

A Guide to the Microfiche Edition of

Political Pamphlets

from the Indian
Subcontinent

Part 5: Political Parties, Special Interest
Groups, and Indian Internal Politics



UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA

A Guide to the Microfiche Edition of

POLITICAL PAMPHLETS FROM THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

**PART 5: POLITICAL PARTIES, SPECIAL INTEREST
GROUPS, AND INDIAN INTERNAL POLITICS**

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INTRODUCTION

Scholars of post-independence Indian history, politics, and culture will welcome University Publications of America's latest microfiche edition of *Political Pamphlets from the Indian Subcontinent*. Some nine hundred pieces and forty-five thousand pages—published by political parties, central and state governments, and other groups and institutions—constitute Part 5 of this collection. Building on the richness of Parts 1 through 4, Part 5 is replete with insights into the country's political development in terms of both substance and process.

The pamphlets span from 1916 through 1990 with a concentration on the 1946–1980 period. This time span, from pre-independence days into the 1980s, allows researchers to trace the development of modern Indian political thought. The freedom of speech provided for in the Indian Constitution is amply exemplified here. The first series in Part 5 includes pamphlets issued by political parties and special interest groups. Doctrinal disputes within political parties are thrashed out, most notably in the literature of the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI (M) or CPM), the latter party a result of the schism of the Communist Party of India in 1964. Religious issues such as Indian secularism are argued in publications by the Hindu, Communist, and Congress parties—of which there were two or more after the Congress split in 1969. Many pamphlets are devoted to economic issues and the shape of democracy and constitutional federalism.

Pamphlets issued by the various Communist parties of the Indian subcontinent constitute the largest subseries in Part 5. Communist materials fall into two broad categories. One contains writings by individual leaders of both the CPI and CPM, including Bhupesh Gupta, S. A. Dange, Hiren Mukerjee, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, and Jyoti Basu. The subjects vary from national and Indian Communist affairs to Communist affairs worldwide, including in the Soviet Union. Pamphlets by R. Palme Dutt, the Indian Communist long resident in London, include one entitled *Indian Elections* published in 1952 that discusses the country's first general elections held that year. Among the pamphlets by the unreconstructed revolutionary B. T. Ranadive are *On Marx's Teachings* (1963), *Why No Nationalisation? Government's Industrial Policy Examined* (1948), and his

article published during the Telegana uprising, *Nehru Government Declares War Against Toilers. Communist Party Attacked as Peoples Vanguard. Defeat the Capitalist-Landlord Offensive* (1948).

The second category of Communist pamphlets includes those issued by the parties without attribution to an author. These focus on party doctrinal and procedural issues, resolutions by party conclaves, and attacks on positions taken by other parties and Congress governments. Several CPM publications discuss the schism of the CPI into the CPI and the CPM. Among these are *What Dange-Programme Reveals. A Real Face of Revisionists. A Criticism* (1964) and *CPI (M) and the Right C.P. Right Communist Party Continues Its Old Bankrupt Line. Question of "Communist Unity" and Unity of Action* (1977), both written by longtime Communist leader Basavapunniah. The second of these was particularly critical of the CPI for supporting Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Emergency, a period in which she adopted authoritarian powers, suspended civil liberties, and jailed hundreds of thousands of her political opponents. A related CPM pamphlet and one of its cleverest and most biting is *CPI (M) on Constitutional Changes*, which again criticizes Mrs. Gandhi's Emergency as well as her attack on the Constitution's democracy (see item 2702).

The attacks issued by the CPM did not go unanswered. Many other organizations weighed in on this issue. For other pamphlets related to Mrs. Gandhi's Emergency, see items 2295, 2604, 2634, 2790, and 3107.

For much of the period covered by this edition of *Political Pamphlets from the Indian Subcontinent*, the Congress Party presided over the government of India. Pamphlets by longtime Congress leader Jawaharlal Nehru (see items 2246, 2247, 2251, 2753, and 2756) allow researchers insights into the Congress Party in the years before India's liberation from Britain as well as in the early years of independence. Other important Congress Party publications include the *Reports of General Secretaries* and the *Congress Marches Ahead* series. These pamphlets cover the period 1970 to 1976 when Mrs. Gandhi was consolidating her leadership in the party she had helped to split in 1969. Their lengthy documentation is essential to understanding the development of the Congress Party, especially with reference to the influence of socialism within factions of the party that had profound effects on constitutional democracy. Other publications of the Congress Party provide insight into the place of Hinduism and religion in the Indian nation. *Hindu Law of Succession for the Lay Man*, for example, discusses one portion of the contentious group of acts of Parliament once lumped together as the Hindu Code Bill.

