

B\_I\_B\_L\_I\_O\_G\_R\_A\_P\_H\_YI. PRIMARY SOURCES(A) Unpublished Sources

Proceedings of the Government of India (available at the National Archives of India, New Delhi):

Home Political Files, 1906-1947, Fortnightly and Subject-wise Reports.

Foreign and Political Department, Political Branch and External Affairs Department's selected files.

Ministry of Home Affairs Files, 1948-1956.  
File Nos.:

1948

15/20/48-Ests.

15/14/48-Public.

15/17/48-Public.

15/44/48-Public.

15/48/48-Public.

1949

51/259-Public

15/7-Public

60/147-Ests

24/52-AIS.

1950

42/4-NGS

74/7-Public

42/4-NGS.

1951

1/1/-AJS  
 24/24-Jud1.  
 15/179-Public  
 15/200-Public  
 15/180-Public.

1952

2(14)-Public-I  
 22(2)-Ests  
 74(114)-Public  
 28 (26)-Public-I  
 2 (34)-Public-I.

1953

15/423/53-Public	15/231/53-Public
53/59/53-Public	15/508/53-Public
15/81/53-Public	15/12/53-Public
15/98/53-Public	15/283/53-Public
15/239/53-Public	15/224/53-Public
60/1/53-Public	15/73/53-Public-I.
15/86/53-Public	15/390/53-Public
15/28/53-Ests	

1954

15/376-Public-I	15/267-Public-I
53/34/Public-I.	15/29-Public(1)

1955

29/254-Ad.1.  
 3/43-SRs  
 1/10-SR  
 12/236-Public-I  
 12/129-Public-I  
 12/130-Public -I  
 12/131-Public- I  
 12/204 -Public-I.  
 12/133-Public-I  
 12/134-Public-I.

1956

20/14-SRI  
 42/2-SR-II  
 54/4-SR-II  
 42/SR-II  
 2/2-SRI  
 4/44-SRI  
 4/62-SRI.

**(b) PRIVATE PAPERS**

Available at the National Archives of India, New Delhi:

Gian Singh Harewala Papers.

Available in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library,  
New Delhi:

All India Congress Committee Papers.

Motilal Nehru Papers.

Sunder Singh Majithia Papers.

Sardul Singh Caveeshar Papers.

Hindu Maha Sabha Papers.

Available at Research Department of Khalsa College,  
Amritsar:

S.G.P.C. Papers.

Chief Khalsa Diwan Records.

Important Resolution of the Akali Party

Khalsa College Copy, Amritsar.

Copies of the Proceedings of the Meetings of  
S.G.P.C. and of Resolutions passed from  
1919-1937.

(c) RECORDED INTERVIEWS

Available in Nehru Memorial Museum and Library:

Gurmukh Singh Musafir

Hukam Singh

Ujjal Singh

Mangal Singh

Ishar Singh Majhail.

Available in the Oral History Cell of the Department of  
Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala:

Ajit Singh Sarhadi

Gian Singh Rarewala

Hukam Singh

Giani Kartar Singh.

(d) PUBLISHED COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS, LETTERS AND SPEECHES

Dass, Durga (ed.), Sardar Patel Correspondence, 1945-60,  
Vol. I-X, Ahmedabad, 1971-74.

Ganda Singh (ed.), Some Confidential Papers of the Akali  
Movement, Amritsar, 1965.

Gandhi, M.K., The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi,  
Vols. XXX-LXXV, Ahmedabad, 1968-79.

Gopal, S. (ed.), Selected Works of Jawahar Lal Nehru,  
Vol. I to XV, New Delhi, 1972-1982.

Government of India, Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, Vols. I to  
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi,  
1949-68.

Mitra, H.N. and Mitra, N.N. (ed.), Indian Annual Register,  
1920-1947, Calcutta.

Naranjan Shriram (ed.), The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi,  
Vols. I-V, Ahmedabad, 1962-68.

Nicholas Mansergh (ed.), The Transfer of Power, 1942-47,  
Vol. I-VII, London, 1970-1979.

Relhan, O.P. (ed.), Documents on Punjab, Vols. I-XV,  
New Delhi, 1994.

Ravinder Kumar (ed.), Selected Works of Motilal Nehru,  
Vol. I to VI, N.M.M.L., New Delhi, 1984-95.

(B) PUBLISHED OFFICIAL RECORDS(a) Reports

Report of the Nehru Committee, All Parties Conference,  
General Secretary, All India Congress Committee,  
Allahabad, 1928.

Report of the Statutory Commission,  
Vol. III, H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1930.

Indian Round Table Conference Proceedings,  
H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1932.

Indian Round Table Conference (Third Session),  
November-December, 1932, Government of India  
Branch, Calcutta, 1933.

Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission,  
Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1948.

Census of India, 1951, Vol. VIII, Part I-A,  
The Army Press, Simla, 1953.

Report on the First General Elections in India, 1951-52,  
Election Commission, New Delhi, 1955.

