 67, 175
 Factories Act of 1934: in British India 20,
 22; in India 27, 149; in Pakistan 27, 149
 Faiz, Ahmed Faiz 40
 Fatal Accidents Act of 1855 27
 Fatma, Kaneez 37, 45
 Federal Assembly (British India) 22
 Federation of Indian Chamber of
 Commerce and Industry 64, 96
 federations *see* unions, federations
 female workers *see* labor, female
 Fernandes, George 53, 74, 96
 financial institutions 91; in India 60-61,
 63, 67, 100; in Pakistan 60, 100, 106-
 107, 118
 fiscal crises 88; in India 16, 88, 99, 181;
 in Pakistan 88 *see also* fiscal deficits
 fiscal deficits 91; in India: 99, 179; in
 Pakistan 99, 104-105, 107, 179 *see
 also* fiscal crises
 fishworkers, *see* National Fishworkers'
 Forum
 flexible production 149
 Fordist production 149
 foreign assistance: to India 70; from
 United States to India 71, 74, 97, from
 United States to Pakistan 71, 86
 Foreign investment 3, 81, 100, 113, 155, 160
 Forest Producers, Gatherers, and
 Forest Workers Union 159
 free market ideology 86, 92, 105
 free markets 92
 "functional inequality" 57, 79-82, 89
 Fundamental Rights and Economic
 Policy Resolution of the Indian
 National Congress of 1931 27, 62
 Gandhi Sewak Sangh 27
 Gandhi, Indira 7, 16, 24, 52-53, 67, 71,
 72-75, 76, 82, 86, 95, 96, 98, 141, 143
see also Emergency
 Gandhi, Mohandas 24-25, 26, 27, 29,
 30, 63
 Gandhi, Rajiv 7, 95, 97, 98, 112, 145
 Gandhi, Sanjay 16, 76, 98
 Gandhian labor philosophy 24-26, 27,
 29, 30
 Gardezi, Hasan 66
 General Agreement on Tariffs and
 Trade (GATT) 139-140
 Germany 139
 Giri V. V. 24, 28, 73
 Girmi Kamgar Union (GKU) 19, 22,
 24, 143
 global economy 8, 90
 globalization *see* international
 economic interdependence
 Gonsalvez, Colin 136-37
 Government of India Act of 1919 15
 Government of India Act of 1935 22,
 27, 28, 65
 Green Revolution 147
 Gujarat 30, 54, 74, 142, 144
 Gulf *see* Persian Gulf
 Habib Credit and Investment
 Corporation 107
 Haider, Mubarak 41
 handloom textiles *see* textiles industry,
 handloom
 Haq, Ejaz ul 119, 120
 Haq, Mahbub ul 80, 102
 Haq, Zia ul 7, 11, 17, 36, 39, 46-47, 48,
 50, 85-86, 101-2, 106, 119
 Hasan, Mubashar 83

- Hasan, Shamsuddin 20
 Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) 29, 30, 33
 Hindi 135
 Hindustan Aeronautics Union 160
 Hindustan Lever 112
 Hindustan Level Employees' Union 112
 Hindustan Mazdoor Sewak Sangh (HMSS) 27
 human development 1-5, 109, 158
 human rights 9, 11, 15, 137, 161, 164
 see also labor, rights
 Huntington, Samuel 75, 79, 82
 Hussein, Ghulam 19, 172
 Hyderabad (India) 113
- Ibrahim, Mirza Mohammad 36, 37, 45
 Ichalkaranji 144
 income 4; in India 2, 58, 64, 74, 76; in Pakistan 2, 58, 76; inequality 2, 57, 58, 80-81, 82; national 1, 64, 80; *see also* "functional inequality"; wages
 incorporation *see* labor, incorporation; labor, incorporation by political parties; labor, incorporation by state
 Indian Councils Act of 1861 15
 Indian Federation of Labour (IFL) 29
 Indian Iron and Steel Company 111-112
 Indian Labour Conference 21
 Indian National Congress 7, 10, 22, 23-24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 64, 69, 74, 169; and economic development strategy 62-63, 69; and labor 22, 26-27; and socialism 63, 70-71; split in 1969 24, 73
 Indian National Congress (I) 32, 52, 74, 98-99, 143, 157; affiliated union 30; and economic development strategy 91, 96, 111, 113, 117; and labor 115
 Indian National Congress (O) 73
 Indian National Congress (R) 73
 Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) 28, 64; affiliation with Indian National Congress 30, 157; anti-structural adjustment strikes 109; and Datta Samant 143; and the Emergency 75; founding of 23, 30, 52; and Indian Iron and Steel Corporation (IISC) privatization 111; philosophy of 25
 Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan 57, 77, 107
 industrial credit 7, 57, 60-61, 72, 77, 116-117
 industrial deregulation 105, 151
 industrial disputes: in British India 21, 22; in India 31-34, 114, 115, 116, 130, 132; in Pakistan 35, 45, 50; use of military in 122 *see also* Industrial Disputes Act of 1947, lock-outs, strikes
 Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 (India) 20-21, 27, 42, 114, 130
 Industrial Disputes Board 22
 Industrial Disputes Ordinance of 1959 (Pakistan) 39
 Industrial Policy Document of 1947 (Pakistan) 77
 Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 (Pakistan) 57
 Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 (India) 69, 97, 175
 Industrial Policy Resolution of 1980 (India) 96
 Industrial Policy Resolution of Indian National Congress of 1980 (India) 97
 Industrial policy; in India 59, 100; in Pakistan 77
 Industrial Relations Ordinance of 1969 (IRO) (Pakistan) 10, 42-44, 46, 49, 50, 82, 84-85, 120, 148, 172
 industrial licensing 8, 63, 75
 industrial relations 20, 27, 31, 39, 42, 88, 131, 151, 154
 industrial restructuring 50, 54, 108-109, 111, 116, 120, 138, 140, 146, 157, 165
 industrial sickness, 60, 110, 117, 141 *see also* Sick Industries Company Act of 1985
 industrialization 56, 75, 86; export-oriented 5, 81; in fiscal crises 95; in India 56-58, 61, 64, 70, 75-76, 87; in Pakistan 36, 56-58, 65-66, 77, 81, 86, 104-105, 106; India and Pakistan compared 36, 56, 59-60, 87, 89 *see also* "de-industrialization"
 inequality, economic 68 *see also* income inequality
 informal labor processes *see* labor, informal
 informal labor *see* labor, informal
 informal sector *see* labor, informal
 informalization: of labor 10, 12, 155, 158; of production 122, 150, 155, 158
Inqilab 20
 institutions: labor 122, 124, 130, 157, 165-166; social 1-3, 5-7, 14-15, 43, 56, 86-88, 90, 95, 108-109, 122, 153,

- 163-164; Huntington on institutions 75, 79 *see also* financial institutions
 international economic interdependence 3, 13, 94, 122, 150
 international economy *see* global economy
 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) 39, 40
 International Labor Organization (ILO): 23, 38, 161; in India 22, 28; 1971 mission to Kenya 133; conventions 47; Convention on the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining (no. 98) 38; Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise (no. 87) 38, 47; Convention on Home-based Workers 160; and Faiz Ahmed Faiz 40; and tripartitism 22
 International Monetary Fund (IMF) 3, 5, 12, 55, 90, 93, 122-123, 150-151, 165; and debt crisis of 1982 91; in India 6, 7, 95, 97-100, 115, 116, 117, 122-123, 143, 151, 165; in Pakistan 6, 91, 101-105, 122-123, 151, 165; in South Asia 5, 90
 internationally recognized core labor rights *see* labor, rights
 Islam 20, 102 *see also* Islamic socialism
 Islamabad 41, 119, 162
 Islami Jamoori Ittehad 102-104, 118-119
 Islamic revivalism 102 *see also* Jamaat-e-Islami
 Islamic socialism 19, 83
 "Islamic state" 102
- Jalal, Ayesha 50
 Jamaat-e-Islami (Pakistan) 50, 65
 Jan Parivahan Panchayat (India) 158
 Jan Sangh (India) 72-73, 96
 Janata Dal (Socialist) (India) 99
 Janata Dal (India) 53, 96, 98-99, 112-113, 115; affiliated union 30
