

Chapter

1

Indian National Movement during the Second World War: Quit India Movement and INA (1939–45)

The outbreak of the Second World War evoked a variety of responses among the Indian people, and this was reflected in the Congress as well. After prolonged debate, Individual Satyagraha was launched by Gandhi, but it evoked merely a lukewarm response. It was only in 1942, three years after India was dragged into the war, that the Congress launched the Quit India Movement (also known as the **August Revolution** or the **Revolt of 1942**). Even as the Congress was still in the process of organising the Quit India movement, the government unleashed a severe round of repression, arresting all the top leaders including Mahatma Gandhi. However, the British hopes were belied when the people took the leadership of the movement in their own hands and challenged the British rule in a way comparable to the Struggle of 1857. Starting from the urban centres, the movement soon spread to the country side; new leaders emerged at local levels and did not hesitate in departing from the peaceful Gandhian approach and resorting to violence. Unprecedented participation of the youth and the Socialists, formation of parallel governments and underground movement emerged as some of the remarkable trends of the Quit Indian Movement.

Though the government succeeded in crushing the movement in the end, it was now clear that British days in India were numbered. This was further demonstrated by the formation of the Indian National Army under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose. The INA waged a heroic struggle and proved Indian capability of confronting the British in an armed struggle.

Thus, in this chapter, we will discuss the circumstances leading to the Quit India Movement as and also the formation and activities of the Indian National Army.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1939–41)

■ Outbreak of the Second World War, 1st September 1939

The Second World War (1st September 1939 to 2nd September 1945) was a global war that involved a vast majority of the world's countries including the great powers that subsequently formed two opposing military alliances namely the Allies (Britain, France, Russia) and the Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan).

Flashback: On 1st September 1939, the Second World War broke out with the German invasion of Poland in pursuance of Hitler's policy of German expansion. On 3rd September 1939, Britain and France were forced to go for Poland's aid and enter the war. On 3rd September itself, India was dragged into the war on the side of Britain, without its consent. Neither the National Congress nor elected members of Central Legislature were consulted.

Viceroy Linlithgow unilaterally declared India as a belligerent state on the British side which led to a full-scale **constitutional crisis** in India threatening the very foundation of the responsible government which was making steady progress in the provinces. Soon after the declaration, the Viceroy began negotiations with the Congress, the Muslim League and the Princes with a view to enlisting their cooperation in the war.

The Congress was prepared to cooperate on the condition that Britain transferred the substance of power to India immediately and promised complete independence after the war. The League was ready to cooperate on the condition that Muslims be given justice in the 'Congress Provinces' and no future constitution for India would be made without its approval. The Princes alone pledged their unconditional support to the British.

Indian Attitude towards War

The war evoked a variety of responses from different sections of the Indian people and may be discussed as under:

- **India should take advantage of Britain's difficulty:** Proponents of this view believed that Britain's difficulty is India's opportunity. They were in favour of taking advantage of the empire's weakest moment to wrest freedom by immediately launching a strong movement against the British rule. They opposed British efforts of mobilising India's resources for the war. These included the Socialists and Subhas Chandra Bose. The Socialists argued that the war was an imperialist one since both sides were fighting for gaining or defending colonies and the question of supporting either of the two sides did not arise.
- **India should not take advantage of Britain's difficulty:** Proponents of this view believed that India should cooperate with the British in war efforts unconditionally. They hoped that the British would adopt a lenient view in lieu of India's services and grant Indian demand for freedom. These included Gandhiji and C Rajagopalachari. Gandhi advocated unconditional support to the Allies as he made clear distinction between the Democratic states of Western Europe and the totalitarian Nazis. However, in absence of any support, he decided to go with Nehru's view of giving conditional support.
- **India should provide conditional support:** Proponents of this view felt that Fascism was a greater threat to the world and they wanted to help the British in their fight against Nazism and Fascism but only on the condition that the British immediately provide for interim government of Indians and promise complete independence in the near future. Proponents of this view included Jawaharlal Nehru.
- **Wavering attitude:** There were others whose attitude was either neutral or even wavering. For instance, the Socialists and the Communists. They decided to support the government in its war efforts after the Germans invaded Russia in 1941.

Congress and World Affairs (1935–1939): The period from 1935 to 1939 was an important period with regard to Congress participation in world affairs. By now Congress had developed a foreign policy-based on opposition to racialism and imperialism. During the 1930s, Congress firmly opposed imperialism in any part of the world and declared its support for the national movements in Asia and Africa. It also strongly condemned fascism (radical authoritarian nationalism) that had raised its head in Italy, Germany and Japan.

Congress Attitude

Nearly all the attitudes mentioned above were reflected in the Congress. Even as the Congress had full sympathy towards the victims of fascist aggression, it wondered how an enslaved nation could fight for other's freedom? Further, the CWC strongly protested against the decision of dragging India into the war without its consent and said that 'the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people.' Thus, the Congress demanded that India should be set free or at least some effective transfer of power should take place into Indian hands, before India could actively participate in the war.

CWC Meeting at Wardha (10–14th September 1939)

The official Congress stand in this regard was adopted at a meeting of the CWC held at Wardha. Keeping with the nationalistic tradition of accommodating diverse views, Subhas Bose, Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan were also invited.

The **leftists** were of the opinion that the war was an imperialist one since the parties were involved in either gaining or defending colonial territories, and hence India should not support the British in war. Instead Congress should grasp this opportunity by starting a civil disobedience movement immediately.

Gandhi was in favour of adopting a sympathetic view of the Allies. His personal attitude towards the British was the same as it was during the First World War, i.e. of cooperation. But when he saw that his position was not supported by even his close followers like Sardar Patel and Rajendra Prasad, he decided to support Nehru's position.

Nehru was of the view that even though justice was on the side of the Allies, they were after all imperialist countries. Yet, he felt that nothing should be done that might lead to the triumph of Hitler and Nazism in Europe. Therefore, India should neither join the war until the country is itself free nor take advantage of Britain's difficulty.

The Congress finally decided to adopt Nehru's view and extend conditional support to the British government in India. A resolution was passed to the effect—

- Condemning Nazi attack on Poland.
- Declaring that India could not be a party to the war which was said to be fought for democratic freedom even as that very freedom was denied to it.
- If Britain was fighting for democracy and freedom, then it should first prove it to India.
- Some sort of responsible government should be established at the centre immediately and a Constituent Assembly be set up to frame the constitution of free India in near future.
- India would then gladly join other democratic nations in war effort.

A response was now awaited from the Viceroy and the British government.

Government Response

Viceroy Linlithgow issued an official statement (17th October 1939) which was as follows:

- The viceroy refused to define British war aims beyond stating that Britain was resisting aggression;
- The viceroy stated that as part of future arrangement, the government would consult

'representatives of several communities, parties and interests in India, and the Indian princes' as to how the Act of 1935 might be reformed; and

- The viceroy talked about the immediate establishment of a 'consultative committee' for seeking views of different sections as when needed.

Thus, it was clear that the British Government was in no mood to make any promises and commit itself in advance on the post-war constitutional status of India. Viceroy Linlithgow harped about the differences among Indians particularly among the Muslim League, the Princes and the Congress. Zetland, the Secretary of State, stressed in the House of Lords on the differences among Hindus and Muslims and branded Congress as a purely Hindu organisation. Further, instead of loosening control over India, Defence of India Rules were promulgated to check defiance of any British authority.

The Viceregal statement evoked sharp response from the national leadership. The sharpest reaction came from Gandhi, who was earlier advocating unconditional support to Britain. He stated that the British are adamant on continuing with their old policy of divide and rule, '**the Congress asked for bread and it has got a stone.**'

On 22nd October 1939, the CWC condemned the Viceregal statement and called upon the **Congress Ministries to tender their resignation**, which they did as obedient soldiers. The result of these political developments was that except for 4 provinces—Assam, Sindh, Punjab and Bengal—provincial autonomy was no more a living constitutional feature but only a thing of the past. During the next few years, as Congress drifted away from active politics, the League moved in to fill the political vacuum and consolidated its position through Jinnah's manoeuvrings with the Viceroy. On 22nd December 1939, the Muslim League celebrated the day as '**day of deliverance**' and thanksgiving as mark of relief that the people had finally gained freedom from the Congress rule.

