



**HISTORY OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
1885 - 1950**

A SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF LIBRARY SCIENCE
1986—87

BY

N. NIAZ AHMED

Roll No. 86-M. Lib.-02

Enrolment No. P-3215

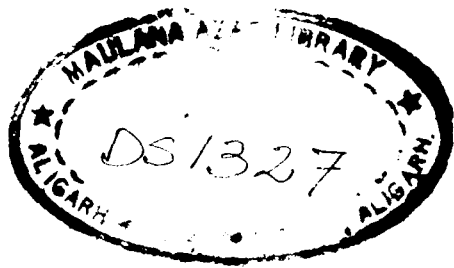
Under the Supervision of

Prof. NOORUL HASAN KHAN

CHAIRMAN

**DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARY SCIENCE
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH**

1987



DS1327

Dedicated to
My Loving Parents
Who have always been a
Source of Inspiration for me

C O N T E N T S #
#####

	<u>Page No.</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	I
PREFACE	II
LIST OF JOURNALS DOCUMENTED	V

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION	1
THE FIRST TWO DECADES	2
THE LUCKNOW PACT	8
GANDHI APPEARS ON THE NATIONAL SCENE	9
ROWATT ACT (1919)	9
THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT (1920)	11
THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT	11
THE SIMON COMMISSION (1927)	14
THE SECOND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT (1930)	17
CRIPPS MISSION (1942)	22
QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942)	23
MOUNT BATTON PLAN (1947)	26

PART TWO

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY	29
------------------------	----

PART THREE

AUTHOR INDEX	170
TITLE INDEX	179

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

I sincerely acknowledge my gratitude to my Supervisor Professor Noorul Hasan Khan, Chairman, Department of Library Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, who spared no pains in supervising the compilation of this bibliography, and with his thorough insight in the subject and scrupulous methodology, guided me through each step of my work. I have learnt from him not only the intricacies of the subject but also the systematic way of working which can be an asset in every sphere of life.

I am also sincerely indebted to my teachers of my department for their generous help and cooperation and making valuable suggestions whenever sought for.

The compilation of this dissertation owes a great deal of constant encouragement I got from my brother, Mr. M. Nazhar-ul-Haque. For his continued patience and forbearance I am, as ever, eternally grateful.

I am also thankful to Mr. Mohammed Unni K, who has typed the manuscript in a record time.

Last but not the least, I am thankful to all my friends and well wishers.

8 August, 1987.

(M. NIAZ AHMED)

P R E F A C E
.....

The present study is intended to bring at one place in the form of annotations all the significant literature that is available in the field of history on Indian National Congress since 1885-1950.

Scope:

Although the bibliography is selective in nature, I have endeavoured my best to cover all the aspects of the history of Indian National Congress. Some of the aspects covered, are:

First two decades (185-1905), Gandhi's appearance on the National scene, the Khilafat movement (1920), the Non-cooperation movement (1919-32), Simon Commission (1927), the Second Civil Disobedience movement (1930), Cripps's Mission (1942), Quit India Movement (1942) and Mount Batton Plan (1947).

I am confident that this bibliography will be helpful to all those who have some interest in the field of the history of Indian National Congress. Mainly research scholars of this field will find it very helpful.

Methodology:

While starting with this task a general survey of the literature available in important libraries like Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, IMA Library, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi and Osmania University Library Hyderabad. Out of the number of periodicals covering the field, only important ones were selected for this purpose. A list of periodicals has been given in the beginning.

Standards followed:

As far as possible, Indian standards recommended for bibliographical references (IS : 2381-1963) has been followed and classified catalogue code (CCC) of Dr. S.R. Ranganathan has been followed for author heading in the main entry.

The entries contained the following items of information:

- a) Serial number
- b) Name of the author
- c) Full stop(.)
- d) Title of contribution, including sub-title, if any
- e) Full stop(.)
- f) Title of the periodical in abbreviated form as far as possible
- g) Volume number

- h) Semi colon(;))
- i) year
- j) Semi colon(;))
- k) Inclusive pages of the article.

Issue number is also included if the issues of the volume are separately paginated.

Specimen entry:

SMITH (RT). Role of India's "Liberals" in the nationalist movement, 1915-47. Asian Survey. 8,7; 1968, Jul; 607-24.

Abstract:

Indian Liberals, who controlled the Indian National Congress from its inception in 1885, suffered rapid decline when the Congress was taken over by militant nationalists during the first World War. The liberals had long held a "moderate" position between the opposed forces of revolutionary extremism and British imperialism. From 1915 onward they purposely assumed the role of mediators between Congress militants and the British government. By 1947 the liberals were reduced in number and popularity to survive as a party after India's independence.

Arrangement:

The articles dealing with distinct subject headings are listed by subject-wise in alphabetical sequence. Under the specific subject headings, the entries have been made alphabetically by author. The entries are serially numbered. In certain cases a logical helpful sequence is applied, wherever necessary.

Index:

The part III of the bibliography contains Author and title indexes in alphabetical sequence. Each index guides to the specific entry/entries in the bibliography. I hope they will be found very useful for consultation of the bibliography.

List of abbreviations used:

AICC	All India Congress Committee
CWC	Congress Working Committee
INC	Indian National Congress
NWFP	North West Frontier Province.

List of journals documented:

A: Amrita Bazar Patrika
Asian Profile
Asian Recorder
Asian Review

Asian Survey

Australian Journal of Politics and History

B: Bombay Chronicle

C: Capital

Congress Bulletin

Current History

E: Economics and Political Weekly

Economic Studies

Economic Times

English Review

F: Foreign Review

G: Gandhi Marg

H: Hindu

Hindustan Review

Hindustan Times

I: India Quarterly

Indian & Foreign Review

Indian Economic & Social History Review

Indian Express

Indian Nation

Indian Journal of Political Science

Indian Political Science Review

Indian Journal of Politics

International Journal of Contemporary Sociology

International Studies

J: Journal of Political Studies

K: Koloniale Studien

L: Link

M: Mainstream

Modern Review

Moslem World

N: National Herald

Nineteenth Century

O: Organiser

P: Pacific Affairs

Parliamentary Affairs

Patriot

Political Science Review

S: Sikh Review

Social Atlantic Quarterly

South Asian Recorder

Statesman

Swarajya

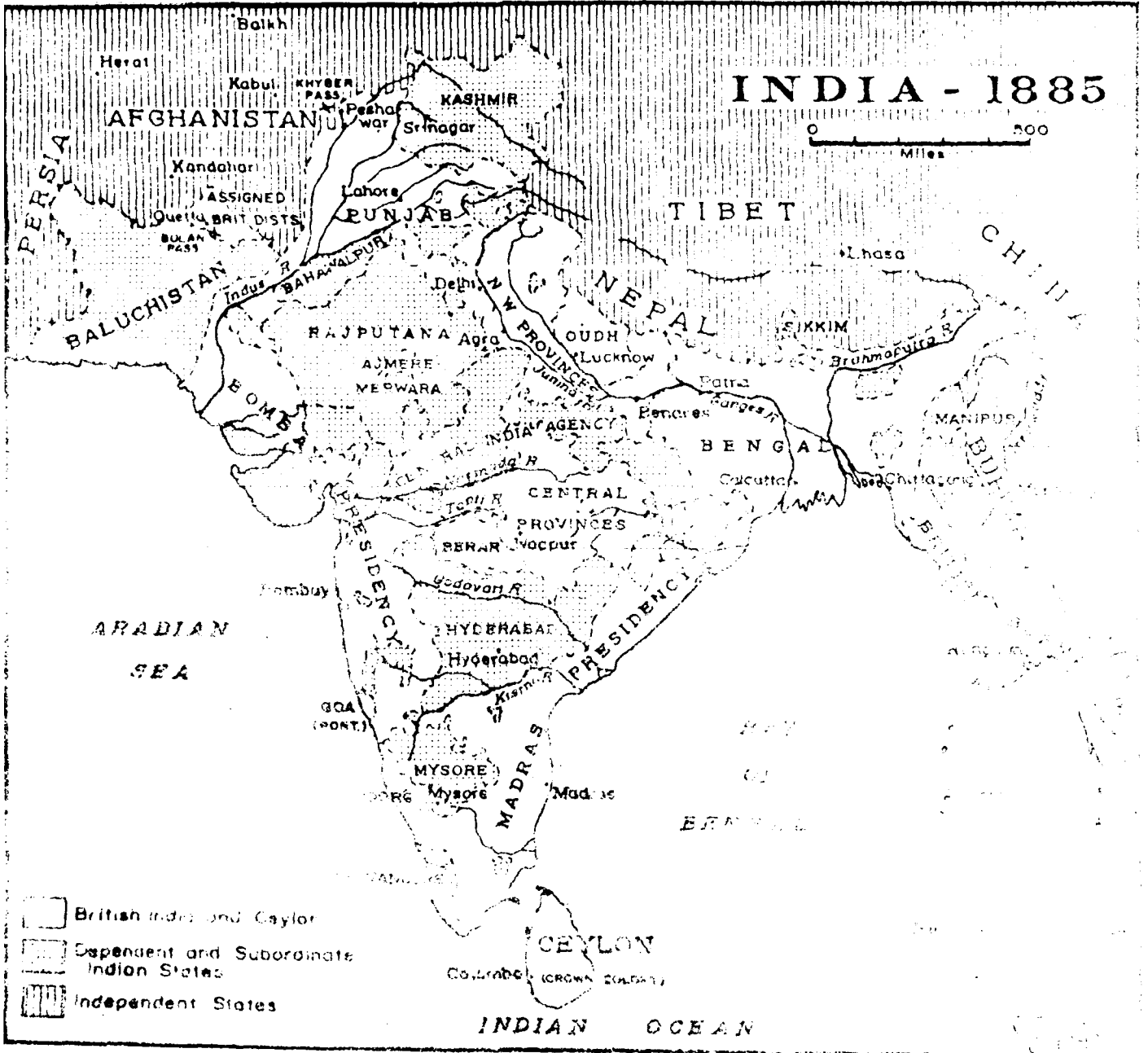
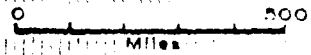
T: Times of India




Tribune

W: World Tomorrow

PART ONE
INTRODUCTION

INDIA - 1885



-  British India and Ceylon
-  Dependent and Subordinate Indian States
-  Independent States

I N T R O D U C T I O N

HISTORY OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (1885-1950)

The birth of Indian National Congress (INC) marks the beginning of the first countrywide attempt at nation building in India. Congress started as an organisation of country's elite and educated middle classes with the sole aim of securing constitutional reforms from the British Government. The party grew in strength and size under the inspiring leadership of the founding fathers like A.O. Hume, W.C. Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, William Wedderburn, R.H. Sayani, Badruddin Tyabji and others.

Thus the country was prepared in men as well as materials for the formation of a national organisation. Many Indians from different parts of the country - Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice Ranade, Pheroseshah Mehta, K.P., Telang, R.M. Sayani, T.U. Yajnik, Badruddin Tyabji, G. Subramanian and S. Subramaina Iyer, Anand Charlu, W.C. Banerjee, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose, Lal Mohan Ghose and Kali Charan Banerjee - had simultaneously begun to plan the setting up of an All India Nationalist Organisation. A.O. Hume took a concrete step and brought together at the country. He aimed at



NEW STIRRINGS : Delegates to the first session of the Indian National Congress, 1885.

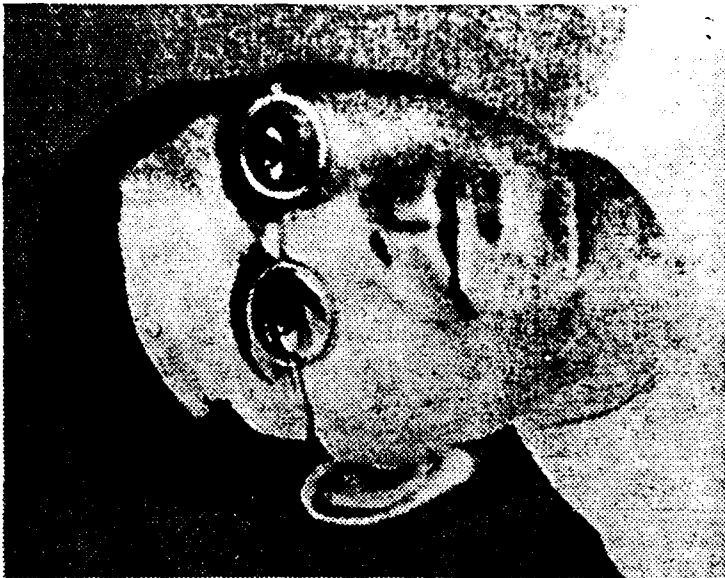
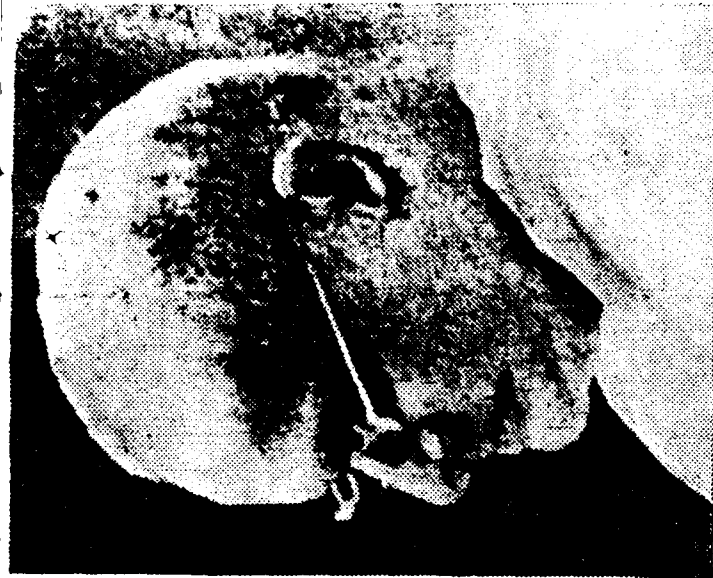
providing a safety valve to the increasing popular discontent against the British Rule. However, this is not the whole truth. If Hume wanted to use the Congress as a safety valve, the early Congress leaders hoped to use him as a 'lightning conductor'. The various objectives of the Congress were outlines within the frame work of the ideas and attitude of those who formed the new organisation.

The First Two Decades (1885-1905).

The history of the Congress during 1885 to 1905 may be described as a period of petitions and prayers for the immediate redress of urgent grievances in administration, while motivated a certain idealism in regard to India's political aspiration. The National Congress used to hold annual meetings. The number of delegates increased from year to year in spite of the hostility of the British Indian Government. The leaders mentioned above were later called the Moderates. These Moderates or early Indian nationalists believed that a direct struggle for the political emancipation of the country was not yet possible. Accordingly, their methods were in keeping with their faith in British liberalism: they believed in the peaceful presentation of their grievances to the Government in order to redress them. The methods of violence, force, and bloodshed were foreign to their

genius. They sent regular deputations to Britain to educate the British public opinion in India's favour. The nationalist leaders popularised the idea of *swadeshi* as a means of promoting Indian industries and urged the Government to reduce land revenue and abolish salt tax. On economic, political and moral grounds, they put forward a demand for the Indianisation of the higher grades of administrative services. Along with a demand for the separation of the judiciary from the executive, they urged the Government to undertake and develop welfare activities of the state. They opposed all restrictions on the freedom of Press and speech. The country protested against B.G. Tilak's arrest in 1897 on the ground of sedition. This struggle for freedom of Press and speech became an integral part of the nationalist struggle for freedom.

The British authorities turned more hostile towards the Indian National Congress. They now began publicly to criticise and condemn it and its leaders. They branded nationalists as "Disloyal Babus", "Seditious Brahmins" and "Violent Villains". They believed that the spread of education had been a major cause of the growth of nationalism and so plans were set afoot to impose greater government control over it and to change its relatively



FAME AND GLORY : (clockwise from top left) Gandhiji, Netaji Subhas Bose, Motilal Nehru, Chittaranjan Das, Sarojini Naidu, and Pandit Nehru.

liberal character. The British authorities also pushed further the policy of 'divide and rule' by encouraging Sir Syed Ahmed, Khan Raja Shiva Prasad and other pro-British individuals to start an anti-Congress movement.

Though the early National Movement failed to achieve concrete reforms in different spheres, yet it succeeded in creating a wide national awakening. It trained people in political work, popularised the ideas of democracy and nationalism, propagated a modern outlook and exposed before them the evil results of British rule. Exposing the misrule of the British, it established the political truth that India must be ruled in the interest of the Indians.

Militant Nationalism

By the turn of the century, the general feeling of discontent had spread to the rural gentry, the peasantry and the workers. The situation threw up a large number of leaders who were more radical in their demands and who believed in a rather militant form of nationalism. They came to be called extremists. There were many reasons for the growth of militant nationalism, e.g., disillusionment among the politically conscious people with the principles of the dominant moderate leadership

and their methods, disappointment with the Indian Council Act of 1892, the bitterness against the British authorities due to terrible calamities like plague and famine, new reactionary British measures like the law against sedition in 1898 and Official Secrets Act 1899, international events like revolutionary movements in Ireland, Russia etc., humiliation of Indians abroad, existence of militant nationalist school of thought with its outstanding representatives, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Lala Lajpat Rai and others, growth of education and unemployment and the policies of Lord Curzon. The Bengal Partition in 1905 acted like a push-button and militant nationalism appeared on the scene. When the partition of Bengal was announced in 1905 different sections of population - zamindars, merchants, lawyers, students, the city poor and even the women - rose up in spontaneous opposition. The Moderates led by Surendra Nath Banerjee held demonstrations, hartal and mourning. They also organised the Swadeshi movement and opened national educational institutions. But all this failed to yield any result and so the leadership of the anti-partition movement passed to militant nationalists. The Congress split in 1907 at the Surat session between the "right and "left" wings. The extremists, meeting under the chairmanship of Aurobindo Ghose, reaffirmed their

belief in Swaraj, Swadeshi, boycott and national education.

The British Government played the game of "Divide and Rule" and tried to win over the Moderates and came up with the 1908 Morley-Minto Reforms. The Bengal partition too was annulled in 1911. The reform increased the number of elected members in the imperial Legislative Council and Provincial Councils but most of the members were elected indirectly. A system of separate electorates was introduced. It was said that it was a step to protect Muslim minority but in reality it was a part of the "Divide and Rule" policy. The Moderates did not give full support to the reforms but decided to cooperate with the Government in working the reforms. Gradually they lost the respect and support of the public and were reduced to a small political group.

Terrorist Wing of the Extremists

In spite of the vigour and comprehensiveness of the national movement, when the partition of Bengal was not repeated, the events following the partition accentuated the revolutionary impulses of many young Indians. Many extremists believed that force and violence, murder of Europeans, destruction of Government property and looting

of treasuries could alone drive the British out of India. The young men were called "terrorists". They became more active when partition of Bengal was being contemplated. Sporadic murders of political nature took place from time to time. During the First World War, the people were affected by the heavy taxation and scarcity of commodities and were willing to join any militant movement against the government. The Congress could not satisfy them and so to channelise their popular discontent the Home Rule leagues were started.

Some of the terrorist revolutionaries went abroad and established centres in Europe. The Ghadr Party was established in 1913 in USA and Canada. Its members decided to start an armed uprising in India in the wake of the First World War in 1914. However, the Government came to know about it, arrested the leaders and punished them severely.

A colourful and inspiring chapter in the history of the freedom movement was added by these terrorists. Their desperate deeds and daring plans, cool action and indifference to death won them a lasting place in the memory of the nation. But they failed because their movement was not well organised and it could not involve

the masses. A series of conspiracy cases, stern penalties and harsh law broke their back. The terrorists also did not have a common plan and a central leadership. The Moderates and even some of the Extremists did not agree with the terrorists but it is true that "they gave us back the pride of our manhood".

The Lucknow Pact (1916).

While circumstances were forcing the Government to see things from a new angle, a new way was shown by the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916. The nationalists had realised that the disunity in their ranks was injuring the cause and that they had to put up a united front before the Government. The two wings of Congress united in the Lucknow session. The Congress and the All India Muslim League took away their differences and put up common political demands before the Government. These developments had a tremendous effect. Political enthusiasm was visible every where in the country. Even the British Government felt it necessary to placate the nationalists, and decided to appease nationalist opinion and announced in August 1917 that its policy in India was "the gradual development of self-government institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government of India as an integral part of the British

Empire". Montagu Chelmsford Reforms were announced in 1918 but Indian nationalism was not appeased. It soon entered its third phase - the era of struggle.

GANDHI APPEARS ON THE NATIONAL SCENE

Gandhi had waged a strong fight against racism in South Africa between 1894 and 1914. He returned to India in 1915 and founded the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad in 1916. While in Africa he had developed a technique of popular passive resistance against discrimination - the satyagraha - and he decided to apply the same to the Indian problem. Gandhiji's first experiment in Satyagraha came in 1917 in Champaran, a district in Bihar. The peasantry on the indigo plantations in the district was excessively oppressed by the European planters. When Gandhiji began to conduct a detailed inquiry into the condition of the peasantry, the infuriated district officials ordered him to leave Champaran but he defied everything. The Government was forced to cancel its earlier order and ultimately Gandhiji succeeded in redressing the grievances of the peasantry.

The Rowlatt Act (1919).

The Rowlat Act passed in 1919 authorised the

Government to imprison any person without trial and conviction in Court of Law. Along with other nationalists Gandhiji was aroused by the Rowlat Act. He founded the Satyagraha Sabha whose members took a pledge to disobey the Act and thus to court arrest and imprisonment. March and April 1919 witnessed a remarkable political awakening in India. There were strikes and demonstrations - the slogans of Hindu-Muslim unity filled the air. The Indian people were no longer willing to submit to the degradation of foreign rule.

Jallianwallah Bagh

The Government put down the movement with a heavy hand, the blackest stain on its record being the firing on a meeting of citizens at an enclosed place called Jallianwallah Bagh at Amritsar. Troops under General Dyer fired 1,600 rounds of ammunition into the unarmed crowd who had no means of exit. Even according to official estimates 319 persons were killed and 1,200 wounded and were left unattended. Martial Law was proclaimed on Punjab, and the subsequent inquiries revealed a gruesome picture of shooting, hanging, bombing from the air and extremely severe sentences passed by the tribunals during the reign of terror. A Sikh youth Udham Singh avenged the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre by killing O'Dwyer, the then governor of Amritsar.

The Khilafat Movement (1920)

The part played by the British in the defeat of Turkey and the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire in the First World War offended the religious and historical sentiment of the Muslims, and caused the religious and historical sentiment of the Muslims, and caused them to adopt an aggressive anti-British attitude. The two brothers, Mohammed Ali and Shauqat Ali and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad organised a mass movement of the Muslims known as the Khilafat movement. The atrocities in Punjab had stirred the whole country, and in the Khilafat movement Gandhiji saw "an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Muslims as would not arise in a hundred years". Thus he wholeheartedly espoused the Khilafat cause.

THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919-1932)

Gandhiji conceived the idea of channelising the powerful currents of this united mass movement so as to give an impetus to the national struggle for independence. The special Congress session at Calcutta in September 1920 approved Gandhiji's plan for launching countrywide non-cooperation movement. People were asked to boycott Government offices and schools to take to the constructive programmes of Gandhiji. It was at this time that the

Jamia Millia Islamia of Aligarh, the Bihar Vidyapith, the Kashi Vidyapith and the Gujarat Vidyapith came into existence. Hundreds of lawyers including Chittaranjan Das, Motilal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad gave up their legal practice. An important feature of the movement was the burning of English cloth in bonfires, and a spirit of civil disobedience and passive resistance against the Government was visible every where. More than 70,000 people went to jails. In the meantime some old leaders like Bipin Pal, Annie Besant and Jinnah left the Congress since they did not like the militant form of the struggle. The Congress in its annual session at Ahmedabad (1921) not only expressed its determination to continue the programme of non-violent non-cooperation with greater vigour but took steps to organise civil disobedience.

The freedom movement was more a local phenomenon. The Akali movement in Punjab, the Moplah's anti-zamindari movement in Kerala, the peasant uprisings in Assam valley, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa bore testimony to the fact. Gandhiji announced on 1 February 1922 that he would start mass civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, unless the political prisoners were released within seven days and the Press freed from Government control. But the Chauri Chaura incident proved

a hindrance to the civil disobedience movement. A Congress procession of 3,000 peasants clashed with the police at Chauri Chaura, and the angry crowd attacked and burnt the police station causing the death of 22 policemen. Ganhiji took a very serious view of the incident and decided to suspend the nationalist movement. The Congress Committee passed a resolution stopping all activities which could lead to violation of law.

The Swarj Party (1922)

Ganhiji's decision to call off the civil disobedience movement created disillusionment everywhere. Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das and H.C. Kelkar formed a new party - The Swaraj Party - in 1922. After the death of C.R. Das in 1925, the Swarjists drifted towards a policy of cooperation with the Government leading to dissensions within the party. The party vanished in 1926.

Another Phase of Terrorism

In the meanwhile the relations between the Hindus and Muslim were greatly affected; first due to the suspension of civil disobedience movement and secondly, the transformation of Turkey into a secularist state under Kemal Pasha which put an end to the Khilafat movement. A revival

terrorisms came up. A dramatic manifestation of revolutionary terrorist activity was the assassination of a British Police Officer, by Bhagat Singh, Azad and Rajguru whom they mistook for the one who had earlier ordered lathi-charge on a demonstration led by Lal Lajpat Rai. Chandra Shekhar Azad, Surya Sen, Rajguru, Jatin Das, Sukhdev and many others resorted to terrorist activities. Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt threw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly on 8 April 1929 to protest against the passage of the Public Safety Bill.