The publications of the Hindu revivalist and militant parties show the wide spectrum of political parties in India. Included in this edition are pamphlets issued by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Hindu Mahasabha (or All India Hindu Mahasabha), and Bharatiya Jana Sangh and its successor, the

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The Hindu Mahasabha publications include the full texts of resolutions passed, for example, at working committee and annual sessions in 1949, 1952, 1954, 1970, and 1973 revealing the development of evolution of the Mahasabha's ideology. The pamphlets from the BJP, the leading party in the coalition government formed in October 1999, contain party resolutions, election manifestos, and, especially informative, the full texts of speeches by party leaders Atal Behari Vajpayee, L. K. Advani (respectively the prime minister and the home minister in the 1999 government), and Murli Manohar Joshi, arguably the party's most vocal theoretician. Vajpayee's article, *Secularism: The Indian Concept*, contains the BJP view of the place of Hinduism in Indian politics and shows how the pamphlets in this collection can be used to view specific issues in Indian politics across the political spectrum.

Socialist party pamphlets, which date from 1948, are those from the ever-amalgamating and ever-separating Praja Socialist Party (PSP) and the Socialist Party (SP). The significance of these lies partially in their anticommunism and partially in their demonstration of the Indian socialists' dependence on European socialist doctrines.

Miscellaneous pamphlets from other political parties and special interest groups such as the All India Trade Union Congress, the Janata Party, the People's Union for Civil Liberties, the Radical Democratic Party, the Swatantra Party, and Vanarai round out Series 1.

Series 2 of this edition is comprised of pamphlets from various research institutes, universities, and other special interest groups. The bulk of Series 2 comes from 118 monographs published by the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science in Ahmedabad. Founded by India's first speaker, G. V. Mavalankar, and carried on by his son, P. G. Mavalankar, sometime independent member of Parliament, the Laski Institute since the 1950s has hosted the country's notable political and judicial personalities and published their addresses. The subject matter of these addresses is broad, and the monographs publishing the addresses rarely have been seen outside of India. Many of the pamphlets discuss some of the most heated issues in Indian politics. In 1981, after Indira Gandhi again had become prime minister, Krishan Kant, an eloquent defender of democracy during Mrs. Gandhi's despotic Emergency and currently vice president of India, delivered an address entitled, "The Present System, Central Point of Rot and Resurgence." Just six years before, in March 1975, Mohan Dharia was dismissed by Mrs. Gandhi from her cabinet after he delivered an address entitled, "The Present Explosive Situation and the Way Out." In this speech, Dharia advocated conciliation between Mrs. Gandhi's government and Jayaprakash Narayan, who was bringing pressure on the prime minister to make her government conduct itself democratically. Some three months later, at the end of June, the Emergency was proclaimed. Other pamphlets from the

Laski Institute discuss economic development, the Indian Constitution, and lessons to be learned from politics in the United States.

Political Pamphlets from the Indian Subcontinent, Part 5 concludes with a series of publications from the government of India and the governments of various Indian states, as well as a subseries of miscellaneous pamphlets. The publications of the government of India again reveal the broad spectrum of opinion as well as the contentious nature of politics in the world's largest democracy. For example, pamphlets 3007 and 3008 indicate the government's attack on the religious group Anand Marg. A series of pamphlets are highly critical of the right-wing Hindu party, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Pamphlet 3019 discusses the Congress Government's critique of communism in India. Some of the other publications from the government of India discuss the program of the Congress Party and the functioning of the government. These include collections of speeches of Rajiv Gandhi and Indira Gandhi and a commentary on the 1979 national budget by Charan Singh, at the time the minister of finance and soon to be caretaker prime minister.