Pakistan Resolution, Lahore, March 1940

At its Lahore Session, the Muslim League passed the Pakistan Resolution calling for the grouping of geographically contiguous areas where Muslims were in majority, i.e. Northwest and East. During the session, Jinnah propounded his two-nation theory that India comprised of two nations—a Hindu nation and a Muslim nation, who were different economically, politically, socially, culturally and historically. That Muslims were not a minority but a nation, and therefore they were rightfully entitled to a nation of their own in the form of **Pakistan**.

Individual Satyagraha (17th October 1940–December 1941)

Congress now considered launching of a civil disobedience movement but once again sharp differences emerged within the party on the issue. Dominant leaders including Gandhi himself felt that the atmosphere was not ripe for immediately starting a mass Satyagraha owing to the following aspects:

- The Allies, Britain and France, were after all fighting for a just cause and should not be embarrassed during the war.
- The Congress organisation had been corrupted during 1938–39 and there were differences

and anarchy within Congress.

- The masses were not ready, there was lack of Hindu-Muslim unity and under these circumstances, a civil disobedience movement could easily degenerate into communal riots.

Ramgarh Congress Session, March 1940 (Presided by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad)

In such an atmosphere, the Congress met at Ramgarh and Azad declared 'India cannot endure the prospect of Nazism and Fascism, but she is even more tired of British imperialism'. However, in its resolution, the Ramgarh Congress declared that a civil disobedience movement shall be launched as soon as the Congress organisation is considered fit enough for the purpose.'

However, the resolution was opposed by a coalition of various Left-wing groups including the Congress Socialists, Communists and the members of the Kisan Sabhas and the Forward Block. They got together and held an **anti-compromise conference** at Ramgarh under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose and resolved to resist any compromise with imperialism and prepare themselves for a militant struggle.

In the few months that followed, the government refused to bend and kept issuing ordinance after ordinance taking away the freedoms of speech, press, associations, etc. The patience of the people was now on the verge of exhaustion and they felt that time has come to show the British lest their patience be taken for weakness.

Congress Presidents: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad remained the Congress President during 1940–46. However, at the time of independence in 1947, JB Kripalani was the Congress President.

Change of Government in Britain and August Offer (8th August 1940)

Meanwhile, Britain's stand somewhat softened owing to two main reasons—Firstly, in May 1940, a new government came to power in Britain with Winston Churchill as Prime Minister (1940–45). Secondly, the Allies were facing defeat after defeat in war and the Nazi under Hitler were knocking at Britain's door. With the aim of securing India's active cooperation in the war effort, the British government decided to offer certain concessions to the Indians known as August Offer:

On 8th August 1940, **Viceroy Linlithgow** put forth the offer which proposed the following:

- **Expansion of Governor General's Executive Council** with more Indian representation.
- **Formation of a War Advisory Council.**
- **Dominion Status** of the Westminster variety as soon as possible after the war.
- **Constitution Making Body** to be set up after the war in recognition of the natural and inherent right of the Indian people to determine the form of their future constitution.
- **Full weight to minority opinion** and that no such constitution will be accepted which did not enjoy their support (Muslim League had already demanded Pakistan in the Lahore Session of 1940).
- Acceptability of the new constitution subject to fulfilment of British obligations such as Defence, Minority Rights, Treaties with Native States, and position of All India Services.

Significance of August Offer

For the first time, the inherent right of Indians to frame their own constitution was recognised and the demand for Constituent Assembly was conceded. Thus, what was denied by the Act of 1935 was to be conceded after the war. In July 1941, the Viceroy's Executive Council was enlarged, Taking Indian representation to 8 out of 12 for the first time. The English remained in charge of Defence, Finance and Home departments. A **National Defence Council** was also set up which was purely advisory in function.

Responses

However, the August Offer was rejected by the Congress. Nehru declared that the whole conception of Dominion Status was 'dead as a door-nail'. Though the League welcomed the veto given to the minorities, it reiterated that it would not accept anything short of partition of India. In September 1940, at Simla, Gandhi had long but futile meetings with the Viceroy. Meanwhile, the government had already begun making preventive arrests of Congress workers and local leaders. Convinced that the British were in no mood to change their policy in India, Gandhi now decided to launch passive civil disobedience in the form of a **limited Satyagraha on an individual basis** by a few selected individuals in every locality.

Why Individual Satyagraha?

The Satyagraha was confined to individual participation because of the following:

- While satyagraha would disprove the British claim that India supported the war effort whole-heartedly, its limited nature would ensure that war efforts against Nazism were not obstructed which would have been the case if mass agitation was launched.
- It would give yet another opportunity to the British to peacefully accept Indian demands.
- It would prepare the masses for the upcoming mass struggle.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave (First Satyagrahi, 17th October 1940)

An individual Satyagrahi was to deliver an anti-war speech. In case he was not arrested, he would repeat the act in the next village while moving in the direction of Delhi, thus initiating a movement which came to be known as '**Delhi Chalo**' movement.



Vinoba Bhave,
spiritual successor of
Mahatma Gandhi.

On 17th October 1940, Individual Satyagraha was inaugurated by Vinoba Bhave by delivering an anti-war speech at **Paunar village** near Wardha. Gandhi had personally selected Bhave after his other nominees, Vallabhbhai and Nehru, were arrested even before they could start the agitation. Later, **Jawaharlal Nehru** became the **second individual Satyagrahi**. By May 1941, more than 25,000 Satyagrahis had been arrested for offering individual Satyagraha.

However, Individual Satyagraha could not achieve much due to restrictions imposed by Gandhi. Participation from the Congressmen was also slow to come and nominees showed reluctance in relinquishing posts they held in municipal bodies.

Satyagraha Suspended under Changed War Situation

In December 1941, the CWC decided to suspend the movement. By this time, even the international situation had changed:

- Britain continued to face defeat after defeat in the war. In fact, the years of the Second World War were the most disastrous for Britain in its entire history as world power.
- On 22nd June 1941, **Germany had attacked Russia**.
- On 7th December 1941, Japan had dramatically joined the war on Germany's side by launching a surprise attack on American Fleet at **Pearl Harbour**.
- Japan quickly occupied South East Asia including Philippines, Indonesia, Malay, Burma and Indo-China with lightening speed.

Gandhi had already denounced the Japanese slogan of '**Asia for Asiatics**' and had exhorted the Indians to denounce Japanese goods. In December 1941, the CWC also passed a resolution offering full cooperation to the Allies if Britain agreed to give full independence after the war and substance of power immediately. It was during this time that **Gandhi chose Jawaharlal as his successor** stating, 'Not Rajaji (C. Rajagopalachari) but Jawaharlal will be my successor...I know that when I am gone, he will speak my language.'

Note: Meanwhile, in 1941, the eight-year old ban on the **Communist Party of India** was lifted after it decided to support the government in war efforts following the German invasion of Russia.

Cripps Mission (22nd March 1942)

As war situation rapidly worsened against the Allies, USSR, USA (President Roosevelt), China (President Chiang Kai-Shek) and Labor Party of Britain now began to pressurise Churchill to reconsider the British policy in India and seek active support of the Indians in the war. Consequently, the government released many political prisoners. And after **Japan occupied Rangoon** in March 1942, bringing the war to India's doorstep, the British decided to send Cripps Mission to India.