Report of the States Reorganisation Commission,  
Manager, Government of India Press, 1955.

Report on the Second General Elections in India, 1957,  
Election Commission, New Delhi, 1959.

Census of India, 1961, Population of Punjab (Provisional  
Figures), Controller, Printing and Stationery,  
Chandigarh, 1962.

Report on the Third General Elections in India, 1962,  
Election Commission, New Delhi, 1963.

Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Punjabi Suba,  
Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1966.

The Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966, Manager of Publications  
Government of India Press, Delhi, 1967.

Punjab Boundary Commission Report, Manager, Government of  
India Press, Delhi, 1966.

(b) Debates

Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, Controller Printing and  
Stationery, Punjab, Chandigarh, 1952-66.

Punjab Legislative Council Debates, Chandigarh  
Controller Printing and Stationery, Punjab, 1952-66.

Constituent Assembly Debates, Manager of Publications,  
Delhi, 1947-49.

Lok Sabha Debates, Lok Sabha Secretariat,  
New Delhi, 1952-66.

Rajya Sabha Debates, Rajya Sabha Secretariat,  
New Delhi, 1952-66.

Lok Sabha Debates on the Report of States Reorganisation  
Commission, 14 December to 23 December 1955,  
Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, February 1956.

(c) Published Unofficial Contemporary Literature

Ajmer Singh Giani, Manifesto of the Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, n.d.

All India Congress Committee, Resolution on States Reorganisation (1920-1956), A.C.C.C. Publications Department, New Delhi, n.d.

Amar Singh, Memorandum of the Central Akali Dal, West End Press, Lahore, 1946.

Bawa Harkrishan Singh, A Plea for Punjab Province, Hind Union Press, New Delhi, 1948.

Chief Khalsa Diwan, Memorandum submitted by Chief Khalsa Diwan to the Consultative Committee of Parliament on the issue of Punjabi Suba, Secretary, C.K.D. Gursewak Printing Press, Amritsar, 1965.

Dard, Hira Singh, Panth : Dharam te Rajniti, Phulwari Office, Jullundur, 1949.

Dhari, Alakh, Case for United Punjab, Abha Printing Press, Ambala Cantt, 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_, States Reorganisation Commission, Maha Punjab Memorandum Stressing the need for Reorganisation of Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh into one Administrative Unit, n.p., n.d.

Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee, Memorandum submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister in connection with Akali procession of 12 June 1960, Delhi, 25 June 1960.

\_\_\_\_\_, Memorandum submitted by the Sikh Citizens of Delhi to Gobind Ballabh Pant, the Home Minister, on the issue of Punjabi Suba, 6 July 1960.

Fateh Singh, Our Stand on the Punjabi Suba, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, 1963.

- Gurbachan Singh and Gyani Lal Singh, The Idea of the Sikh State, Lahore Book Shop, Lahore, 1946.
- Gurnam Singh, A Unilingual Punjabi State and the Sikh Unrest, Super Press, New Delhi, 1960.
- Gurcharan Singh, The Sikh Home Land, The Myth and Reality, Guru Nanak Dev Mission, Inqlabi Printers, Patiala, March, 1987.
- Harbans Singh, Sikh Political Parties, Sikh Publishing House, Delhi, n.d.
- Hukam Singh, 40th Sikh Educational Conference : Presidential Address, General Printing Company, Delhi, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_, A Plea for the Punjabi Speaking State, Memorandum by Hukam Singh, Member Parliament, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Punjab Problem : An Elucidation, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_, The States Reorganisation in the North, East Punjab Printing Works, Delhi, 1953.
- Iqbal Singh, Facts about Akali Agitation in Punjab, Fairdeal Press, Chandigarh, 1960.
- Jaswant Singh, Facts without Rhetoric, The Demands for Punjabi Suba, Super Press, New Delhi, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_, A Plea for Punjabi State, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, 1960.
- Khosla, Surendra Nath, Punjabi Suba - An Urgent Military Necessity, Patiala, n.d.
- Khushdev Singh, The Punjabi Suba Issue, Master Printers, Patiala, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Punjabi Language, Model Printing Press, Patiala, n.d.
- Master Tara Singh, Charhdikala : Present Sikh Politics No. 2, Panthic Tract Society, Amritsar, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Presidential Address at the Ninth All India Akali Conference at Moga, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, 1953.



Master Tara Singh, Speech delivered, 10th All India Akali Conference (11th February, 1956), Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, n.d.

\_\_\_\_\_, Save Hindi Agitation and Sikh View Point, Indian Union Press, Delhi, n.d.

\_\_\_\_\_, Why this silent Procession of Protest ? Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, n.d.

Memorandum submitted by the Punjab Pepsu Committee and Communist Party of India to States Reorganisation, 22 May 1954.

Memorandum submitted by the Members of the Congress Legislative Party Punjab to Consultative Committee of Parliament, 1965, n.p.