The British authorities were hard on terrorists. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were executed on 23 March 1931 despite popular protest. Chandra Shekhar Azad was killed in a shooting encounter with the police, Surya Sen was arrested in February 1933 and hanged soon after. In March 1929, 31 prominent trade union and communist leaders were arrested and after a trial (Heerut Conspiracy case) lasting four years sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. The terrorist movement waned after 1934.

Simon Commission (1927)

In November 1927, the British Government appointed the Indian statutory commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission to enquire into the working system of

Government, the growth of education, development of representative institutions in British India and suggest further constitutional reforms. All the members of the Commission were Englishmen. This announcement was protested against by the Indians. They decided to boycott the Commission which was greeted with hartals and black-flag demonstrations under the slogan "Simon Go Back". The Government used brutal suppression and police force to break the popular opposition. It was while leading a demonstration against the Simon Commission that Lala Lajpat Rai received a fatal lathi blow.

The boycott of the Simon Commission provided a great opportunity for the restoration of amity between different communities and political parties. Political activity in the country was also revived. As a reply to the challenge thrown by Lord Birkenhead to the Swarjist Party to produce a Constitution for India all the parties (the Congress, the Muslim League, the Liberal Federation, the Moderate who had earlier seceded from the Congress) held a conference first at Delhi and then at Pune. The conference appointed a sub-committee to prepare a draft Constitution for India- Motilal Nehru headed the committee and submitted the report which came to be known as the Nehru Report. Responsible form of Government in which the

executive should be responsible to a popularly elected legislature, a sovereign Parliament with two Houses, no reservation of seats for any community in Punjab and Bengal, and the attainment of Dominion Status as the next step were some of the recommendations of the Nehru Report. But all parties of the convention which met towards the end of 1928 did not concede the claims made by Jinnah on behalf of the Muslims. He, therefore, joined the Muslim League which did not see eye to eye with the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha denounced the Report as pro-Muslim. Thus it marked the growth of communalism.

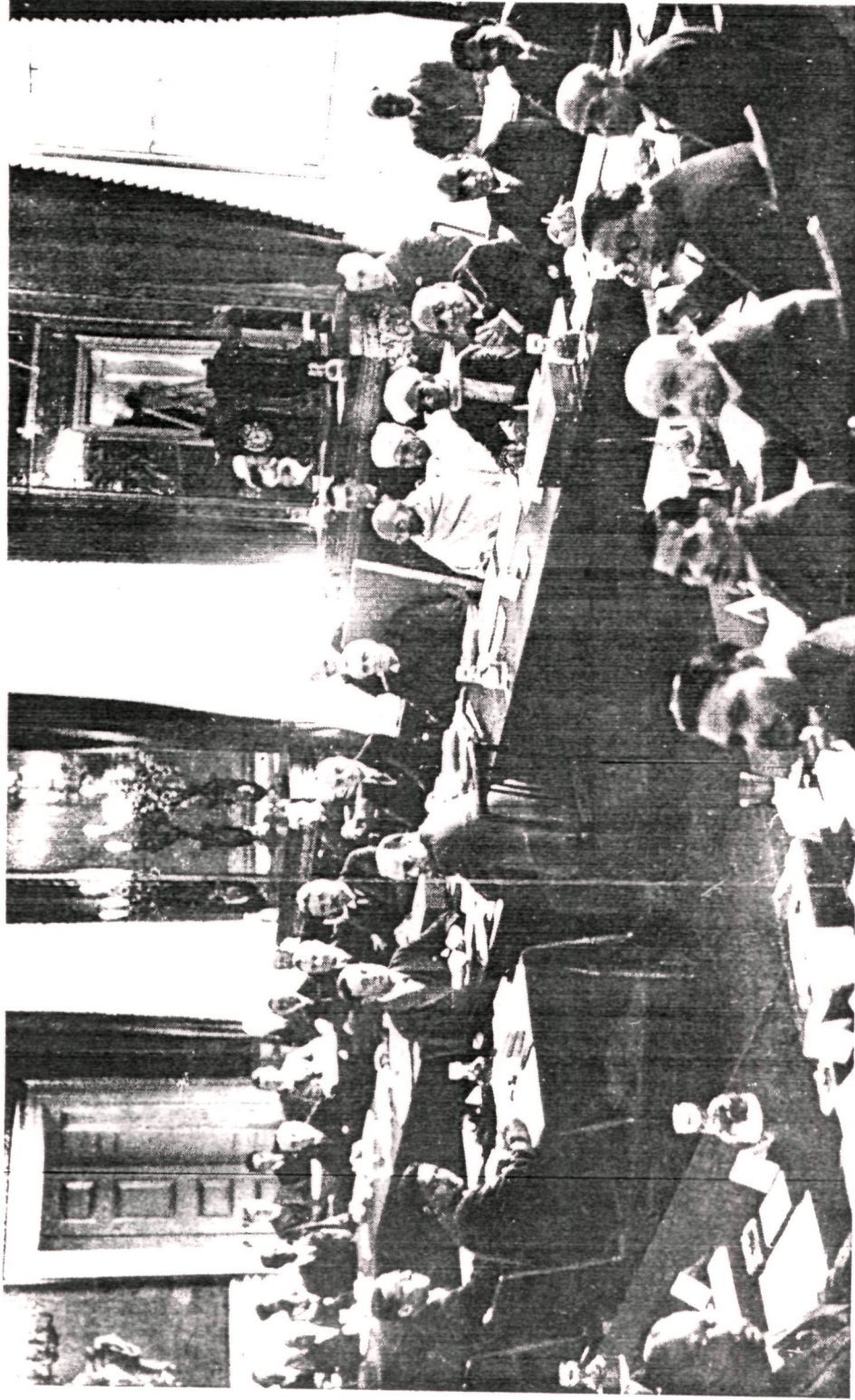
Poorna Swaraj (1929)

Gandhiji returned to active politics in 1928. In the Madras session, held in 1927, the Congress had declared complete national independence as its goal. Nevertheless, the all parties convention, and later the Congress, agreed to accept the Dominion Status if granted before 31 December 1929. But if the Government failed to do so, the Congress would demand complete independence. The Government did not concede the demands and thus the Congress session held in December 1922 at Lahore passed a resolution declaring poorna swaraj to be the Congress objective. On 31 December 1929, the newly adopted tricolour flag of freedom

was hoisted and it was declared that 26 January should be celebrated every year as the Independence Day.

THE SECOND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT (1930)

As the Government paid no attention to the demands, Gandhiji started the Civil Disobedience movement on 12 March 1930. He left the Sabarmati Ashram on foot together with about 76 followers for Delhi, a village on the Gujarat sea-coast. Here Gandhiji broke the Salt law which symbolised Indians' refusal to live under British made laws and therefore under British rule. The movement spread and everywhere in the country people joined hartals, demonstrations, and the campaign to boycott foreign goods and to refuse to pay taxes. In the north-western corner of India under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (the 'Frontier Gandhi') the Pathans too joined the struggle for freedom. Two platoons of Garhwal soldiers refused to open fire on mass demonstrators even though it meant facing court martial and long terms of imprisonment. Thus nationalism started penetrating the Indian army as well. The Government adopted stern measures of repression. According to official figures there were 29 cases of firing resulting in 103 killed and 420 injured and 60,000 people were imprisoned in less than a year. Indiscriminate and merciless beating of men



The Second Session of the Round Table Conference, 1931. Lord Sankey, the Lord Chancellor, is in the chair; on his right, Sir Samuel Hoare and (at the end of the table) Sir John Simon; on his left, Gandhi, Malaviya, Sastri, Sapru, Jayakar and Ramaswami Mudaliar. Ambedkar, wearing glasses, is on the near side of the table.

and women formed a feature of the repressive campaign undertaken by the Government.

The Round Table Conference (1930, 1931, 1932).

The strike and the boycott hit the British community hard, and the Government, unable to suppress the movement by force, adopted conciliatory measures. The British Government summoned in 1930 the First Round Table Conference of Indian leaders and spokesman of the British Government to discuss the Simon Commission Report. But the National Congress boycotted the Conference and its proceedings proved abortive. The Government now made attempts to negotiate an agreement with the Congress. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in 1931. The Government agreed to release those political prisoners who had remained non-violent, while the Congress suspended the Civil Disobedience movement and agreed to take part in the Second Round Table Conference, movement and agreed to take part. Many Congress leaders opposed the pact. Gandhiji went to England in September 1931 to attend the Second Round Table Conference but the Government refused to concede the basic nationalist demand for freedom on the basis of the immediate grant of Dominion Status. On coming back to India, Gandhiji resumed the Civil Disobedience movement.

The British authorities now tried to crush the Congress. The police indulged in naked terror and committed innumerable atrocities, on the freedom fighters. Over a lakh satyagrahis were arrested, the lands, houses and other property of thousands was confiscated. Nationalist literature was banned. The Congress officially suspended the movement in May 1933 and withdrew it in May 1934.

The Third Round Table Conference was held at the end of 1932, without the participation of the Congress. Its discussions eventually led to the passing of the Government of India Act 1935.

The Communal Award (1932).

Since the Second Round Table Conference failed to achieve results, the British Government announced its constitutional proposals. The establishment of a separate electorate for the weaker classes, which formed a part of a Communal Awards given by Ramsay Mac Donald In August 1932, provoked Ganhiji, then in jail, to undertake a fast unto death. The result was the Poona Pact which nearly doubled the number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes, to be filled by a common joint electorate out of a panel of names originally chosen by them alone

THE CONGRESS MINISTRIES (1937-1939)

The Civil Disobedience was virtually abandoned in 1934. The Congress once more decided to work the reforms introduced by the Act of 1935. It swept the polls in the elections held at the beginning of 1937. The Muslims desired to form a coalition ministry with the Congress in each province, but the Congress refused to admit into the Ministry anyone who did not subscribe to its creed. The cleavage between the Congress and the Muslim League widened and Jinnah publicly declared that the "Muslims can expect neither justice, nor fair play under Congress Government". However, the Congress formed Ministries in 7 out of 11 provinces and its administration too was highly successful. Several welfare measures were initiated. Soon a "left wing" developed within the Congress and its great strength became manifest when its leader Subhas Chandra Bose defeated even Gandhiji's nominee for the Presidency. Subhas Chandra Bose ultimately resigned and formed a new party, the Forward Bloc.

The 1930s witnessed the rapid growth of socialist ideas within and outside the Congress. Within the Congress this tendency was reflected in the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as President for 1936 and 1937 and of



Gandhi With Tagore. 1940

Subhas Chandra Bose for 1938 and 1939. Outside the Congress the socialist tendency led to the growth of the Communist Party under the leadership of P.C Joshi and the foundation of the Congress Socialist Party by Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan.

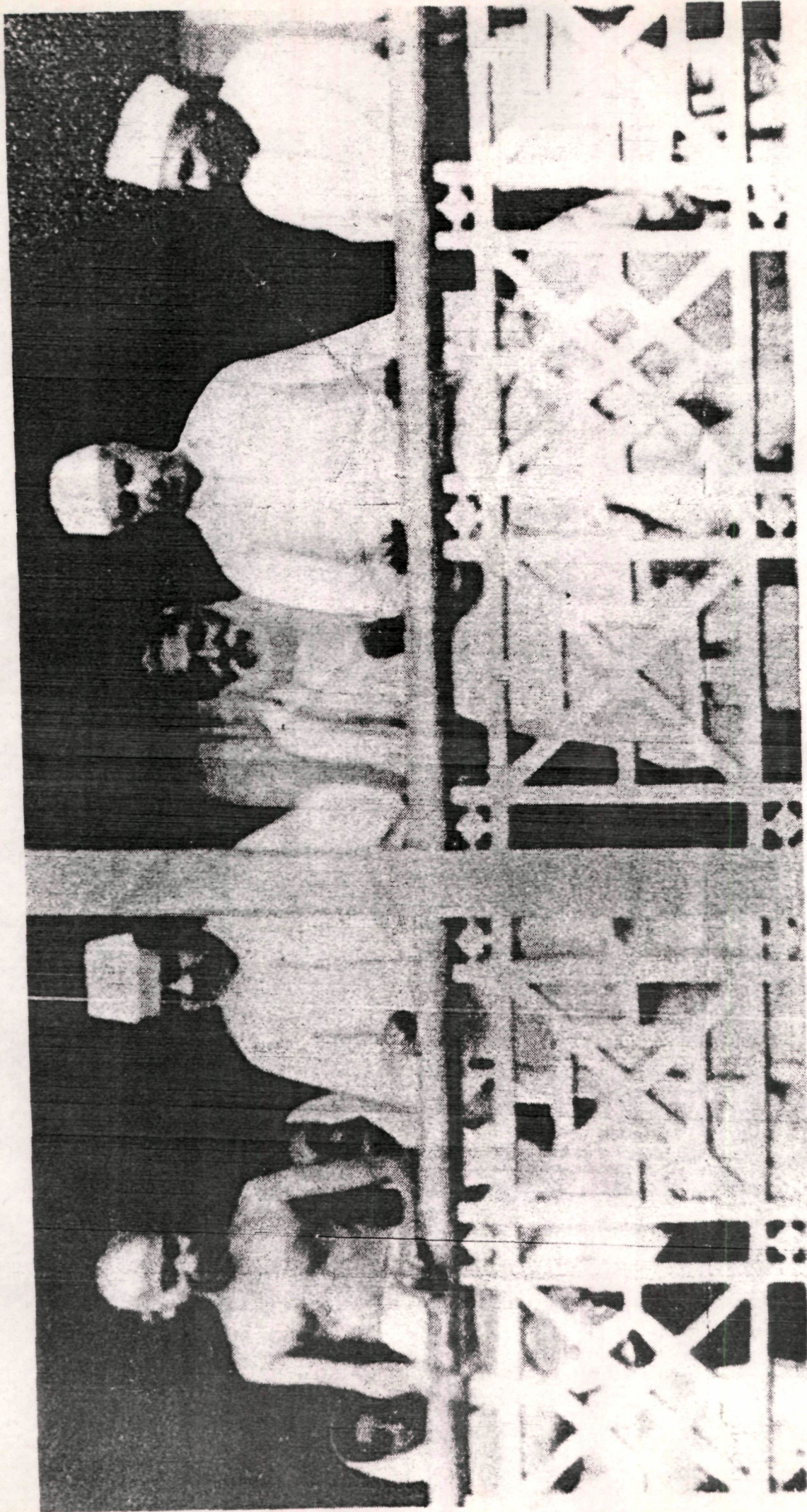
The national movement spread to the princely states too where people, now began to seek democratic rights and popular governments. The Congress supported these movements and urged the princes to introduce democratic representative government and to grant fundamental civil right.

The political situation was fairly tranquil until the outbreak of World War II in 1939, when the Congress took exception to the fact that India was dragged into the War without her consent. On this issue the Congress ministers resigned in October-November 1939. On 8 August 1940 the Government offered i) to set up after the War a representative body to devise a new Constitution for India ii) to enlarge the Viceroy's Executive Council by nominating additional Indian members, and iii) to appoint a "War Advisory Council" consisting of representatives of British India and Indian States. But as the Congress wanted atleast a provisional national government

as the Centre, the "August offer" seemed unsatisfactory and so in October 1940, an individual civil disobedience campaign was started under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Cripps Mission (1942)

The deadlock between the Congress and the British authorities continued for a year and a half on the international scene. When the Japanese, after overrunning Thailand, were rapidly advancing in Burma, the British made a conciliatory gesture. Japan occupied Rangoon on 8 March 1942. This brought the War to India's doorstep. The British desperately needed India's cooperation in War and to secure it, sent to India in March 1942, a mission headed by a cabinet minister Sir Stafford Cripps. Cripps came to India on 22 March 1942. After long discussions with Indian leaders he put forward the proposals envisaging that (a) India should be given the Dominion Status after the War (b) during the War period, the Defence portfolio would remain in the hands of the Viceroy, except that, all other subjects would be transferred to representative Indians and, (c) after the termination of the War, a Constituent Assembly would be set up to decide the future of India. The Congress as well as the Cripps Mission ended in complete failure.



The gallery on the second floor of Mani Bhavan, from where Gandhiji gave darshan to the people.

Quit India Movement (1942)

The All India Congress Committee met in Bombay on 8 August, 1942, and passed the famous "Quit India" resolution and proposed the starting of a mass struggle on the widest possible scale. Although the Congress had not made any actual preparations, the Government decided to strike immediately. In the early hours of the morning of August 9, all the Congress leaders were arrested and the Congress was declared an illegal body. As there was a complete lack of leadership and organisation, violent riots and assault and sporadic disorders, such as the cutting of telegraph and telephone line, damaging of railway tracks, stations etc., occurred on a large scale in different parts of the country. These individual acts of angry defiance soon swelled into a revolt. The Government reacted sharply and let loose a reign of terror. Lathi charges, firing and mass arrest became such a common feature that the country was transformed into a police state. Punitive fines and summary sentences became the order of the day. The Government succeeded in putting down this short-lived but intense revolt but not before over ten thousand people had died in police and military firings. However, the revolt secured two things: i) it gave utterance to India's anger against imperialism, and ii) it assured the British rulers that the days of

imperialist domination of India were numbered.

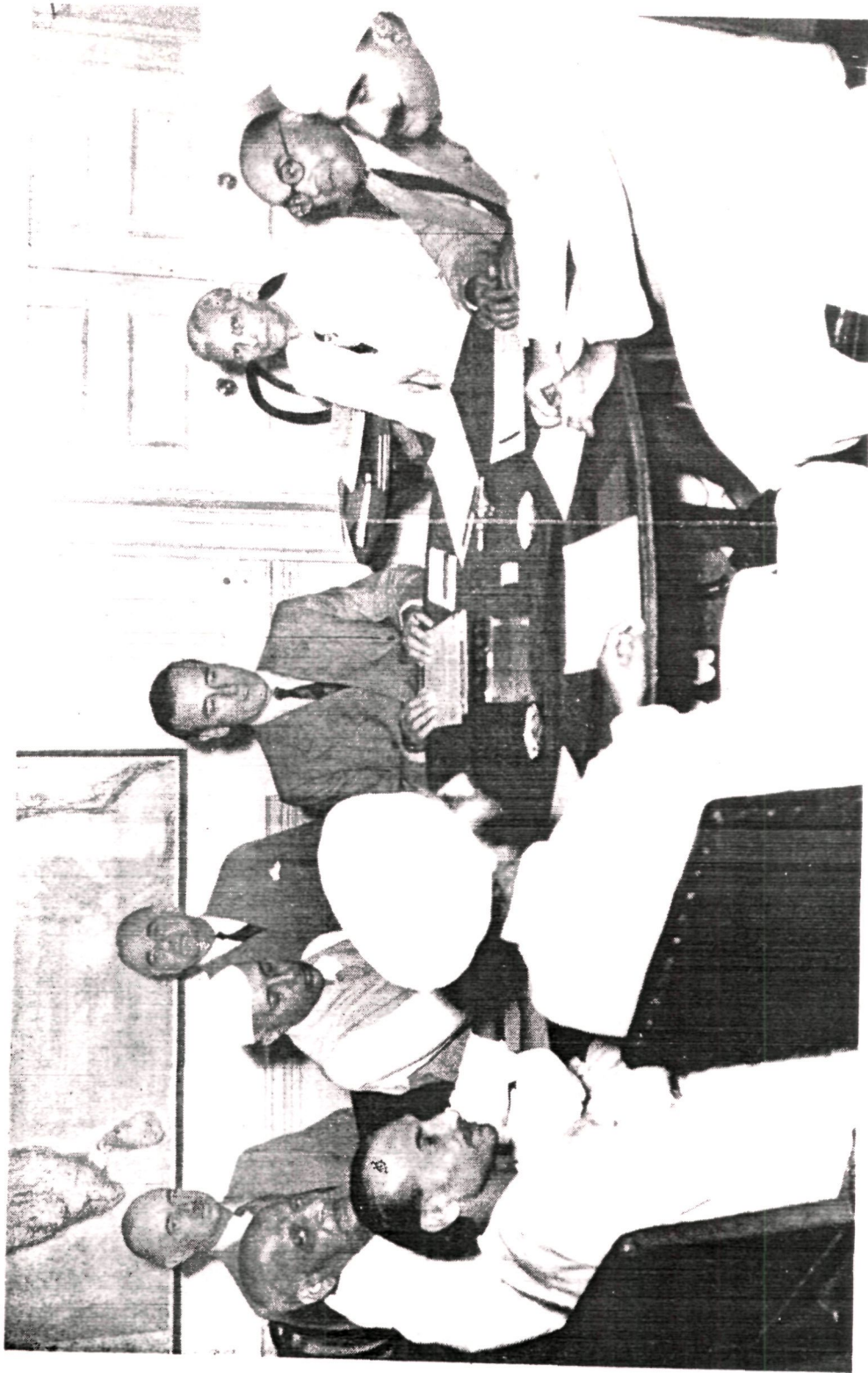
During the years 1942-45 there was no major political activity. Subhas Chandra Bose, who had escaped from India in 1941, made contacts with Germany and Japan. In February 1943, he left for Japan to organise an armed struggle against the British rule with Japanese help. In Singapore, he formed the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) to conduct a military campaign for the liberation of India. With the collapse of Japan in the War during 1944-45, the INA too met defeat, and Subhas Chandra Bose is said to have been killed in an aeroplane accident on his way to Tokyo.

Gandhiji was released from prison on grounds of health in May 1944. He held a series of discussions with Jinnah but no agreement was reached. Lord Wavell, who succeeded Lord Linlithgow as Governor General in October 1943, flew to London in March 1944 and came back with the proposal that the members of the Council, with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief should be Indian selected from amongst the leaders of Indian Political parties, on a basis of parity between Muslims and the so-called caste Hindus. A conference to select the personnel was summoned at Simla, but it broke

down as the Congress and the League could not come to an agreement.

Cabinet Mission Plan (1946).

After the Second World War, Labour Party came to power in Britain. The INA had surrendered to the British after the collapse of Japan, and a number of its officers were tried in India for treason. Not only the Congress but the entire political leadership of the country rose against the trials. The INA Officers were convicted after the court martial but the Government had to yield to the electrified public opinion and ultimately set these officers free. The trials once again assured the British authorities that India no longer be satisfied with false and vague promises. There was more evidence for reaching this conclusion. The revolt of the Indian naval ratings at Bombay in February 1946, widespread discontent and strikes in the Indian Air Force, a strike by the Indian Signal Corps at Jabalpur, had all proved this beyond doubt. Furthermore, strikes, hartals and demonstrations were being held all over British India and were spreading to the princely states also. The British therefore decided to transfer power to India and sent the Cabinet Mission. It consisted of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander, met the Indian leaders to negotiate



The Viceroy's conference, 2 June 1947. From left to right: Vallabhbhai Patel, Sir Eric Miville, Acharya Kripalani, Nehru, Lord Ismay, Baldev Singh, Mountbatten, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Rab Nishan

the handing over of power and recommended i) a Union of India comprising British India and the Indian States, ii) the federal centre should have control over defence, defence, foreign affairs and communications, iii) the division of provinces according to three groups, iv) setting up of a Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution and v) the establishment of an interim national government by the reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council from among the leaders of the different parties. The Muslim League accepted the proposals but criticised it particularly on the issue of Pakistan. An interim government was finally formed by the Congress in September 1946 with Jawaharlal Nehru heading the Council of Ministers. Muslim League too joined it in October 1946, but decided not to participate in the Constitution making. The British Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced that the British would quit India by June 1948, and appointed Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy of India.

Mountbatten Plan (1947).

Lord Louis Mountbatten was sent to India and he assumed office as Viceroy on 24 March 1947. On 3 June came the broadcast laying down the method by which power would be transferred to Indian hands. With the Partition

August 15, 1947, New Delhi: Louis Mountbatten, last British Viceroy of India, transferred power to the New Dominion of India in a ceremony held in the Constituent Assembly Council. He immediately became the first Governor-General of India.

August 14, 1947, Karachi: Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founder and first chief of state of Pakistan, addressed his countrymen on All India Radio. "Pakistan," he declared, "will not be found wanting in friendly spirit by our neighbour and all the nations of the world."



of the country, the western areas of Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan and the eastern half of Bengal and Sylhet district in Assam were to form the new independent state of Pakistan, which would be inaugurated simultaneously with India. The historic pronouncement was received with mixed feelings by the public. The Hindus and nationalists deplored the vivisection of India, while the Muslims of the League were not only fully satisfied with the "truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan", as Jinnah once described it.

Thus the division of India was announced much to the sorrow of the Congress, and much to the joy of the Muslim League. The Indian independence Act was rapidly passed through the Parliament, withdrawing all British power from India and vesting it in the Dominions of India and Pakistan. Freedom came on August 15, 1947.

The history of the Congress after independence is no less fascinating than the story of its struggle for freedom. The greatest achievement of the party after independence has been its success in retaining the confidence of the people. Nehru provided the dynamic leadership. He piloted the march of socialism in the country.

The post independence era has not only accelerated the

inner momentum of the Congress but has helped it to grow from strength to strength. The Congress has had its ups and downs, its troubles and tribulations, but it has emerged triumphant out of its struggle for political freedom and is constantly endeavouring to fulfil its socio-economic programmes. The history of this hundred years old organisation is a rich and long history of service to the people. Today the Congress represents the nation on the march-march towards peace, progress and prosperity.