Prime Minister **Winston Churchill** sent the leader of the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Cripps, with the aim of securing India's active support in the war effort. Cripps was a Left-wing Laborite and had been a strong supporter of Indian national movement. He arrived in India on 22nd March 1942 with a set of proposals and opened negotiations with Indian leaders. He declared that the aim of new British policy in India was 'the earliest possible realisation of **self-government in India**'.

Cripps Proposals

The Draft Declaration Cripps brought with him was quite disappointing and it included the following proposals:

- **Dominion Status:** The object of his Majesty's Government was the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion in the British Commonwealth but in no way subordinate to Britain in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs. (Thus, Dominion Status to be granted to India immediately after the war with the right to decide its relations with the British Commonwealth including the right to secede from the Commonwealth).

- **Constituent Assembly:** Immediately after the war, steps shall be taken to set up in India an elected body to frame a new constitution for India. Indian States shall also be provided representation in the constitution making body. (Thus, the Constituent Assembly was to comprise of members from British India as well as princely states. The task of making new constitution would now be solely in Indian hands. The members of the Constituent Assembly were to be elected by provincial assembly and nominated by rulers in case of princely states).
- **Right of Non-Accession of provinces ('provincial option' or 'local option' clause):** The constitution so framed would be accepted by the British government on the condition that any Indian province, if it so desired, could remain outside the Indian Union and negotiate directly with Britain. (Thus, accommodating the Pakistan demand. One can see in this 'provincial option' the powerful germs of Pakistan).
- **Right of Secession of provinces:** The provinces would have the right to secede for a possible partition of the country.
- **Protection of racial and linguistic minorities:** A treaty was to be signed between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body that will cover all matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands. It would also make provisions for the protection of racial and linguistic minorities.
- **British control over defence:** Until the new constitution could be framed, Britain would retain the actual control of defence and military operations, and the Governor-General was to continue with all his powers as before.

- **Amery**, the Secretary of State, described the Declaration as 'conservative, reactionary and limited offer'
- **Nehru**, a friend of Cripps, later wrote that, 'When I read those proposals for the first time, I was profoundly depressed.'
- Nehru and Maulana Azad were the official negotiators for the Congress.

How was Cripps Mission different from Past Proposals?

- Free India could withdraw from the commonwealth.
- The making of the Constitution was to be **solely** in Indian hands now (and not 'mainly' in Indian hands, as contained in the August Offer).
- Indians were allowed a large share in the administration of the interim government.
- For the first time, a concrete plan was provided for the Constituent Assembly.
- Right of non-accession and secession from the Union provided the **blue-print for India's partition**. At a time when the Pakistan demand had hardly been taken seriously by Indians, its serious consideration by British leaders gave legitimacy to the Pakistan demand.

Reasons for Failure of Cripps Mission

- **Cripps Proposals were rejected almost unanimously by all Indian parties:**
 - Congress refused to rely on any future promises and also rejected the idea of Britain's control over Indian defence. The Congress opposed the principle of non-accession

of provinces which seemed like an axe applied to the very roots of Indian unity. Giving the provinces and the princely states the right to secede from the Union, the proposals provided for the **Balkanisation of the country** and were opposed by the nationalists. The Congress also objected to the provision that the princely states shall be represented in the Constituent Assembly not by the people but by the nominees of the rulers.

- Gandhi rejected the proposals calling the Cripps offer for Dominion Status after the war as '**a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank**'.
- The Muslim League wanted a definite declaration in favour of a separate state (Pakistan) for the Muslims and equal number of seats as Congress in the Interim Government.
- The Liberals, the Hindu Mahasabha as well as the Sikhs objected to the secession proposal.
- The Depressed Classes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians also wanted more safeguards for their communities.
- **Limited mandate of Cripps:** Cripps was also unable to bargain or negotiate as he had been told not to go beyond the Draft Declaration. Thus, he adopted a '**take it or leave it**' attitude which added to the deadlock.
- **Attempts to sabotage Cripps efforts:** Cripps proposals proved to be too radical for his PM and the Viceroy and too conservative for the Indians. Several British leaders including Churchill (PM), Amery (Secretary of State), Linlithgow (Viceroy) and Wavell (Commander in Chief) did not want Cripps Mission to succeed and they tried hard to sabotage his efforts in India.

Evaluation of Cripps Proposals

The Cripps scheme was meant to please everyone from the Congress to the Muslim League, from princes to religious and racial minorities. However, it ended up pleasing no one. The Mission was a reiteration of the August Offer of 1940 and failed to meet Indian aspirations. It evoked suspicion as whether the British were sincerely committed to transfer of power. The Mission smelt more like a sop offered to the Indian leaders to secure their active cooperation in war efforts, than a genuine attempt to solve the Indian deadlock. In April 1942, Cripps Mission returned to Britain, leaving behind even more frustrated and embittered Indians.

Immediate Context to Quit India Movement

The immediate context to Quit India Movement was provided by the following factors:

1. **Failure of Cripps Mission:** It was now clear that the government was unwilling to offer any honourable settlement to the Indian demands and was determined to continue with India's unwilling participation in the war. The failure of Cripps Mission embittered the Indians.
2. **War time shortages and rising prices:** The Indians felt further discontented with war-time shortages and rising prices.

3. **Highhanded attitude of British authorities:** The people were considerably angered by the highhandedness of British authorities such as commandeering of boats in Bengal and Orissa to prevent their use by the Japanese.
4. **Allied reverses and an imminent British collapse:** People also felt encouraged by the news of Allied reverses and an imminent British collapse.
5. **Manner of British evacuation from Malaya and Burma:** The manner of British evacuation from Malaya and Burma had also added fuel to the fire. The British residents were evacuated first, while leaving the subject population to their fate. Indians from South East Asia had given detailed account of British apathy in their letters sent to relatives in India and how they were left behind for the Japanese. Hence, it was feared that the British might repeat the same betrayal in case of a Japanese invasion in India.
6. **Demoralisation among Indians:** Due to all these factors, the national leadership also felt that the people were becoming demoralised and might not resist at all in the event of a Japanese invasion. Hence, it was necessary to draw them out of depression and remind them of their power and worth.
7. **Faith in the stability of British rule had reached an all-time low:** People had begun to withdraw deposits from banks and had started hoarding gold.

Really, the period from April to August 1942, was one of daily heightening tension. Japan was virtually knocking at the door of the country, and the empty gesture in the form of Cripps Mission had now radicalised even leaders like Nehru and Gandhi who were initially committed to not hampering the war efforts. In fact, Gandhi now grew more and more militant with every passing day. He was now convinced that the time was ripe for a mass struggle and began to talk about it from different platforms-

- In an interview to **Louis Fischer** he had said, 'I have become impatient...I may not be able to convince the Congress...I will go ahead and address myself directly to the people.'
- In May 1942, Gandhi wrote in the **Harijan**, 'the presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes that bait.'

Thus, Gandhi had made up his mind to urge Britain to quit India in an orderly fashion and in case they did not agree, to launch a mass Civil Disobedience Movement. Even as Gandhi edged towards a struggle, Nehru remained opposed and gave way only at the very end.

Eventually, the Congress decided to launch the movement amidst dissenting voices (there were Congressmen who followed an independent view, for instance **C. Rajagopalachari**. He was urging the Congress to accept the demand for Pakistan and support Britain in war efforts. Owing to these differences, he had resigned from the Congress in 1942). The Congress further clarified that it did not mean that the British had to withdraw from India immediately but it meant an immediate acknowledgement of India's independence.

CWC Meeting at Wardha (14th July 1942)

In July 1942, the CWC met at Wardha and adopted the Quit India Resolution which was to be later ratified by the AICC in its Bombay meeting.