Panth, G.B., Regional Formula and Punjab Ki Samasya, Controller of Printing and Stationery, Punjab, Chandigarh, 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_, Jawaharlal Nehru on Hindi Agitation, Prime Minister Reply to Swami Atmanand's open letter No. 1158-P.M./57, 13 June 1957, Controller, Printing and Stationery Punjab, Chandigarh, 1957.

Panikkar, K.M., The Ideals of Sikhism, Sikh Tract Society, Amritsar, 1924.

Papers Relating to Hindi Agitation in Punjab, a publication of Punjab Government, Chandigarh, 1957.

Punjab Jana Sangh, Maha Punjab Kyoon ? The Utthan Publication, Ambala, 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_, Why Maha Punjab ? Memorandum submitted by Punjab Jana Sangh, Joshi Printing Press, Ambala, 1954.

R.S.S. in the Punjab, Government Printing Press, Lahore, 1948

Sadhu Singh Swarup, The Sikhs Demand for their Homeland, Lahore Book Shop, Lahore, 1946.

Sher Singh, The Case of Haryana and Hindi Region of the Punjab, Haryana Lok Samiti, Rohtak, 1962.

Surjeet, Harkishan Singh, Master Tara Singh di Siyasat te Akali Party Da Sankat, Punjabi Suba Committee, Jullundur, 1958.

Shiromani Akali Dal, Punjabi Suba, Panthic Tract Society,  
Amritsar, n.d.

\_\_\_\_\_, Synopsis of the Nehru-Fateh Singh Talks on the  
Issue of the formation of Punjabi-speaking State,  
Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, 1961.

\_\_\_\_\_, Shiromani Akali Dal da Chone Manifesto,  
Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_, Shiromani Akali Dal Di Bantar De Niyam (Constitution  
of the Shiromani Akali Dal), Secretary Shiromani Akali  
Dal, Amritsar, 1961.

\_\_\_\_\_, Facts About Punjabi Suba Agitation : A Collection  
of Memorandum presented before the Das Commission,  
Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1965.

Shiromani Malwa Akali Dal, Memorandum submitted by  
Shiromani Akali Dal to the Consultative Committee of  
Parliament on the issue of Punjabi Suba, General  
Secretary, Shiromani Malwa Akali Dal, Patiala, 1965.

The Sikh Youth Federation, The Demand for the Punjabi Suba :  
A Most Crucial Challenge to Indian Secularism,  
The Sikh Youth Federation, Calcutta, n.d.

#### (D) NEWSPAPERS

Akali, Amritsar.

The Akali Patrika, Jalandhar.

The Hindustan Standard, Calcutta.

The Hindustan Times, New Delhi.

The Hindu, Madras.

The National Herald, New Delhi.

Link, New Delhi.

Organiser, New Delhi.

The Statesman, Calcutta and New Delhi.

The Tribune, Ambala and Chandigarh.

The Times of India, New Delhi.

Indian Express, New Delhi.

The Spokesman, New Delhi.

(E) ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS

Alakh Dhari, 'Demand for Greater Punjab — Address at Ludhiana Conference', The Tribune, 21 December 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Future of Pepsu', The Tribune, 26 April 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Integration of Himachal with Punjab', The Tribune, 27 November 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Maha Punjab and Akali Sabra-Rattle', The Tribune, 14 December 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Punjab Language Formula', The Tribune, 15 June 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Punjabi Speaking State - Political Background', The Tribune, 12 April 1955.

Bhagat Singh, 'Gurdwaras and Politics', The Spokesman, 3 August 1959,

'Case for Punjabi-speaking State - Akalis', Memorandum to Praja Socialist Party, The Tribune, 13 May 1953.

Caveesher, Sardul Singh, 'This Fraud of a Punjabi Speaking State', The Tribune, 15 August 1954.

Chandravarkari, 'Reorganisation of State and Maha Punjab', The Tribune, 31 August 1954.

Chaudhry, Urmila, 'Chandigarh-Punjab's New Capital', The Tribune, 7 October 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Future of the Punjab', The Tribune, 23 April 1958.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Sachar Formula', The Tribune, 3 October 1949.

'Concept that is Punjabi' by a Congressman, The Hindustan Standard, 6 August 1954.

Darbara Singh, 'Punjabi-speaking Province', The Tribune, 24 May 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Reorganisation of States', The Tribune, 12 September 1954.

Gopal Singh, 'A Case for Punjabi Speaking Province',  
The Spokesman, Weekly, 19 May 1954.

Harbans Singh, 'The Future of the Sikh Community',  
The Spokesman, Vol. X (Guru Nanak Number, 1960).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Future of Sikhs Central Political Organisation',  
The Statesman, 4 April 1948.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'India and the Sikhs', The Tribune, 10 July 1955.

'His Highness, the Maharaja of Patiala, I Remember....',  
The Tribune, 19 July 1959.

Khushwant Singh, 'Future of the Sikhs', The Spokesman,  
January, 1952.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Punjabi Suba Issue', The Spokesman,  
24 January, 1966.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Struggle for the Gurdwaras', The Statesman,  
18 June 1959.