 Janata movement (India) 7
 Janata Party (India) 7
 Jatoi, Ghulam Mustafa 104
 Jenkins, Rob 3
 Jinnah, Mohammad Ali 55
 job security *see* employment, security of; unions, and employment security
 Joshi, G. V. 14
 Joshi, N. M. 19, 23
 Junejo, Mohammad Khan 91
 Kamani Employees Union (India) 158, 188
 Kanpur 20, 133, 135, 138,
 Karachi 62, 66, 85, 104, 119, 135, 136, 137, 138, 162
 Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry 85
 Karachi Port 162
 Karachi Port Trust 41
 Karachi session of the Indian National Congress, 1931
 Kashmir 36, 71, 81, 83, 125
Kesari 18
 Khan, Asghar 42, 49, 83
 Khan, Ayub 15, 35, 39-43, 77-79, 81-83, 86, 101-102
 Khan, Ghulam Ishaq 17, 48, 104
 Khan, Malik Allahyar 42
 Khan, M. S. 20
 Khan, Noor 42-43
 Khan, Omar Asghar 49
 Khan, Yahya 82, 84
 Khatib, M. A. 37, 40, 41, 172
 Korea *see* South Korea
 Kot Addu 121-122
 Kurien, P. J. 117
- labor: agricultural 28; avoidance of law 149, 154-155; conditions of work 25-6, 28, 44, 122-123, 149; constituencies 22; construction 159; data on India 124, 125-127, 129-130; data on Pakistan 126-129; deregulation of conditions of work and terms of service 10, 95, 122, 130-131, 149, 151, 157; female 27, 125, 129-130; flexibility 54; formal 124, 125-126, 137-138, 150, 154, 165; incorporation of 34, 56; incorporation by state 21, 29, 49-50; incorporation by political parties 21, 29, 30, 49-50; informal 10, 12, 34, 54, 95, 124-125, 130, 133; law 4, 137, legislation: 4, 48, 49, 124, 130, 135; colonial legislation 10, 19-22, 27-28, 38, 42; Indian legislation 136, 160, 163; Pakistani legislation 38-44, 48-49; markets 152-154; militancy 18, 20, 24, 38, 49, 51, 121; and political parties 10-13, 21, 28-29; rights 1, 11, 15, 21, 27, 163-166; rights in India 70; rights in Pakistan 41-43, 47-48, 121, 161; skilled 3, 46, 58; subcontracted 13, 130-131, 135-138,

- 149, 150, 158, 164-166; unskilled 46, 86, 118, 133-135; *see also* unions
 Labour Federation of West Pakistan 38
 Labour Party (British India) 20
 Lalbhai, Kasturbhai 64
 Lalika, Abdul Sattar 49
 Lasi, Ghulam Akbar 48
 legislative assemblies (British India) 20, 21
 legislative assemblies (India) 28
 lockouts 19, 21, 50, 54, 130; growth in India 131-132 *see also* industrial disputes
 Lok Sabha 28, 33, 73, 100, 111, 113, 143
 Lokhande, N. M. 18
 low-income economies 58, 88, 94, 132, 150, 154
- Maddison, Angus 76
 Madhya Pradesh 110, 112-113
 Madras Labour Union (British India) 18, 21
 Maharashtra 54, 142-144, 158
 Maintenance of Internal Security Act (India) 95, 98,
 Malegaon 144
 Malik, Abdul 38
 Malik, Shafi 121
 markets *see* free markets; labor, markets
 Marxism *see* Communism, Socialism
 Masieh, Nazir 45
 Matthai, John 64
 Mazdoor Rabta Committee (Pakistan) 40
 Meer, K. H. 83
 Memon, Abdul Aziz 120
 Menon, Krishna 71
 militancy *see* labor, militancy
 military: Indian 15-16; 21, 59, 71, 75; Pakistani 7-8, 10-11, 15-17, 34-35, 40-43, 46, 59, 78, 82, 85-86, 105, 106, 126, 167; United States 76; *see also* bureaucratic-military oligarchy; Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO)
 Mill, John Stuart 8-9
 Mines Act of 1923 22, 27
 minimum wage: 27, 172, 184; in India 159; in Pakistan 43, 44, 48, 65, 84, 118-119 *see also* income; Provincial Minimum Wage Boards (Pakistan)
 Minimum Wages Act of 1948 27
 Ministry of Labour, Manpower, and Overseas Pakistanis 46, 48, 49, 108, 119
 Ministry of Labour (India) 33, 125, 131
 Mirza, Lokhman 45
 missing workers 124
 Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act of 1969 (India) 74, 95