AICC Ratifies the Quit India Resolution (Bombay, Gowalia Tank Maidan, 8th August 1942)

The historic meeting took place at Gowalia Tank Maidan in Bombay where people had gathered in unprecedented numbers to hear their leaders speak. Gandhi's speech had the most electrifying impact—Gandhi asked the British to quit India and 'leave India in God's hands'. He also appealed to all sections of Indian people to participate in the movement and gave them the mantra of '**Do or Die**'. We shall either free India or die in the attempt, we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery.' Even as he stressed that 'every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide', Gandhi's speech contained specific instructions for different sections of people, which were as follows

- Government servants were asked not to resign yet but openly declare their loyalty to the Congress
- The soldiers were asked not to leave their posts but to refuse to fire on their own people
- The Princes were asked to accept the sovereignty of their own people rather than that of the foreigners

On 8th August 1942, the Quit India Resolution was ratified by the AICC. However, the Congress did not give any concrete line of action to be adopted by the people but merely appealed to them to remain completely non-violent at all times.

THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (8TH AUGUST 1942–JUNE 1945)

Even before the Congress could launch the movement, the government struck a severe blow. On the morning of 9th August, all prominent leaders of the Congress, including Gandhi, were arrested and taken to unknown destinations. The AICC and the PCCs were also banned. The Congress did not get time to plan the line of action and hence what arose was a **spontaneous movement** which began taking its own course, with people directing their own actions.



A procession during Quit India Movement

The news of the arrests led to unprecedented popular outbursts throughout the country. Since all recognised leaders at central as well as provincial level were arrested, **new leaders emerged** from among the local cadres, particularly students.

In the beginning, the movement was mostly non-violent. The people took out processions and struck work. But soon government repression followed that instigated people to take up violence. Relegating Gandhian principle to the background, in many places people devised their own methods of protest that included-

- Attacks on symbols of British authority such as police stations, railway stations and post offices
- Cutting off telegraph wires, telephones, railway lines and power lines
- Disrupting traffic and striking work, etc.

These attacks mostly aimed at disrupting the movement of police and military forces that were deployed to crush the movement. Madras and Bengal were the most affected in this respect.

Trends and Responses

The Quit Indian Movement, also termed as the **August Revolution** or the **Revolt of 1942**, evoked varied trends and responses:

Parallel Governments

At many places, state control was temporarily seized and people established 'parallel government' or Swaraj. For instance, parallel governments were established in:

- **Ballia, UP** (August 1942): This was the first parallel government proclaimed under the leadership of **Chittu Pande**. Pande also succeeded in securing the release of many Congress leaders.
- **Tamluk, Midnapore district, Bengal** (December 1942): Here, **Jatiya Sarkar** was established. This parallel government set up its own departments like Law and Order, Health, Education, Agriculture, etc. It also undertook cyclone relief work, gave grants to schools, set up arbitration courts and even formed an armed Vidyut Vahini.
- **Satara, Maharashtra**: Here emerged the longest lasting parallel government called '**Prati Sarkar**' under the leadership of Nani Patil. The government set up Nyayadan Mandals or peoples' courts, enforced prohibition, set up village libraries and even organised Gandhi marriages (that allowed no ostentation, invited the untouchables, etc.). The Prati Sarkar received much support from the ruler of Aundh who was a Gandhian and had even got a constitution of his state drafted by Gandhi. This sarkar lasted till 1945.
- **Talcher, Orissa**
- **Balia, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Monghyr, Muzzafarpur**, etc., in UP and Bihar

Was Quit India Movement a spontaneous outburst? According to Bipan Chandra, 'the element of spontaneity in the movement of 1942 was certainly larger than in the earlier movements...the whole pattern of the Gandhian mass movements was that the leadership chalked out a broad programme of action and left its implementation at the local level to the initiative of the local level activists and the masses. (Thus) In a way, the degree of spontaneity and popular initiative that was actually exercised had been sanctioned by the leadership itself.'

Regional Trends

- In the beginning, the movement was strong in urban areas but later it picked up pace in rural areas where it also continued for a longer duration of time.
- The response to the movement was strong in Bombay, Gujarat, UP, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Andhra and Karnataka.
- The response was weak in Punjab, Sindh, and NWFP.
- In Bihar, Patna was cut off from the rest of the areas as a result of popular agitation. School students, village masses and poor labourers joined the movement and looted government property especially food grains lying at railway stations.
- In UP, furious masses attacked Madhuban Police Station in Azamgarh district.
- In Orissa, government forces used aeroplanes to check the advancing peasant guerrillas from entering Talcher.

Who Participated?

- **The youth**, especially students, workers and peasants provided the backbone of the 'revolt'.
- **Students** boycotted schools and colleges all over the country. They took out processions, wrote and distributed 'illegal patrikas' and became couriers for the emerging underground networks. Students from Banaras Hindu University decided to spread the message of Quit India in rural areas. They popularised the slogans of 'Station phoonk do', 'Thana jalao' and 'Angrez bhaag gaya'.
- **Workers** struck work in many industrial centres like Bombay, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Jamshedpur and Poona. Strike at Ahmedabad continued for the longest duration of 3 months.
- **Peasants** in villages formed large crowds and stormed the nearest district town, attacking all symbols of government authority.
- **Women** also played an important role—Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kriplani and Usha Mehta are some examples.
- **Small government officials** (those at lower rungs of administration) also gave generous support to the movement. In fact, erosion of loyalty to the British emerged as a striking feature of the movement.
- **Businessmen** gave support to the movement through donations and shelter to political activists. However, the movement evoked weak response from merchant community as they had profited heavily during the war.

Who did NOT Participate?

Sections of people who did not participate in the Quit India Movement included the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communist Party of India. The Princes, the landlords (in general) as well as Congress leaders like Rajagopalachari did not participate in the movement and instead supported the war efforts.

- **The Muslim League** condemned the Quit Indian Movement and instead supported the British in war efforts, thus growing rapidly in influence with the British.
- **The Hindu Mahasabha** also condemned the Quit Indian Movement calling it 'sterile, unmanly and injurious to the Hindu cause' and stalwart Hindu leaders like VD Savarkar, BS Munje and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee whole heartedly supported British war efforts. RSS also remained aloof.
- **The Communist Party** of India also did not support the movement following the involvement of Russia in the war in December 1941 and their 'People's War' strategy.

Exceptions

However, the attraction of the Quit Indian Movement was such that many from the above sections could not hold themselves back. True, the movement did not arouse any mass Muslim participation, it did not arouse their hostility either and there was a complete absence of any communal clashes. Similarly, many communists at the local level participated in the movement despite official stand taken by the Communist Party. Small zamindars also participated in

significant numbers with one of the biggest zamindars—**Raja of Darbhanga**, supporting the movement. A total lack of anti-zamindar violence by the peasants was also an interesting feature of the movement.

Government Response

The government came down heavily on the nationalists and the August Revolution was suppressed with an iron hand. In fact, the repression knew no bounds, with the repression emerging as the most brutal ever against the national movement. The government armed itself with draconian measures and took away even basic civil liberties:

- Press was completely muzzled (the publication of National Herald and Harijan stopped completely during the entire period of the struggle).
- Government took to wide-scale arrests, lathicharges, floggings, firings and even burning of villages and Congress offices.
- Demonstrating crowds were machine gunned and even bombed from air.
- Prisoners were tortured.
- The military took over many towns and cities.
- Punitive fines were extorted from the residents of areas affected by the upsurge.

As per official figures, by the end of 1943, more than 90,000 persons were arrested and more than 1,000 were killed in police firings. India had not seen such ruthless repression since the days of 1857.

With the above measures, the British were able to crush the mass phase of the struggle within six to seven weeks. In doing so, the war situation helped them in two ways:

- Firstly, the British had stationed a massive military force in India to fight the Japanese which was promptly used to crush the Quit India Movement.
- Secondly, the British felt free to repress the movement in a ruthless manner without bothering about international criticism. Major powers of the world were too busy fighting one another and had no time to concern themselves with what the British were doing in India.

Underground Movement

The most remarkable trend of the movement was the emergence of underground networks. Unable to function in the open due to brutal government repression, underground networks began to emerge in various parts of the country. On 9th November 1942, **Jaiprakash Narain** and **Ramnandan Misra** escaped from Hazaribagh jail to Nepal border and organised an underground movement from there.