Lal Singh, 'Punjabi Suba or Maha Punjab', The Tribune,  
25 July 1952.

'Separation of Religion from Politics', The Hindustan Times,  
20 August 1956.

Master Tara Singh, 'Azad Punjab Scheme', The Tribune,  
23 July 1943.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Separate Independent Entity for the  
Sikhs', Akali (Punjabi) 3 February 1955.

Narang, G.C., 'The Camouflage of Khalistan', Organiser,  
Deepavali Special, 1958.

Niranjan Singh, 'Sikh Problem', The Tribune, 27 December,  
1953.

'Reorganisation of State', The Times of India, 2 June 1954.

'Report on Reorganisation of State', The Times of India,  
2 June 1954.

Sant Singh, 'Linguistic Reorganisation of States - A  
Suggestion', The Tribune, 14 April 1955.

Sapru, P.N., 'State Reorganisation - The Report Examined', The Statesman, 2 November 1955.

Sharma, Hans Raj, 'S. Partap Singh Kairon and Punjab Congress', The Tribune, 3 June 1958.

'States Reorganisation Bill', The Tribune, 17 March 1956.

Teja Singh, 'Sikh Problem in Punjab', The Hindustan Times, 20 February 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Sikh Problem in Punjab - II', The Hindustan Times, 1 March 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Akalis and the Congress', The Tribune, 11 August 1956.

Virendra, 'Punjabi Suba or a Sikh State', The Spokesman, 17 July 1961.

## II. SECONDARY SOURCES

### (a) Books in English

Adhkari, G., Sikh Homeland through Hindu, Muslim Sikh Unity, People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1945.

Ahluwalia, Jasbir Singh, The Sovereignty of the Sikh Doctrine, Bharti Publications, New Delhi, 1983.

Ahluwalia, M.L., A History of Sikh Politics and Gurdwara Reforms, Ashoka International Publishers, New Delhi, 1990.

Ambedkar, B.K., Pakistan or the Partition of India, Thakar and Company Ltd., Bombay, 1945.

- Amrik Singh (ed.), Punjab in Indian Politics, Ajanta, Delhi, 1985.
- Arora, S.C., Turmoil in Punjab Politics, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990.
- Attar Chand, Jawaharlal Nehru and Politics in Punjab, Deep and Deep Publication, New Delhi, 1989.
- Azad, Abul Kalam, India Wins Freedom, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1959.
- Bajwa, Harcharan Singh, Fifty Years of Punjab Politics: 1920-1970, Modern Publishers, Chandigarh, 1970.
- Bali, A.N., Glimpses of Punjab History, H.M. Printers, New Delhi, 1969.
- Banerjee, A.C., The Making of the Indian Constitution 1939-47, A Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta, 1948.
- Banerjee, Indu Bhushan, Evolution of the Khalsa, A Mukherjee and Co., Calcutta, 1963.
- Baxer Criag, Jan Sangh : A Biography of an Indian Political Party, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971.
- Bhan Singh, Facts about the Punjabi Suba Agitation, S.G.P.C. Publication, Delhi, 1985.
- Bhutani, D.H., The Third Sikh War : Towards or Away from Khalistan ? Promila, New Delhi, 1986.
- Bipan Chandra, Communalism in Modern India, Vikas Publishers, New Delhi, 1984.
- Bondurani, J.V., Regionalism versus Provincialism National Unity, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1958.
- Brar, J.S., The Communist Party in Punjab, National Book Organisation, New Delhi, 1989.

- Brass, Paul, R., Language, Religion and Politics in North India, Vikas Publishers, New Delhi, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Factional Politics on an India State, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1965.
- Brecher, Michael, Nehru : A Political Biography, Oxford University Press, London, 1969.
- Caveesher, Sardul Singh, Sikh Studies, National Publication, Lahore, 1937.
- Chandra, Bipan, Communalism in Modern India, Vikas Publishers, New Delhi, 1984.
- Chhabra, G.S., Advanced History of the Punjab, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1962.
- Chopra, P.N. (ed.), Religion and Communities of India, Vision, New Delhi, 1982.
- Chopra, V.D. (ed.), Agony of Punjab, Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, 1984.
- Cooper, Frederic, Crisis in Punjab Politics, Sameer Prakashan, Chandigarh, 1979.
- Curran, J.A. Jr., Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics: A Study of R.S.S., New York, 1951.
- Dalio Singh, Dynamics of Punjab Politics, Macmillan, New Delhi, 1981.
- Daljit Singh, Sikhism, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1994.
- Dang, Satya Pal, Genesis of Terrorism : An Analytical Study of Punjab Terrorists, Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, 1988.
- Datta, V.N., Jallianwala Bagh, Lyall Book Depot, Ludhiana, 1969.
- Devinder Singh, Akali Politics in Punjab (1964-1985), National Book Organisation, New Delhi, 1993.