 Moody's Investor Service 100
 Mukherjee, Pranab 98
 Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) 139-140
 Musharraf, Pervez 7, 48-49
 Muslim League, *see* All Indian Muslim League, Pakistan Muslim League, Muttahida Labour Federation (MLF) (Pakistan) 119, 161 *see also* Muttahida Mazdoor Federation
 Muttahida Mazdoor Federation (Pakistan) 45
 Myrdal, Gunnar 9
- Naoroji, Dadabhai 61
 Narayan, Jayaprakash 74
 National Assembly (Pakistan) 102, 104, 106-107
 National Bank of Pakistan 105
 National Centre for Labour (India) 158-159, 164
 National Democratic Party (Pakistan) 49
 National Federation of Independent Trade Unions (NFITU) (India) 30
 National Fishworkers' Forum (India) 159
 National Front (India) 98
 National Labour Coordination Committee (India) 30
 National Labour Federation (NLF) (Pakistan) 37
 National Labour Organization (India) 30
 National Mining Development Corporation (India) 113
 National Planning Commission (Pakistan) 69, 71, 78, 79-82
 National Planning Committee (of Indian National Congress) 69 *see also* Planning Commission (India)
 National Productivity Council (Pakistan) 48
 National Renewal Fund (India) 146
 national security 76, 98 *see also* Maintenance of Internal Security Act (India)
 National Security Act (India) 98 *see also* Maintenance of Internal Security Act (India)

- National Trade Union Federation (British India) 23
 National Tripartite Council on Safety and Health (Pakistan) 48
 nationalism: 32, 55, 58, 61-63, 65, 67, 86-87, 89
 nationalization: India 64, 67, 72-74, 96, 141; Pakistan 7, 83-85; South Asia 86
 Nayar, Baldev Raj 168
 Nehru, Jawaharlal 23-24, 55, 61-64, 67-69, 82, 88
 Nehruvian socialism 67-72, 96, 98, 154
 new unionism, *see* unions
 Nippon Denro 113
 Niyogi, Shankar Guha 113
 Non-Cooperation Movement 19
 non-violence 24, 25, 27
 norms *see* institutions
 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 94
 North Western Railway Workers Union (India) 20
 Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) 21, 107
 nuclear tests 15
- O'Donnell, Guillermo 75-76
 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) 74
 organized labor *see* unions, workers' organizations
 Orissa 21, 53, 133
- Pak Chung Hee 86
 Pak-China Fertilizer 105-106
 Pak-China Fertilizer Mazdoor Union 106
 Pakistan Banks Employees Federation 37
 Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation 46
 Pakistan Central Federation of Trade Unions 37
 Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (PICIC) 57, 77
 Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) 39, 57, 77, 105
 Pakistan Industrial Policy of 1948 57, 77
 Pakistan Institute for Labour Education and Research (PILER) 119, 161-162
 Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency 163
 Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) 43, 46, 101, 105
 Pakistan Labour Force Survey 128
 Pakistan Labour Party 158
 Pakistan Mazdoor Ittehad Federation 37
 Pakistan Muslim League (PML) 78, 84, 102
 Pakistan National Federation of Trade Unions (PNFTU) 37, 39, 121
 Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) 7, 45-48, 84-85, 103-104, 120
 Pakistan Security Papers Limited 46
 Pakistan Security Printing Corporation 46
 Pakistan Television Corporation 46
 Pakistan Trade Union Federation 37-38, 40, 45
 Pakistan Tripartite Standing Labour Committee 45, 48, 119
 Pakistan Workers' Confederation (PWC) 157-158, 162-164
 Papanek, Gustav 81
 Partition of Bengal (1905) 18