CONCLUSION

The Indian National Congress thus established was intended to be a body of all Indians irrespective any distinction of religion, race, caste and creed. It had no written constitution at that time, but its ideology was to ventilate the grievances of the people of India and to discuss in an orderly and peaceable manner questions of the vital importance affecting their well-being. The assembling of Sindhis, Punjabis, Bengalis, Madrasis, Gujaratis, Marathis, Parsis, Marvadis, Hindus and Muslims under the same roof and for a common object, is by no means a trifling thing.

PART TWO
BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDIA, CONGRESS PARTY, DEMOCRACY

MORRIS-JONES (WH). *Parliament and dominant Party: Indian experience.* Parliamentary Affairs. 17,3;1964, Sum; 296-307.

There can be one dominant party regime which, so far from rending parliament feeble, actually makes for its strength and vigour. Without the Congress Party there could have been a successful imposition of goals and the capacity to gain acceptance of those goals. The retentive capacity of Congress has held together many regional and sectional interests. Congress by its hold over and feeling for rural society and by its power as government party has been able to absorb the worlds of village politics and to integrate them.

HISTORY

GRAHAM (BD). *Congress as a rally: An image of leadership.* South Asian Recorder. 6,2; 1973, Jan; 111-24.

There is a certain consistency in the way in which the Congress leaders have seen and explained the relationship between leadership, party and people. The Congress has had to abandon the politics of consensus to the extent of admitting organised opposition - the alliance of reaction and left extremists. But, it is agreed here,

old theme of the Congress as a rally persists, idealizing nationalism, and then socialism, as a pilgrimage. The analysis of this theme by study of the public statements of the Congress leaders, suggests a number of areas in which further research would be illuminating.

3. MALAVIA (KD). Congress left today. Link. 10,1; 1967, Aug 15; 60-2.

Congress was divided between "right and left". The Congress was born at a time which marked the beginning of the end of the British Empire in India. In the early stages the party was divided between the Moderates and Extremist wings. They were known as the No-changers and the Pro-changers. Many left the camp of Motilal Nehru and joined Jawaharlal Nehru, who brought the ideas of socialism and internationalism. The chief characteristic of the Indian National Congress has been to carry with it all kinds of heterogeneous elements, aiming at a broad pattern of socialism. There were differences among the leaders themselves. A clear cut picture of the "Right and left" emerged in the Congress during the period 1932-48.

4. MALHOTRA (Inder). Hundred not out. Times of India. 1985, May 12; 4;a-h.

Discusses that Indian National Congress has been a great organisation. It has been the instrument of India's

freedom and the pioneer of the liberation movements in Asian and Africa. Its greatest leader, Gandhi, was a side tracked; his formidable lieutenant, Patel, mentioned only in passing if at all. So was Tilak, who was the first procliam "Swaraj is my birthright". The Alibrothers who spearheaded the non-cooperation movement were totally ignored. Gokhale was not given much attention.. Nehru played significant role, after Gandhi, in the country's affairs for almost seven decades,

5. **KAVITA SINGH.** Congress is a movement. Hindustan Times. 1985, Dec 28; 9.

Birth of Indian National Congress was more by accident than by desi[?] n.. Hume wanted to make the Congress an instrument for achieving independence. The organisation has the same character as long as Hume lived. It change a little after death & with the arrival of Gandhi in the twenties. The Congress has never been a party in the known sens, for it had nocadre, no light screening procedure. It was a movement, a tornado, which swept the country, taking in its fold. Persons of all parties, political persuasions and social status. The turning point in Congress history came in 1919 when the Jallian-wala Bagh massacre took place.. It sparked off a massive movement all over the country. The Congress has not changed much since Hume. It continues to be an umbrella

party, and a movement in spite of emergence of regional groupings which cannot be called parties.

MILITARY INFLUENCE

6. WELLS (A.) Dynamics of institutional power: The Congress party and the military in India. International Journal of Contemporary Sociology. 11,1; 1974; Jan;34-43.

Political and economic decline of the Congress Party government is outlined, and the growth and the potential of alternate political and non-political groups are assessed, with special attention to the growth of military influence. It is concluded that the military is the only national organisation at present that is potentially capable of rule should the congress party fail to consolidate its power. As the instrument of force for the government, however, or even in a post-coup position of power, the army may not be adequate to the task of preserving unity in face of growing regionalism. The continued demise of civilian politics may therefore, lead to further partitioning of the subcontinent.

OBJECTIVES

7. BHARGAVA (ML). Evolution of Congress, National Herald. 1985, Aug 11; 9:d-e.

In the Indian National Congress met at Bombay in 1885, it was just an informal gathering of certain well

known men. The aims and objectives of the Congress were for the first time made clear in Hume's speech in 1888. He had laid down the basis for the future Congress constitution. It was laid down that the provincial organisations were to be given the largest latitude to determine the franchise and the mode of election of delegates, but no official would be allowed a vote. At the second session at Calcutta proposal to frame a constitution and rules for working the Congress was deferred for future occasion. The Madras Congress in 1887 became more thoroughly representative and national in character. The Lucknow session of Congress in 1899 had given a skeleton and the Lahore Congress put flesh and blood in the organisation. For the first three session of the Indian National Congress, no formal resolution was adopted for appointing a general secretary. Hume was appointed as General Secretary at the Allahabad session in 1888.

ORGANISATION , DEVELOPMENT

8. MATHUR (Girish). Will Congress live for another hundred years? Link, 28,21; 1985, Dec 29; 10-2.

Discusses that when the Congress was born in 1885, associations of English educated gentlemen had been formed at Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Bombay. However, as the years passed, some of the leaders of these association

often went behind the areas of their influence, contacted each other and toured upto Punjab. This made them aware of the need for a national platform to focus attention on all India issues. The Indian National Congress came into being despite those who insisted on keeping public life in India fragmented. Modern day apologist of British imperial rule have taken pains in trying to establish that the Congress was an all India coalition of regional forces. The Congress was not such a coalition. It was a national forum. The article also says that only the pursuit of the anti-imperialist and liberationist path can restore the symbiotic relationship of the Congress and the Communist. Jawaharlal Nehru assimilated best anti-imperialist traditions.

QUIT INDIA RESOLUTION

9. SHANKAR (Girija), Congress Socialist Party and the "Quit India" resolution of 1942. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. Ed by BR Grover and RP Dua. 33; .1972;512-3.

This presents an account of the Congress Socialist Party efforts to press the Congress to take advantage of the warsituation and launch a mass civil dis-obedience movement in order to compell the British to leave the country. It also discusses with some details the various

pulls of events before the final passing of the "Quit India" Resolution by All India Congress Committee in August 1942. The Congress Socialist Party consistently stood for starting this kind of movement and to the Socialist, the civil dis-obedience movement was meant only to be a prelude to a final armed revolution to get the country out of the foreign yoke. The failure of the British Government to respond favourably to the Congress demands, growing anti-British and Pro-Axis feelings among the people. The "Quit India Resolution" demanded "immediate ending of the British rule in India" was in effect acceptance of a policy which the Congress Socialist Party was clamouring for a long time.

STATE REORGANISATION O'DONNELL COMMITTEE

10. DASH (SC). States Reorganisation Commission and Orissa.
Ind. J. Polit. Sci. 16; 4; 1955, Oct., Dec; 336-51.

India inherited illegitimate provincial boundaries. The geographical situation became much more complicated by the merger of the neighbouring Indian states and by the formation of States Union and centrally administered areas. Before independence the Indian National Congress declared more than once its faith in the linguistics provinces. But the Congress cold-shouldered it in the post-independence days. The decision to set-up the state reorganisation commission came as a sequel to events culminating in the formation of the state

of Andhra. This makes a detailed study of the claims of Orissa on neighbouring states in the light of the recommendations of the O'Donnel Committee and the State Re-Organisation Commission.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT, AMERICAN ATTITUDE

11. SHRIVASTAVA (BK). *American attitude towards the Indian National Movement. International Studies. 14,3; 1975 Jul-Sep ; 529-30.*

American interest in India began with the first stirrings of nationalism in India. It starts with the partition of Bengal in 1905. There was a change in the American official attitude which the United States had officially displayed towards India before. Lala Lajpat Rai played an important role in the United States for the National Movement. After the entry of the United States in the war, the Indians were moved by the hope that the principle of self determination enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson was going to be extended to their country and their hopes were to remain un-fulfilled. The government of the United States was immensely concerned with British sensibilities and did not desire in the least to offend them. In 1925, the American Council at Bombay interviewed with Gandhi and he advised him to exercise greater discernment in intervening individuals, associations with whom, in view of their

political believes, might give rise to embarassment.

ARMY

12. HABIBULLAH (E). *Indian Army's Role in India's Freedom Movement.* Organiser. 32, 25; 1980, Nov 9; 13-5.

1857 is really the date which marks the date of divorce of Indian army and its master, the East India Company, It was a pyrhic victory for England; because they parted company with those very sepoy's who had won the empire for them from Madras to Multan. They fell back on the backward and less civilised areas of the Punjab and NWFP Queen Victoria Empress, became the first British Monarch in History to call herself anything more than Queen or King of England. The Indian soldiers emerged from World War II as heroes with a reputation next only to that of the Russian soldiers. It was only the soldiers that showed solidarity throughout. But our politics played into British hands also.

CONGRESS PARTY

13. THURTLÉ (Ernest) . *Congress stands for freedom.* Bombay Chronicle 1935, Dec 29; 9:a-b.

On the occasion of the Indian National Congresses' fiftieth anniversary of the inception, the writer greets to the organisation which stands for the freedom of the

Indian people from foreign tutelage, and in expressing the hope that their work of liberation will be crowned with success in the not distant future.

14. *SITARAYA (S Pattabhi). Saga of inspiration and Sacrifice. Hindu, 108, 52; 1947; Aug 15; 23: a-d.*

States that India's freedom has not been the exclusively conception or drawn of any single political party. It is a compendious expression of a whole nation's longing. The Congress is but the vociferous mouthpiece, the organ and limp of such a nation in bondage. The Congress which was groping in the dark when it was started in 1885, began to feel and find its way in a comple of decades (1905), broaden its vision and widen its outlook as it conceived Home Rule & finally rose to the attitudes of Swaraj. The first twenty years of the Congress witnessed the laying of the foundation of the edifice of Swaraj. The Congress has attempted to oust the foreign powers successively by physical, intellectual and moral forces. The congress started different movements to secure freedom. "Quit India" was Gandhi's war cry, raised on April, 18, 1942, and British Quit India on August 15, 1947.

15. *SUBRAHMANIAM (C). Event to learn new lessions. Econonic Times. 12,276; 1985, Dec. 29; 5: a-d.*

Describes that the centenary of the Indian National

Congress is being celebrated throughout the country not only by those who are in the Congress party today but also by all who participated in the freedom movement of Indian National Congress. This celebration should not end with any festivities, meetings and speeches. It should be an occasion to look back and learn lessons from the performance, growth and functioning of INC. Hume was responsible to start the INC on 28 December 1885. Even before starting of the Congress, there was an appeal by Hume. The INC developed a temper of sacrifice, service and self-discipline. Those who participated in the freedom movement were motivated by personal gains, but the participation in the freedom movement meant sacrifice and suffering. Gandhi made the congress mass-based so that the freedom movement become a popular mass movement. Today, the INC is the dominating political party in the country and therefore, the future of the country depends the quality and the manner of functioning of the INC.

DOMINANT STATUS

16. FISHER (HAL). *Problem of India*. Engl. Rev. 48,6; 1929, Jun; 641-53.

India presents one of the most difficult problems that the labour government has to face. According to the Indian point of view, England has managed India for

a long period and its management has failed. The INC has declared that if dominion status is not granted to India before the end of the present year, she will organise a campaign of boycott and passive resistance with a view to a separation from the British Empire. India knows what it wants and is apparently determined to have it. But the British government as yet has no definite programme to meet the Indian demand.

FACT IONALISM

17. LAL (JN). Factionalism in the Congress Party: Causes and consequences. Indian Journal of Politics. 9,1; 1975, Jun; 118-30.

Factionalism with the Congress Party of India is a unique phenomenon the nature, cause & consequences of which must be looked into to understand the organisational dynamics, policies and programmes of the party. Factionalism in the Congress before independence was motivated by ideological differences; since 1947 it is associated namely with material benefits. Religious, caste or communal considerations play a relatively insignificant role in factional politics. Factionalism has brought about qualitative changes in the Congress Party - it is no longer a monolithic structure of the good old days.

HISTORY

18. GUPTA (Shyamlal Datta). *India, the Congress centenary and future.* Times of India. 148, 359; 1985 Dec 29;24:a-h.

Indian National Congress according to Surendranath Banerjee, was founded with the avowed objective of the unification of the people of India, to reach their political aspirations for the benefit of its people. Ironically, it was founded at a suggestion of Lord Dufferin to Allen Octave Hume and by educated Indians, who pulled all their aspirations to the liberal pronouncements of Thomas Munro, Macaulay & Henry Lawrence. The history of the INC is the history of India's struggle for freedom. Gandhi came to India with a firm faith - in British justice. He realised the mood of terrorists, changed the entire strategy of India's quest for freedom. Non-cooperation with the British was his call. He suffered when he saw others suffer. People's movement thus started under the still of Gandhi. The movement lead to violence, hardship, suffering, humiliation and death. In 1947 when the British left India, it was more out of economic compulsions. The centenary of INC should be therefore, a time of evaluation of whether we have learnt our lessons from our freedom struggle and the principles.

19. SINGH (Neelam Mahajan). Congress has lost its structure. Hindustan Times. 1985, Dec 23; 9: a-f.

Discusses that the Congress is a hundred years old, yet the numerous essentials of the organisation have been neglected in the last many years. It is infact the organisational structure which gives the strong footing to any party. Most Congress leaders concentrated on the government and its results and this lead to the party losing the structural foundation.

20. SRIVASTAVA (Manoj). Congress enters into a new Dynamic phase. National Herald. 1985, Jul; 7;3:a-h.

Congress has achieved a remarkable feat by surviving for a century. It did not start as a political party and it acted as a forum to inform the government of the popular defects in the administration and getting the remedied. Gandhi transformed the mass movement and coloured it with patriotic fervour. After the assassination of Gandhi a new phase of Nehru Started known as Golden phase of Congress, which showed many up and downs.

PACIFISM, INTERNATIONALISM

21. DASGUPTA (RK). Congress record of pacifism and internationalism. Link. 28, 29; 1986, Jan 26; 101-7.

Discusses the history of INC is the history of ideas and values of spiritual and moral experiments. The Congress lead a national movement which had international goals. In the first thirty five years, it aimed at national salvation through friendly cooperation with colonial masters. Pacifism and internationalism are the two most important features of the intellectual history of the Congress.

STRUCTURE

22. DEORA (Murlit). *Down of a new era.* Times of India. 148, 395; 1985; Dec 28; 17:e-h.

The INC has not only built for itself the distinction of being the world's democratic party, but has also stood out as the longest surviving mass movement in human history. The Congress has withstood turbulances, trials and tribulations stoutly. The great Congress leader represent a people who are truly committed to the ideals of democracy. Now the Congress has grown into a mass movement.

INDIA ACT

23. CRIPPS (Stafford). *Congress must go forward.* Bombay Chronicle. 1935, Dec 29; 9:a.

Congress has done a great work for India in focussing

the sentiment for national self government, and in bringing before the people of great Britain in relation of the demands so rightly made by the Indian people for the control of their own country. The recent India Act, typically imperialist in origin, seeks to rivet once more British financial control upon India. The Indian National Congress will go forward with their demand of freedom not only from the exploitation of the foreigner, but freedom from all exploitation by capitalism.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, BRUSSELS

24. CONGRESS CAN'T remain aloof from world forces. Link.
28, 21; 1985, Dec. 29; 13.

Discusses that the idea of holding an International Congress at Brussels apparently originated with a small group in Berlin. The decision of the INC to send a representative greatly welcomed by the organisers, as a Congress against imperialism without India. The socialist tendencies of the League are very marked although individual members who are not socialists were present.

MASS MOVEMENT

25. CONGRESS AND the Country. (editorial). National Herald.
1985, May 4; 6.

Discusses the onward march of the INC over the decades is in itself a tribute to its uniqueness as a political organisation. This long journey is marked by momentous events of hope and fulfilment as also of trials and travails, that makes a fascinating story of our freedom movement in its variegated facets. Destiny has made the Congress a symbol of the urges and hopes of the Indian masses. Secularism and socialism have been the main tenets of its policy.

26. CONGRESS CENTENARY. (Editorial). National Herald. 1985, Dec 28; 4.

INC is 100 years old this day. It has been a journey both in its moral and political naunces. The Congress was the blossom forth as the instrument of the magnificent endeavour to shape the nation's destiny in keeping with the ideals of civilised norms of freedom and liberty. It began as an elitist protest, then it grew into a mass movement for attainment of freedom.

MASS ORGANISATION

27. CONGRESS CENTURY (editorial), Indian Express. 1985, May 8; 9:a-b.

It is a proud for the INC as it is completing 100 years of existence. It is the oldest party in the

world, barring the Democrats and Republicans in the United States, the Social Democrats in West Germany and the Conservatives and Liberals in Britain. The Congress however did not start as a political party. Gandhi made a mass organisation. It was primarily a freedom movement. Several Congressmen branched out to form their own district parties. The history of Congress has been the history of modern India. It has undergone & faced several spirits and remains 100 years after its birth.

ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

28. FRANDA (MF). Organisational development of India's Congress Party. Pacific Affairs. 35, 3; Fall 1962; 247-60.

Success of the Congress party in making stable government in India for more than a decade has been contingent on the solution of several problems within the party organisation: Conflicts resulting from the growth of two wings governmental and organisational, competing factions and declining membership. The survival and success of post independence Congress party is due to a number of factors; experience of the older leaders, its identification with the nationalist struggle, Nehru's policy of factional tolerance etc. But the

has been unable to co-opt effective new leaders or to solve the problem of declining membership. The new generation of leaders will come from the organisational wing of the party.

PREMIER POLITICAL ORGANISATION,

SURAT CONGRESS

29. CONGRESS PAST, *Congress Present*. Link. 20, 22; 1978, Jan. 8; 15-6.

Indian National Congress, the premier political organisation of the country was founded in 1885. The story of its origins, the direction it gave to national aspirations, the contents it introduced into the freedom movement and the path it chose for the country in the post-independence period were the outcome of conflicting pressures and contradictions emanating from the diverse social forces that made up the mass base of the organisation. These changed the face of the party with the falling away of some elements and the entry of others ever since the 1901 Surat Congress. The parting of the ways at Surat, however, gave the Congress new energy to meet the challenge of imperialism. There were other partings, prominent amongst them was witnessed at the Gaya session. The internal conflicts in the Congress had always their centre in dominant personalities. Congress persistency partially

recovered its authority with the election of Kamraj, who played a major role in the two successions.

SOCIALISM

30. CHANDRA SHEKHAR. *Congress and Socialism*. Link. 10,1; 1967, Aug 15; 64-8.

Discusses that the role envisaged for the Congress in the pre-independence days was mainly to organise Indian people against British rule and win political liberation. Notwithstanding the limitations of the Congress in the beginning, the advent of Mahatma Gandhi brought new dimensions to the freedom movement. The transfer of power from British to Indian hands was a unique achievement in human history. After independence the administrative apparatus came into the hands of Congress. The Congress made repeated declaration about the political taste before it and it finally affirmed democratic socialism as its goal. This maintained the image of Congress as a dynamic, progressive party.

31. HADIDULLAH (E). *Congress and Fight for unity*. National Herald. 1985, Jun 23;4.

States that the Indian National Congress stood throughout for the unity of India. Muslim League through

the good offices of the Agha Khan and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan began to sink their differences with the British, they were faced with the stand of Ali brothers and others who ran the Khilafat movement. The Congress to counter communal moves made an agreement with the Keeguelin 1916. The struggle thus remained a joint political level and anti-British in nature. They sit together, draft a new constitution and present it to H.M. Government. The Khilafat movement covered in, but its leading elements were offered positions of influence in the Indian National Congress, this gave congress a secular look. Both of them got lead in the elections. The post war communal riots that broke out were artificially and politically engineered. The stalwarts show stood for unity at all costs, quietly agreed to the division of India. Now India has Pakistant as the main enemy. Pakistan has no political base.

INDEPENDENCE, ROLE, MOUNT BATTEN

32. *INDEPENDENCE DAY. (editorial) Statesman. 113, 23114; Aug 15;6:C.*

Discusses Britain sincerity, Lord Mountbatten's speed and skill and the ideals, statesmanship and eventual practical capacity of compromise of India's leaders have made August 15, the greatest day in modern Indian History.

Two years ago ended World War II, the biggest and most terrible humanity's experience a war successfully, sincerely and with appealing loss fought by the British people for freedom - not theirs only. Apalling deeds have been done, apalling suffering endured; and the independence which Indians get, and the British people give, is bisected. A land, now on gaining freedom splits intwain.

SOCIALISM, NEHRU

33. CURTIN (PWE). *India and her plans.* Australian Journal of Politics and History. 2, 1; 1956, Nov;34-45.

Indian independence movement, for good or ill, may be entering a socialist "revelutionary phase", sustained by the Indian passion for equality and Indian asceticism with its strong puritan streak. After flirting with socialism for years, Indian Congress may now be securely and finally committed to some form of socialism. All Asian governments protest their socialism, but no one has so far made such a serious attempt as Mr. Nehru to work out what he means by socialism in Asia.

34. PATIL (VT). *Nehru's Early Socialsim and the Indian National Movement.* Modern Review. 140, 5; 1976, Nov;303-7.

Origin of Nehru's socialist ideas goes far back to

the days when he was a student of Cambridge. His ideas on Socialism had crystallised and he set about to impart a socialist vision to the national movement. The Congress party incorporated the ideas of socialism through Nehru's influence. His early socialism was deeply rooted in the Indian soil. He gave a candid and full expression to his radical views in his Presidential address to the INC. His significant role in the national movement was a formulation of an economic ideology that gave substance to the struggle.

35. INDIA, FREEDOM STRUGGLE

SHARMA (RS). Some early Freedom fighters. Indian and foreign review, 19, 5; 1981, Dec 15; .25-6.

Discusses that India's freedom struggle started in 1957 and continued successfully upto 1947. It was a struggle that was to go on, with ups and downs for ninety years. IT was in the interest of the Briti- shers that Indians forgot the heroes who, started their fight for political freedom, and who fought shoulder to shoulder to oust the intruding foreigners. Many names of the freedom fighters have been given who are from all communities.

HISTORY

36. CENTENARY GOALS (editorial). Economic Times, 12, 275; Dec 28; 5: a-b.

Discusses that the Indian National Congress has been more a national movement than a political party at least till August 15, 1947. There has been only one overriding ideology in those years of struggle, the flower of the flock in the country identified themselves with the fight for national liberation. The programmatic phase of the struggle had begun, Gandhi's advent has been both an adventure of the higher perceptions of men and a pathbreaking, long march to the goal.

INDEPENDENCE

37. KUMAR (Bhagat Ram). *Independence Vs. dominion status for India. Hindustan Rev. 54, 309; 1930, Jun; 360-5.*

India cannot be held permanently within the British Empire against the will of the Indian people. India will, however, be content to remain within the Empire, provided she is given the dominion status. Fullest autonomy, which gives the substance of independence, is the prudent solution of the present impasse in India.

MUSLIM LEAGUE, DEVELOPMENT

38. RAY (Rajat Kanta). *Bengal Congress. 1900-1944. Statesman. 1985, Nov 10; 26-31.*

Congress grew as a massive party machine under

Gandhi's direction - a growth reflected in its stunning electoral victories in 1937 which upset all British calculations. The failure of the Congress in Punjab & Bengal provinces was crucial to the political evolution of the Indian subcontinent. It left the way clear for the growth of the Muslim League and the emergence of Pakistan. The political failure of the Congress in these provinces left the way open to the Jinna's campaign.

MUTINITY

39. KARAEMER (H). *Impressions and experiences in British India at the end of 1929.* Koloniale Studien. 14, 3; 1930, Jun; 371-85

Since the mutiny India has entered into a period of self assertion and development of national consciousness, which the war and post war conditions greatly stimulated. The political atmosphere has been electrified by the Viceroy's statement concerning dominion status. The early optimism regarding the ability of India and England to effect satisfactory relations gave way a suspicion of England grew & debating went on in Parliament. This statement of ruined explains the Indian National Congress, the youth movement and the anti-imperialist and socialist elements were both religious and anti-religious, some thing new in British India. Gandhi dominated the Congress but in turn was dominated and used by the nationalist.

NON COOPERATION

40. KESAVANARAYANA (B). *Temperance campaign in Andhra.*
In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. Ed. by
R.K Chaudhry, Irfan Mohammad Habib and Barun De.2;1967;151.

Temperance campaign was one of the most important activities of the non-cooperation and Khilafat agitators. It was carried on both by Hindus and Muslims. Their main objective in conducting the movement was undoubtedly to reduce the income of the government from toddy and arrack shops and make the financial position of the British unsound so far as possible. To achieve this objective the non-cooperators and Khilafat workers adopted mainly the two methods of boycotting and picketing, after they were released. The campaign made considerable progress in Kurnool, Anantpur, Guntur and Godavari districts.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT

41. RAM NANDAN KUMAR. *Non-Cooperation movement of 1920-21 and British Parliament.* *In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. Ed by Barun De and BR Grover, 2;1970;236.*

Discusses the attitude of the British Parliament towards the Non-cooperation movement has been examined. The Prime Minister stood for maintaining the authority of the govt.

at any cost. Gandhi was regarded as the ring leader of the agitating class. It was hoped that if firmly handled the agitation would be easily put down. It was considered far more important to give the Indians good government, even if autocratic, than to give them free government.