- Dhami, M.S., Minority Leaders : Image of the Indian Political System, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975.
- Dhillon, Dalbir Singh, Sikhism : Origin and Development, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 1988.
- Dhillon, G.S., Sikh Religion and History, Singh and Singh Publishers, Chandigarh, 1991.
- Dymant, Loys, Religion, Politics and History of India, The Hague, Moutan, 1970.
- Durlab Singh, The Valiant Fighter : Biographical Study of Master Tara Singh, Hero Publication, Lahore, 1972.
- Ethne, K. Marenco, The Transformation of Sikh Society, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, 1976.
- Gandhi, Surjit Singh, Struggle of the Sikhs for Sovereignty, G.D.N. Publications, Delhi, 1980.
- Gaur, Madhan, Pioneers in Punjab, Press and PR Services, Bombay, 1984.
- Gill, Pritam Singh, Trinity of Sikhism, Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_, History of the Sikh Nation, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1978.
- Giselher Wirsing, The Indian Experiment : Key to Asia's Future, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1971.
- Gobinder Singh, Religion and Politics in Punjab, Deep Publication, New Delhi, 1986.
- Gopal Singh, Punjab Today, Intellectual Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_, A History of Sikh People, World Sikh University Press, New Delhi, 1979.



- Grewal, J.S., The New Cambridge History of India, The Sikhs of Punjab, Orient Longman Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.
- Grover, Verinder (ed.), Political Thinkers of Modern India: Master Tara Singh, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1993, Vol. 28.
- Gulati, K.C., The Akalis Past and Present, Ashajanak Publication, New Delhi, 1974.
- Gupta, A.K., Emerging Pattern of Political Leadership ( A Study of Punjab), Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990.
- Gupta, D.C., Indian Government and Politics, Vikas Publications, New Delhi, 1972.
- Gupta, H.R., History of the Sikhs, Vols. II & III, Minerva Book Shop, Ambala, 1984.
- Gurbachan Singh (ed.), The Idea of Sikh States, Lahore Book Shop, Lahore, 1946.
- Gurmit Singh, History of Sikh Struggles, Vol. I, Atlantic Publishing House, New Delhi, 1989.
- Gur Rattanpal Singh, The Illustrated History of the Sikhs, published by the author, Chandigarh, 1972.
- Gursharan Singh, History of PEPSU, Konark Publication, New Delhi, 1993.
- Hans, Surjit Singh, Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 19
- Harbans Singh, The Heritage of the Sikhs, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1983.
- Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Deepening Punjab Crisis : A Democratic Solution, Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, 19
- Hari Kishore Singh, A History of the Praja Socialist Party (1934-1959), Lucknow, 1959.

Hartman Horst, Politics and Religion in Punjab,  
Stuttgart, 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_, Political Parties in India, Meenakshi  
Parkashan, Meerut, 1971.

Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Sikhism and Indian  
Society, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies,  
Simla, 1967.

Jaswant Singh, Facts about Rhetoric: The Demand for Punjabi  
Suba, Super Press, New Delhi, 1960.

Jain, Nirmal Kumar, Sikh Religion and Philosophy,  
Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1979.

Javad, Ajeet, Left Politics in Punjab, 1933, Durga  
Publication, Delhi, 1988.

Jones Kenneth W., Arya Dharm : Hindu Consciousness in  
19th Century Punjab, University of California Press,  
Berkeley, 1976.

Josh, Bhagwan, Communist Movement in Punjab, Anupam  
Publication, Delhi, 1979.

Joshi, P.C. (ed.), Punjabi Suba : A Symposium, National  
Book Club Publication, New Delhi, 1986.

Kabdal, Om Parkash, Hindus and the Punjabi States, The  
Hindu Parchar Sabha, Ambala Cantt., 1955.

Kapur, Anup Chand, The Punjab Crisis, S. Chand and Co.,  
New Delhi, 1985.

Kapur, Rajiv A., Sikh Separatism : The Politics of Faith,  
Allen and Unwin, London, 1986.

Kehar Singh, Perspective on Sikh Policy, Dawn Publishers,  
New Delhi, 1993.

Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol. I & II,  
Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1977.

\_\_\_\_\_, My Bleeding Punjab, UBS Publishers and  
Distributors Ltd., New Delhi, 1992.

- Khilnani, N.M., Rise of the Sikh Power in Punjab, Independent Publishing Company, Delhi, 1990.
- Kirpal Singh, The Partition of Punjab, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1971.
- Kohli, Surinder Singh, The Sikh and Sikhism, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 1993.
- Kothari Rajni, Caste and Politics in India, Orient Longmans, New Delhi, 1970.
- Kshitish, Storm in Punjab, The World Publication, New Delhi, 1985.
- Larry Collins and Dominique Lapiere, Mountbatten and the Partition of India, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1982.
- Latif, S.M., History of the Punjab, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1964.
- Madhok, Balraj, Punjab Problem : The Muslim Connection, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1985.
- Majeed, Akhtar (ed.), Regionalism : Developmental Tensions in India, Vision Book, New Delhi, 1985,
- Majumdar, R.C., The History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1962.
- Malhotra, S.C., Gandhi and Punjab, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1970.
- Malik, Ikram Ali, The History of the Punjab 1799-1947, Neeraj Publication, Delhi, 1983.
- Mann, Jaswant Singh, Some Documents on the Demand for A Sikh Homeland, Manjit Printing and Publishing Co., Chandigarh, n.d.
- Mark Tully and Satish Jacob, Amritsar : Mrs Gandhi's Battle, Bekha Printers, New Delhi, 1985.
- Mehta, Ashok and Kusam Rani, The Simbe Tringle, Padma Publications, Bombay, 1945.