A Miscellaneous subseries completes this microfiche collection. One especially important item in this section is a speech by Annie Besant, "Home Rule and the Empire. Being a Lecture delivered at Negapatnam (sic) on September 23rd, 1916," published as number 13 of a series entitled *New India Political Pamphlets*. This speech in many ways foreshadowed her later "Annie Besant Bill," officially known as "A Bill to Constitute within the British Empire a Commonwealth of India," introduced in Parliament in London in 1925. Other documents in this subseries relating to the independence movement include *Has Congress Failed?* (item 3067), *Freedom Must Not Stink* (item 3069), and *Storm over Hyderabad* (item 3070).

All these pamphlets, like those previously published in Parts 1 to 4, are original sources for studying India's political thinking. Public men and women tell the truth more often than commonly supposed—although policies declared and promises made may be realized slowly. Indian political literature, given its breadth and depth, is rich fare for historians and others endeavoring to understand the country and to appreciate the working of its democracy.

Granville Austin

SOURCE NOTE

The pamphlets microfilmed for this edition come from the personal holdings of Granville Austin. Pamphlets issued by the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science have been reproduced with the permission of P. G. Mavalankar.

The pamphlets in this collection are arranged into three series based on the issuing source. Pamphlets from the same issuing source are ordered first by date and then by author's last name. Series 1 consists of pamphlets issued by political parties and special interest groups. Following the principle of original order, some pamphlets relating to the Indian National Congress, often referred to simply as the Congress Party, have been filmed under three variations on this name. Researchers interested in the Indian National Congress should, therefore, also consult the pamphlets issued by the All India Congress Committee, an elected body of the Indian National Congress, and the pamphlets issued by the Congress Party in Parliament.

Series 2 consists of pamphlets issued by research institutes, universities, and other special interest organizations. Series 3 is comprised of pamphlets issued by the government of India, those issued by various state governments, and two pamphlets each from the government of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Series 3 concludes with a subseries of Miscellaneous pamphlets.

Political Pamphlets from the Indian Subcontinent, Parts 1–4, published in 1989, contained 2,244 items on 1,033 fiche. Researchers will note, therefore, that Part 5 begins with item 2245 on fiche 1034.

REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is a listing of the items in *Political Pamphlets from the Indian Subcontinent, Part 5*. Full entries in this Reference Bibliography contain the following information: item number and document title (in boldface type); personal or corporate author and issuing source; place of publication and publisher; date of publication; number of pages; and fiche number. Entries have been given the most complete citation possible.

Series 1. Political Parties and Special Interest Groups

Advocates' Association of Western India

2245

Law, Lawyers and Judges. Inaugural Address by The Honorable Mr. Justice P. B. Gajendragadkar on the occasion of the Centenary Celebrations of the Advocates' Association of Western India.
Advocates' Association of Western India. Bombay: Subhash C. Pratap, Advocates' Association of Western India, [1963]. 20 p. Fiche 1034

All India Congress Committee, Indian National Congress

2246

All India Congress Committee. Addresses, 1929.
All India Congress Committee. Allahabad: Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, 1929. 24 p. Fiche 1034

2247

All India Convention, Delhi, March 19, 1937. Presidential Address.
Jawaharlal Nehru. All India Congress Committee. Delhi: The Hindustan Times Press, [1937]. 19 p. Fiche 1034

2248

Communism, Religion and Civil Liberties.
Gopal Singh Quami. All India Congress Committee. Lahore: Kundan Agency, [1942]. 28 p. Fiche 1035

2249

All India Congress Committee. Addresses, 1946.
All India Congress Committee. Allahabad: General Secretaries All India Congress Committee, 1946. 33 p. Fiche 1035

2250

Volunteer Organisation. Being A Collection of Resolutions Passed by the Congress, A.I.C.C. and Working Committee since 1917 and connected matter.
All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, [1948]. ii+56 p. Fiche 1035

2251

Report to the All India Congress Committee.
Jawaharlal Nehru. All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, [1951]. 20 p. Fiche 1036

2252

The Pilgrimage and After. The Story of How Congress Fought and Won the General Elections. Foreword by Gulzarilal Nanda. Introduction by R. R. Diwakar.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, August 1952. ix+175 p.+appendix. Fiche 1036–1040

2253

Report of the Congress Planning Subcommittee.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, 1959. viii+72 p. Fiche 1040–1041

2254

Report of the Ooty Seminar (May 30–June 5, 1959).