 Partition of British India (1947) 27, 29, 36, 57, 58, 65, 76, 87, 89, 105, 140, 146
 Partition of Pakistan (1971) 84, 87
 partitions 57
 Pathan Colony (Karachi) 40
 Peerbhoy, Adamjee 66
 People's Labour Federation (Pakistan) 45
 People's Plan 64
 Persian Gulf 86, 99; workers' wage remittances from 86
 Piracha, Ehsanul Haq 103
 Planning Commission (India) 69, 71
 planning *see* economic development; National Planning Commission (Pakistan); Planning Commission (India)
 political development 11, 49-50, 79, 165
 political parties: in India 7, 10, 28-29; 34, 53, 89, 96, 109-111, 159-160, 168; in Pakistan 2, 7, 10, 11-12, 17, 34, 50, 78-79, 160, 164; and unions 11-12, 28-29, 30, 33, 108-109, 152, 153, 155-157, 166 *see also* political parties by name
 political regimes 14-17, 36, 54, 55
 political unionism *see* unions, political party affiliated
 population: of India 126; of Pakistan 128
 populism *see* economic development, ideologies; economic populism
 Port Qasim 121

- poverty 1, 55; and All India Muslim League 66-67; in India 3, 61, 64, 112, 153, 188; and India National Congress 55, 72, 73; in Pakistan 3, 153, 180; and structural adjustment 92, 123
- Powerloom Inquiry Committee 144
powerlooms *see* textiles industry
- Printers Union (British India) 18
- Privatization Commission (Pakistan) 7, 105, 106, 107, 118, 120
- privatization: extra-legal 130; in India 6, 8, 54, 110, 111-114, 117; India and Pakistan compared 6, 10, 12, 54, 108-109, 152, 165; in Pakistan 7, 50, 100-101, 104-109, 118-122; and structural adjustment 3, 6,
- Provincial assemblies (Pakistan) 84, 102
- Provincial Assembly (British India) 22
- Provincial Legislative Assemblies (India) 15, 16, 28
- Provincial Minimum Wage Boards (Pakistan) 119
- Public Interest Research Group (India) 60
- public sector: 13, 86, 154; and subcontracted labor 136, 152; employment 124-128; Indian 6, 30, 32, 33, 52, 54, 67, 69, 72, 73, 96-97, 100, 110-117, 154; Pakistani 6, 7, 39, 41, 46, 47, 77, 83, 89, 101, 102, 104-105, 107, 118-121, 146, 156; Indian and Pakistani compared 55-58, 59-61, 88, 108-109, 122, 168
- Punjab 18, 21, 76, 78, 120, 140, 146 *see also* East Punjab, West Punjab
- Punjab University (Pakistan) 49
- Purie, Aroon 90
- Qadir, Saeed 105
- Qureshi, Moeen 106
- Rahim, J. A. 83
- Rahman, Habibur 79-80
- Rahman, Mnjibur 17, 84
- Rai, Lala Lajpat 27
- Railway Strike of 1974 (India) 32 *see also* strikes
- Rajya Sabha (India) 112
- Rama Rao, N. T. 96
- Ramamurthy, M. K. 110
- Ramanujam, G. 25
- Ramaswamy, E. A. 31
- Rashtriya Mills Mazdoor Sabha (RMMS) 54, 142-143
- Ravi, Rajendra 158
- Red Trade Union Congress (RTUC) 23
- Reforms Act of 1919 21
- regime type 2, 6-8, 78, 86, 164
- rickshaw drivers 133-135, 158
- Roy, M. N. 29, 63
- Rudolph, Lloyd 32-33
- Rudolph, Susanne 32-33
- Samant, Datta 54, 143
- Sangma, P. A. 110
- Sarabhai, Anusuyabehn 24-25
- Schon Group 106
- security guards 125
- Security Papers Workers Union (Pakistan) 44
- security *see* employment security, social security
- Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (India) 159, 160, 164, 170
- Sen Naren 30
- Service Shoe Workers Union (Pakistan) 47
- Shaheed, Zafar 20, 38
- Sharif, Nawaz 6-7, 47-49, 90, 100-101, 104-107, 119, 121, 167
- Shastri, Lal Bahadur 72
- Shcik, Moghiz e 46
- Shekhar, Chandra 98-99
- Sick Industries Company Act of 1985 (SICA) (India) 116
- Sickness *see* industrial sickness, Sick Industries Company Act of 1985
- Sindh 21, 118, 140, 146,
- Sindhi, Aminaldin 20
- Singh, Charan 96
- Singh, Manmohan 6, 100, 115