Menon, V.P., The Transfer of Power in India, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1957.

\_\_\_\_\_, A Story of Integration of Indian States, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1956.

Misra, Madhu Sudan, Politics of Regionalism in India, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1985.

Mohan, Kamlesh, Militant Nationalism in the Punjab, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1985.

Mohan Lal, Disintegration of Punjab, Sameer Parkashan, Chandigarh, 1984.

Mohinder Singh, The Akali Struggle : A Retrospect, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1988.

Nanda, J., Punjab Unrooted, Hind Kitab Limited, Bombay, 1948.

Narang, A.S., Storm Over Satluj - The Akali Politics, Gitanjali Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_, Democracy, Development and Distortion : Punjab Politics in National Perspective, Gitanjali Publishing House, Delhi, 1986.

Narang, Gokal Chand, Transformation of Sikhism, New Book Society, New Delhi, 1960.

Narain, Iqbal (ed.), State Politics in the Punjab, Meenakshi Publications, Meerut, 1967.

Nayer, Kuldeep and Khushwant Singh, Tragedy in Punjab : Operation Blue Star, Vision Books, Delhi, 1984.

Nayyar, Baldev Raj, Minority Politics in Punjab, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966.

Nehru, Jawaharlal, Discovery of India, The John Day Company, New York, 1946.

Nijjar, Bakhshish Singh, Indian Punjab, ABS Publications, Jullundur, 1985.

Patwant Singh and Malik, Harji, Punjab, The Fate,  
New Delhi, 1985.

Pramod Kumar, Punjab Crisis : Context and Trends,  
Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial  
Development, Chandigarh, 1984.

Rai, Gulshan, Formation of Haryana, B.R. Publishing Corporati  
Delhi, 1987.

Rai, Satya M., Punjab Heroic Tradition, Punjabi University,  
Patiala, 1975.

\_\_\_\_\_, Partition of the Punjab, Asia Publishing House,  
New Delhi, 1965.

\_\_\_\_\_, Legislative Politics and Freedom Struggle in  
the Punjab, 1892-1947, Indian Council of Historical  
Research, New Delhi, 1984.

\_\_\_\_\_, Punjab Since Partition, Durga Publication,  
New Delhi, 1986.

Ravel Singh, Punjabi Suba Demand, S.G.P.C., Amritsar, 1966.

Sahni, Ruchi Ram, Struggle for Reform in Sikh Shrines,  
Sikh Itihas Board, S.G.P.C., Amritsar (n.d.).

\_\_\_\_\_, The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh  
Awakening, Desh Book Sewak Agency, Jullundur, 1922.

Samivddin Abida, The Punjab Crisis : Challenge and Response,  
Bombay Institute of Islamic Studies, Bombay, 1985.

Sangat Singh, The Sikhs in History, New York, 1995.

Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, The Story of Punjabi Suba, U.C. Kapoor  
Printing Press, Delhi, 1970.

Satinder Singh, Khalistan - An Academic Analysis,  
Amar Parkashan, New Delhi, 1982.

Satya Pal and Probodh Chandra, Sixty Years of Congress,  
The Lion Press, Lahore, 1946.

Sethi, G.R., Sikh Struggle for Gurdwara Reform,  
Union Press, Amritsar, 1927.

shiv Lal, Date Line Punjab Life Line Sikhs, Election  
Archives, New Delhi, 1994.

Sindhu, Lakhwinder Singh, Party Politics in Punjab,  
Harnam Publication, New Delhi, 1994.

Sitaramayya, Pattabhi, The History of the Indian National  
Congress, Vol. I, Padma Publication, Bombay, 1935,  
Reprint, 1946; Vol. II, Padma Publication, Bombay, 1947

Smith, D.E., Nehru and Democracy, Orient Longmans, Bombay,  
1958.

Suri, Surinder Singh, A Study of Shiromani Gurdwara  
Parbandhak Committee, Elections, Punjabi University,  
Patiala, n.d.

Teja Singh, Essays in Sikhism, Siddhart Publication,  
New Delhi, 1990.

Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, Gurdwara Reform Movement and the  
Sikh Awakening, Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee,  
Jullundur, 1922.

Tuteja, K.L., Sikh Politics (1920-40), Vishal Publication,  
Kurukshetra, 1984.

Upretv. Prem Raman, Religion and Politics in Punjab,  
in the 1920s, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1980.