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, September 1959. 65 p. Fiche 1041–1042

2255

We Will Fight to the Last Ditch For Our Country, For Our Flag, For Our Leader.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, [1963]. 20 p. Fiche 1042

2256

Indian National Congress. Report of the General Secretary. January 1964–December 1964.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, January 1965. iii+92 p.+appendices. Fiche 1042–1043

2257

Report of the General Secretaries. February 1966–January 1968.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, [1968]. 35 p. Fiche 1043–1044

2258

Indian National Congress. Report of the General Secretaries, 1969.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, [1969]. 30 p. Fiche 1044

2259

Indian National Congress. Report of the General Secretaries, February 1968–March 1969.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: N. Balakrishnan for All India Congress Committee, [1969]. 93 p. Fiche 1044–1045

2260

From Bombay to Delhi. A Reference Book Recording the Proceedings of the Congress Working Committee Meetings, 73rd Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress, Bombay; Conference of the Pradesh Congress leaders, Delhi; Circular Letters Issued from the AICC Office, etc.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, June 1970. viii+227 p. Fiche 1045–1048

2261

From Delhi to Patna. Congress Marches Ahead.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, October 1970. viii+248 p. Fiche 1048–1051

2262

Report of the General Secretaries. (December 1969–May 1970).

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, [1970]. iii+43 p. Fiche 1051

2263

Congress Marches Ahead—III. Proceedings of the Congress Working Committee meetings and All India Congress Committee meeting, Patna, October 1970; a brief analysis of the Lok Sabha Elections—1971; circular letters from the AICC office etc.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, April 1971. vi+154 p. Fiche 1051–1053

2264

Congress Marches Ahead—IV. Minutes of the Congress Working Committee Meetings; All India Congress Committee meeting, Delhi, April 1971; proceedings of the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of PCCs, May 1971; proceedings of the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of DCCs, May 1971; circular letters issued from the AICC office etc.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, October 1971. vi+175 p. Fiche 1053–1055

2265

Report of the General Secretaries. (June 1970–September 1971).

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, October 1971. viii+63 p. Fiche 1055–1056

2266

Constitutional Amendments. The Reason Why.

S. Mohan Kumaramangalam. All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: V. N. Malhotra for the All India Congress Committee, November 1971. 30 p. Fiche 1056

2267

Congress Marches Ahead—V. Minutes of the Congress Working Committee meetings; All India Congress Committee meeting, Simla, October 1971; fifth General Election to State Assemblies; Leaders' Conference, Delhi, April, 1972; Circular Letters issued from the AICC Office etc.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, June 1972. vi+216 p. Fiche 1057–1059

2268

People's Victory—Second Phase. (An Analysis of the 1972 General Election to State Assemblies).

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: AICC, June 1972. iii+38 p.+appendices. Fiche 1059–1060

2269

Congress Marches Ahead—VI. Minutes of the Congress Working Committee Meetings; All India Congress Committee Meeting, Delhi, June 1972; summary of the proceedings of the Conference of PCC Presidents and Secretaries, June 1972; Report of the AICC Committee on Bangla Desh; Circular letters issued from the AICC Office etc.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, October 1972. vi+216 p. Fiche 1060–1062

2270

Congress Marches Ahead—VII. Minutes of the Congress working Committee meetings; All India Congress Committee meeting, Gandhinagar (Gujurat); proceedings of the conference of Congress Chief Ministers; circular letters issued from the AICC Office etc.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, December 1972. vi+167 p. Fiche 1062–1064

2271

Text of Resolutions on Economic Policy and Political Situation. Adopted at (i) the 73rd Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress, Bombay, December 28–29, 1969; (ii) the All India Congress Committee Meeting, Delhi, June 13–15, 1970; (iii) the All India Congress Committee Meeting, Patna, October 13–14, 1970; (iv) the All India Congress Committee Meeting, Gandhinagar, October 9–10, 1972.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: V. N. Malhotra for All India Congress Committee, December 1972. i+44 p. Fiche 1064

2272

Text of Resolution on "Political" and "Economic" Situation (as adopted by the Congress Working Committee on April 17, 1973).