- Singh, V. P. 98
- Singhvi, Sanjay 158
- skilled labor *see* labor, skilled
- social institutions, *see* institutions
- social movements 41, 45, 54,
- social security 27, 40, 80-81, 94, 159, 163
- socialism, 57, 62, 67, 71, 72, 74; *see also* Marxism, Communism, Fabian Socialism, Nehruvian Socialism
- "Socialist Pattern of Development" (India) 56-57, 67-74, 175 *see also* economic development
- South Korea 5, 86, 94, 147, 158

- Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) 39
- Soviet Union 19, 57, 63, 65, 83, 86, 156
- Special Tripartite Committees (India)
- Sri Lanka 5, 86
- Standard and Poors 100
- state 14, 16-17, 21, 49, 155, 158, 159, 160; colonial origins 17, 58; defined 2; incorporation of labor by 21; and industrial relations 20; Indian 16, 27-28, 59, 61-65, 67-70, 72, 88-89, 95, 140, 150, 152, 158; economic intervention 5-6, 55, 59, 62-65, 68, 90-91, 96, 153-154, 145, 159; ideologies 11, 102; Pakistani 16-17, 27, 35, 88-89, 121, 140, 150, 152, 158; patronage 32-33, 34, 35, 36; and social contact 92-94, 150; and unions 152-156, 159; violence against labor 18, 35, 46, 95, 112, 155 *see also* public sector
- states *see* provinces by name
- princely states 74, 144
- Steel Authority of India Ltd. 111
- strikes: Bombay Strike of 1908 19; Bombay Textile Strike of 1982-83 54, 142-144, 187; in colonial India 18-20; committees in British India 18; committees in Pakistan 40-41; Dock Workers' Strike of 1984 (India) 32; Gandhian strikes 25; in India 52, 75, 97-98, 109-110, 112, 122, 131-132, 143; Karachi Port Trust Strike of 1967 41; in Pakistan 41, 43-44, 46, 50, 118, 122, 148; prohibition of 21, 25, 32; Railway Strike of 1974 (India) 32; trends 50 *see also* industrial disputes; lock-outs
- structural adjustment 3, 5-6, 56-57, 67, 91-95, 122-123, 150-151, 165; conditionalities 97, 105; *see also* International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- subcontracting *see* labor, subcontracted
- "subsistence sector" 80
- Sumar, Mukhtar 137
- Sungi Development Foundation (Pakistan) 49
- Supreme Court (India) 75, 114, 137
- Surat 144
- Swatantra Party (India) 70, 71, 72
- Tamil Nadu 98, 144
- tariffs: in India 8, 154; in Pakistan 6, 77, 101; and structural adjustment 91
- Tata Iron and Steel 96
- Tata, J. R. D. 64
- tax: concessions 60, 92, 116-117, 130, 132, 146; evasion 95; policy 75, 102, 103, 105, 116, 145, 163
- Telecom Regulatory Authority of India 114
- telecommunication 114
- Ten-Point Programme (India) 72
- Terikh-e-Istaqlal 49
- Textile Labour Association (TLA) (India) 24-26
- textiles industry 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24-5, 139; Indian 140-146; Pakistani 77, 146-149; handlooms 140, 145-146; powerlooms 139, 140, 143-145, 147-149, 158,
- Thakurdas, Purshotamdas 64
- Thateher, Margaret 101, 104
- Thatta Cement Company (Pakistan) 118
- Tilak, Bal Gangadhar 18
- trade, domestic: in India 60, 95, 96, 127; in Pakistan 60, 76, 85, 129
- trade, global: 3, 80, 90; agreements 94; apparel and textile 139; British and European policy 61, 66; declining Indian terms of 61; India-Pakistan 76-77, 146; India-United States 97; Pakistani policy 80, 85
- Trade Disputes Act of 1929 (India) 22
- trade union centers *see* union, federations in India
- Trade Union Coordination Committee (TUCC) (India) 30
- Trade Unions Act of 1926: in British India 20-21; in India 27; in Pakistan 27, 42
- trade unions, *see* unions
- tripartitism 22, 39, 42, 110-111, 160 *see also* International Labour Organization (ILO)