Verma, Manju, The Coalition Politics in Punjab,  
Shivalik Printing Press, Patiala, 1978.

Wallace, Paul and Chopra, Surendra (eds.), Politics Dynamics  
of Punjab, G.N.D. University, Amritsar, 1987.

Political Dynamics and Crisis in Punjab,  
G.N.D. University, Amritsar, 1988.

Weiner, Myren (ed.), State Politics in India, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1968.

Weiner, Myren and John Osgoodfield (eds), Studies in the Electoral Politics in the Indian States, Manohar Book Services, New Delhi, 1975.

Yadav, Kripal

Yadav, Kripal C., Elections in Punjab, 1920-1947, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1987.

(b) BOOKS IN PUNJABI

Ashok, Shamsheer Singh, S.G.P.C. Da Punjab Sala Itihas S.G.P.C., Amritsar, 1974.

Dilgir, Harjinder Singh, Shiromani Akali Dal Ik Itihas, Punjab Book Company, Jullundhar, 1978.

Ganda Singh, Jodh Singh Abhinandan Granth, Patiala, 1962.

Gulshan, Dhanna Singh, Aj Da Punjab Te Sikh Rajniti (1947-77) Dhaliwal Publishing House, Bhatinda, 1978.

Gurcharan Singh, Ankhi Surma, Jiwan Master Tara Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1985.

Gur Rattan Pal Singh, Ghulam Ki Hai, Chandigarh, n.d.

Jakhmi, Karam Singh, 64 Hoza Akali Morche Da Itihas, Panthic Tract Society, Amritsar.

Jaswant Singh, Master Tara Singh : Jiwan Sangarsh Te Udesh, Hades Printing Press, Amritsar, 1972.

Josh, Sohan Singh, Akali Morchian Da Itihas, Navyug Publishers, New Delhi, 1972.

Kapoor, Prithipal Singh, Jiwan Master Tara Singh: Itihasik Pakh Ton, Jullundur, 1968.

Kapur Singh, Sachi Sakhi, Navyug Publishers, Delhi, 1979.

Master Tara Singh, Meri Yad, Sikh Religion Book Society, Amritsar, 1965.

Mohinder Singh, Sardar-i-Azam : Jiwan Master Tara Singh Ji, Panthik Tract Society, Amritsar, 1960.

Niranjan Singh, Jeewan Yatra Master Tara Singh, Sikh Brothers, Amritsar, 1969.

Narinder Pal Singh, Punjab Da Itihas, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969.

Punjabi Sube De Morche Da Itihas, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, 1960.

Satbir Singh, Sada Itihas, New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1957.

Sukhdial Singh, Sri Akal Takhat Sahib, Dharam Yudh Morcha Ate Operation Blue Star, Part II, Patiala, 1987.

(c) BOOKS IN HINDI

Gurbachan Singh, Sikh Kiya Chahtay Hain, New India Publication, New Delhi, 1950.

Yadav, K.C., Haryana Ka Itihas, S. Parmod and Company, Jullundur,

(d) RESEARCH ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN VARIOUS JOURNALS

Bajaj, Y.P., 'Sikandar-Jinnah Pact : Genesis and Motives', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XIX, April 1985.

Bajaj, Y.P. and Sunil Jain, 'Congress Politics, 1900-1906, The Punjab Response', Punjab History Conference Proceedings, 1985.



Bal, Sukhmani, 'National Movement in the Punjab',  
Punjab Journal of Politics, IX, 1985.

Barrier, N. Gerald, 'Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi Tracts on  
Nineteenth Century Punjab', Panjab Past and Present,  
Vol. IV, April 1970.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1870-1890',  
Panjab Past and Present, Vol. V, April 1971.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the  
Punjab, 1894-1908', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. V,  
October 1971.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The 1937 Election and Sikandar-Jinah Pact',  
Panjab Past and Present, Vol. X, October 1976.

Bombwall, K.R., 'Akali Demand for State Autonomy : Nature,  
Rationale and Motivation', Political Science Review,  
Vol. XXX, No. 2, April-June 1981.

Brar, Jasmal Singh, 'C.P.I. and Punjabi Suba Demand',  
Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XX, October 1986.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Master Tara Singh and the Demand for Sikh  
Homeland', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XXI, October 198

Chief Khalsa Diwan, 'Fifty Years of Service (1902-1951)',  
Panjab Past and Present, Vol. VII, April 1972.

Caveeshar, Sardul Singh, 'The Akali Movement - Akalis and  
Swaraj', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. VII, April 1973.

Dang, Satya Pal, 'The Punjabi Suba Movement',  
Punjab Journal of Politics, Vol. XII No. 2,  
July-December 1983.

Dhami, M.S., 'Communalism in Punjab : A Socio-Historical  
Analysis', Punjab Journal of Politics, Vol. IX, No. 1,  
January- June, 1985.

Dhillon, Gurdarshan Singh, 'Origin and Development of the Singh Sabha Movement', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. VII, April 1973.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Evolution of the Demand for Sikh Homeland', Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, October-December, 1974.