PUNJAB

42. **KIRPAL SINGH.** *Punjab and Freedom Struggle.* Tribune. 1976, Aug 15;6.

Dust of the first Anglo Sikh war had not, yet settled when the Punjabis launched struggle for independence under the inspiring leadership of Sardar Sham Singh. In March 1913 about 200 Indians who were mostly Punjabis from various parts of Canada and the US assembled at Washington and founded Hindi Association with Sohan Singh as President. The Punjabis paid very high price for the freedom of the country.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

43. ← **MAZUMDAR (Asoke Kumar).** *Revolutionaries in Freedom Struggle.* Economic studies. 22,7-8; 1982, Jan -Feb;323-50.

There is a discussion on revolution, which the writer of the article says that it means "forcible change of government". The change of government in India was, how-

-ever, effected by peaceful constitutional means, hence it cannot be said that our independence was the result of a revolution. However, persistent attempts were made to overthrow the British government by force. These attempts constitute the "revolutionary movement.

ROLE, FOREIGNERS

44. RAO (P Kodanda). *Foreigners who served India's cause.*
Swarajya, 18,15; 1973, Oct 13;19.

Discusses that most foreigners specially the England people had been of immense help in our struggle for freedom. In the post-independence time, there has been no doubt a growing tendency among some sections of the Public here to denigrate some of the foreigners in wake of over enthusiasm for our own great men. Many of the foreigners have been dwelt upon to make us realise how they have rendered timely reforms in order to justify their claim to have ruled a vast sub-continent.

MUSLIMS

45. QAMAR AGHA. *Role of Muslims in pre-independence era.*
Economic Times, 12,89; 1985, 23 Jun; 4: a-c.

Discusses that the vivsection of the country in 1947 was a tragedy not only for the majority community but equally was set back to the Muslims of India who

were generally carried away by Jinna's rhetoric in the early forties. Rather, the greatest price for the partition was paid by none other than the Muslims of this country. The trauma of partition generated essence doubt about the Muslims among the majority community. Muslims role in the freedom movement was completely ignored. But many historians have appreciated the role of the Muslims in India's freedom movement. A number of nationalist Muslims were there who fought shoulder to shoulder with the leaders of the majority community for independence.

46. ROY (Santinony). Revelutionary movement and role of Indian Muslims. Mainstream. 7,36; 1969, May 10;20-4.

Discusses that the first militant struggle against the British rule in India began during first decade of the 19th century. Under the leadership of Syed Ahmad a Muslim Fakhir of Raibareilly, waged a relentless battle against the British rule for a period of half a century. The great sons of Muslim community who came forward to fight with complete disregard of the prejudices, gains to the historical growth of India's national liberation struggle can demand a rightful recognition in history. The East Bengal Muslims along with Hindus participated in the struggle against the partition of Bengal,

this is popularly known as "Swadeshi movement". Many Muslim leaders organised revolutionary parties and appeal to Afghan government to render assistance in their armed struggle against the British. Many Muslim leaders participated in the struggle for freedom.

RELIGION

47. VENKATTARANGAYA (M). *Role of Religion in Indian Politics (1900-1925)*. Political Science Review. 25, 1, 1979, Jan-Mar; 135-7.

Religion played a great role in the politics of India during 1900-1925. It created a cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus first of all were influenced by nationalism and democracy and later on the Muslims were influenced. They founded INC in 1885. The terrorists of Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab made use of the Gita in training their followers. Similarly it was an appeal by the religious sentiments of the Muslim leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Syed Amir Ali, evolved the two nation theory. British kept Muslims away from Hindus to weaken the nationalist movement.

REVOLUTIONARY

48. KULKARNI (VB). *Revolutionaries role in Indian freedom*

Struggle. Sunday Statesman. 1977 Jan 2; 3: e-f.

Discusses the part played by radical Indians specially Madan Lal Dingra, a noted revolutionay, at the beginning of the century and later in the country's struggle for political independence. Only the new classes of English educated Indians was disturbed by such a development since it sincerely believed that British overlordship was in the country's best interest. In 1909, Minto told Lord Morley that "Swaraj is an impossibility in our time for generations.

STUDENTS

49. SAHIYA (Shobha). *Students role in the freedom movement of India. Capital. 171, 4294; 1973, Dec 20; 2036.*

Discusses the role played by the students in the freedom movement of India. There is a discussion on how the students actively participated and made sacrifices during the 1942s Quit India Movement. Also there is a discussion on All India Students' Conference at Nagpur in December 1940. The beginning of the students movement in India was made by the English educated upper class students. Also there is a discussion on the influence of Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement of 1920-21, and the active participation of the students in it.

FOREIGN WOMEN

50. RAMACHANDRAN (Padma). *Foreign Women and India's Freedom Movement. Indian and Foreign Review. 13,10; 1976, Mar 1; 20-3.*

History of Indian Freedom movement is studded with many stars - bright young man and women, who work with a passion. Indian independence by organising meetings. There is a detail discussion of the services of Annie Basant, Margaret Cousins & Margaret Noble. They identified their interest with those of India and not only spent their best years in India but also died here.

TERRORISM

51. SANKHDER (BH). *British Problems in India. Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 21; 1983, Aug. 15;59-60.*

Discusses the British government was in panic and bombs and bullets of the Revolutionaries put the whole bureaucracy in fear. Many officials were murdered in public places. Terrorism thus became a prey on the British mind. In 1914, the World War started the condition of British government in India became more critical and it not possible for the British government to fight the

war without India's support, which India has supported greatly. In 1915, an arm revolt took place in India which stunned the Englishmen. British in response adopted cruel ways of ruthless suppression, but they failed to extinguish the fire of freedom.

UNITY

52. RAO (P Rajeswara). *Freedom Fighters I have known.* Swaraja. 23, 7; 1978, Aug 13; 29-32.

Discusses that the freedom fighters are responsible for achieving the political unity of India. Also there a discussion about the participation of Andhra people who played the role in achieving freedom for India.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, HISTORY, SURVEY

53. SANTHANAM (K). *Silver Jubilee: Let us remember.* Swarajya. 17,6; 1972, Aug. 5; 1-3.

On the silver jubilee occasion of the historic event every Indian should refresh his memory about the victorious national struggle for freedom. The article attempts at a brief historical survey of the beginning growth and success of Indian nationalism. The British Conquest of

of India was one of the strongest episodes in World History with the suppression of the Indian mutiny a kind of national revolt, the British government in India was formally transferred to the British Crown. After some stray attempts at political organisation, the INC came into existence. Through the deliberate policy of the founding fathers of INC, Indians could secure increasing partnership in the administration of self government. Many movements occurred and finally India got freedom.

PARTITION ROLE, MOUNT BATTON

54. *RAFIQ ZAKARIA*. He presided over the partitions of India. Times of India . 148, 152; 1985 Jun 2; 8: a-d.

Discusses that Mounbatton's role on the eve of partition of the sub-continent has been discussed at length. Many Indians, including Nehru believed that his was a helpful role; but there are many discerning critics both Indian and British who feel that he was a man in a hurry, who decided on a massive operation without sufficient thought and planning with the result that lakhs of people died on either side of the border. The problem of Kashmir which is Moun Batton's legacy to India, could have been resolved had he not persuaded Nehru to refer it to the United Nations.

POLICIES, GANDHI

55. *MORAES (F). Gandhi ten years after. Foreign Affairs. 36,2; 1956; Jan; 253-66.*

Gandhi's ideas as techniques do not shine as they did in his life time. Neither India nor the Congress party accepted non-violence as a creed; for them it was only an instrument; and that explains many contradictions in Indian policies since Gandhi's death. The most significant deviation is today's socialism in India. For Gandhi individuals were more important than classes.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, BHOODAN MOVEMENT

56. *NARAYAN (Shiriman). Independence day observance. Congress Bulletin. 8-9; 1953, Aug-Sep; 251-3.*

Writer of the article says that on the 15th August Congress Committee should try to arrange Prabhat Phenis singing Bhoodan and National Songs. Later, there should be flag hoisting ceremony at which land donations should be announced before the gathering. In the evening public meetings should be arranged for explaining the objectives and significance of the Bhoodan Yojana movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. During the week after the 15th

August, important Congressmen and office bearers of Congress Committee should themselves undertake walking tours in the rural areas to collect donations.

CONCEPT, GANDHI

57. MISRA (Panchanan). *Indian National Congress: The Gandhian concept.* National Herald. 1985, Nov 10;5.

Discusses that Gandhi was greatly influenced by Indian scriptures and western philosophies, in his approach towards building a decentralised gram Swaraj. His constructive programmes were meant to train workers to fight the cause of Indian independence. The mass upsurge it created, baffled the British rulers. He realised that it was difficult to oust the British with violent means. During the Wardah AICC meeting in 1942 he said "Non-violence with me is a creed that I placed it before India. I placed it before the Congress as a political method. I have carried the Congress with me in my capacity as a politician".

EVALUATION

58. CHOPRA (VD). *New Elite in the Congress.* Patriot. 1985, May 13; 4.

Discusses the views of various people who have

assessed the deliberations of the AICC meeting. Some say it was a Rajiv Party, in the same it used to be Indira Party, others says that the Congress continued to be the mirror of the aspirations of the Indian people in the post Indira Gandhi period. The left elements are critical about what they call the political gimmicks of the ruling party. The deliberations of the working committee to the frank and open debate at the AICC meeting - would agree that the Congress continues to preserve its dynamism as the biggest anti-imperialist force and also continues to be the standard barrier of secularism, national unity.

59. MENON (NC). *Purging the Black Sheep.* Hindustan Times. 1986, Jan 1;11.

Indian National Congress had quite a different objective from today's one of pulling the nation up by its bootstraps. Its primary purpose then was to gain independence from British colonial subjugation. In pursuing the goal, the INC was long the mother organisation of all India political parties, except the CPI. The old congress cultured has gone, and in place of Khadi, the Congress leaders preferred to get wear pants and shirts.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT

60. *BOSE (Subhas Chandra). Congress: Its phases. Bombay Chronicle. 1935, Dec 29; 11: c-e.*

Discusses that with the partition of Bengal, the storm broke. The Congress entered on a new era - and just in time to baffle the government. After a period of consolidation, came the time for attack - and the weapon of attack was a non-violent and economic one - boycott. With the outbreak of great war the Indian movement entered another phase. Gandhi came with his cry of non-cooperation. His appearance was most opportunate. For fifteen years the struggle has gone on with variations in tactics from time to time. The Congress soon enter on a new phase. The logic of India's history demands it.

61. *CENTENARY AND after. (editorial). Hindustan Times. 1985, Dec 28; 9: a-b.*

Exactly hundred years ago, the INC was born in Bombay, the brain child of A.O. Hume. Hume was a friend of India and he would never have imagined that an organisation of loyalists of the British Empire would cause it to perish. The Congress transferred into a mass movement and became a sharp weapon, which destroyed the shackles of the British rule. Tilak & Gandhi are responsible for the revolutionary

change in the character of the Congress. The Congress got freedom and now it has to preserve the freedom making India in vulnerable. Under Nehru the Congress became the world's biggest democratic organisation. The true agents of Congress has not changed now also. Its lofty ideals of Non-violence, Non-alignment have become more valid in a world threaten with Star Wars and the possibility of nuclear holocaust through super poser rivalry.

62. ← *CENTENARY BOSTER. (editorial). Tribune. 1985, Dec 31; 4.*

Centenary celebrations of the INC was looking almost as a national festival, this inevitable, because the INC claims to be, and is also in reladity still, more than a political party. The electoral success in the past 37 years have continued to give to the INC a largely popular reason for survival as the principal national reportory of power. Despite upsets and inspite of familiar weak links, the organisation is determined to carry on with a renewed hope and stronger purpose. The INC was not content only with waging a struggle for India's own freedom, but it also supported movements of liberation from imperialism.

63. GOPAL (Niraja). *Quest for "Self purification"*. Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 24; 1983 Oct 1; 28-9.

Discusses the idea of freedom of the Indian people is not accidental, but it is an incidental. The idea of freedom movement in India was developed in the 19th & 20th centuries. Indians have formed a mighty freedom within ourselves. The Europeans have found out the way of external freedom and that of the Indians, the internal freedom. We have learned from the Europeans to aspire after external as they will learn from us to aspire after internal freedom.

64. LIMAYE (Madhu). *Flash back on forty two*. Mainstream. 20, 49; 1982, Aug 7; 9-10.

Ninth August struggle as the forth and the culminating phase of the freedom movement. The birth of the modern freedom movement is rightly traced to the foundation of INC in 1885. The Congress for many years was a Christmas gathering of India's educated elite who passed resolutions on reforms at their annual meetings. Lokamanya Tilak introduced an element in our movement. Gandhi emerged as leader in 1919. His non-cooperation and civil disobedience programme drew million into the movement. He won over Nehru who was an ardent supporter of Gandhi's militant programme.

65. MAITRA (Nirmal Chandra). *Nationalist violence in India and the political secret society.* Modern Review, 142, 5; 1978, Nov; 303-9.

Balasore encounter (1915) announced for Indian terrorism a new spirit - the passion for confrontation and clash. Hume, the British Indian bureaucrat pointed out that the country was nearly ripe for a "national revolt". As the approved historian of INC sys, he had unimpeachable evidence that the political discontent was going underground. Another British Indian Bureaucrat described the situation in India, as bordering on revolution. His findings conversed on the conclusion that in the event of the new mutinity, every man, women and child, Muslims or Hindus would join it. Terrorism occurred in Maharashtra (Poona) and Bengal. The secret society is an imperium in imperio, as it excercises all the essential compulsives of sovereignty.

66. MATHUR (Girish). *Congress legacy.* Patriot, 1985, Dec 22;7.

Those who came forward to form the INC a hundred years ago and give a shape to the emerging Indian Nationalism represented the most articulate segment of thinking. The dream theory of the early leaders of the Congress has been described as s systematic critique of the economic

aspects of the British rule in India. The earlier leaders of Indian nationalism were moderates. Gandhi's eclipsed the extremists of the earlier period when he entered the national scene. He played an important role for the freedom of the country.

67. PAUL (Asit). Significant landmarks. National Herald. 1983, Dec 26; 7.

History of the rise and growth of the Indian freedom movement and thought has several important stages. Each successive stage is more magnificent than the previous one. The ascendancy of the early liberals since the inception of the INC in 1885 broke in 1905 when the wave of extremism surfaced to demand Swaraj. The nationalist leader then found themselves confronted with the option of 'Reform' or 'Revolution'. The liberals later called the moderates, opted for reform. The extremist adhered to Revolution.

68. SATWIK (PK). Indian National Congress: Unique organization. National Herald. 1985, May, 4; 7: a-f.

INC began as a gathering of people irrespective of caste, creed or colour of dedicated men who were inspired by one mission that the country should be free from colonial

rule. The reformers had to sacrifice their lives. The liberals who belong to the first category of Congress and who were learned people, their speeches and writings created a new awakening. Gandhi made the Congress a mass movement. Nehru stood for peace and non-alignment.

69. SHARMA (BR). *Indian National Congress: The brave who died unremembered.* National Herald. 1985, Sep 15;5:c-f.

States that the actual of the freedom movement of India begins with the Battle of Plassy of 1757, in which the Indian Nation had to taste the first fruit of defeat. There were battles during 1757 to 1857 for the freedom of India, and all the future battles fought for freedom were inspired by the uprising of 1857. The October revolution of Russia of 1917, also influenced in the Indian youth a zeal to wage their struggle for freedom. In 1919, came the great tragedy of Jallian wallah Bagh, and it give rise to non-cooperation movement in India. The Chauri-Chura incident brought about an end to the movement. Simon Commisssion gave rise to police atrocities in Punjab and Bengal. After 1935, the individualist terrorist movement was ended and an armed struggle for freedom of India started. The August 1942 movement of Quit India was a revolutionary step taken by the Congress.

70. *SHAUKAT USMANI. Voices from the past. Link. 20,25; 1978, Jan 26; 43-5.*

Discusses that 31 years ago the people of India overthrow the foreign yoke. In the struggle for freedom, the people suffered humiliation and deprivation under the emergency dispensation. The rest scope and epic nature of the struggle for independence should not be allowed to be forgotten because that had laid the foundation for the progress of the country. There is a need to pay attention to the voices of the past. There are innumerable voices from Bengal, Maharashtra, U.P, and Punjab. In all this areas many people young and old have sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country, for its complete independence.

71. *SINGH (JP). Conditions for the rise of nationalist movement in India. Asian Profile. 13,1; 1985; Feb; 45-60.*

British coloneal policy of discremination against the natives and increasing economic exploitation created material, moral and intellectual conditions for the rise and development of nationalism in India. The view that decolonisation is the natural consequence of the evolution of imperialism is questionable. The nationalist movement of India came in the wake of religious and cultural reform movement.

72. **KARAN SINGH.** *Indian National Congress.* Economic Times. 12, 276; 1985, Dec 29; 4: e-h.

Discusses that INC has performed a function that in its scope and quality is surely unique in world history. It not only did become the vehicle for the greatest anti-colonial movement in the modern times, it has also continued to provide free India with stable governments almost continuously in the 38 years. After India's freedom movements inception, the INC developed the moderate and extremists. From 1895 to 1905 the struggle between the moderates and radicals continued to grow in intensity. From 1905 to 1910 Swaraj, Swadeshi and boycott movements were developed. Lastly Gandhi and Nehrus role is described.

73. **SUBRAHMANYAM (K).** *Safeguarding the Public.* Mainstream. 22, 24; 1984, Feb 11; 11-4+ .

Liberating, building, sustaining and safeguarding the republic of India has been an unparalleled task in history. Our liberation struggle under the leadership of Gandhi was unique event and heralded the beginning of world wide decolonisation. Thereafter, the building up of the Indian nation state was a stupendous task. India is a secular state surrounded by nations with established

states religion. When India was to become independent, it was partitioned and efforts were made to balkamise it with the doctrine of lapse of paramountcy. To safeguard the republic it is essential to maintain the democratic system and repair the instrumentalities of the republic.

74. VENKATESWARAN (V). *Veteran chews the cud.* Hindu. 108, 52; 1985, Dec 29; 18:d-e.

Discusses that it is difficult to remember the INC or simply the congress without becoming nostalgic. It is not the same as the momentary feeling one experiences when one discovers one's old hat, old shoes, or an umbrella in the lumber room of one's house. In fact the Congress is like remembering a part of yourself - which is still throbbing inside you like your heart. There is a discussion and comparison of Ramayana with the Congress (Mutations). The Congress in old days aimed at the liberation of an entire continental community, a process in which every man and woman and child could participate.

AHMEDABAD SESSION

75. TYAGI (Mahavir). *Historic AICC session of Ahmedabad, June 1924: When Mahatma Gandhi wept and Motilal Nehru wept.* Organiser. 23, 24; 1970, Jan 24; 13-4.

Discusses that the Khilafat agitation in 1921 had produced rare Hindu-Muslim unity. When the agitation weakened, cracks appeared. Many Hindus started 'Shudhi' movement and Muslims, the "Tabligh". Nor riots began erupting. Gandhi wrote to Congressmen "Storms uproot many trees, only those stay standing which have firm and deep roots. The true congressman is one who can stand firm, if necessary alone, against the rising tide of communalism." In response Maulana Mohammed Ali said "I consider even a sensous and characteristic Muslim to be better than Mahatma Gandhi". Nehru sent a No-confidence motion against Mohd. Ali which was withdrawn after bitter argument between Ali, Gandhi and Nehru. After the conclusion of the session Maulana Azad requested Gandhi that members wated to him, as Gandhi has returned from prison after a long time. Gandhi said "Today I am alone and you have not only humbled me but you have ^{left} alone in a jungle". Within minutes the whole Assembly was in tears. Gandhi broke into tears.

AKALI MOVEMENT, PUNJAB

76. TUTEJA (KL). Akalis and the Con-cooperation Movement 1920-22. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 1980. 520-8.

The struggle of the Sikhs in Punjab, popularly known as the Akali movement derived its stand from the non-cooperation movement. The Akali movement strengthened the roots of nationalism among the Sikhs. But at the same time it neither merged into the national struggle nor accepted the Congress programme in toto. Their leadership always maintained the distinct identity of their movement on the basis of religion. From the beginning of the twentieth century, they took over control of some Gurudwaras. In their meeting at Amritsar in 1920 they have decided not to join in the Non-cooperation movement.

STUDENTS

77. MISRA (Panchanan). *Indian National Congress: Congress and students movements.* National Herald. 1985, Sep 29;7.

Congress consisted of lawyers, doctors, professors and also students. Gandhi gave a call to the students to leave their schools and colleges and participate in the struggle. Thousands of students left their educational institutes and joined the National Movement. During 30s the students joined the movement in large number. Thus Congress has thousands of educated young men by 30s. Students took a lead in the 1942 movement. During

the post independence period, almost all political parties have attempted to organise their students and youth sections. The Congress alone can give a progressive thrust to the students.

BELGAUM SESSION

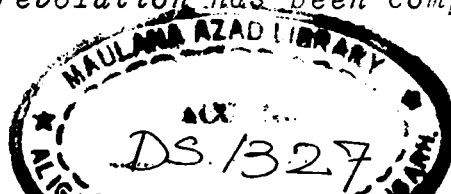
78. KULKARNI (RH). Many firsts of Belgaum Congress. Times of India. 1985, Dec 27; 5:g-h.

Congress centenary celebrations bring to mind the landmark session of the INC held in 1924 in Belgaum. The Belgaum Congress session notched up many "firsts". Gandhi for the first time presided over the meeting. The Brahmins took the role of Bhangis, which Gandhi much appreciated. The entire Nehru family attended this session. It ratified the "Spinning franchise" resolution adopted at the AICC session in Ahmedabad, 1924.

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT, BENGAL

79. CHATTERJEE (Pranab Kumar). Quit India movement of 1942 and the nature of urban response in Bengal. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 1980, 687-93.

Quit India movement of 1942, which marked the climax of India's nationalist revolution has been compared



to the great revolt of 1857. The military and political situation turned Bengal into a fertile ground for anti-British upsurge. Britishers also became nervous because of threat of Japanese invasion of Bengal. The lack of unity between the leftist and the nationalist element evidently was a restraint to the smooth shaping of the Quit India movement in Bengal.

BRITONS

80. TAYLOR (David). Britons who befriended Congress in its early days. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 1985, Dec 28; 4.

Indian National Congress was always both Indian and national, but throughout its history there were British men & women who sympathised with its aims and able to engage in serious dialogue with its leaders. In the first phase of the Congress's development several British people played prominent roles in the organisation. Hume's early contacts with Dufferin gave rise to certain myths about the origins of the Congress. Hume played his part in India & the people in Britain played an important role in the Congress strategy of bringing Indian issues to the attention of the British people and Parliament.

CALCUTTA SESSION

81. HALDAR (Gopal). *Future that worked.* Mainstream.
7,10; 1968, Nov 9; 27-33.

Discusses that the image of Swadeshi in East Bengal was one of the national awakening distorted by the imperialist repression into secret conspiracies and violence. Also discusses different revolutionary events for independents. Speciall at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1920 the non-cooperation resolution was carried and the Congress entered the Gandhian era of non-violent direct action. Industrial unrest and strike waves swept over the Indian land between 1919 and 1922.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT, EVALUATION

82. MUKHERJI (Saradindu). *Study of the mass movements in Bihar 1932-34.* In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 2; 1978; 606-11.

Earlier phase of civil disobedience movement had given an idea of the ingenuity displayed by the Congress and the later phase could be similarly taken to see as to why a mass movement fails and how not to organise one such movement. The years 1932-34 were absolutely barren.

The Congress leadership was more interested in putting up a mere show of movement. The anti-untouchability movement of Gandhi was a well-meaning and effective movement. The upper cast hostility never posed any serious threat to the movement, notwithstanding some slogan raising crowds shouting anti-Gandhi slogan during Gandhi's visit to Bihar.

CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY

83. *DASTUR (AJ)*. *Twenty five years of Indian Socialism*. *India Quarterly*. 16,2; 1960; Apr-Jun; 105-19.

Group of young people who had come together in the civil disobedience movement of 1932-33 wished to give the Congress a more advanced social programme. They formed the All India Congress socialist party in 1934, and it remained inside the Congress until 1948. The socialist contributed strongly to the "Quit India" movement during the war. They refused to join the Congress working Committee or to believe Swaraj could be had without fighting.

CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

84. *WATTS (Aruna)*. *Role of Central Legislature in the freedom movement*. *Political Science Review*. 13,1-4; 1974, Jan-Dec; 447-50.

Discusses some aspects of the role of the Central legislature with particular reference to the period of 1919-47. First of all the writer traces the evolution of constitutional arrangements and national movement upto the Rowlett Bills (1919). Further the role of moderates and the role of extremists within the Congress is described. Also there is a discussion on various movements of freedom.

CONGRESS

85. *MARTYSHIN (OV). Congress: The first three decades. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 1985; Dec 28;4.*

Independence was the main goal of the national liberation movement in India. In the middle of the last century Indian bourgeoisie set up the early political national organisation in India. Regional organisation established contacts with one another and an Indian national conference was convened in 1883. It set forth the idea of creating a national parliament. With the assistance of the colonial authorities, the first founding Congress of INC was convened in 1885 in Bombay, which has ushered in a new stage in the development of national movement. the INC during the early two decades of its existence followed the traditions of the regional liberal

organisations, and it never raised the problem of self rule. Gandhi solved to achieve the problem of self rule.