Similarly, **Underground Socialist Activities** were carried out by leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohiya, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kriplani and Biju Patnaik. The most daring underground activity was the starting of **Congress Radio** which operated from Bombay city with Usha Mehta as its announcer.

Even though the number of people directly involved in underground activity was limited, yet they received tremendous support from a large section of people across the country. The wealthy helped with generous donations, others provided hideouts for underground activists, students acted as couriers, villagers refused to give information to the police, pilots and train drivers delivered materials and explosives and government officials passed on critical information. The Underground activists generally planned to disrupt communications and even planned some attacks on government officials. However, the most significant contribution of the Underground Activity was in keeping the spirit of Quit Indian Movement aloft even after the mass phase was brutally repressed.

Congress on Violence

The Congress leadership did not condemn the violence, but at the same time it refused to take any responsibility for the violence committed by the people. Certain Congressmen also felt that the special circumstances warranted such violence.

Gandhi on Violence and his Fast

Gandhi also refused to condemn people's resort to violence, despite constant government exhortation. Instead, **he held government responsible** for it and said that it was the bigger violence of the state that had provoked people to violence.

Further, to register his protest against the violence resorted to by the state, Gandhi commenced a fast in jail (**Aga Khan Palace**) on 10th February 1943. The news of the fast, evoked massive response from the people. People in India and across the world began to demand his release. Three Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, viz. **MS Aney, NR Sarkar and HP Mody**, who had earlier supported the government in its repression of the 1942 Revolt, now resigned. Even as an anxious nation pleaded for Gandhi's life, the British went ahead making arrangements for his funeral. Thus, Gandhi's fast had the desired effect of raising the morale of the people and of exposing the arrogant attitude of the British to the whole world.

Muslim League Observes 'Pakistan Day' on 23rd March 1943

Even as the Quit India Movement continued, the League observed the 'Pakistan Day' and Jinnah declared that the demand for Pakistan was the final 'national' goal of all Muslims in India. In 1943, the League also adopted a new slogan for the League, '**Divide and Quit**'.

20th October 1943: Lord Linlithgow is replaced by Lord Wavell (until then the Commander-in-Chief) as Governor General. The outgoing Viceroy's regime was longer than any other GG's, 7.5 years. Yet, it was the most unproductive from the point of view of constitutional advance. Linlithgow had come to India with great enthusiasm to establish an All India Federation under the Act of 1935. Not only was this not achieved, it also became a lost cause forever.

The Rajagopalachari Formula (CR Formula or Rajaji Formula, March 1944)

In March 1944, C. Rajagopalachari evolved a formula to bring about Congress-League cooperation, accepting the **basis of Pakistan**. The formula was evolved with full approval of Gandhiji and embodied the following terms:

1. The League would endorse the demand for independence and cooperate with the Congress in forming a provisional government for the transitional period.
2. At the end of the war, a **plebiscite** shall be held in all Muslim majority areas in the north west and the north east that would decide whether or not these areas should form a separate state.
3. In the event of partition, agreements would be made on essential matters.
4. The above terms shall be binding only in case of full transfer of power by Britain to the government of India.

In his response, Jinnah wrote to Gandhiji asking for detailed clarification on the terms. Jinnah was of the view that since the Muslims were a separate nation, the Muslims alone should be entitled to vote for partition and not the whole population of the disputed areas. In other words, he claimed the right of self-determination for the Muslims alone, while denying it to the non-Muslims. Gandhi refused to accept this view and the two-nation theory.

It is clear that while the Congress was concerned with the attainment of independence for the whole country and was eager to gain the League's cooperation towards this end, the League was obsessed with the idea of partition and making the Congress agree on the two-nation theory. Jinnah was also opposed to a common Centre concerned with Defence, Commerce and Communications. Given the radical differences in the objectives and attitudes of the Congress and the League, the Rajagopalachari Formula ended in smoke. Hindu leaders led by VD Savarkar too condemned the CR Formula.

Note: On 6th May 1944, Gandhiji was released on medical grounds and the Congress resumed Constructive work with special focus on party re-organisation.

Desai- Liaquat Plan (January 1945)

This was yet another effort to end the deadlock between the Congress and the League. While Gandhi and the entire CWC had been put behind bars during the Quit India Movement, Bhulabhai Desai was one of the few Congress leaders who were free. Desai (leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly) met Liaquat Ali Khan (Deputy Leader of the Muslim League) in the Assembly and handed him a draft proposal for the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre, consisting of the following:

1. **Equal number** of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Legislature (Acceptance of this parity between the Congress and the League had far reaching consequences).



J. Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajendra Prasad (in center)

2. Representatives of minorities (20%).
3. The Commander-in-Chief.

Even on these lines, no settlement could be reached.

Congress Leaders Released from Jail in Anticipation of the Simla Conference (14th June 1945)

On 8th May 1945, the war in Europe ended after the suicide of Hitler and subsequent surrender of Germany (During these three years, 1942–45, the Congress leaders were in jail). The General Elections in England were in the offing and the Viceroy in India began formulating an offer, known as **the Wavell Offer** or **the Wavell Plan** to strike an agreement with the Congress. A conference was proposed to be convened with a view to opening talks with the Indian leaders. Consequently, on 14th June 1945, the government released the nationalists to enable them to participate in the Simla Conference. This marked the **official end of the Quit Indian Movement**.

Evaluation of Quit Indian Movement

Positive Outcomes

True, the Quit Indian Movement or the Revolt of 1942 was crushed within a short period, yet it well demonstrated the depth of nationalist feelings in India and the great capacity for struggle and sacrifice the people had developed. It gave a severe blow to the moral basis of British rule in India and the illusion that a majority of Indians were loyalists and favoured continuation of British rule.

The movement demonstrated with ample clarity that the British were 'persona non-grata' in India. The biggest contribution of the movement was that the demand for independence now became non-negotiable and any future negotiations with the British could only be on the manner of transfer of power.

Negative Fallouts

The worst fallout of the movement was the consolidation of the Muslim League, which grew from strength to strength during this period. While Congress leaders were languishing in jails, the League consolidated its base in villages and promised not only an Islamic state but also a peasant utopia for Muslim peasants. By condemning the movement and supporting the British in war efforts, the League came closer to the British and occupied a prominent place in Indian constitutional politics. The League, which in 1937 could not form a Ministry even in one province, had consolidated its position and established its sway in five provinces-Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and the NWFP. All this made the demand for Pakistan a closer reality than ever before, throwing up serious consequences on the course of future constitutional development in the country.

Prelim Capsule
Run up to Quit India Movement

Events	Year	Important Details
Outbreak of WW2	1st September 1939	Viceroy Linlithgow unilaterally declared India as a belligerent state on the British side.
CWC Meeting, Wardha	10–14th September 1939	The Congress finally decided to adopt Nehru's view and extend conditional support to the British
Viceroy Linlithgow's Statement	17th October 1939	British government refused to make any promises and commit itself in advance on the post-war constitutional status of India. Talked about setting up of a 'consultative committee'.
Congress Ministries resign	22nd October 1939	Congress Ministries resign to protest against Britain's unilateral decision of dragging Indian into the war. Provincial governments continued in 4 provinces—Assam, Sindh, Punjab and Bengal.
Day of Deliverance	22nd December 1939	Muslim League celebrates 'day of deliverance' upon resignation of Congress Ministries.
Pakistan Resolution, Lahore	March 1940	Muslim League passed Pakistan Resolution calling formation of Pakistan as a separate homeland for the Muslims.
Ramgarh Congress Session	March 1940	Presided by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad . A resolution was passed which declared that a civil disobedience movement shall be launched as soon as the Congress organisation is considered fit enough for the purpose. A coalition of various Left-wing groups who got together and held an anti-compromise conference at Ramgarh under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose and resolved to prepare themselves for a militant struggle.
August Offer	8th August 1940	For the first time, the inherent right of Indians to frame their own constitution was recognized and the demand for Constituent Assembly was conceded.