- Tripartite Wage Council (Pakistan) 48
- Tulpule, Bagaram 152, 156
- Twenty-two families (Pakistan) 57
- unemployment: 125, 161; in India 31, 61, 126-127, 128, 157; in Pakistan 3, 86, 126, 128-129, 157, in South Asia 4, 55, 61

INDEX

- unions 1, 14-15, 108, 155-156; and corruption 160-161; and employment 30-31, 51-52, 54, 153, 155, 157; and employment security 112; enterprise 10, 35, 43, 50, 87, 109, 165, 171; federations of 10-11, 28; federations in India 30; federations in Pakistan 37, 39, 161-164; independence from political parties 156, 159, 166; independent 19, 157, 160-161, 189; and labor markets 152-153; membership 26, 29, 159, 160, 163; membership in pre-Partition India 19, 22-23; membership in India 22-23, 33-34, 50-53, 126, 159; membership in Pakistan 36-37, 44, 46-49, 50-53, 128, 163; multiplicity 33, 188; new unionism 157-163; political party affiliated 10, 30; public sector 41, 108, 121; response to privatization in India 109-114; response to privatization in Pakistan 50, 118-122; response to privatization compared 122; selection of officers of 38, 43-44, 53, 106, 157-158, 162; social movement-oriented 157, 164, 166; and the state 153-155; in the textiles industry 143; women in 158-162 *see also* Collective Bargaining Agent (CBA); Gandhian labor philosophy; workers' organizations; and working class organizations
- United Bank Ltd (Pakistan) 120
- United Front (India) 159
- United Nations: Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 139; Security Council 83
- United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee 63
- United States 76, 78, 81, 86, 97; and anti-communism in South Asia 39, 56, 71; and textiles 139; trade sanctions against India 74
- United Trade Union Congress (Lenin Sarani) (UTUC(LS)) (India) 30
- United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) (India) 30
- Urdu 20, 40, 135
- Uttar Pradesh (UP) 112
- Uttar Pradesh State Cement Corporation (India) 112
- Valika Textile Mills (Pakistan) 44-45
- value assumptions 9
- Venkataraman, Ramaswami 97, 98
- violence 18, 24, 35, 36, 45-46, 95, 142
- Wadia, B. P. 18, 21
- wages 12, 14, 18, 25, 32, 33, 42, 45, 52, 75, 80, 130, 145-46, 153-154, 157, 161; minimum 43, 44, 48, 65, 84, 118, 119, 156; in British India 65; in India 27, 159; in Pakistan 43, 44, 48, 119, 156, 172, 184; *see also* income
- Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) (Pakistan) 41, 49, 121, 184
- wealth and wellbeing 1-3, 5, 13, 164
- Webb, Beatrice 67
- Webb, Sidney 67
- West Bengal 30, 53, 96, 110, 111, 155, 157
- West Pakistan 37, 44, 51, 76, 78, 84, 87, 137
- West Pakistan Federation of Trade Unions 39-40
- West Pakistan Industrial and Commercial Employment (Standing Orders) Ordinance of 1968 137
- West Pakistan Industrial Disputes Ordinance of 1968 172
- West Pakistan Labour Advisory Board 42
- West Pakistan Trade Unions Ordinance of 1968 172
- West Pakistan Workers Federations 40
- West Punjab 76, 120,
- women 68 *see also* unions, women in Workers' Breach of Contract Act of 1922 22
- workers *see* labor
- workers' participation in management 40, 45-46, 119-120, 154
- workers' cooperatives 110-111, 145
- workers' organizations 1, 15, 18, 41, 152 *see also* unions
- workers' rights, *see* human rights; labor, rights
- working classes *see* class, working
- Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 27
- World Trade Organization (WTO) 94
- World War I 18, 21-22
- World War II 78
- Yadav, Mulayam Singh 112
- Yaqub, Malik Muhammad 119
- Zahid, Shahid 101