CONGRESS PARTY, CRITICISM

86. *CENTURY AHEAD* (editorial). Patriot. 1985, Dec30;9.

There is a discussion about the critics of the Congress. The place of Congress has remained unchanged to a remarkable degree in popular esteem, and its image of national pre-eminence unaltered. The congress had continued to be, in the perception of the Indian people the party of nationalism - of the freedom struggle. The congress has been strengthened along with the nationalism it represents by periodically. Its centry year has witnessed a massive renewal of popular mandate for it. It has to preserve its priceless legacy.

CRIPP'S PROPOSAL

87. *KULKARNI* (Niranjan M) 'Do or Die' battle of 1942. National Herald. 1985, Sep 1; 5:d-f.

It was the mutual distrust between the Congress and the Linlithgow regime, nourished by the past breach of

faith on the part of the British government which prevented any understanding in 1939. Jinnah was suspicious that Hindu domination would materialise, unless Muslim get one-third seats in a federal legislature. In 1940 the Congress which has authorised individual Satyagraha with Bhave, was watching both national and international scene. In 1942, the British Prime Minister expressed his anxious concern for India for the first time.

DANDI MARCH, ROLE, GANDHI

88. *DANDI MARCH: Fifteenth Anniversary. Link. 22, 31; 1980 Mar 9; 33.*

Discusses the historic Dandi March lead by Gandhi from Sabarmati Ashram with his hand of 79 trusted volunteers to offer 'salt satyagraha' on the sea coast in South Gujarat. This historic march was traversed in a span of 24 days. Gandhi described this as a battle of right against might. This event took place for complete independence. The Congress working Committee authorised Gandhi to organise civil disobedience to fulfil the pledge of complete independence. Hence Gandhi decided upon Dandi March. The Bardoli Satyagraha was a powerful movement of the farmers of Gujarat to protest against hike in land revenue rates.

DOMINION STATUS

89. PAVADYA (BS). *Attitudes of the Indian National Congress to Dominion status, 1930-1947.* International Studes. 6,3; 1965, Jan; 283-309.

During the period 1930-1947, the INC manifested some ambiguity in its definition of political terms concerning complete independence and dominion status. For a number of leaders including Gandhi it was essential to achieve political autonomy without necessarily breaking of all relations with Great Britain; i.e., dominion status, as defined by the statute of Westminster and including the right to secede from any partnership, would be a sufficient aim for the Indian nationalist movement.

FISCAL POLICY

90. WIDGERY (AlbanG). *Motives of of the nationalist movement in India.* Social Atlantic Quarterly. 30,1; 1931, Jan; 40-50.

During the world war imports from England into India were greatly curtailed and many industries specially cotton were established in India. Since the war, the

maint motives of the nationalist movement has been to get control to the fiscal policy of the government in order to protest these industrial and commercial interests. During the war Gandhi worked for the allied cause, but after the war he became bitterly hostile to the British government, chiefly because of the Rowlatt Act. Many Indian favoured the nationalist movement because they think it will open upto them a number of the highly paid government positions.

MEERUT SESSION

91. *HUNDRED YEARS of the Congress. Tribune. 1985, May 6;7.*

Writer of this article explains how India got freedom and what is his role in it, The writer heard vaguely to start with about the Quit India agitation. At the Congress session in Meerut in 1946 Maulana Azad dressed in Sherwani, Badshah Khan eating an apple on the dais, Rajendra Prasad silent and Patel very much in command of the meeting, were all the images of the writer of this article.

INDEPENDENCE, GANDHISM

92. *BHATTACHARYA (GP). Gandhi centenary and after: Gandhism and Modern India. Mainstream. 8, 26; 1970, Feb; 23-4.*

Discusses that the rejection of Gandhism by the Indians is a fact, inspite of the movement by Vinoba Bhave. The Indian people and the national leaders of the Congress accept Gandhism, and also Gandhi. Gandhi organised and mobilised the Indian people in their battle for national independence against the foreing imperialist rule. They accepted the cult of Satyagraha and technique of non-congress as a political weapon. No important leader of INC neither Nehru nor Sardar Patel - accepted non-violence as a creed, during the freedom movement. After independence, India did not follow the Gandhian path, this was due to impracticability of Gandhism.

KASHMIR, SHEIKH ABDULLAH

93. *BENJAMIN (N). Freedom movement in Kashmir. Economic Times. 10,133; 1983, Aug 7; 6: g-h.*

Discusses about the sale of Kashmir by the British to Maharaja Gulab Singh. The stats' social structure was feudal and the majority of the inhabitants, who were Muslims, were discriminated against by the Hindu ruling classes. 1931 saw tje beginning of an organised freedom s truggle in the course of which Sheikh Abdullah emerged as a prominent leader. He played a crucial role

in the case of minority and he insisted, "You should make discrimination between the oppressor and the oppressed and not between a Hindu and a Muslim", in view of such thinking, the name of the Muslim Conference was changed to National Conference.

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

94. DAVID (Celine). *Muslim Politics and the Congress Patriot*. 1985; Nov 3; 3: c-f.

Indian National Congress claimed to represent all Indians irrespective of religion caste or creed, with a national title and national ideology, despite the bulk of Muslims always shied away from this organisation and they formed a separate organ in 1906 at Dacca, the All India Muslim League. It cooperated with the Congress but before 1916 and after Khilafat, Hindu & Muslim politics flowed into different channels and the Muslims by and large opposed the INC, this is because Sir Syed Ahmed Khan sowed suspicion in Muslim minds. The partition of Bengal, the anti-partition agitation and the Congress support to that agitation set forth a chain reaction that resulted in Muslim separation. The Congress supported a purely religious Muslim movement, that is, Khilafat movement.

95. SEHANA VIS (Chinmohan). *Afghanistan and India's struggle for freedom.* Mainstream. 17, 51; 1979, Aug 15; 18-21.

Khilafat Conference of Delhi sent out a call to Muslims for Hijrat, which means self banishment by leaving the country ruled over by tyrannical infidels. The Muhajirin participated in this movement. As the call came from Delhi thousands of Muslim from many parts of India started for Afghanistan. Their aim was to carry on an armed struggle against the British by enlisting the Turkish army. A branch of INC was set up in Kabul and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi became its President. Congress approved this branch and Lajpat Rai later on complained that the Congress leaders were hobnobbing with foreign elements. The friendship of Indo-Afghan lies in the history of our common anti-imperialist struggle.

LEADERSHIP, GANDHI

96. NANDA (BR). "Mr. Gandhi has crossed the boundary". Times of India. 148, 152; 1985, Jun 2; 4:a-h.

Lord Crzon thought that it would take India 500 years to qualify for self government. The emergence

of Gandhi on the political stage in 1919 upset Curzen's calculations. Gandhi's emergence was a bewildering to the Indian political elite of the day. In the INC, he found himself out of sympathy with both the moderate and extremist factions.

LEADERSHIP, GANDHI

97. RAJAN (KR Sunder). Gandhi's Congress is dead. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 1986, Jan 1;6.

Discusses INC exists only history. Its epitaph should be "Here lies the great instrument of Indias liberation want only destroyed by its own followers". Gandhi was the creator of leaders of outstanding merit had come up and they were persons who took the responsibility of administering the country. The level of leadership if unfortunately not there, particularly in the states. This is one of the defects in the deveopment of INC. The leadership is responsible for the sad fact that the great INC is dead. Finally and lives on only in posters and brochures.

LIBERALS

98. SMITH (RT). Role of Indian Liberals in the nationalist movement, 1915-47. Asian Survey. 8, 7; 1968, Jul; 607-24.

Indian liberals, who controlled the INC from its inception in 1885, suffered rapid decline when the Congress was taken over by militant nationalists during the first world war. The liberals had long held a "moderate" position between the opposed forces of revolutionary extremism and British imperialism. From 1915 onward they purposely assumed the role of mediators between Congress militants and the British government. By 1947 the liberals were too reduced in numbers and popularity to survive as a party after India's independence.

MEERUT CONSPIRACY CASE

99. WOOD (Conrad). Meerut "Conspiracy" Case and British imperialism. Mainstream. 11, 29; 1973, Mar 17; 11-3.

Discusses that on March 20, 1929 the British government had arrested 31 communist and trade union leaders from all over India and put them up for trial at Meerut. This turned out to be famous Meerut conspiracy case which dragged on for more than four years. This article is written by a British Marxist Scholar. This article does not aim at presenting a comprehensive account of the Meerut trial, but rather at throwing light on the policy British imperialism towards the Indian working class movement in 1928-33 period.

MODERATES

100. KOMAROV (EN). *Main trends in Indian National Liberation movement in 19th and early 20th centuries.* Mainstream. 14, 36; 1976, May 8; 30-1.

Streets in India are beginning to stand up for its writers and political leaders that street dominations and stike in Bombay testified to rise of concious political mass struggle, and it leads to the end of the British rule in India. The moderates began their political career and they were in the dominant position in the INC since its foundation in 1885. They agreed to boycott British goods in Bengal as a protest the partition of the province. Congress dominated by the the urged self government for India within the frame work of the British empire.

NON-COOPERATION

101. PRASAD (Srijit Rajendra). *Back to non-cooperation: Our only slogan.* Hindustan Review. 53, 302; 1929, Aug; 95-103.

Purpose of the non-cooperation movement when it was first launched in 1920, was to strike at the very roots British prestige and institutions in India. The non-

cooperation movement programme included rejection of titles and decorations from the London government, boycott of English law courts, government education institutions and the central and provincial legislatures.

102. **UMAR KAURA SINGH.** *Non-cooperation Movement in Indian Politics.* India Quarterly. 36, 3-4; 1980, Jul-Dec; 436-7.

Discusses that the main issue in the non-cooperation movement was the Khilafat question and not the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraja for India. The concept of non-cooperation was originally conceived by Gandhi in connection with the Khilafat issue. Gandhi's concept against the British led to wide spread disorders in Punjab.

103. **SRINIVASAN (S).** *Non-cooperation.* Swarajya. 5, 55; 1978, May 21; 4.

Discusses the events during the days of agitation for India's independence from the Khilafat movement, the Punjab wrongs and Rowlet act to September 24 when Gandhi surrendered to the Swarajists. The movement was used as a political struggle to achieve national liberation. It generated a nationalist spirit and carried the national consciousness.

BRITISH POLICY

104. MATHUR (RD). *British policy towards the volunteer movement in India during the non-cooperation campaign.* In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. Ed by Barun De and B.R Grover. 2; 1970; 214-22.

Volunteer Corps organised during the course of the non-cooperation movement served the important task of implementing the policies of the movement and providing it with a disciplined detachment. When the non-cooperation movement gather momentum the government of India dealt a firm blow to the volunteers and in this the pressure extended from Home Government in particular and the British Public opinion in general had its own share of responsibility. The attitude of British government towards the volunteer movement of 1920-22 was marked by its assessment of the gravity of the challenge that was being posed by the non-cooperation movement and the volunteer organisations.

KHILAFAT

105. BRIGGS (FS). *Indian Hijarat of 1920.* Moslem World. 20,2; 1930, Apr; 164-8.

When the 1920 non-cooperation movement was at its height, the Khilafat Committee, with the blessings

of Gandhi, urged a general exodus of Moslems from India into Afghanistan.

NAGPUR SESSION

106. BHARGAVA (NL). Gandhiji moulds Congress into mass organisation. National Herald. 1985, Aug 25; 4: a-c.

Nagpur session in 1920 was one of the momentous sessions. The important part of the constitution was the alteration of creed, which according to Gandhi represented the exact feeling of the country at that moment. It was an extension of the original. While moving draft creed Gandhi said "The object of INC is the attainment of Swaraj by the Indian people by peaceful means. The Nagpur session of the Indian Congress adopted a new constitution framed by Gandhi.

ROLE, GANDHI

107. MEHROTRA (SR). Gandhi and the British Commonwealth. India Quarterly. 17, 1; 1971, Jan-Mar; 44-57.

Gandhi launched the movement of non-violent non-cooperation in 1920 to appeal to the British conscience, and not against the imperial rule, for Gandhi was not convinced by the arguments of such as C.F. Andrews for

complete independence. The form of the Simon Commission in 1927 gave the radicals increased strength but even so Gandhi persuaded Congress to accept the ideal of dominion status in 1928. He tried to stop Congress becoming secessionist and republican. The 1947 settlement he regarded as the noblest act of the British nation.

SIMON COMMISSION, ROWLET

REPORT

108. JAMALUDDIN AHMED. *Indian National Congress: From non-cooperation to Simon Commission.* National Herald. 1985, May 15; 7.

Discusses that 1919 was the blackest year in the history of British rule in India. The Rowlet report related to emergency measures, punitive as well as preventive was published in 1919, for meeting the dangers of terrorism. April 13, 1919 witnessed one of the heinous crime in the history of brutality against the innocent human being at Jallian walla Bhagh. This proved a turning point in the Indian attitude towards British and the history of INC and free dom movement. In November 1927, the British government appointed a statutory commission under Simon. The Madrassession of the Congress resolved to boycott this Commission.

PARTITION

109. VERMA (LB). *On explaining the partition of India.*
In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. Ed by
Suria Jaiswal, BR Grover and RP Dua. 33; 1972; 508-9.

In the contemporary period, the partition of India is such subject that both the British historians and the historians of the sub-continent cannot easily take a detached view. The British historians have often emphasised the incompatibility of Hindus and Muslims and this led to partition. Indian historians blame British imperialism and its connivance with the Muslim League. The Indian's view is that independence of India was inevitable, partition was not.

PRINCELY STATE

110. RAY (Sankar). *Historic Struggle. Mainstream. 8,7;*
1969, Oct 18; 37-8.

Events in the princely states followed the efforts made in British India under the leadership of Gandhi for freedom, it turn, accelerated the pace of struggle and strengthen the movement in British India. The popular resistance movement drew substance from the misdeads of the princes and grew into a mass agitation for responsible

government and civil liberties. The relationship between the Indian state and Congress is dealt with exhaustively. The all India states peoples conference in its confrontation with the princess was used as a weapon. It succeeded in bringing out a close identity with the INC in the early fourties.

QUIT INDIA

111. Gupta (Partha Sarathy). Spontaneous revolution: The Quit India Movement, Link. 12,2; 1975, Apr-Jun; 197-8.

Discusses about the quit India movement in great detail. There are many interviews from the large number of participants of the Quit India movement. Also discusses about the nature of British imperialism in India.

112. MADAN GOPAL. 'Quit India': The historic resolution. Patriot. 1986, Aug 8; 5.

Discusses that the Quit India resolution was moved by Nehru and seconded by Sardar Patel at the meeting of the AICC of Bombay in 1942. The slogan achieved historic importance like do or die, given by Gandhi. This was the people's war against British. The movement assumed a mass character specially in Bihar, Bengal, UP and Maharashtra.

113. SHARMA (Sima). *Quit India: A Dainty Hand Unfurls the national Flag.* Link. 24, 52; 1982, Aug 8; 9-12.

Discusses that Quit India was a mass movement and not an underground movement. Quit India, forty years ago the slogan marked a new phase in Indian people's struggle for ending the British rule. It established a basic fact that freedom to India was no longer a matter of mere mutual negotiations between the representatives of the British government and the INC. The AICC met in Bombay in 1942 and adopted a resolution.

PUNJAB

114. AMBERA PRASAD. *From Civil Disobedience to Quit India: Gandhi and the freedom movement in Punjab and Haryana.* India Quarterly. 38,2; 1982, Apr-Jun; 2446-7.

Discusses the political development in undivided Punjab during 1932-42. In the civil disobedience movement Punjab's contribution was considerable; out of 60 or 70 thousand persons who had been arrested all over India seven thousand belong to the Punjab. Lyallpur and Rohtak districts played an important role in the movement.

ROLE, GANDHI

115. AMBA PRASAD. *Struggle for freedom.* India Quarterly. 27, 1; 1971, Jan-Mar; 75-8.

Discusses the administration of Minto and Hardinge, progress of constitutionalism and nationalism and throws light on Hindu Muslim relations. Also there is a discussion on the role of Gandhi in the national movements like non-cooperation movement of 1921-22, the civil disobedience movement of 1930-34 and Quit India movement of 1942-45. The account of the national movements is traditional and perfunctory and as we go farther from 1920, the treatment becomes distinctly scrappy and inevitably superficial.

AMERICANS

116. JHA (Manoranjan). *Britain and the pro-Indian activities in the U.S.A., 1917-1922.* Political Science Review. 12, 1-2; 1973, Jan-Jun; 1-34.

During 1917-1922, Indians and their friends were quiet active in the U.S.A. in seeking support of the American people and the government for the cause of Indian nationalism. Basant came into limelight with the movement for Home rule for India. Government of

India cut short Basant's activity by interning her in Ootacamund. After the San Francisco trial of the Indian during 1917-18, Indians were apprehended and deportation cases were started against Indian revolutionary, such as Bhagawan Singh, Santosh Singh and Gopal Singh. The British officials were greatly concerned at the activities of the Indians and their supporters in the U.S.A and that they explore all important avenues to contact them.

ANSARI

117. **SAXENA (BD).** *Dr. Ansari: Humanist and freedom fighter.*
National Herald. 1980; Dec 25;5.

Discusses that Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari was one of the foremost Muslim nationalist in India. His association with the INC began in the early twenties and he remained a member of its working Committee until 1935. In 1927 he was chosen to preside over the Madras session of the Congress. Loyalty to the Congress was the most distinguished teacher of his political creed. He remained an unflinching supporter of the Congress and did nothing to weaken the party. The numerous congress conferences in Delhi and specially those during the famous Gandhi-Irwin talks, were held at his residence.

BESANT

118. *DYNAMIC LEADERSHIP of Basant. (editorial). Hindu.*
108, 52; 1985, Dec 29; 22: a-c.

States that the history of INC is a saga of struggle for the country's freedom from foreign yoke in which great and selfless leaders played prominent roles, dedicating their lives to the cause of India's freedom. Also discusses the role played by Dr. Basant in India's freedom movement. She became a delegate to the INC in December 1914 and attended the Bombay session in December 1915. Her propaganda for India's freedom was becoming dangerous for the British government. She was also elected as the President of INC in 1917. Differences arose between Basant and Gandhi on the question of civil disobedience.

BOMBAY

119. *VENKATESWARAN (V). Call that shook the British Raj. Hindu.* 108, 52; 1985, Dec 29; 18: a-h.

Discusses that Bombay was in the vanguard of India's freedom movement. The city of Bombay played host to many Congress sessions culminating in the historic meeting in August 1942, when the battle cry of

Quit India inspired people to throw themselves heart and soul to the ultimate realisation of complete independence. In this article it calls the special place Bombay occupied during the freedom struggle. The Gowalia Tank Congress meeting was an important milestone in the freedom struggle of India.

GANDHI

120. ARUNA ASIF ALI. *Will the Congress Survive?* Link.
9,25; 1967, Jan 26; 18-9.

In the wake of freedom eighteen years ago Gandhi asked for disbandment of the Congress because it had outlined its purpose. None of his followers took his words in the fond hope which has since been belied that dead wood of opportunism and hypocrisy could be chopped away and Congress could still be transformed into a vehicle of social and economic transformation. Can the Congress then survive? The writer of the article says that the Congress can survive if it turns socialist. The alternative is that it will be swept away by the tide of history.

121. BISHESHVAR PRASAD. *Indian Nationalism.* In: *INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings.* 2, 2-3; 1967; 232-9.

Indian nationalism and movements have a world importance and are of particular significance to the nations of Asia and Africa. The path of non-violence by Gandhi marked a distinct departure from the current of violence, war and terrorism. The foundation of INC in 1885 manifested the stage in the development of the struggle for freedom. The two trends, one deriving strength from the liberal thought of the West and the other seeking inspiration from the indigenous culture heritage, mark the period of the early growth of INC. Swaraj will be the swaraj of Indian people not any section of it. Then Gandhi entered the scene of freedom movement.

122. *DIWAKAR (RR). Mahatma Gandhi and the freedom struggle. Swarajya. 24,7; 1979, Aug 12; 50-3.*

Struggle for freedom as it developed in India, under Gandhi's leadership from 1919-47, was much more interesting in human history than merely unique in several aspects. He was a teacher of humanity and at the same time, commander-in-chief of unarmed army of illeterate millions in the sacred cause of national liberty. He was also the humbled pride of imperialism. His leadership in the freedom struggle of India made all the differences and it is one of the most glorious

chapters in the annals of relationship between people and nations.

123. HAYDEN (Ralston). *India in turmoil.* Current History. 32,3; 1930, Jun; 545-9.

Points out the description of the campaign in India of non-violence under the leadership of Gandhi together with the aims as stated in Gandhi's words. The author gives conclusions as to the extent to which the civil-disobedience campaign has the support of the people in India.

124. TRIPATHI (Amal). *Gandhi and the Indian National Congress.* Statesman. 1985, Nov 10; 4: a-f.

Discusses that after Gandhi's close and crucial association with the INC the country's imminent freedom brought home his failure to convince his closest followers. In 1947, he called himself "a back-number". Also discusses that to study Gandhi's politics without reference to his philosophy is like staging Hamlet without the ghost. To ignore his "truth" or "inner voice" is to leave out the soliloquies.

ACT, 1935

125. KATILAL (CL). *Congress will win.* Bombay Chronicle. 1935, Dec 29; 10:a-b.

INC during its chequered career of fifty years particularly under the leadership of Gandhi has contributed immensely to bring home to the foreigners that India is a nation worthy of her past. Although the die hard tory imperialists must prefer to shut their eyes, there is no denying in Great Britain that India is entitled to her political freedom as other nations of the world. The Congress has nothing to despair inspite of the unwanted government of India Act of 1935. Its record of fifty years constitutes a series of dauntless and heroic fights against all wrongs. The Congress will never die.

126. BHARATAN KUMARAPPA. *Gandhiji's philosophy of action.*
Hindu. 108,52; 1947, Aug 15; 24: a-f.

Discusses the secret of Gandhi's philosophy of action, which lies in his unswerving faith in eternal verities, call them Truth, God or moral principles. With non-violence as the base, his philosophy follows step-by step. Non violence demand not only the individual may not commit physical violence against another, but that every form of social injustice and inequality must cease. Non-vilence involves giving full scope to the individual to plan and direct his work as best he may,

provided he does not thereby do injury to his neighbour. Similarly there is a discussion about the political and freedom and Swadeshi.

REFORMIST

127. HOLLAND (Robert). Gandhi's arrest: was it inevitable? Asiatic Review. 28, 94; 1932, Apr; 250-67.

Can the one hand it is claimed that the arrest of Gandhi and the Rule of British India by ordinances, in the face of Gandhi's willingness to confer with the viceroy regarding excesses committed by the Congress party in alleged violation of the fact with the Lord Irwin, was a regrettable blunder. On the other hand, it is argued that those same excesses of the Congress party had created an emergency in large areas; that Congress had thus torn up the path of conciliation; that Congress is not sincerely cooperating in the effort to devise a new government but is chiefly interested in setting up an exclusively Hindu regime; that Congress is not representative; and that Gandhi was not able to rise above the party. Consequently the only road open to government of India was to take the whole situation firmly in hand and correct past impressions of weakness. The truth is that Gandhi is a reformist and not a revolutionary.

TILAK

128. MAJUMDAR (RC). *To whom do we owe our freedom?*,
Organiser. 31, 12; 1979, Aug 15; 5.

Discusses that there can be two opinion about whether Gandhi's satyagrahas or Subhase's Indian National Army had the greater impact. However, without Gandhi there would have been no Bose - even as there would have been no Gandhi without Tilak. The general and popular view, entertained by all sections of Indians is, that we owe it to Gandhi.

HUME

129. MUKHERJEE (Hiren). *Recalling our freedom Struggle*.
Mainstream. 20,6; 1981, Oct 10; 21-4.

Discusses that some good work has been done after India's independence for unravelling the roots of freedom struggle in different regions. This also discusses Hume's analyses an efforts of official orders of masses secret service reports documenting the fact of wide and deep discontent in all corners of India. This made Hume himself "father" of the INC as a kind of political sop and an insurance against danger to the state. India's freedom struggle is a web woven of mingled yarn.

LENIN

130. JHA (Shiva Chandra). *Lenin and Indian Liberation movement*. Mainstream. 8, 33; 1970, Apr 18; 34-5.

Discusses that Lenin and Indian History can be devided into four periods. Lenin's reference to the rebellion of the native peoples against the British was to the first Indian war of independence in 1857. The second reference is to be found in the International socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907. Many stalwarts both from Stuttgart Congress and Indian side were present. Lenin has given many references of the Indian struggle and freedom movement. The Jallian Wallah Bagh massacre is mentioned in his thesis placed before the third congress of the communist international held in 1921.

LAJPAT RAI

131. BAINS (JS). *Lala Lajpat Rai's idealism and Indian National Movement*. Indian Journal of Political Science. 30, 4; 1969, Oct-Dec; 297-316.

In the history of modern India political thought pride of place has been accorded to the leaders of the extremist wing of the INC. This indifference to the role of Lajpat Rai shown by the scholars was symptomatic

of the relative backwardness in which Punjab figured in the earlier years and more so because of its being a pre-dominantly Muslim area. Besides, Punjab fell to the British only by about the middle of the 19th century. It was due to the activities of progressive movements, that Punjab was able to catch up with the main streams of nationalism.