Individual Satyagraha	17th October 1940	Acharya Vinoba Bhave became the First Satyagrahi. He was to deliver an anti-war speech village after village, while moving in the direction of Delhi, thus initiating a movement which came to be known as ' Delhi Chalo ' movement. Bhave delivered his first anti-war speech Paunar village near Wardha. Later, Jawaharlal Nehru became the second individual Satyagrahi.
Cripps Mission	22nd March 1942	In March, Japan occupied Rangoon bringing the war to India's doorstep which forced the British to send Cripps Mission to India. Prime Minister Winston Churchill sent the leader of the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Cripps, with the aim of securing India's active support in the war effort. Cripps declared that the aim of new British policy in India was 'the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India'. Proposals included- Dominion Status, Constituent Assembly, Right of Non-Accession of Provinces, Right of Secession of provinces, Protection of racial and linguistic minorities and British control over defence. Gandhi rejected the proposals calling the Cripps offer for Dominion Status after the war as ' a post dated cheque on a crashing bank '. Cripps adopted a ' take it or leave it ' attitude which added to the deadlock.
CWC Meeting at Wardha	14th July 1942	The CWC adopted the Quit India Resolution which was to be later ratified by the AICC in its Bombay meeting.
Quit India Movement (QIM)	8th August 1942	AICC met at Gowalia Tank Maidan , Bombay and ratified the Quit India Resolution. The next day morning, all prominent leaders of the Congress, including Gandhi, were arrested. Hence what arose was a spontaneous movement which began taking its own course, with people directing their own actions.
Pakistan Day	23rd March 1943	Even as the QIM, continued the League observed the 'Pakistan Day' and also adopted a new slogan ' Divide and Quit '.

Rajagopalachari Formula	March 1944	It was a formula to bring about Congress-League cooperation, accepting the idea of Pakistan on the basis of a plebiscite after the war. The formula was evolved with full approval of Gandhiji.
Desai- Liaquat Plan	Jan 1945	It proposed the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre, consisting of an equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Legislature.
Congress leaders released from jail	14th Jun 1945	On 8th May 1945, the war in Europe ended with the surrender of Germany. The Congress leaders were released from jail in anticipation of the Simla Conference, marking the official end of the Quit Indian Movement.

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

Even as the Quit Indian Movement fought against the British in India, the INA fought against the British from foreign soil.

First Phase of INA

Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauj was an armed force formed by Indian nationalists in Southeast Asia during the Second World War. The idea of INA was first conceived by **Captain Mohan Singh**, an officer in the British Indian Army, who decided not to join the retreating British Army and instead turned to the Japanese for help. A religious person '**Giani Pritam Singh**' and a Japanese army officer, **Major Fujiwara**, further encouraged him to work for India's independence. After the fall of Singapore, 40,000 Indian soldiers surrendered before Fujiwara who in turn handed them over to Mohan Singh. In this way, in 1942, First INA was formed comprising Indian Prisoners of War (POW). Its aim was to fight for India's independence.

INA received tremendous support from ethnic Indians in Southeast Asia who had already formed local leagues in Malay in support of Indian independence. Though there were a number of prominent leaders, the overall leadership came to rest with **Rash Behari Bose**, a veteran terrorist revolutionary, who had been living in self-exile in Japan since the days of First World War. He used the opportunity offered by WW2 to mobilise the Indians for an armed struggle against Britain.

In March 1942, Rash Behari convened a conference in Tokyo of all Indian leaders living from Malay to Burma and announced the formation of the **Indian Independence League**. Afterwards, in June 1942, the League met at Bangkok, known as **Bangkok Conference**, with the following consequences:

- It elected Rash Behari Bose as its President

- It resolved to raise the INA (which now had about 40,000 Indian soldiers)
- Captain Mohan Singh was appointed as the Commander of the INA and **Subhas Bose** was invited to lead the INA movement.

However, the First INA collapsed and was disbanded in December 1942 after differences emerged between INA leadership and the Japanese over the role of INA in Japan's war in Asia.

Second Phase of INA

The Second Phase of INA began with the arrival of Subhas Bose in Singapore in July 1943 who subsequently revived the INA. On 5th July 1943, Rash Behari handed over the leadership of Indian Independence League and the INA to Subhas Bose. Bose was now called **Netaji** by the soldiers of the INA.

Life of Subhas Chandra Bose at a glance

Subhas Chandra Bose (1897–1945): Born in Cuttack, Orissa, Bose rose to be a prominent leader of the Indian independence movement. He resigned from the Imperial Civil Service to join the freedom struggle, but his attempts during WW2 to secure India's freedom by allying with Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan left behind a troubled legacy.

After graduating from Calcutta University, Bose had left for England from where he appeared for the Indian Civil Service Exam and secured 4th position (1920). However, the political developments in India beginning with the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre emotionally disturbed Bose and he resigned from the ICS stating, 'I did not think that one could be loyal to the British Raj and yet serve India honestly, heart and soul'. The following year he returned to India, came under the influence of Chittaranjan Das and Gandhi and joined the Indian National Congress. CR Das became his 'political guru'.

In December 1921, he went to jail for the first time for his nationalist activities. In 1923, he was elected as Mayor of Calcutta but was soon he arrested and deported to Mandalay jail in Burma (1924–27). Upon his release, he helped in the formation of the **Indian Independence League (1927)**. In 1928 Calcutta Congress, when Gandhiji himself moved the resolution demanding Dominion Status Constitution for India, Bose sought an amendment demanding full independence for India. Bose served as the President of **AITUC** during 1929–31 and emerged as a prominent Left wing leader of the INC, giving dynamic lead to the youth, students and workers of India. In 1930, Bose participated in the Civil Disobedience movement, but **opposed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact** and subsequent suspension of the movement particularly on grounds that Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries could not be saved.

In 1938, he presided over the **Haripura** (Gujarat) Session of the INC. It was Bose (and not J. Nehru) who, in his presidential speech, first talked about the need for Economic Planning and for setting up a National Planning committee. He inaugurated the All-Indian National Planning Committee on 17th December 1928, at Bombay.

In 1939, he was re-elected president of the INC despite Gandhi's opposition but had to resign in face of continuous and organised opposition by the CWC members, who were staunch followers of Gandhi. After his resignation, he formed the **Forward Block** the same year and in 1940, he was placed under house arrest. However, in January 1941 he escaped from house arrest under the guise of a Pathan named **Ziauddin** (pseudonym) and reached Peshawar from Calcutta. From there he reached Kabul with



Subhas Chandra Bose

the help of his friend Bhagat Ram and then went to Soviet Union for help. But when Soviet Union joined the allies in war in June 1941, he escaped to Berlin, where he met Hitler under the pseudonym of **Orlando Mazzotta**.

In Germany, with Hitler's support, Bose set up Free India Center and **Free India Radio** in Berlin (hence also called Berlin Radio) and also a 3,000- strong **Free India Legion** comprising of prisoners of war i.e. Indian soldiers, who had fallen into the hands of Germany and Italy). The Free India Legion or the Indian Legion was variously known as '**Mukti Sena**', 'Freedom Army', 'Indische Legion' or 'Tiger Legion' and was headquartered at Dresden, Germany. Bose was called '**Netaji**' for the first time by the soldiers of the Indian Legion. Bose relayed pro-India and anti-British speeches from Berlin Radio and gave the famous slogan of 'Jai Hind' from the Free India Centre.

On 7th December 1941, Japan joined war on the side of Germany and occupied Singapore (1942), the biggest naval port of the British during the time. Afterwards, Japan quickly occupied the entire region

from Malay to Burma. In June 1943, Bose came to Tokyo under pseudonym of Abid Hussain and met the Japanese PM Tojo who assured him that Japan had no territorial aims in India. On 2 July 1943, he reached Singapore and assumed the leadership of the INA.