Dhillon, Rajwant Kaur, 'Master Tara Singh and the Indian National Congress, 1920-47', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XXI, October 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Master Tara Singh and Struggle for Sikh Representation, 1920-47', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XXIV, April 1990.

Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh, 'Amritsar and Shiromani Akali Dal' Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XVII, October 1983.

Duggal, Devinder Singh, 'Sikh Case : A Historical Perspective' Sikh Review, XXXIII, 368, August 1984.

Fauja Singh, 'Political Ideas of the Sikhs during the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries', Panjab Past and Present Vol. X-II, October 1976.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Akalis and the Indian National Congress, 1920-4' Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XV, October 1981.

Gopal Singh, 'The Sikh Situations : 1847-1947', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XVI-8, October 1982.

Gursharan Singh, 'A Year of President Rule in PEPSU' (5 March 1953 to 8 March 1954), Panjab Past and Present Vol. XXIV-I, April 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'An Account of the Political Overtures on the Issue of the Merger of PEPSU with Punjab in 1956', Punjab Journal of Politics, Vol. XV, No. 1-2, 1991.

Harbans Singh, 'Origin of the Singh Sabha', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. VII, April 1973.

- Jones, Kenneth W., 'Ham Hindu Nahin - The Arya Sikh Relations: 1870-1905', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XI, October 1977.
- Kirpal Singh, 'Genesis of the Partition of the Punjab, 1947', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. V, October 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Sikhs and Transfer of Power', Proceedings, Punjab History Conference, Vol. XIX, March 1985.
- Kohli, Manorama, 'Protest Movement in the Punjab : A Case Study of the Punjabi Suba Agitation', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XVII, October 1983.
- Krishan Gopal Lamba, '1955 Da Punjabi Suba Morcha', Proceedings, Punjab History Conference, Vol. XXIII-II, March 1989.
- Puti, Harish K., 'Akali Politics : Emerging Compulsion', Punjab Journal of Politics, Vol. II, No. 1, January-June 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Singh Sabha and Ghadr Movement: Contending Political Orientations', Punjab Journal of Politics, Vol. VII No. 2, July-December, 1983.
- Ranbir Singh, 'Decline of Master Tara Singh and Sikh Identity', Punjab Journal of Politics, Vol. X, No. 2, 1986.
- Sangat Singh, 'Political Development of Sikh Search for Identity (1849-1919)', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XVI, October 1982.
- Satinder Singh, 'The Partition and After', The Sikh Review, Calcutta, Vol. XXXII, August 1984.
- Satya, M. Rai, 'Legislative Politics and Freedom Struggle in Punjab (1847-1947)', Proceedings Punjab History Conference, Vol. XIII, March 1979.
- Teja Singh, 'The Singh Sabha Movement', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XVI, April 1982.

Virinder Singh, 'Working of Dyarchi in Punjab : A Case Study of Political Parties and Groups in the Legislative Council (1921-37)', Proceedings Punjab History Conference, Vol. XIX, March 1985.

Walia, Jagjiwan Singh, 'The Role of the Sikhs in the National Freedom Struggle', Panjab Past and Present, Vol. XXIV-I, April 1990.

Yadav, K.C., 'The Partition of India : A Study of the Muslim Politics in Punjab 1849-1947', Punjab Past and Present, Vol. XVII, April 1983.

(e) UNPUBLISHED THESES

M.A. Dissertations:

Anant Bir Singh, Master Tara Singh and Punjabi Suba, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972.

Gursharan Singh, Akali Movement in the Phulkian States, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1967.

Jagjit Singh, Shiromani Akali Dal Da Itihas', Punjabi University, Patiala, 1975.

Jolly, Jasminder Kaur, Sikh Politics: A General Survey, 1920-1979, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1979.

Kalkat, Barinder, Giani Kartar Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1979.

Rekhi, Gurnam Singh, Sunder Singh Majithia, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1974.

Sidhu, Jaswant Singh, Partap Singh Kairon, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976.

M.Phil. Dissertations:

Dhillon, Rajwant Kaur, Master Tara Singh and the Punjabi Politics, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1987.

Narang, Surjit Singh, Role of Chief Khalsa Diwan, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980.

Narwal Sonia, Reorganisation of Punjab and its Impact on Punjab Politics, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1980.

Teja Bans Kaur, Muslim Politics in Punjab, 1937-47', Punjabi University, Patiala, 1980.

Ph.D. Theses:

Ajit Singh, Shiromani Akali Dal in Punjab, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1992.

Gursharan Singh, History of PEPSU, 1948-56, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987.

Kanwarjeet Singh, Master Tara Singh and Punjab Politics: A Study of Political Leadership, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1978.

Parmar, Surinder Singh, History of Bharitya Jana Sangh in Punjab, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1987.

Sahni, M.S., Sikh Politics, 1927-47, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1980.

Satwant Singh, Punjab Politics, 1937-47, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1994.

...