MUSLIMS

132. RATTAN (HR). *Muslims and Congress.* National Herald. 1985, Dec 29; 5: a-f.

Discusses the role played by Muslims for achieving freedom of India. There are some comments and criticism against Muslims. The formation of INC might have attracted the Muslims if their own survival was not at stake. The aliens who had vanished them, were promising sympathy and patronage. Even then a number of prominent Muslims joined the Congress and presided over various annual sessions. Masses were aslo with the Congress. If the Congress wanted to defeat the two nation theory propaganded by the Muslim League, it should have prompted the Khan brothers not to boycott referendum in NWFP. Despite their boycott, sizeable vote was cast in favour of remaining with India.

NEHRU, GANDHI

133. MALHOTRA (Inder). *Nehru and the Congress.* Times of India. 148, 359; 1985, Dec 28; 17: a-d.

Nehru's relationship with INC is one of the most facinating aspects. He was the second most important Congressmen of the age, next only to Gandhi. The symbiosis between the great nationalist and the grand old party of Indian Nationalism was unbreakable. For long years ironically during the freedom struggle when independence, partition and the Mahatma's assassination were far away, Nehru's disillusionment, dismay and despaire with the Congress arose primarily from his differences of approach and outlook with none, other than Gandhi. The relationship between Gandhi and Nehru was one of the greatest affection.

NETAJI

134. BISWAS (Ratin). *Netaji, the moulder of National character.* Amrita Bazar Patrika. 1975, Aug 15;4:d-e.

Discusses that Netaji's contribution towards India's freedom movement was the effecting of a psychological change in our country. The Indian National Army's attack on the British forces, not only caused

the collapse of British rule in India, but played a very conspicuous role in matter of inspiring other countries of South East Asia. He ^{didn't} wanted political freedom of India, but he wanted economic emancipation of India. He took the help of anti-imperialist countries only to crush British imperialism for the sacred cause of India's freedom.

NETAJI

135. GUHA (Samar). *Netaji and the Mahatma: A Legend's final push to freedom.* Statesman. 1986, Jan 26; 5.

Discusses that the recently concluded Congress Centenary at Bombay, the role of Netaji was ignored. The main road to freedom was carried out primarily by Bose and Gandhi. They made the fundamental contribution in their characteristics ways. The overall background was prepared by Gandhi, but the final compulsion for the withdrawal of the British from India was Netaji's achievement. He inspired the Indian army, which compelled the British to quit India. Freedom was the result of the contributions of the two men of destiny.

SARDAR PATEL

136. SHAH (KK). *Sardar and the Congress.* Patriot. 1985, Dec 28; 4.

Vallabhai Patel won the title of "Sardar" by dint of his ability inimitable ability to weld the Congress into a powerful instrument of the masses. He showed a rare organisational ability in launching the Bardoli Satyagraha. He succeeded in persuading the farmers to stake their lands. He was offered to become a premier of Bombay by Sir Roger Lumley; but he didn't want to be the premier as the land, should be restored to the peasants. After independence, Patel superb strategy that that made it possible for the country to take the fullest advantage of the bureacracy, and convert it into a pillar of strength for the nation. Also the Police action in Hyderabad was a chanllenge to Sardar. He played an important role in the Baroda's Maharaja's case. As chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board, Patel was very particular that the right type of people were selected as candidatesto contest elections. Sardar used different people for different purposes. He himself did not aspire for any office. He lived the life of an astatic. Nehru said, that Sardar Patel was the bulder and consolidator of the New India.

SIKH

137. **BHAG SINGH**. Sikh contribution to freedom movement. Sikh Review. 23, 260; 1975, Aug 8-11.

Sikhs had undergone great suffering and torture during the 18th century, for freedom for India. They became homeless for the struggle for freedom. Against the British for the struggle for freedom, they made great sacrifices. They started Namdhari movement against the British sentiment. The Sikhs with their sacrifices for the cause of freedom, popularised the Congress creed. Due economic reasons they migrated different countries and there also they formed spearheads of the freedom movement for India.

SATYAGRAHA, GANDHI

138. **BAJAJ** (Ramakrishna). *Family of Congressmen. Economic Times. 12, 276; 1985, Dec 29; 4: a-h.*

Writer discusses about himself and his family members who were engaged in Congress activity. They had a link with Gandhi when he visited Wardah, their home town in 1935. Jannalalji Bajaj became the host to all the national leaders who went to meet Gandhi. The congress in those days was essentially a national movement. When Gandhi launched the Satyagraha movement in 1940 as a protest against Britain involving India in the second World War Jannalalji was chosen to court arrest.

BHAVE

139. TANDON (Vishwanath). *Vinobha and Satyagraha*. Gandhi
Marg. 2,7; 1980, Oct; 385-94.

States that Vinobha came into public limelight when Gandhi nominated him as the first Satyagrahi of 1940. Gandhi dialated upon his great qualities, his dedication to constructive work and his total opposition to war. He participated in the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha of 1923, the Vikon Satyagraha of 1925. Vinobha once said "If you make a real success of the constructive programme, you will win Swaraj for India without civil disobedience".

SUBBRAHMAYA BHARATI

140. FREEDOM MOVEMENT and the South. Times of India (Sun Rev).
145, 227; 1982, Aug 15; 4: e-h.

Discusses that the South had a small band of dedicated revolutionary, who were probably inspired by heroes in Maharashtra & Bengal and received encouragement from Shri Aurobindo in Pondicherry. The southern played an inferior role in the freedom movement. The South did have a small band of dedicated revolutionaries who were inspired by heroes in Maharashtra & Bengal and received encouragement, of them was Subrahmanya Bharati.

TILAK

141. PATIL (VS). *Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak: Maker of Modern India*. Modern Review. 139, 1; 1976, Jan; 9-15.

"Freedom is my birth and I will have it", was the voice of Tilak. His enemies described him as the father of Indian unrest. He was the real father of India's freedom movement and the founder of modern independent republic. His policies were scientific and rested on four principles - Swaraja, Swadeshi, National Education and Boycott. He was an extremist and his role as the maker of Modern India was most appreciable.

TRIBAL LEADERS

142. GIRISH SINGH. *Evaluation of the role of some tribal leaders of North-East India in the struggle for freedom: From the beginning of the Swadeshi movement to the end of Gandhian age, 1905-1947*. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 1980; 554-61.

Discusses the role played by some tribal leaders of North-East India in the struggle for freedom during the period under review. Khasi leader S.C. Roy raised the banner of revolt against the British government in India. He constantly kept in touch with the movement

of INC. He supported the non-cooperative movement and played an important role in the national movement. He opposed the visit of Simon Commission of 1928, unlike other leaders. Also there is a discussion of other Khasi leaders who took part in the freedom struggle.

ROWLAT SATYAGRAHA, GANDHI

143. SHARMA(C). Gandhi's politics. Economic & Political Weekly. 8,50; 1973, Dec 15; 2217-9.

Rowlat Satyagraha was the first countrywide anti-British agitation which facilitated the transformation of Indian nationalism from a movement of classes to one of masses. It also insured Gandhi's emergence as a dominant political leader. He was an innovator, but he built on the foundation of his own tradition. The Rowlat Satyagraha marked the culmination of Gandhi's political thought. The years between 1905 and 1909 were decisive in this development. This Satyagraha inherited an important grid of communication in the form of the Home Rule leagues.

SEVADAL

144. JAIPUR CAMP. Link. 13, 18; 1980, Dec 13; 13.

Popular photographs of Bose during the freedom movement showed him in the uniform of the C-in-C of

the Congress Sevadal. He was the supreme commando of the Sevadal of Congress at the Calcutta congress. This Dal was an important wing of the INC during the days of struggle against the British imperialism. For the first time a member of Sevadal was made incharge of the Congress Seva Dal.

SOVIET RELATIONS

145. TAPAN DAS. *Congress and Indo-Soviet ties.* Link. 29,7; 1986., Sep 21; 39.

Indian National Congress which played the foremost role in liberating India from the British coloneal yoke can rightly play to have a decisive contribution in laying the foundation and further consolidating India's friendship with the Soviet Union. The conduct of Russian leaders had thoroughly convinced the INC leaders that the new Russia can be a dependable ally of oppressed and subjugated India. The Indo-Soviet friendship which had deep roots in the history of INC's struggle for India's freedom get utmost attention from the party during its rule at the centre.

SURAT SESSION, ROLE, GOKHALE

146. BHARGAVA(NL). *Congress struggle to maintain unity.* National Herald. 1985, Aug 18; 9: a-b.

Discusses in continuation of his previous article that the Surat session was composed of 900 delegates, and in this, Gokhale took a leading part. There is discussion about the different proceedings of Congress that have taken place.

SWARAJ, GANDHI

147. BANERJEE (Sumanta). *Communists, the Congress and the anti-colonial movement.* Economic and Political Weekly. 19,29; 1984, Jul 21; 1168-72.

Discusses that the Congress movement was another version of Hinduism, allowing all sorts of creeds and cults to co-exist within its fold, a mish mash of irreconcilable. The steering wheel of the INC movement remain in their own hands. Gandhi said that the Congress must cease to be a debating society of talented lawyer. The INC evolved a clear cut programme after Gandhi's entry. The communist did not opposed the mass movements launched under the influence of the INC.

148. SURI (Surinder). *Freedom is the first step.* Times of India. 1985, Nov 10.

Discusses that India was subjugated by the British because the people had lost their self-identity. For

India to gain Swaraj it was necessary to regain its identity. This is the basis thrust of Gandhi's manifesto, Hindi Swaraj. He was a cooperative individual and Indian society has a strong propensity to produce and encourage such persons.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

149. SAXENA (Kiran). INC and trade Union movement. National Herald. 1985, Nov 3; 4:a-h.

Discusses that in the 20th century a group of young people emerged on the national, scene. This group was utterly dis-satisfied with moderate leadership and they injected militancy in the programme of Congress. Their nature of struggle brought them closer to the lower class of people. The militant congress leaders did not make any efforts to unite the workers and create an atmosphere conducive to an effective trade union movement, when the workers went on strike.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE

150. BHABHA. India must produce or perish. Statesman. 113, 23114; 1947, Aug 15; 8: c-d.

Points that it is sometimes easier to win freedom

than to retain that freedom. India shall have to be strong in very sense of the term, if she were to retain her freedom. Perish or produce shall have to be the slogan of the Indian nationals. The Congress is a classes organisation. After years of strike, it has come into its own and it is for us to give the Congress administrators a chance to make India, great produce or perish are the only two alternatives.

151. *NOT JUST a party. (editorial). Times of India. 1985, May 7; 9.*

Centenary celebrations of the INC constitute an important landmark in India's history. For both its supporters and opponents, the Congress has been the mainstream of Indian politics ever since it was founded in 1885. Its establishment, a hundred years ago was also remarkable as a sign of the relative political strength of the Indian middle classes who took the initiative in its formation. The Congress in India, represented the voice of moderation, liberalism and compromise. Its organisational structure often compared to an umbrella under which all manner of currents of opinion have thrived.

152. *SINCLAIR (Archbald). Congress must lead. Bombay Chronicle. 1935, Dec 29; 9:a.*

Indian National Congress has for fifty years been in the forefront of the movement for National self government in India. The Congress party will pay its part in leading India to unity, social and economic progress and the status attained by the other dominions through the constitutional system of responsible government.

SINHA

153. *SINHA (Sachchidananda). Some Congress Memories. Hindu. 108, 52, 1947, Aug 15; 24: d-f.*

Discusses about the writer's minds saturation with the rising spirit of nationalism in India. Since 1896 till the Amritsar session in 1919, for about a quarter of a century, he was intimately associated with the Congress movement and attended regularly almost every session. He was mostly connected with the 1892's freedom movement for India in Britain in 1892.

BENGAL

154. *ACHARYA (Ajoy). New light on freedom struggle. Mainstream. 12, 26; 1974, Feb. 23; 33.*

Points that the years 1903 to 1908 were of great significance in the history of Bengal. Open mass struggle

techniques had begun to emerge in an incipient form. Hopes of a mass struggle against the British withered away and individual terrorism and renewed "mendicancy" came to the fore. Also discusses that why the glimmerings of a mass movement generated by the partition of Bengal die away. The failure of the Swadeshi movement lay in its ability to achieve a break-through to the masses; and in the realm of Hindu-Muslim relations.

BENGAL CONGRESS, CONFLICT

155. CHATTERJEE (Pranab Kumar). Bengal Congress tangle 1939-40. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 2; 1978; 674-80.

In the wake of Bose's challenge to the dominant Gandhian leadership in the Congress in early 1939, a serious conflict developed between the pro-Bose Congress and the AICC. This conflict upto 1939-40, when the Bengal Congress was suspended by the Congress high command. The Bengal Congress tangle cannot be regarded as the offspring of group rivalry within the Bengal Congress. The official congress, inspite of its apparent victory suffered a moral defect and failed to carry with it the people of Bengal.

BOYCOTT, PRINCE OF WALES

156. BHARGAVA (ML). Slip in chronology. Link. 28, 11; 1985, Oct 20; 39.

In July 1921 the AICC passed a resolution to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. In November 1921, when the Prince of Wales landed at Bombay, the entire city observed hartal. So did the rest of India. the hartal was visibly effective in Allahabad and Banaras.

CABINET, CRIPP'S MISSION, 1935 ACT

157. *JAMALUDDIN AHMED. Indian National Congress: Ministry making to the Cripp's Mission. National Herald. 1985, Jun 2; 7.*

British parliament enacted the Government of India Act 1935, giving India some power and the Congress decided to participate in the Election for the newly created provincial legislature(1936-37). Nehru spoke against fascism, the rape of Abyssinia, the rise of Franco in Spain and spineless attitude of British and its reactionary imperialism. The advancement of Japanese armies towards India lead to the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942. War reverses brought a change in the attitude of British. For their victory, they have to cooperate to the Congress.

CENTENARY

158. *ANEES JUNG. Classic celebration. Times of India. 149,5; 1986, Jan 5;6.*

Hundred years ago people were content to fight for a cause with a handful of Channa and a pinch of salt. Today the Congress thali not only has channa, but a green vegetable, a pile of rice, a curry, even a sweet. The Congress when it began hundred years ago had a purpose and clean cut goal. Today it has "Rajiv".

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

159. PAGE (Kirby). *Will India become a lost dominion?*
World Tomorrow. 13,3; 1930, Mar; 104-7.

During its recent session at Lahore, the INC voted, almost unanemously, under the leadership of Gandhi, to demand immediate independence for India, to boycott the forthcoming round table conference, and to authorise complete civil disobedience. Such extreme action on the eve of round table conference is probably due to the growing belief that the British labour government has neither the will nor the power to grant even the minimum demand of the nationalist, so that there is no use in conferring.

CONGRESS PARTY

160. MENON (KP Kesava). *Stray thoughts on the occasion of Independence Jubilee.* Swarajya. 17,6;1972, Aug 5;8A-8B.

Discusses that twenty five years have been passed since India won independence after decades of suffering and sacrifice. The whole country was brought under one authority for the first time in our history. We have manufactured strength and unity during our freedom struggle under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru. When the country was going up everybody supported the Congress, which was mainly instrumental in gaining freedom. Even those who kept away from the Congress during freedom struggle, joined it whole-heartedly when it came to power.

MASS MOVEMENT

161. CONGRESS CENTENARY (editorial). Indian Nation. 1985, Aug 14; 4.

Discusses that the Congress which launched the freedom struggle under the leaders, was not infact a party but a mass of oppressed people, who decided to free themselves from the yoke of alien rule.

CONGRESS SESSION, BENGAL

162. CHAKRAVARTY (Nikhil). *That was an era of heroes.* Times of India. 148, 135; 1985, May 19; 5: d-f.

Volunteers in Khakhi at the congress session in Calcutta in 1928, was a thrilling sight. So far the British tommies and Anglo-Indian police sergeants swaggering along Calcutta's streets had been a familiar sight. The events and episodes that came in the writer's memory also described. There was great excitement when Congress vagon was set up in the Maidan, which later on came to be known as Park circus. There is a discussion about the Bengal Congress session and other leaders role.

DANDI MARCH, GANDHI

163. BAKSHI(SR). *Dandi March of Gandhi. Modern Review. 134, 4; 1974, Apr; 249-58.*

There is a detailed discussion of Dandi March which was started by Gandhi. Also discusses that the INC unfurled the flag of independence on the eve of its 44th session held on the banks of river Ravi, in Lahore in 1929, under the presidentship of Nehru.

DUFFERIN

164. BIPAN CHANDRA. *Lord Dufferin and the character of the Indian Nationalist leadership. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 2, 2-3; 1967; 208.*

Dufferin characterised the Indian National leadership as representing only an infinitesimal section of the people and being a microscopic minority. He declared that the Indian Society is divided between educated Babus and uneducated Masters. He referred to the anti-popular attitude adopted by the INC and other leading bodies of the nationalists. Another curious aspect of Dufferin's accusation that the Indian national leadership was anti-peasant and pro-zamindar might be examined. The zamindars and the aristocracy were opposed to the national Congress.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

165. FAIR PICTURE of a period. Hindustan Times. 1983, Apr 24; 7:d-f.

Discusses about the freedom struggle. During the Gandhi Irwin pact discussions with Irwin started on February 17, 1931. Jawaharlal Nehru insisted that there should be no resiling from the Lahore Congress and no going back from complete independence. For the restitution of the forefeited lands, Patel had its pledge to the Bardoli peasants.

HYDERABAD

166. DESAI (VH). *Indian National Congress: Struggle for freedom in Hyderabad.* National Herald. 1985, Dec 22; 4: a-c.

Discusses that the people of Hyderabad were liberated from the slavery of the feud-fascist regime, backed by the British imperialism. There is a detailed discussion that how Hyderabad state was freed from the Nizam.

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

167. RANARATHAN (V). *Romantic interlude in the History of Indian freedom.* Swarajya. 19,39; 1975, Mar 29; 31.

Discusses that the Indian National Army came on the eastern sky like a meteor during a critical phase of the second world war and dazzled the country for a while. It exploits and sacrifices a tragic and romantic interlude in the history of Indian freedom.

INDEPENDENCE

168. ANSARI(MA). *Congress: Greatest force making for National liberty.* Bombay Chronicle. 1935; Dec 29; 14:a-d.

INC has paved the ground for independence for India and from being a dream, brought independence within the pale of realisable ideals. The Congress has been the only organisation through which Indian nationalism has found expression. It has belong to no party and no community. It has stood for the whole country and concerned first for the masses.

GANDHI

169. ALEXANDER (Horace). *How Mahatma Gandhi celebrated Independence Day.* Indian and Foreign Review. 20,21; 1983, Aug 15; 10-3.

Discusses about Gandhi's whereabouts at the time of independence day i.e., August 15, 1947. The writer says that Gandhi was in Calcutta on Independence Day. Gandhi selected Calcutta for celebration of independence day because he brought peace to the great city of Calcutta and to the whole of Bengal, where Hindus and Muslims had been killing one another almost daily for over a year.

JALLIANWALLAH BAGH EPISODE

170. MITTAL (SC). *Jallianwallah Bagh: Impact on Freedom Movement.* Tribune. 1976, Apr 13; 4.

Discusses that Jallianwallah Bagh was the culmination of the conflict between British policies and the mounting Indian opinion fostered by Gandhi's satyagraha movement and nation-wide agitation. This episode provided a strong weapon to attack the foundations of British rule in India.

171. NAGARKAR (VV). *Jallianwala Bagh: 60 years after.* Times of India. 1979; Apr 15; 9: a-f.

States that more than 500 persons fell to the bullets fired by Gorkha platoon which had been ordered by Dyer to fire without warning on that fatal day of 13th April 1919. This year saw a new epoch in India's freedom struggle. The call for the first Nation-wide Satyagraha was given by Gandhi, and thousands of Indians took a vow to refuse, while sticking to truth and refraining from violence.

LUCKNOW SESSION, SYNDICATE

172. DESAI (Hitendra). *Syndicate games at Lucknow.* Link. 13, 18; 1980, Dec 13; 11-2.

Lucknow session of the syndicate AICC clearly brought out the deceitful character of the political

bores. All the big guns of the syndicate addressed the gathering at Lucknow, but none of them had the courage to admit that talks with the Jana Sangh and Swatandrata Party had reached the stage of discussion.

MASS REVOLUTION

173. RAM RATTAN. *Story of Indian Revolution.* Indian Political Science Review. 8,1; 1974, Jan; 106-7.

Discusses that no revolution in the world has had such a wide support as India's struggle for freedom. It was, probably the mass revolution in which the advocates of violence and the apostles of non-violence had their distinct place. The Jalalabad fight, the attempt to dynamite the Chittagong court building and the raid on the Paharatali European club reveal the spirit of self immolation which goaded the young revolutionaries who courted the highest penalty the foreign government in India could impose.

MOPLA REBELLION

174. KARUNAKARAN (KP). *Mopla Rebellion of 1921.* Mainstream. 9,8; 1970, Oct 24; 19-22.

Mopla rebellion of 1921 was a unique event in the

history of British India. Ever since British crown took over the administration of India, this was one of the few occasions when the British power was, in the military sense, successfully challenged, and an independent government was established. The rebellion party originated from the Khilafat agitation of the Indian Muslims. The Mopla rebellion affected the Hindu-Muslim relations and it created a wedge between the two communities in Malabar.

NON COOPERATION, BENGAL, CONTROVERSY,

SWARAJISTS

175. CHATTOPADHYAY (Gautam). *Real face of "Left" Nationalists of Bengal (1922-29)*. In : *INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 2; 1978; 732-8.*

Ever since Gandhi called off the Non-cooperation movement, after the Chauri Chura incident, fierce debates had started within the Congress about the future course of action. Bengal was at the fore-front of this controversy. The Controversy lead to almost complete split at the Gaya congress, between supporters of Gandhi and Swarajists. The Bengal Swarajists from CR Das to Bose at this point of time (1922-25), did stand to the left of Gandhi and the orthodox Congress leadership on this issue.

BENGAL

176. RAY(Rajat K). *Masses in Politics: The Non-cooperation movement in Bengal 1920-22.* Indian Economic and Social History Review. 11,4; 1974, Dec; 343-410.

Discusses that sharply alternating cycles of boom and depression forced the peace of mass discontent in Bengal in the aftermath of the first World war. Bengal has played a vital role in the struggle for freedom movement. Also there are discussion on Gandhi and other leaders and on various movements.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

177. COATHAN (J). *Present situation in India.* Nineteenth Century. 107, 640; 1930, Jun; 741-53.

Gandhi in his recent campaign of non-violence civil disobedience, seems to have failed to sense the true feeling of India's leading political thinkers. The Nehru report of the all party committee tended to accentuate the division between the Mohammedans and the Hindus. Dominion status versus independence proved the leading question of All India National Congress of 1928 and caused Gandhi's return to politics.

LUDHIANA CONFERENCE

178. CHATURVEDI(JP). *Ludhiana Conference and its background.* Mainstream. 14,13; 1975, Nov; 15-6.

Policy of the Congress about the Indian state was crystallised in the Haripura session. The Congress welcomed every non-violent movement launched by the people. The movement was started in many states. There is a detailed discussion about the Ludhiana Conference, which laid down the foundations of what became the policy of the Indian government regarding the princely state after independence.

PARTITION

179. AMBA PRASAD. *Towards India's freedom and partition.* India Quarterly. 39, 1; 1983, Jan-Mar; 97-9.

Hume's motives in establishing the INC were to provide a safety valve for the escape of the growing forces of revolt, generated by Britain's own action. He thought of the Congress as providing constitutional channels through which the surging tide of Indian aspirations may flow. He did not think of it merely as a safety valve. He has referred to the Congress as the National movement, intended to weld India into a nation, to secure home rule for it.

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

180. CHATURVEDI (JP). *Emergence of All India Organisation.*
Mainstream. 14, 12; 1975, Nov; 12-4.

Discusses that All India state's peoples conference was merged into the INC at the Delhi session of the Congress after freedom. The peoples party launched many a struggle under the leadership of Nehru and P. Sitaramiah and worked both for freedom of the country and for the emancipation of the people of India.

POLICY, CONSTITUTIONALISM

181. HAIR (MP Sreekumaran). *Congress policy and Constitutionalism: The working Committee Resolution of 7 July 1940.*
In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. *Proceedings.* 1980, 678.

Discusses that the congress moved away from the path of constitutionalism, despite the reluctance of Britain to transfer the reality of power to Indian hands and the march of the Congress into the wildness of civil disobedience, a substantial section of congress leadership advocated adherence to the agitational techniques of constitutionalism. The influence of constitutionalism on Congress policy could be seen in the specific demand for a provincial national government at the centre.

POLITICAL BACKBONE

182. CONGRESS: 100 years. (editorial). Hindustan Times.
1985, Dec 27; 7.

Congress centenary a political and historical landmark reminds the nation not only of its long heroic struggle for independence but also of its useful filled tasks. There is a need now to recapture the spirit that has moved the great organisation for a century. It has under gone metamorphosis at various stages and has changed from time to time.

POONA PACT, ROLE, GANDHI

183. FONTERA(RM). *Gandhi and the Poona Pact*. Political Science Review. 6,1; 1967, Jan-Mar; 11-25.

Poona pact of September 25, 1932, has often been cited as supporting the generality that Gandhi was a "poor negotiator". The implecation to be drawn from this criticism is that the Poona pact failed to advance the essential interests of the nationalists movement. If such a judgement is examined by reference to the events leading up to the Poona pact it becomes clear that Gandhi was almost alone in recognising the importance of placing the Congress clearly in the mainstream of the

battle for the rights of those whom the British preferred to believe represented the Scheduled Caste.