Activities of Bose and the INA

Bose set up two headquarters of the INA, one each at Singapore and Rangoon. On 21st October 1943, he set up the Provisional Government of Free India or **Azad Hind Sarkar**, declaring himself as the Prime Minister and Commander in Chief of this government. The Provisional government soon declared war on the Allies, viz. Britain and the United States, and was also recognised by the Axis powers. In November 1943, the Japanese handed over the administration of Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the provisional government. Bose himself visited the islands and renamed them as '**Shaheed Dweep**' and '**Swaraj Dweep**' respectively. In April 1944, the '**Azad Hind Bank**' was inaugurated at Rangoon.

On 6th July 1944, Subhas became the **first person to address Gandhiji as 'Father of the Nation'**. He did so while speaking on Azad Hind Radio. Subhas Bose also raised the famous slogans of 'Jai Hind', 'Delhi Chalo' and the most famous of them all, 'Tum Mujhe Khoon Do, Main Tumhe Azadi Dunga' (coined by him in Malaysia).

The INA raised three fighting brigades named after **Azad**, **Gandhi** and **Nehru**. Later two more were raised namely **Subhas brigade** and **Rani Jhansi brigade**. The Rani Jhansi brigade was an all-women brigade. The INA also made regular broadcasts from the **Azad Hind Radio** and received significant contribution in money and material from Indians living abroad.

Imphal Campaign: The INA accompanied the Japanese army in its Imphal Campaign. The forces march towards India from Burma and hoped to liberate India by defeating British in armed conflict. However, this was not meant to be and the Imphal Campaign finally ended in failure due to two reasons: 1) The INA battalion that participated in the campaign faced discriminatory treatment from Japanese units, was denied rations, arms, etc., and felt badly demoralised. 2) The monsoon also prevented their advance. Neither did destiny favour Japan in the Second World War, it steadily collapsed in war and finally surrendered to Britain in South East Asia. In such

circumstances, Subhas Bose left for Tokyo but on his way back, he was killed in an air crash near **Formosa Island** (Taipei, 18 August 1945). However, many refuse to believe this. The surrendered INA men were court martialled by the British government in India for conspiring against the King (Read about the famous INA trials in upcoming chapters).

Significance of INA

True, the INA failed to achieve its goal of liberating India through an armed struggle, it certainly left an indelible mark in the history of India's Struggle for independence. The activities of INA ensured that the British could no longer depend on the loyalty of Indian soldiers. The very composition of INA reaffirmed the idea of Indian nationalism as Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs fought together as one nation under the flag of INA. The Rani Jhansi Brigade brought to the forefront the capabilities of Indian women and their commitment towards national freedom. The INA also demonstrated the commitment of overseas Indians for the freedom of their motherland.

Even though Subhas Bose's strategy of cooperating with the fascist powers was much criticised by the nationalists, it must be remembered that whatever he did, he did for India's freedom. He was determined to maintain the independence of INA from Japanese domination and also objected to the use of Indian Legion against USSR. Bose successfully set an inspiring example of patriotism and courage in front of the entire country and was admirably hailed as Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose by all his countrymen.



Previous Years' Questions – Preliminary Exam

- Assertion (A): The Congress rejected the Cripps proposals. [UPSC 1998]
Reason(R): The Cripps Mission consisted solely of whites.
- When the Indian Muslim League was inducted into the interim government 1946, Liaqat Ali Khan was assigned the portfolio of which of the following? [UPSC 1998]
(a) Foreign Affairs (b) Home
(c) Finance (d) Defence
- Where did the Indian National Army (INA) come into existence in 1943? [UPSC 2000]
(a) Japan (b) Burma
(c) Singapore (d) Malaya
- Assertion (A): Lord Linlithgow described the August movement of 1942 as the most serious revolt after the sepoy mutiny.
Reason(R): Peasants joined the movement in large number in some places. [UPSC 2000]
- Which of the following was an important aspect of the Cripps Mission of 1942? [UPSC 2003]
(a) All Indian states should join the Indian Union as a condition to consider any degree of autonomy for India
(b) The creation of an Indian Union with Dominion status very soon after the second world war
(c) The active participation and cooperation of the Indian people, communities and political parties in the British war effort as a condition

for granting Independence with full sovereign status to India after war

- (d) The framing of a constitution for the entire Indian Union, with no separate constitution for any province, and a Union Constitution to be accepted by all provinces

6. Consider the following statements:

[UPSC 2005]

On the eve of launch of Quit India Movement, Mahatma Gandhi

1. asked the government servants to resign
2. asked the soldiers to leave their posts
3. asked the princes of the princely states to accept the sovereignty of their own people.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 and 2 (b) 2 and 3
(c) 3 only (d) 1, 2 and 3

7. Which party was founded by Subhash Chandra Bose in the year 1939 after he broke away from the Congress?

[UPSC 2005]

- (a) Indian Freedom Party
(b) Azad Hind Fauj
(c) Revolutionary Front
(d) Forward Block

8. Which one of the following suggested the reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council in which all the portfolios including that of War members were to be held by the Indian leaders?

[UPSC 2008]

- (a) Simon Commission
(b) Simla conference
(c) Cripps Proposal
(d) Cabinet Mission

9. Assertion (A): The Congress Ministries in all the provinces resigned in the year 1939. Reason(R): Congress did not accept the

decision of the Viceroy to declare war against Germany in the context of the Second World War. [UPSC 2008]

10. In the 'Individual Satyagraha', Vinoba Bhave was chosen as the first Satyagrahi. Who was the second? [UPSC 2009]

- (a) Dr. Rajendra Prasad
(b) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
(c) C Rajagopalachari
(d) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

11. Consider the following statements:

[UPSC 2009]

The Cripps Proposals included the provisions for

1. Full Independence for India
2. Creation of Constitution making body.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 Only (b) 2 only
(c) Both 1 and 2 (d) Neither 1 nor 2

12. During the freedom struggle, Aruna Asaf Ali was a major woman organiser of underground activity in which of the following? [UPSC 2009]

- (a) Civil Disobedience Movement
(b) Non-Cooperation Movement
(c) Quit India Movement
(d) Swadeshi Movement

13. Who among the following Prime Ministers sent Cripps Mission to India?

[UPSC 2009]

- (a) James Ramsay MacDonald
(b) Stanley Baldwin
(c) Nevilli Chamberlain
(d) Winston Churchill

14. With which one of the following movements is the slogan 'Do or Die' associated?

[UPSC 2009]

- (a) Swadeshi Movement
(b) Non Cooperation Movement
(c) Civil Disobedience Movement
(d) Quit India Movement

15. After Quit India Movement, C. Rajagopalachari issued a pamphlet entitled 'The Way Out'. Which one of the following was a proposal in this pamphlet?