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: V. N. Malhotra for All India Congress Committee, April 1973. 8 p. Fiche 1065

2273

Congress Marches Ahead—VIII. A Reference book recording the minutes of Congress Working Committee, All India Congress Committee and Subject Committee meetings; proceedings of the 74th Plenary Session, Bidhan Nagar, Calcutta; PCC and DCCs Conferences; Zonal Conferences, circular letters issued from the AICC Office etc.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, September 1973. vi+375 p. Fiche 1065–1069

2274

Report of the General Secretaries. (June 1972–August 1973).

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, September 1973. iii+80 p. Fiche 1069–1070

2275

Aspects of Renewal, 1971–1973. Some Highlights and Comments.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: V. N. Malhotra for the All India Congress Committee, 1973. iii+83 p. Fiche 1070–1071

2276

Netaji Subhas. Valiant Son of India.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: V. N. Malhotra for All India Congress Committee, 1973. 32 p. Fiche 1071

2277

Congress Marches Ahead—IX. A reference book recording the minutes of the Congress Working Committee and All India Congress Committee Meetings, circular letters issued from the AICC office, etc.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, July 1974. vi+207 p. Fiche 1071–1073

2278

Report of the General Secretaries. (September 1973–June 1974).

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, July 1974. ii+80 p. Fiche 1074

2279

Socialism at the Grassroots. The Feroze Gandhi Memorial Lecture delivered in New Delhi, September 12, 1975.

Dev Kanta Borooah. All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: V. N. Malhotra for the All India Congress Committee, [1975]. 15 p. Fiche 1075

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All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, October 1975. vi+368 p. Fiche 1075–1079

2281

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All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, December 1975. vi+187 p. Fiche 1079–1081

2282

Public Distribution System. AICC Central Training Camp. NARORA, November 22–24, 1974.

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2283

Constitution Amendment. From the Kengal Hanumanthaiya Endowment Lecture delivered at the Bangalore University on August 21, 1976.

Sardar Swaran Singh. All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Shri Raj Kumar Singh for All India Congress Committee, October 1976. 27 p. Fiche 1081–1082

2284

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All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, October 1976. vi+174 p. Fiche 1082–1084

2285

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of India by the Committee Appointed by the Congress President Shri D. K. Borooah on February 26, 1976.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Raj Kumar Singh for the All India Congress Committee, August 1976. 15 p. Fiche 1084

2286

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of India by the Committee Appointed by the Congress President Shri D. K. Borooah on February 26, 1976.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Raj Kumar Singh for the All India Congress Committee, November 1976 (Revised Edition). 23 p. Fiche 1084

2287

Constitutional Amendment. Why?

Madan Bhatia. All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Prem Prakash Sharma for Central Campaign Committee of All India Congress Committee, [1976]. 20 p. Fiche 1085

2288

The Prime Minister on Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Bill 1976.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Raj Kumar Singh for the All India Congress Committee, [1976]. ii+31 p. Fiche 1085

2289

Shri D. K. Borooah, President, Indian National Congress, on Constitution (Forty-Fourth Amendment) Bill 1976.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Raj Kumar Singh for the All India Congress Committee, [1976]. 24 p. Fiche 1085–1086

2290

Inaugural Speech by Congress President Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the Centenary Resolve at Congress Centenary Session, Indira Nagar (Brabourne Stadium) Bombay, December 28, 1985.

Rajiv Gandhi. All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, [1985]. 36 p. Fiche 1086

2291

Debate on President's Address. Reply of Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Najma Heptulla for All India Congress Committee (I), [1986]. 32 p. Fiche 1086

2292

Issues Before The Nation.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Pranab Mukherjee for AICC, [1991]. 45 p. Fiche 1087

2293

Harare Summit of Non-Aligned Movement and India.

Darbara Singh. All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, n.d. 23 p. Fiche 1087

2294

Assam.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Chandulal Chandrakar, All India Congress Committee, n.d. 23 p. Fiche 1087–1088

2295

Must She Resign?

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, n.d. 5 p. Fiche 1088

2296

Political Scene in Karnataka.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Chandulal Chandrakar, All India Congress Committee, n.d. 7 p. Fiche 1088

2297

Public Sector, An Overview.

All India Congress Committee. New Delhi: Chandulal Chandrakar, All India Congress Committee, n.d. 20 p. Fiche 1088

2298

India. Our Achievements, 1985–1989.

All India Congress Committee, Congress Committee on Policy and Programmes. New Delhi: All India Congress Committee, n.d. 15 p. Fiche 1088

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