POORNA SWARAJ

184. CONGRESS JUBILEE (editorial). Hindu. 108, 307; 1985, Dec 28; 8: a-b.

Fifty years ago the National Congress met for the first time in Bombay, which had the freedom of the people as its definite goal, but freedom was an undefined word. It means Purna Swaraj or complete independence. There is a discussion on various movements. The Congress covers about every sphere of national activity.

QUIT INDIA

185. JANALUDDIN AHMED. *Indian National Congress: Quit India to Partition*. National Herald. 1985, Jun 9; 4.

Discusses that the Quit India movement developed into a general revolt. The British blamed the Congress for sabotaging war efforts and painted the movement as a pro-fascist. Also discusses the various movements upto the partition of India.

GANDHI

186. DESAI(Hitendra). Preservation of quintessence.
Economic Times. 12, 276; 1985, Dec 29; 4: d-h.

Completion of a 100 years of its existence by the INC is an event of great significance. In 1885, a few leaders inspired by intense love for the country met in Bombay and formed this organisation. The condition of India that time was very bad, starvation, unemployment and poverty made our people miserable. No one could raise voice against British Rule. Soon, the Congress movement gathered momentum and its message spread across the length and breadth of our country. The Congress became instrument of the national urge. Its movement got momentum mainly among the intellectuals. Only after the advent of Gandhi in public life, the movement in 1942, convinced the British government that British government that India cannot now be ruled.

ROLE, BRITONS

187. GANDHI (Rajmohan). Our former rules. Indian Express.
1986, Feb 11; 9: d-h.

It is impossible to imagine scenes of Congresses birth that didnot contain the figures of Hume. The

role played by the Britons from 1885 to 1947 has been discussed in detail, who fought for the demise of the British rule. Also discusses the roles of Basant, Curzon, Irwin and Linlithgow in detail.

GANDHI

188. CHAKRAVARY (Amiya). Mahatma Gandhi: Freedom's champion. Statesman. 113, 23114; 1947, Aug 15; 1:c-e.

Discusses that Gandhi's political achievement is unique. He has brought India to the door of freedom. The techniques of controlled mass movement, he has carried national conflicts to a new level where dictators would have failed. The INC under Gandhi's leadership had itself help in strengthening the great constructive trends in contemporary history.

189. HUNDRED YEARS of Congress. (editorial). Hindu. 108, 309; 1985, Dec 31; 8: a-b.

Congress steadily rose to occupy a dominant position in the polity and the ways and means it adopted in winning independence from the British were distinctly its own with few parallels, although the credit or so great an achievement should go to an individual, the inimitable Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress is the only organisation

which continues to wield considerable influence among the masses.

190. RANGARAJAN(R). *INC: Preserving legacy.* National Herald. 1985, Dec 23; 9:c-f.

States that Tilak was a militant freedom fighter who imparted a decisive to the nation's struggle for imancipation from the British colonial yoke. Also discusses that it was due to Gandhi the Congress became an instrument of the mass awakening and mass struggle. The Congress launched several struggle for freedom. There is no parallel in the world of a political party not only surviving but growing an enriching itself like the Congress.

191. UPADHYAY(Dadan). *Aspect of National Movement.* Mainstream. 11, 44; 1973, Jun 30;40.

Discusses the development of Indian politics and also role of INC. Gandhi's role in the independence movement brought a thorough re-thinking among fighters for freedom. He succeeded inculcating the anti-British feeling on a much wider scale.

NEHRU

192. LITMAN(AD). *Ideological legacy of Gandhi & Nehru.* National Herald. 1985, Dec8; 4: a-c.

Discusses that the century long path travel led by the INC marks a definite historical stage in the movement of the Indian people itself, from colonial enslavement to national liberation. The second half of this path is directly connected with the activity of Nehru and Gandhi who were the most outstanding INC leaders. Their ideological legacy is diverse, complex and contradictory. Despite these differences progressive ideological tenets and slogans of the INC secured great popularity.

GOKHALE

193. BASU(Aparna). *Gokhale: Indian Moderates and the British Raj. India Quarterly. 25,1; 1979, Jan-Mar; 133-5.*

Discusses the maker of modern India, as important in his own way as Gandhi or Nehru, Gokhale was one of those early nationalist who strove to inculcate a new ideal of secular democratic India. There is a detailed discussion of the role played by Gokhale in the freedom struggle.

TILAK

194. LIMAYE (Madhu). *Gandhi's transformation of Congress. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 1985; Dec 28; 4:a-d.*

INC was founded in 1885, with the help of two Britishers

and many Indian leaders. Tilak began to take an active part in Congress work, and he carried forward the struggle for Swaraj. Tilak differed from Gandhi both in temperament and method. Gandhi implemented Tilak's five point programme and his transformation of Congress as an instrument of National freedom and fulfillment of Tilak's dream of Swaraj was not, however, completely free from blamish.

SALT SATYAGRAHA

195. MISRA(JP). Rowlatt Satyagraha in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 1980; 502-9.

Discusses that the decision of Gandhi to launch Satyagraha against the Rowlat Act was one of the most significant events in the Indian National liberation movement. Gandhi has asked the people to launch Satyagraha against the Rowlat Act, and it was launched by Gandhi, and spread rapidly. This Satyagraha lead to a marked growth in the political awareness among different sections of the population in the region.

196. MOHUN(GD). Salt Monopoly in India. Modern Review.47,5; 1930, May; 612-4.

States that the breaking of the salt laws the

leaders hoped to destroy the prestige of the English government in India and inspire the masses with a sense of active non-cooperation against their alien rules.

BIHIPUR

197. NUFAN KUMARI. *Bihpur Satyagraha of 1930*. Patriot. 1985, Nov 27; 5: a-f.

Discusses that the successful Satyagraha of Bhpur, a subdivision of Bhagalpur district of Bihar, in 1930 was an example how the rural masses had responded to the Nationalist call. This event lead to the Gandhi-Irwin pact of 1931. Bhipur has been a centre of Congress activity. Its Satyagraha's success was typical of the congress effort to mobilisethe rural masses against the British. The movement compelled the British government to compromise with the Congress which lead to the Gandhi-Irwin pact.

GANDHI

198. RAN RATTAN. *Gandhi's doctrine of Civil Resistence*. Indian Political Science Review. 8, 1; 1974, Jan; 107-9.

Discusses "Satyagraha", as Gandhi's most original contribution to political theory. He conceived Satyagraha

in the context of acute apartheid and nurtured in that of the shrewdest alien rule. Gandhi's satyagraha was an evil-resistance, civil resistance, civil assistance, and " a broad spectrum therapy" for conflict resolution, conflict-precipitation and transformation of relationships. It is like Jihad or Khadhenu.

SWARAJ, TILAK

199. NAIR (NP Sreekumaran). *Tilak's concept of Swaraja: Expediency or inconsistency?* In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. Ed by Barun De and BR Grover. 2;1970; 234.

Describes that the idea of Swaraj was formulated and given currency for the first time by Tilak. His interpretation of Swaraj, not only differed at different times, but alternated between complete independence and self government within the empire.

UTTAR PRADESH

200. DIKSHIT (Chandrodaya). *Uttar Pradesh Freedom Struggle.* Mainstream. 23,1; 1984, Sep 1; 25-7.

People of Uttar Pradesh declared war against the British in 1857 at Meerut, and the war continued till August 1947, when the goal was reached and the British were thrown out. The people of UP were punished by the

Britishers many times in many ways for playing the prominent role in the freedom movement. The two sessions of INC were held at Allahabad in 1888 and 1892. Many leaders of U.P lead the congress.

HISTORY

201. *CHACKO(KV). Message of the Banyan tree. Patriot. 1986, Jan 3 ; 4.*

Describes that the INC is a big Banyan tree and like an old Banyan tree it has grown very large - rotting in some parts, still sprouting here and there, its beard roots all over, sheltering many desirables and undesirables in its shade; suffering many parasites on its scaly branches. It is yet, majestic in its overall appearance and hundred year old strength.

202. *INDER JIT. Testament for a movement. Tribune. 1986, Jan 7; 3.*

Congress was a national mass movement at the time of independence, and not just a political party. Gandhi gave the INC a truly national character and involved the masses in the struggle for freedom. Truth, swadeshi and non-violence formed the masthead of the Congress.

203. JOSHI (Chand). Countdown from hundred. Hindustan Times. 1986, Jan 12; 11: a-g.

Congress from its initial hesitant start to built itself into a sort of a rolling boulder which carried with it almost all streams of opinion but by just one magical concept and feeling. The Congress movement in pre-independence days never had an "ism" and at the cost of volley of criticism, neither did it really have an ideology. The communists are also a part of the Congress movement, which encompassed all 'isms' and ideologies.

204. PATEL (HM). Apart from Congress. Asian Recorder. 1,2; 1968, Jan; 105-14.

Rise of the opposition parties in India is attributed to the decline of the democratic spirit within the Congress party. Already the opposition parties have an effective voice in Central Government and their effectiveness in the states will follow on success in weaning the local government organs away from long-standing Congress allegiance.

205. QUARK, ~~Rand~~ Congress: Largest regional party. Times of India. 1986, Jan 26; 11: c-h.

Congress is a youthful and dynamic party. It finds

itself weaker than ever before. It is today is the biggest of national parties. Now the Congress itself has in the process been reduced to a regional party consisting mainly of the Hindi speaking land. Today the Congress does not seem to possess the will to be a national party.

206. RAO (M Chalapathi). *First Congress, 1885. Link. 22,5; 1979, Sep 9; 13-4.*

Discusses that the Congress consists of several Congresses, a party among political parties, divided, united and sub-divided. It was once a parent party, which gave birth to all parties. It is easy to start a Congress now, but it was not easy to assemble INC in the last century in British India. The Congress before and after independence is a Gandhi Congress.

207. UNIYAL (BN). *Reflections on Congress Centenary: Compulsions of an egalitarian ethos. Patriot. 1985, May 5; 5: a-e.*

INC completes 100 years this year, as 100 years of great transition and transformation in the left of the country, a 100 years of sacrifices and achievements. With its history of struggle and suffering, of foreign and consolidating India into a nation and, then, into

an independent, sovereign nation state, the Congress can justifiably claim to be a unique organisation.

CENTENARY

208. *VATTANKY(John). Agenda for the Congress Centenary. Times of India. 1985, Dec 5; 8: g-h.*

It is fitting that a great movement, with a long history and considerable power to inspire freedom struggles in different parts of the globe, should be remembered and its spirit recaptituated and revived. Congress was essentially a national movement. Into its mainstream flowed the urge to make India independent and all activities centred around it. It should celebrate the determination of the Indian people to shed the shackles of slavery and shape their own destiny.

DEVELOPMENT

209. *INDIAN NATIONAL Congress(editorial). Tribune. 1985, Dec 27; 7.*

Discusses that today's Congress is not what it used to be, during Gandhi and Nehru's leadership. The Congress was started as a movement to secure freedom from foreign rule. Also discusses that the INC of Gandhi, Nehru, Azad, Shastri and Patel have turned into

a mass movement.

210. KOWJALGI (Shirinivasarao). *Future of India in Congress Congress hands.* Bombay Chronicle. 1935, Dec 29; 7: a-b.

INC is entering on her 51st year of chequered, though glorious career. The future of the nation will be in its hand, hence the most popular organisation with a national objective.

211. NATIONAL EVENT(editorial). Patriot. 1985, May 6;7:c-d.

Discusses the birth, history and development of INC in great detail. The history of the Congress has been that of the nation. It has survived and strengthened itself by changing with the times.

LEADERSHIP, GANDHI, NEHRU

212. NAIDU(C Muthyalayya). *Emergence of Nehru and Gandhi as supreme leaders at Lahore, 1929.* In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 1980; 675.

Describes the verbal controversy between Gandhi and his dissidents. Nehru and Gandhi emerged as the supreme leaders in the Lahore Congress session, of the two Gandhi was more conspicuous and a towering personality

since Cahuri Chara incident. Gandhi made Nehru as the Congress President in preference to Patel. By the end of the Lahore session Nehru and Gandhi emerged as supreme leaders, the former as the trusted follower and the latter as the mentor.

HUME

213. MISRA (JP). A.O. Hume's leadership of the Indian National Congress. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 2; 1978; 671.

Discusses the role of Hume, who has shaped the INC both as its founder and its organisation from 1885-92. His main objective for the establishment of the INC was to provide a safety valve for the escape of dangerous resentment.

NEHRU

214. MOHAMMAD VAZEERUDDIN. Congress Centenary without Nehru. Tribune. 1985, May 26; 5.

Discusses that the Congress Centenary celebration without Nehru remind inexorably of "Hamlet" without the the Prince of Denmark. For decades Nehru was the Congress

as much as the prince in the play. Nehru espoused the Congress. He spoke for the Congress and Congress spoke through him. The absence of Nehru in the Centenary celebrations is widely felt, because nobody could defend the organisation as doursly as he did.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT

215. DASH(SC). *Nature and significance of Indian Nationalism.* Indian Journal of Political Science. 19, 1; 1958; Jan-Mar; 63-72.

Indian nationalism is a by product of British rule, which brought the Indian people under a common administration and generated a feeling of oneness among them. Nehru's influence in the Congress save Indian nationalism from being a purely negative force and, by curbing its capitalist bias, he secured for it a wider popular base.

216. HEARTY WELCOME. (editorial). Times of India. 148,358; 1985, Dec 27; 1: a-b.

Discusses that it is a unique event to welcome the Congress men from all over the country on its centenary celebrations. India does not possess another political organisation with a comparable record of service to the nation; and 100 years are a long time in the life of

any party anywhere in the world. India has witnessed great changes and revolutions, and Congress has been an agent and a product of these revolutionary upheavels.

217. JAIN(Girilal). Congress as it was. Times of India. 148, 360; 1985, 1: a-h.

India without the Congress would have been a very different India - less Catholic and less capable of promising justice to all its people regardless of religious, regional and linguistic considerations of preserving its autonomy while relating itself to the world. Only a leadership which is nature, skilful and determined can hope to keep the Congress what it has been an organisation which the majority in every community, region and caste can regard as its own. That is what a truly national party must be in India and that is what the Congress has been for most of the time since independence.

218. KIRPALANI (Acharya). Destiny of millions transformed. Statesman. 113, 23114; 1947, Aug 15; 8: d-e.

Congress stands for the achievement of a society which would ensure individual liberty, equality, opportunity and the fullest scope for every citizen for the

development of his personality. On August 15, 1947, the dead weight of British imperialism is lifted from this land, the sufferings and sacrifices of generations of brave fighters in the cause of independence have borne fruit.

219. PRASAD (Babu Rajendra). *Congress: A National Asset of Immense Value.* Bombay Chronicle. 1935, Dec 29; 13: a-d.

INC was not only a national organisation, but a great national asset, and it should be the duty of every Indian to add to this asset and, in any case to preserve it intact. The Congress has laid down its own test and discipline.

BENGAL, PARTITION

220. JANALUDDIN AHMAD. *Indian National Congress: The partition of Bengal.* National Herald. 1985, May 5;4.

Discusses about the Congress (second) at Calcutta session in 1886. The 21st Congress in 1905, at Banaras protested against the partition Bengali community under one administration. This protest lead to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest.

CRITICISM

221. REYNOLDS (Reginald A). Chances of Indian unity. World Tomorrow. 13, 3; 1930, Mar; 112-4.

Communal jealousy is more intense than in 1921 and the INC is attacked both from right and left, by the moderates and by the workers and peasants party.

EVALUATION

222. MAVALANKAR (PG). Some candid comments and confessions. Economic Times. 12, 276; 1985, Dec 29; 5: a-h.

Congress ceased to be really "congress" when freedom dawned on August 15, 1947. Congress then could have wound up, but it continued. Patel and Nehru was spreading the Congress movement and with the passing of Patel, in 1950, the chapter of the old honourable Congress ended. Damage was done and the deterioration began. Power establishment began to prevail over the party organisation.

223. NATIONS' HERIGATE. (editorial). Statesman. 1985, Dec 29; 9

Congress party through its officially recognised incarnation, enters its second century. Some say that the real Congress died in 1947, and others date its

spiritual demise to more recent times. The history of Congress infact, the history of modern India, but historians usually choose 1885 as a watershed. With hindsight many contend that the Congress betrayed the real aspirations of the Indian people.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE

224. **MUKHERJEE(Hiren)**. Milestones on the road to freedom. Statesman. 113, 23114; 1947, Aug 15; 1: a-g.

Two mominions amerge as near to independences as any state outside the category of great powers, they are India & Pakistan. It is therefore, a historical landmark a day of good cheer and yet of a becoming solemnity. Bengal and Punjab, the two provinces in the struggle for freedom have to paycrurelly for the country's leaders to pull together and to accept artificial bifurcation of their soil. Freedom, besides coming in todays context more as a gift from Britain as a yearned - for price. The history of India's national movement is often tracked back to the foundation of the Congress in 1885.

IMPACT, NEPAL

225. **RAMAKANT**. Nepal andthe Indian nationalist rovement. India Quarterly. 25, 3; 1979, Jul-Sep; 393-4.

Impact of the Indian Nationalist movement on Nepal was immediate, nor as intense as it could have been, considering the contiguity of the two countries. The agitational methods and liberal ideology of the Indian National Movement did affect the Nepali leaders till 1946. However, when India became free, the impact was deep and immediate. The growth, development and extent of the impact of Indian nationalist movement on Nepal has been analysed.

NON-VIOLENCE

226. *NON VIOLENCE has more relevance now: Badshah Khan. (editorial). Hindu. 108, 52; 1985, Dec 29; 1:h.*

Describes the speech of Badshah Khan. 100 years of Congress were marked by momentous developments, some good and some bad. The party has achieved its goal even though the people of N.W.F.P. were deprived of the freedom. Congress and Gandhi were intervened during the freedom struggle. There is a greater need of Gandhi's philosophy of Non-violence now, because of the dread and fear that overhelmed it.

ORISSA

227. *MISHRA (PK). Early phase of nationalist movement in*

Orissa. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 2; 1978; 646-58.

Discusses the socio-political associations of the Oriya speaking people whose members met periodically to discuss important events of the time, passed resolutions and even elected delegates for the annual sessions of the INC. These delegates after their return from the session acquaint the members of their respective association with the main events of the Congress. This was brought the message and ideas of the INC began to spread in Orissa.

POLICIES

228. MISHRA (Girish). Challenges before Congress. Patriot. 1986, Jun 2; 5.

Describes in detail the role played the INC during the pre-independence days. Despite its many weaknesses, the Congress became and remained until independence, the symbol as well as the vehicle and organiser.

229. KIDWAI (Anser). Indian National Congress: Heritage & Challenges. National Herald. 1985, Nov 21; 5.

Discusses that the Congress has seen many ups and

and down both before and after the dawn of independence. The Congress Party of India has been a subject that has fascinated the political analysts and researchers in the country and abroad alike. It has been a movement and a political machine. There has been the main movement led by Gandhi and Nehru as there were its off-shoot termed as associate movement.

PROBLEMS, COMMUNAL

230. *HUNDRED YEARS of Congress: A view point.* Link. 28,1; 1985, Dec 29; 6-9.

Congress acquired the character of well defined nationalist mass movement only after Gandhi's emergence on the scene. The inability of the Congress to grapple with the communal problem both from within and without stood out starkly. The Congress achieved remarkable success in adopting an effective strategy for forcing a powerful anti-imperialist movement. It was unable to find a strategy to deal with the communal problem.

ROLE, GANDHI

231. *GANDHI (MK).* Gandhiji's draft constitution for Congress. Congress Bulletin. 7; 1948, Mar 15; 43-5.

This is perhaps the last public document written by Gandhi. It relates to the future of the Congress about which he had become apprehensive because of the deterioration that was overtaken it. He wanted to stop it and divert the Congress once more into a channel for effective and selfless service of the people as he once before in 1920 change it into an effective instrument for fighting successfully foreign domination and for raising the moral standard of the people.

NOVELISTS

232. LEHMANN (Fritz). *Indian Nationalist Movement as seen with the Novelist's vision.* In: *INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings.* Ed by Suria Jaiswal, BR Grover and RP Dua. 33; 1972; 588.

Indian nationalist movement was the most profound event of Indian life. It has also drawn the attention of Indian Novelists, and the novels will be used as a complementary source of data. While the historians is concerned to elucidate casual relationship in the flow of even, drawing upon a number of sources, the novelist, on the other hand often seeks to illuminate some aspects of human conditions. Many English language novels have dealt with the nationalis movement.

ORGANISATION

233. CHAKRAVARTTY (Nikhil). *Grandeur that was the Congress.* Times of India. 148, 128; 1985, May 12; 8: a-c.

Congress in its eventful journey had undergone many changes transforming itself from time to time. Also discusses that the Congress has never been a party in the strict sense of the term, it has always been a platform and it is so today. It has persons from different walks of life with diverse outlooks but one common desire.

CENTENARY

234. C J., Pseud. 1885: *Assembling an idea.* Hindustan Times. 1986, Jan 12; 9:c-f.

Safety valve for the escape of the great and growing forces, generated by our own action was urgently needed and no more efficacious safety valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised. Within five years of the creation of the safety valve an order was issued in 1890 forbidding government service from attending Congress sessions.

235. FAILED EXTRAVAGANZA. (editorial). Times of India. 148, 362; 1985, Dec 31; 8: a-b.

Congress centenary celebrations in Bombay will long be remembered as an extravaganza that failed to come off. Gandhi built the Congress organisation; Nehru kept it going even if he could not reinvigorate it for reasons beyond his control. Mrs. Gandhi neglected it because she was besieged almost all the time.

236. HARI JAISINGH. *From grassroots to Computer.* Indian Express. 1985, Dec 25; 9: c-d.

INC from its birth to present day carries in its womb both hopes and frustrations of this great nation. It has been a great party, though the Congress of the freedom movement was qualitatively different from the one that took charge of the colonial power, structure in the wake of independence. The Congress through its existence, being a personality oriented mass-based party. A democratic party must derive its strength from its grass root workers, to grow on their own for the democratic forces.

DISPUTE

237. RAO (Chalapati H). *When Congress split.* Link. 22, 10; 1979, Oct 14; 9-10.

Discusses that the INC first split in 1907.

also there was a split in 1907, when the Congress was to be held at Nagpur, was shifted to Surat. It had been re-united in 1916 at its Lucknow session. Also there were differences in 1937 and 51.

BIHAR

238. ROY (R). *Intra-Party conflict in the Bihar Congress.* Asian Survey. 6, 12; 1966; Dec; 706-15.

Dominant parties, like the Congress in India, manifest a tendency towards proliferation of factions. Also the phenomenon of mutual distrust frustrating association among peers is a factor conducive to proliferation of faction. This is illustrated by the example of Congress Party in Bihar. Even before the coming independence, when the Congress represented a national movement, prospect of capturing power first in local self government bodies and later at the state level encouraged formation of factions. In 1937, when the Congress came into power, two factions emerged.

NEHRU & PATEL

239. SANTHANAM (K). *Nehru Patel relationship.* Swarajya. 18, 15; 1973, Oct 13;.19.

Discusses about Nehru's relationship with Patel.

Also there is a discussion about the whole of 1948 in which events like the assassination of Gandhi, the invasion of and Rajaj's succession to Lord Mount Patton. Just after Gandhi's assassination, the differences between Nehru and Sardar Patel reached the breaking point. After the assassination, they decided to act aside their differences and work together.

FACT IONAF ISH

240. PANIGRAHI (Chintamani). *New wind*. Link. 10, 1; 1967, Aug 15; 71-3. -

Struggle between two vitally different thought currents inside the Congress from 1885 to 1919 passed through various phases. The Surat session remains an inspiring event for all young Congressmen. The history of the Congress of the Gandhian and Nehru era bears the imprint of the struggle between different thought currents which swayed the people's minds in the respective periods. Nehru wished to make Congress the spearhead of and economic and social revolution.

GOLDEN JUBILEE

241. NAGINADS (T). *Golden Jubilee of the nation*. Bombay

Chronicle. 1935, Dec 29; 5: c-d.

Golden Jubilee of the Congress is essentially an occasion for thanks giving and prayers. The Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress is the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Nation. We should join the celebrations as pilgrims of freedom and soldiers of swarauj.

ROLE, GANDHI

242. SHARMA (R). Gandhi and party building. Journal of Political Sciences. 7, 2; 1974, Sep ; 59-69.

Discusses that Gandhi's role in the acquisition by the Congress Party of the characteristics of adaptability, complexisty, coherence and autonomy. All these are examined and analysed. How and why he intitiated the process of making the structure and procedure of the Congress more rational, professional and democratic is discussed.

ORIGIN

243. JAIN (SH). "White mutinity" and genesis of Indian National Congress. India Quarterly. 39, 3; 1983, Jul-Sep; 343-5.

Britishers followed the policy of racial administration in the administration of justice in India. There was an agitation by the whites against the Ilbert Bill and it was mainly through public meetings. The battle against the Bill was even carried to London. It created the feelings of social hatred and class conflict both among the British and Indian subjects and lead to racial violence. Their opposition to the Bill lead to the founding of the INC.

244. JAMALUDDIN AHMED. *Birth of Indian National Congress.* National Herald. 1985, Apr 28; 4.

History of the Congress is really is the history of India's struggle for freedom. The entire national movement of India originated from R.R Mohon Roy. There are various stages of developments and growth of Congress. Lord Ripon's liberal policies gave the greater impetus to the founding of the Congress.