[UPSC 2010]

- (a) The establishment of a 'War Advisory Council' composed of representatives of British India and the Indian states
(b) Reconstitution of the Central Executive Council in such a way that all its members, except the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief should be Indian leaders
(c) Fresh elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures to be held at the end of 1945 and the Constitution making body to be convened as soon as possible
(d) A solution for the constitutional deadlock

16. Who among the following were official Congress negotiators with Cripps Mission?

[UPSC 2010]

- (a) Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel
(b) Acharya J.B. Kripalani and C. Rajagopalachari
(c) Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad
(d) Dr Rajendra Prasad and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

17. With reference to Indian freedom struggle, Usha Mehta is well known for

[UPSC 2011]

- (a) Running the secret Congress radio in the wake of Quit India Movement
(b) Participating in the Second Round Table Conference
(c) Leading a contingent of Indian National Army
(d) Assisting in the formation of Interim Government under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

18. Which one of the following observations is not true about the Quit India Movement of 1942? [UPSC 2011]

- (a) It was a non-violent movement
(b) It was led by Mahatma Gandhi
(c) It was a spontaneous movement
(d) It did not attract the labour class in general

19. The Congress ministries resigned in the seven provinces in 1939 because of which of the following reasons? [UPSC 2012]

- (a) The Congress could not form ministries in the other four provinces
(b) Emergence of a 'left wing' in the Congress made the working of the ministries impossible
(c) There were widespread communal disturbances in their provinces
(d) None of the statements (a), (b) and (c) given above is correct

20. Quit India Movement was launched in response to which of the following?

[UPSC 2013]

- (a) Cabinet Mission Plan
(b) Cripps Proposals
(c) Simon Commission Report
(d) Wavell Plan

21. What did the plan of Sir Stafford Cripps envisaged for after the Second World War?

[UPSC 2016]

- (a) India should be granted complete Independence
(b) India should be partitioned into two before granting Independence
(c) India should be made a Republic with the condition that she will join the Commonwealth
(d) India should be given Dominion status

22. During the Indian freedom struggle, who of the following raised an army called 'Free Indian Legion'? [UPSC 2008]

- (a) Lala Hardayal
(b) Rash Behari Bose
(c) Subhash Chandra Bose
(d) VD Savarkar



Previous Years' Questions – Main Exam

1. What was Cripps Mission? Why did its failure result into Quit India Movement? Mention briefly the major developments after this movement leading to independence in 1947. **[UPSC 1984]**
2. What was the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the Second World War? What was the August offer? What were the factors that led the British to change its negative policy and sent Cripps Mission to India? **[UPSC 1990]**
3. How did the outbreak of the Second World War affect India's political scene? Did the Cripps Mission resolve the political crisis in India? **[UPSC 1994]**
4. Write a short note on: August offer, 1940 **[UPSC 1996]**
5. Assess the role of C. Rajagopalachari during the pre-partition years of Indian public life. **[UPSC 1998]**
6. Why did Jinnah reject the CR formula? **[UPSC 2002]**
7. Evaluate the attitudes of different political parties towards Quit India Movement. **[UPSC 2002]**
8. Evaluate Subhash Chandra Bose's contribution to Indian freedom **[UPSC 2005]**



Practice Questions – Preliminary Exam

1. Which of the following is incorrectly matched?
 - (a) Satara-Prati Sarkar
 - (b) Tamluk-Jatiya Sarkar
 - (c) Ballia-Chittu Pande
 - (d) Talcher-Nani Patil
2. Examine the following statements with reference to the Quit India Movement-
 1. It was started after the failure of Cabinet Mission.
 2. It was condemned by the Muslim League and witnessed widespread communal riots.
 Which of the above statements is/are incorrect? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 2 only
 - (c) both
 - (d) neither
3. Which of the following did not provide an immediate context for the launch of Quit India Movement?
 1. Manner of British evacuation from Malaya and Burma
 2. War time shortages and rising prices
 3. Failure of August Offer
 Choose the correct answer from the following options.-
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 1 and 2
 - (c) 2 and 3
 - (d) 3 only
4. Which of the following is/are true regarding the Quit India movement?
 1. It was a non-violent movement.
 2. It was well organised and well planned by the Indian leaders.
 3. It led to the formation of parallel governments in different parts of the country.
 Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 2 only
 - (c) 1, 2 and 3
 - (d) 3 only

5. Examine the following statements with regard to Individual Satyagraha-
 1. It was launched after the failure of Cripps Mission.
 2. It initiated a movement which came to be known as 'Delhi Chalo' movement.
 3. It was suspended on account of severe government repression.
 Which of the above statements is/are incorrect? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 1 and 2
 - (c) 2 and 3
 - (d) 1 and 3
6. During the Second World War, the Allied powers pressurised Britain to change its policy in India. Which of the following was a reflection of that policy change?
 - (a) August Offer
 - (b) Simla Conference
 - (c) Cabinet Mission
 - (d) Cripps Mission
7. At the outbreak of the Second World War, who among the following Indian leaders supported the immediate launch of a mass civil disobedience movement?
 1. Mahatma Gandhi
 2. Jawaharlal Nehru
 3. Subhash Chandra Bose
 Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 1 and 2
 - (c) 2 and 3
 - (d) 3 only
8. Which of the following pairs is/are correctly matched?
 1. August Offer- Expansion of Governor General's Council
 2. Individual Satyagraha- to prepare the masses for upcoming mass struggle
 3. Cripps Mission- concrete plan for a Constituent Assembly
 Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 and 2
 - (b) 2 and 3
 - (c) 1 and 3
 - (d) 1, 2 and 3
9. Which of the following is correct regarding the main objective of Cripps Mission?
 - (a) to resolve the Indian constitutional question.
 - (b) to pacify the minorities.
 - (c) to secure active participation of Indians in war efforts.
 - (d) to increase representation of Indians in Governor General's Council.
10. Which of the following was not among the provisions of Cripps Mission?
 1. Dominion Status to be granted to India immediately after the war but India to remain part of the British Commonwealth.
 2. Constituent Assembly to comprise of elected members from both British India as well as princely states.
 3. Britain to retain control over defence of India until the new constitution was formed.
 Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 and 3
 - (b) 1 and 2
 - (c) 3 only
 - (d) None of the above
11. Which of the following was/were not a consequence of the Quit India Movement?
 1. Demand for freedom became non-negotiable
 2. Muslim League consolidated its hold in Indian villages
 3. The Indian National Army was formed to fight against the British from foreign soil
 Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 and 2
 - (b) 2 only
 - (c) 2 and 3
 - (d) 3 only
12. Arrange the following in chronological order-
 1. Ramgarh Congress Session
 2. Pakistan Resolution

3. August Offer
4. Individual Satyagraha

Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 4132 (b) 1324
 - (c) 3241 (d) 2413
13. Consider the following statements with regard to reasons behind failure of Cripps Mission-
1. Several British leaders themselves did not want Cripps Mission to succeed
 2. Cripps proposals proved to be too conservative for the Indians.
- Which of the above is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
- (a) 1 only (b) 2 only
 - (c) both (d) neither
14. Which of the following is/are true regarding Gandhiji's response to violence during the Quit India Movement?
1. He condemned the violence

2. He held the government responsible for it

3. He refused to condemn the violence
Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 only (b) 1 and 2
 - (c) 2 and 3 (d) 2 only
15. Which of the following statements is/are true regarding the INA?
1. The idea of INA was first conceived by Subhash Chandra Bose and Major Fujiwara.
 2. INA successfully participated in the Imphal campaign.
 3. INA headquarters were in Rangoon and Tokyo.
- Choose the correct answer from the following options.
- (a) 1 and 2
 - (b) 2 and 3
 - (c) 2 only
 - (d) none of the above

16. (c) 17. (a) 18. (a) 19. (d) 20. (b)
21. (d) 22. (c)

Practice Questions – Preliminary Exam

1. (d) 2. (c) 3. (d) 4. (d) 5. (d)
6. (d) 7. (d) 8. (d) 9. (c) 10. (b)
11. (d) 12. (d) 13. (c) 14. (c) 15. (d)



Practice Questions – Main Exam

1. What was the Congress attitude towards the Second World War? How did it contribute to the development of the national movement? If yes then how?
2. What do you understand by Individual Satyagraha? To what extent was it successful? Evaluate.
3. Was Quit India Movement a spontaneous movement? Critically analyse.
4. Write Short Notes on the following;
 - (a) Underground Movement during 1942
 - (b) Indian National Army
5. What were the Cripps Proposals? In what way were they different from the past proposals?

Answers

Previous Years' Questions – Preliminary Exam

1. (b) 2. (c) 3. (c) 4. (b) 5. (b)
6. (c) 7. (d) 8. (d) 9. (a) 10. (b)
11. (b) 12. (c) 13. (d) 14. (d) 15. (d)