DEVELOPMENT

245. DEO (Shankarrao). *Future of the Congress.* Congress Bulletin. 5; 1947, Nov 7; 16-21.

This being enclosure of circular No.31 (c) sent by Shankarrao Deo to the Presidents and secretaries

of various states discusses question like: Should the Congress continue to serve the Indian people in free India or should it be dissolved ? If it is to continue, what will be its objective and programme ? Is it not necessary to make fundamental changes in the constitutional structure of the Congress ?

246. *KIDWAI (Anser). Perspective and vision. National Herald. 1985, Dec 28; 5: a-c.*

Evolution of Congress from a petition making body to a militantly patriotic organisation is a story that makes an incredible reading in the back drop of historicity. The emergence of Gokhale and Tilak gave a definite thrust India's own ideal of freedom. Also discusses about Gandhi and Nehru's role and the battle of 1942-45 by the Congress against the British raj.

HISTORY

247. *ACUTE AND obtuse. (editorial). Times of India. 148, 359; 1985, Dec 28; 8: g-h.*

Everybody is talking about the Congress, even people who don't talk about it usually or talk about anything. To some to be proud about the Congress is like

being proud about the country. The Congress is a genere name and there are a few species of Congress. The organisation has changed according to the needs of time and certain individuals. The Congress has graduated from the Charkha and the bullocks. It is no longer an organisation of peasants and uncouth workers clad in coarse Khadi.

248. NAIR (MKB). Congress Centenary: A movement in history wasted. Economic Times. 12, 290; 1986, Jan; 120;3:a-h.

Discusses that to most Indians, Congress was rational history, at least until 1947. It was born as a national movement for the liberation of the country from parent domination. A look back in homage to all the great ones who contributed to the national movement in diverse ways has been quiet in order. Three smaller associations of the last century are considered the fore-runner of the INC. They are Bombay association, Dadabhai Naroji's East India association and Bombay presidency.

249. BHUPENDRA PRATAP SIMSH. Origin of Indian National Congress. Indian Nation. 1985, Sep 29; 6.

Discusses that due to the struck of western education

in Bengal & Bombay, the ideas of democracy and independence sprouted earlier in these areas. Many national and political associations were formed and encouraged the democratic ideas. The first National Conference was convened at Calcutta in 1883, and then there was the INC in 1885. 1888, showed the critical period in the history of INC. Also discusses the history of INC about each year till 1950.

HUME

250. PANTHUR (DB). A O Hume: Father of the Indian National Congress. Political Science Review. 13, 1-4; 1974, Jan-Dec; 430-4.

Hume founded the Congress to protest the British empire in India from a violent upheaval. He said that the Congress was an elite institution. He has raised his gun against rebels of 1857. The British government was intend upon crushing protest and appeals alike with cavalier abandon. Hume's alternative was the INC. He wanted the Congress to institutionalise "protest".

251. TEWARI (JP). Role of A O Hume during the revolt of 1857. In: INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS. Proceedings. 2; 1967; 73.

Article attempts to examine the role of AOHume, one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, during the revolt of 1854, as the district Magistrate of Etawah, Agra Division. The writer draws the conclusion that the the lessons of this revolt could be one of the important factors in motivating Hume to help establish a "safety valve" in the form of the Indian National Congress.

-o-o-o-

PART THREE
INDEXES

A U T H O R I N D E X

Entry Numbers are given against the Authors for location.

A

ACHARYA (Ajoy)	-	154
ALEXANDER (Horace)	-	169
AMBRA PRASAD	-	114,115,179
ANEES JUNG	-	158
ANSARI (MA)	-	168
ARUNA ASIF ALI	-	120

B

BANIS (JS)	-	131
BAJAJ (Ramakrishna)	-	138
BAKSHI (SR)	-	163
BANERJEE(Sumanta)	-	147
BASU (Aparna)	-	193
BENJAMIN (N)	-	93
BHABHA	-	150
BARATAN KUMARAPPA	-	126
BHARGAVA (ML)	-	146,7,106
BHATTACHARYA (GP)	-	92
BIPAN CHANDRA	-	164
BISHESHVAR PRASAD	-	121
BISWAS (Ratin)	-	134
BOSE (Subhas Chandra)	-	60

BRIGGS (FS) - 105

C

C.J., Fesud. - 234

CHACKO (KV) - 201

CHAKRAVARTY (Amiya) - 188

CHAKRAVARTTY (Nikhil) - 233, 162

CHANDRA SHEKAR - 30

CHATTERJEE (Pranab Kumar) - 155, 79

CHATTOPADHYAY (Gautam) - 175

CHATURVEDI (JP) - 180, 178

CHOPRA (VD) - 58

COATMAN (J) - 177

CRIPPS (Stafford) - 23

CURTIN (PWE) - 33

D

DASGUPTA (RK) - 21

DASH (SC) - 215, 10

DASTUR (AJ) - 83

DAVID (Celine) - 94

DEO (Shankarrao) - 245

DEORA (Murli) - 22

DESAI (VH) - 166

DESAI (Hidendra) - 186, 172

DIKSHIT (Chandrodaya) - 200

DIWAKAR (RR) - 122

F

FISHER (HAL)	-	16
FONTERA (RM)	-	183
FRANDA (MF)	-	28

G

GANDHI (MK)	-	231
GANDHI (Rajmohan)	-	187
GOPAL (Niraja)	-	63
GRAHAM (BD)	-	2
GUHA (Samar)	-	135
GUPTA (Partha Sarathy)	-	111
GUPTA (Shyamlal Datta)	-	18

H

HABIBULLAH (E)	-	12, 31
HALDAR (Gopal)	-	81
HARI JAISINGH	-	236
HAYDEN (Ralston)	-	123
HOLLAND (Robert)	-	127

I

INDERJIT	-	202
----------	---	-----

J

JAIN (Girilal)	-	217
JAIN (SN)	-	243

JAMALUDDIN AHMED	-	244, 4108, 157, 185, 220
JHA (Manoranjan)	-	116
JHA (Shiva Chandra)	-	130
JOSHI (Chand)	-	203

K

KARUNAKARAN (KP)	-	174
KATILAL (CL)	-	125
KESAVANARAYANA (B)	-	40
KIDWAI (Anser)	-	229, 246
KIRPALANI (Acharya)	-	218
KOMAROV (EN)	-	100
KOWJALGI (Srinivasarao)	-	210
KRAEMER (H)	-	39
KULKARNI (Niranjan M)	-	87
KULKARNI (RH)	-	78
KULKARNI (VB)	-	48
KUMAR (Bhagat Ram)	-	37

L

LAL (JN)	-	17
LEHMANN (Fritz)	-	232
LIMAYE (Madhu)	-	194
LITHAN (AD)	-	192

M

MADAN GOPAL	-	112
MADHU LIMAYE	-	64

MAITRA (Nirmal Chandra)	-	65
MAJUMDAR (RC)	-	128
MALAVIA (KD)	-	3
MALHOTRA (Inder)	-	4,133
MARTYSHIN (OV)	-	85
MATHUR (DB)	-	250
MATHUR (RD)	-	104
MATHUR (Girish)	-	66,8
MAVALANKAR (PG)	-	222
HAJUMDAR (Asoke Kumar)	-	43
MEHROTRA (SR)	-	107
MENON (NC)	-	59
MENON (KP Kesava)	-	160
MISHRA (Girish)	-	228
MISHRA (PK)	-	227
MISRA (JP)	-	195,213
MISRA (Panchanan)	-	77,57
MITTAL (SC)	-	170
MOHAMMAD VAZERRUDDIN	-	214
MOHUN (GD)	-	196
MORAES (F)	-	55
MORRIS-JONES (WH)	-	1
MUKHERJEE (Hiren)	-	224,129
MUKHERJI (Saradindu)	-	82
<u>N</u>		
NAGARKAR (VV)	-	171
NAGINDAS (T)	-	241

NAIDU (C Nuthyalayya)	-	212
NAIR (NKB)	-	248
NAIR (MP Sreekumaran)	-	181,199
NANDA (BR)	-	96
NARAYAN (Shiriman)	-	56
NUTAN KUMARI	-	197

P

PAGE (Kirby)	-	159
PANIGRAHI (Chintamani)	-	240
PATEL (HM)	-	204
PATIL (VS)	-	141
PATIL (VT)	-	34
PAUL (Asit)	-	67
PAVADYA (BS)	-	89
PRASAD (Srijat Rajendra)	-	101
PRASAD (Babu Rajendra)	-	219

Q

QANAR AGHA	-	45
QUARK, Yasud.	-	205

R

RAFIQ ZAKRIA	-	54
RAJAN (KP. Sunder)	-	97
RAMACHANDRAN (Padma)	-	50
RAHAKANT	-	225
RAM NANDAN KUMAR	-	41

RAM RATTAN	-	198, 173
RANARATTAN (V)	-	167
RANGARAJA (R)	-	190
RAO (M Chalapathi)	-	206
RAO (P Kodanda)	-	44
RAO (P Rajeswara)	-	52
RAO (Chalapathi M)	-	237
RATTAN (HR)	-	132
RAY (Rajat Kanta)	-	38
RAY (Sankar)	-	110
RAY (Rajat K)	-	176
REYNOLDS (Reginald A)	-	221
ROY (R)	-	238
ROY (Santimoy)	-	46

S

SAHIYA (Shobha)	-	49
SANDHDHER (BM)	-	51
SANTHANAN (K)	-	239, 53
SATWIK (PK)	-	68
SAXENA (BD)	-	117
SAXENA (Kiran)	-	149
SEHANAVIS (Chinmohan)	-	95
SHAH (KK)	-	136
SHANKAR (Girija)	-	9
SHARMA (R)	-	242
SHARMA (C)	-	143

SHARMA (BR)	-	69
SHARMA (Sinha)	-	113
SHARMA (RS)	-	35
SHAUKAT USMANI	-	70
SHRIVASTAVA (BK)	-	11
SINCLAIR (Archibald)	-	152
SINGH (JP)	-	71
SINGH (Neelam Mahajan)	-	19
SINGH (Kavita)	-	5
SINGH (Girish)	-	142
SINGH (Karan)	-	72
SINGH (Uma Kaura)	-	102
SINGH (Bhupendra Pratap)	-	249
SINGH (Kripal)	-	42
SINGH (Bhag)	-	137
SINHA (Sachchidananda)	-	153
SITARAMAYA (S Pattabhi)	-	14
SMITH (RT)	-	98
SRINIVASAN (S)	-	103
SRIVASTAVA (Nanaj)	-	20
SUBRAMANIAM (C)	-	15
SUBRAMANYAM (K)	-	73
SURI (Surinder)	-	148
<u>T</u>		
TANDON (Vishwanath)	-	139
TAPAN DAS	-	145

TAYLOR (David)	-	80
TEWARI (JP)	-	251
THURTEE (Earnest)	-	13
TRIPATHI (Amal)	-	124
TUTEJA (KL)	-	76
TYAGI (Mahavir)	-	75
<u>U</u>		
UNIYAL (BN)	-	207
UPADHYAY (Dadan)	-	191
<u>V</u>		
VATTANKY (John)	-	208
VENKATARANGAYA (N)	-	47
VENKATESWARAN (V)	-	119, 74
VERMA (LB)	-	109
<u>W</u>		
WATTS (Aruna)	-	84
Wells (A)	-	6
WIDGERY (Alban G)	-	90
WOOD (Conrad)	-	99

T I T L E I N D E X

Entry Numbers are given against the titles for location.

A

<i>Acute and Obstute</i>	-	247
<i>Afghanistan and India's Struggle for freedom</i>	-	95
<i>Agenda for the Congress Centenary</i>	-	208
<i>Akalis and the Non-cooperation movement-1920-22.</i>		76
<i>A O Hume's leadership of the Indian National Congress</i>	-	213
<i>A O Hume, Father of the Indian National-Congress</i>		250
<i>American Attitude towards the Indian national movement</i>	-	11
<i>Apart from Congress</i>	-	204
<i>Aspect of National Movement</i>	-	191
<i>Assembling an idea</i>	-	234
<i>Attitudes of the Indian National Congress to Dominion Status, 1930-47</i>	-	89

B

<i>Back to non-cooperation: Our only slogan</i>	-	101
<i>Bengal Congress, 1900-47</i>	-	38
<i>Bengal Congress tangle 1939-40</i>	-	155
<i>Beihpur Satyagraha of 1930</i>	-	197
<i>Birth of Indian National Congress</i>	-	244
<i>Britain and the Pro-Indian activities in the USA, 1917-22</i>	-	116

<i>British policy towards the volunteer movement in India during the Non-cooperation campaign</i>	-	104
<i>British problems in India</i>	-	51
<i>Britons who befriended Congress in its early days</i>	-	80

C

<i>Call that shook the British Raj:</i>	-	119
<i>Centenary and after</i>	-	61
<i>Centenary booster</i>	-	62
<i>Centenary goals</i>	-	36
<i>Centenary ahead</i>	-	86
<i>Challenges before Congress</i>	-	228
<i>Chances of Indian Unity</i>	-	221
<i>Classic celebration</i>	-	158
<i>Communists: The Congress and the 1931 movement</i>	-	147
<i>Conditions for the rise of nationalist movement in India</i>	-	71
<i>Congress, A national asset of immense value</i>	-	219
<i>Congress and fight for unity</i>	-	31
<i>Congress and Indo-Soviet ties</i>	-	145
<i>Congress and Socialism</i>	-	30
<i>Congress and the country</i>	-	25
<i>Congress as a rally; An image of leadership</i>	-	2
<i>Congress as it was</i>	-	217
<i>Congress can't remain aloof from world forces</i>	-	24

<i>Congress centenary</i>	-	161,26
<i>Congress centenary; A movement in history wasted</i>	-	248
<i>Congress centenary without Nehru</i>	-	214
<i>Congress Century</i>	-	27
<i>Congress enters into a new Dynamic phase</i>	-	20
<i>Congress; Greatest force making for national liberty</i>	-	168
<i>Congress has lost its structure</i>	-	19
<i>Congress; 100 years</i>	-	182
<i>Congress is a movement</i>	-	5
<i>Congress; Its phases</i>	-	60
<i>Congress jubilee</i>	-	184
<i>Congress; Largest regional party</i>	-	205
<i>Congress left today</i>	-	3
<i>Congress legacy</i>	-	66
<i>Congress must go forward</i>	-	23
<i>Congress must lead</i>	-	152
<i>Congress past, present</i>	-	29
<i>Congress policy and constitutionalism: The working committee resolution of 7 July 1940</i>	-	181
<i>Congress record of pacifism and internationalism</i>	-	21
<i>Congress socialist party and the "Quit India" resolution of 1942</i>	-	9
<i>Congress stands for freedom</i>	-	13
<i>Congress struggle to maintain unity</i>	-	146
<i>Congress: The first three decades</i>	-	85

<i>Congress will win</i>	-	125
<i>Countdown from hundred</i>	-	203

D

<i>Dandi march of Gandhi</i>	-	163
<i>Dandi March; 15th Anniversary</i>	-	88
<i>Dawn of a new era</i>	-	22
<i>Destiny of millions transformed</i>	-	218
<i>Do or die battle of 1942</i>	-	87
<i>Dr. Ansari; Humanist and freedom fighter</i>	-	117
<i>Dynamic leadership of Besant</i>	-	118
<i>Dynamics of institutional power</i>	-	6

E

<i>Early fare of nationalist movement in Orissa</i>	-	227
<i>Emergence of All India organisation</i>	-	180
<i>Emergence of Nehru & Gandhi as supreme leaders at Lahore, 1929</i>	-	212
<i>Evaluation of the role of some tribal leaders of north-east India in the struggle for freedom; From the beginning of the Swadeshi Movement to the end of Gandhian age, 1905-47</i>	-	142
<i>Event to learn new lessons</i>	-	15
<i>Evolution of Congress</i>	-	7

F

<i>Factionlism in the Congress party: Causes and consequences</i>	-	17
---	---	----

<i>Failed extravaganza</i>	-	235
<i>Fair picture of a period</i>	-	165
<i>Family of Congressmen</i>	-	138
<i>First Congress, 1885</i>	-	206
<i>Flash back on forty two</i>	-	64
<i>Foreign women and India's freedom movement</i>	-	50
<i>Foreigners who served India's cause</i>	-	44
<i>Freedom fighters I have known</i>	-	52
<i>Freedom is the first step</i>	-	148
<i>Freedom movement and the south</i>	-	140
<i>Freedom movement in Kashmir</i>	-	93
<i>From civil disobedience to quit India:- Gandhi and the freedom movement in Punjab & Haryana</i>		114
<i>From grassroots to Computer</i>	-	236
<i>Future of India in Congress hands</i>	-	210
<i>Future role of the Congress</i>	-	245
<i>Future that worked</i>	-	81

G

<i>Gandhi and party building</i>	-	242
<i>Gandhi and the British Commonwealth</i>	-	107
<i>Gandhi and the Indian National Congress-</i>		124
<i>Gandhi and the Poona pact</i>	-	183
<i>Gandhi centenary and after: Gandhism and modern India</i>	-	92
<i>Gandhi 10 years after</i>	-	55
<i>Gandhiji moulds Congress into mass organisation</i>	-	106

<i>Gandhiji's draft constitution for Congress</i>	-	231
<i>Gandhiji's philosophy of action</i>	-	126
<i>Gandhiji's arrest: was it inevitable?</i>	-	127
<i>Gandhi's Congress is dead</i>	-	97
<i>Gandhi's doctrine of civil resistance</i>	-	198
<i>Gandhi's politics</i>	-	143
<i>Gandhi's transformation of Congress</i>	-	194
<i>Gokhale; Indian moderates and the British raj</i>	-	193
<i>Golden jubilee of the nation</i>	-	241
<i>Grandeur that was the Congress</i>	-	233

H

<i>He presided over the partition of India-</i>		54
<i>Hearty welcome</i>	-	216
<i>Historic AICC session of Ahmedabad, June 1924; When Mahatma Gandhi wept and Motilal Nehru wept</i>	-	75
<i>Historic struggle</i>	-	110
<i>How Mahatma Gandhi celebrated Independence Day</i>	-	169
<i>Hundred not out</i>	-	4
<i>Hundred years of Congress</i>	-	189
<i>Hundred years of Congress: A viewpoint</i>	-	230
<i>Hundred years of the Congress</i>	-	91

I

<i>Ideological legacy of Gandhi and Nehru</i>	-	192
<i>Impressions and experiences in British at the end of 1929</i>	-	39

<i>India and her plans</i>	-	33
<i>India in turmoil</i>	-	123
<i>India must produce or perish</i>	-	150
<i>India, the Congress centenary and future</i>	-	18
<i>Indian Army's role in Indias' freedom movement</i>	-	12
<i>Indian hijrat of 1920</i>	-	105
<i>Indian National Congress</i>	-	72,209
<i>INC and trade union movement</i>	-	149
<i>Indian National Congress: Congress and students movements</i>	-	77
<i>Indian National Congress: From Non-cooperation to Simon Commission</i>	-	108
<i>Indian National Congress: Heritage and challenges</i>	-	229
<i>Indian National Congress: Ministry making to the Crippsmission</i>	-	157
<i>INC; Preserving legacy</i>	-	190
<i>Indian National Congress: Quit India to partition</i>	-	185
<i>Indian National Congress: Struggle for freedom in Hyderabad</i>	-	166
<i>Indian National Congress: The brave</i>	-	69
<i>Indian National Congress: The Gandhian concept</i>	-	57
<i>Indian National Congress: The partition of Bengal</i>	-	220
<i>Indian National Congress: Unique organisation</i>	-	68
<i>Indian National Congressism</i>	-	121
<i>Indian Nationalist movement as seen in the Novelslists's vision</i>	-	232

<i>Independence Day</i>	-	32
<i>Independence day observation</i>	-	56
<i>Independence Vs dominion status</i>	-	37
<i>Intra-party conflict in the Bihar Congress</i>	-	239

J

<i>Jaipur Camp</i>	-	144
<i>Jallianwallah Bagh: Impact on freedom movement</i>	-	170
<i>Jallianwallah Bagh: 60 years after</i>	-	171

L

<i>Lala Lajpat Rai's idealism and Indian National movement</i>	-	131
<i>Lentn and Indian liberalion movement</i>	-	130
<i>Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak : Maker of modern India</i>	-	141
<i>Lord Duffering and the character of the Indian nationalist leadership</i>	-	164
<i>Ludhiana Conference and its background</i>	-	178

M

<i>Mohatma Gandhi and the freedom struggle-</i>		122
<i>Mahatma Gandhi; Freedom's champion</i>	-	188
<i>Main trends in Indian national liberation movement in 19th and early 20th centuries</i>	-	100
<i>Many firsts of Belgaum Congress</i>	-	78
<i>Masses in politics: The Non-coope ration movement in Bengal 1920-22</i>	-	176

<i>Meerut conspiracy case and British imperialism</i>	-	99
<i>Message of the Banyan tree</i>	-	201
<i>Milestones on the road to freedom</i>	-	224
<i>Mr. Gandhi has crossed the boundary</i>	-	96
<i>Mopla rebellion of 1921</i>	-	174
<i>Muslims and Congress</i>	-	132
<i>Muslim politics and the Congress</i>	-	94
<i>Motives of the nationalist movement in India</i>	-	90
 <u><i>N</i></u>		
<i>National event</i>	-	211
<i>Nationalist violence in India and the political secret society</i>	-	65
<i>Nation's heritage</i>	-	223
<i>Nature and significance of Indian nationalism</i>	-	215
<i>Nehru and the Congress</i>	-	133
<i>Nehru Patel relationship</i>	-	239
<i>Nehru's early socialism and the Indian national movement</i>	-	34
<i>Nepal and Indian nationalist movement</i>	-	225
<i>Netaji and the Mahatma: A legends final-push to freedom</i>	-	135
<i>Netaji, the moulder of national character</i>	-	134
<i>New elite in the Congress</i>	-	58
<i>New light on freedom struggle</i>	-	154
<i>New wind</i>	-	240
<i>Non-cooperation</i>	-	103

<i>Non-cooperation movement in Indian politics</i>	-	102
<i>Non-cooperation movement of 1920-21 and British parliament</i>	-	41
<i>Non-violence has more relevance now: Badshah Khan</i>	-	226
<i>Not just a party</i>	-	151

O

<i>On explaining the partition of India</i>	-	109
<i>Organisational development of India's Congress party</i>	-	28
<i>Origin of Indian National Congress</i>	-	249
<i>Our former rulers</i>	-	187

P

<i>Parliament and dominant party: Indian experience</i>	-	1
<i>Perspective and vision</i>	-	246
<i>Present situation in India</i>	-	177
<i>Preservation of quintessance</i>	-	186
<i>Problem of India</i>	-	16
<i>Punjab and freedom struggle</i>	-	42
<i>Purging the Hack-sheep</i>	-	59

Q

<i>Q uest for self purification</i>	-	63
<i>Quit India movement of 1942 and the nature of urban response in Bengal</i>	-	79
<i>Quit India: The historic resolution</i>	-	112

Quit India: A dainty hand unfurls the - 113
National Flag

R

Real face of left nationalist of - 175
Bengal(1922-29)

Recalling our freedom struggle - 129

Reflections on Congress Centenary: - 207
Compulsions of an egalitarian ethos

Revolutionaries in freedom struggle - 43

Revolutionaries' role in freedom - 48
struggle

Revolutionary movement and role of - 46
Indian Muslims

Role of A.O Hume during the revolt - 251
of 1857

Role of central legislature in the - 84
freedom movement

Role of India's liberals in the - 98
nationalists movement, 1915-47

Role of Muslims in pre-independence era - 45

Role of religion in Indian politics - 47
(1900-25)

Romantic interlude in the history of - 167
Indian freedom

Rowlat Satyagraha in eastern UP - 195

S

Safeguarding the public - 73

Saga of inspiration and sacrifice - 14

Salt monopoly in India - 196

Sardar and the Congress - 136

<i>Significant landmark</i>	-	67
<i>Sikh contribution to freedom movement</i>	-	137
<i>Silver Jubilee: Let us remember</i>	-	53
<i>Slip in chronology</i>	-	156
<i>Some candid comments and confessions</i>	-	222
<i>Some Congress memories</i>	-	153
<i>Some early freedom fighters</i>	-	35
<i>Spontaneous revolution: The Quit India movement</i>	-	111
<i>States reorganisation commission and Orissa</i>	-	10
<i>Story of Indian revolution</i>	-	173
<i>Stray thoughts on the occasion of independence jubilee</i>	-	160
<i>Struggle for freedom</i>	-	115
<i>Students' role in the freedom movement of India</i>	-	49
<i>Study of the mass movements in Bihar 1932-34</i>	-	82
<i>Syndicate games at Lucknow</i>	-	172

T

<i>Temperance campaign in Andhra</i>	-	40
<i>Testament for a movement</i>	-	202
<i>That was an era of heroes</i>	-	162
<i>Tilak's concept of Swaraj: Expediency or inconsistency?</i>	-	199
<i>To whom do we owe our freedom?</i>	-	128
<i>Towards India's freedom and partition</i>	-	179
<i>Twenty five years of Indian socialism</i>	-	83

U

Utter Pradesh in freedom struggle - 200

V

Veteran chews the cud - 74

Vinoba and Satyagraha - 139

Voices from the past - 70

W

When Congress split - 237

White mutinity and genesis of Indian national Congress - 243

Will Congress live for another 100 years? - 8

Will India become a lost dominion? - 159

Will the Congress survive? - 120