CHAPTER 3

LAUNCHING OF QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

PRELUDE

The popular governments had been formed in most of the British Indian provinces between 1937 and 1939, after the elections held under the provisions of the government of India Act, 1935. The congress had won a majority in most of the provinces and had formed governments. When the Second World War was declared on 3 September 1939, the British government announced that India was also a party to the war and that she would fight on behalf of the Allied powers. This was criticized by the Indian National congress and the popular ministries, since they had not been consulted on such a vital matter. The unilateral imposition of a decision by the foreign government, without the consent of Indians and their representatives was very humiliating and wrong. It outraged the nationalist opinion in the country and the Indian National Congress felt deeply hurt by the arbitrary action of the British government.¹

The commencement of the war nevertheless found the congress divided on the question. The left forces did not want India to participate in this “imperialist war”. They felt that the congress should press for independence by launching a civil disobedience movement.² Gandhi told the viceroy in an interview on 5 September 1939, that his own sympathies were with England and France, and he actually broke down at the very possibility of the destruction of London. In an article which gave a short account of this interview, Gandhi wrote:

I am not just now thinking of India’s deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out Victorious over Germany ruined and humbled?³

But a questions most of the congress leaders asked was how was it possible for an enslaved nation to aid others in their fight for freedom? The official Congress stand was adopted at a meeting of the congress working committee held at Wardha

¹ D.N. Panigrahi, Quit India and the Struggle for Freedom, (Delhi, 1984), p. 10.
³ The Harijan, 9 September, 1939, quoted on Coupland, II, p. 214.
(presently in Maharashtra) from 10 to 14 September 1939. In keeping with the nationalist tradition of accommodating diversity of opinions, members of the left, that is Subhas Bose, Acharya Narendra Dev and Jaya Prakash Narayan had also been invited to this session to express their views. Sharp differences emerged in this meeting. Despite their differences, Gandhi seemed anxious to give the platform to Jawaharlal Nehru. He even suggested that Nehru should become President of Congress in place of Rajendra Prasad. Technicalities prevented this suggestion from being implemented. A three member war sub-committee was formed with Maulana Azad, Vallabhai Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru as its members. Explaining his position to a correspondent, Gandhi said that, this display of sympathy for the adversary was part of his strategy. “A satyagrahi loves is so-called enemy even as his friend. As a satyagrahi, i.e. Votary of ahimsa, I must wish well to England.” By thus disarming his opponent, he wished to secure a psychological advantage. Moreover, it must also be remembered the Gandhi was only offering emotional support – there was no question of giving material help to the war effort. By expressing sympathy with Britain’s cause, congress got a hearing from certain progressive sections of British public opinion. Labour leaders like Attlee, Wedgwood Benn and Stafford Cripps agreed with the congress that the time had come for Britain to make very substantial concessions to India.

The Muslim League had evidently been watching the reaction of the Congress before formulating its own policy. On 18 September 1939, it passed a resolution on the situation created by the war. The British government was promised support and cooperation only on two conditions. First, the Muslim must be assured of ‘justice and fair play’ in the congress provinces. Secondly, the British government must give an

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5 *CWMG,* vol. 70, p. 170.
6 “Attlee has evidently been spoon-fed by the congress and I suspect through agency of Krishna Menon and he took a purely view of the problem”. Zetland to Linlithgow, 11 October 1939, Linlithgow Papers, Mss. Eur. F 125/8, p. 104.; In a letter on 16 October 1939 Nehru informed Rajendra Prasad, Gandhi and Patel: “I have been receiving some news from England...I gather from all these that our statement and resolution have created some stir in political and journalist circles in London.” (SWJN, Vol. 10, NMML, p. 189.;Stafford Cripps’ letter to Nehru, 11 October 1939, *J.N. Papers,* vol. 14, NMML, pp. 97-100.
7 The Government of India Act of 1935 ushered in a number of important political and constitutional changes. These were accelerated when provincial elections took place two years later in 1937. The Indian National Congress had contested 1161 of the 1585 seats and won 716. It had a clear majority in 6 of the 11 provinces and was the largest single party in the other three provinces. The congress came to power in the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, the Central Provinces, Bombay, Madras, Assam, and
undertaking, “that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All – India Muslim League, no any constitution be framed and finally adopted by his majesty’s, government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval.” Further, the government was asked “to take into its confidence the Muslim league which is the only organization that can speak on behalf of Muslim India.”

The British Placation: The Congress and the Muslim League

The 18th September 1939 resolution of the working committee was interpreted by government as the refusal of the congress to cooperate in the war effort. Zetland, who was secretary of state, characterized it as an attempt at bargaining. The governor of Madras advised the viceroy: “personally, I think we should not enter into any bargain, for if congress goes out it will be their funeral, not ours.”

The viceroy in a long dispatch discussed three alternative ways of dealing with the congress demand – total rejection, full agreement, or a middle course with a face-saving device. He interviewed about fifty Indians – political – leaders of different parties and representatives of different schools of opinion – including Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah. On October 17, he came with his statement. He reiterated that dominion status was the goal of British policy. He pointed out that for the present the Act of 1935 held the field. The only hope he held out was that at the end of the war it would be open to modification in the light of Indian views, full weight being given to the opinion and interests of the minorities. In order to associate Indian public opinion

the North West Frontier provinces. Its ministries in the provinces were more stable than the ones in the non-congress provinces, and they worked purposefully and effectively. The ministries functioned between 1937 and 1939. The head of the ministries were called ‘Prime Ministers’. They were: G.B. Pant in the United Provinces, C. Rajagopalachari in Madras, B.G. Kher in Bombay, Srikrishna Sinha in Bihar, Gopinath Bardoloi in Assam, and R. S. Shukla in the Central Provinces. The important ministers included Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, K.N. Katju, Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, K.L. Nanda, K.M. Munshi, Dr. Subbanarayan, Anugrah Naryan Sinha, Jagjivan Ram, Fakruddin Ali Ahmed, and a host of other stalwarts. Muslim League fared poorly especially in 1937 elections. It performed better in the non-Muslim provinces, but that could hardly indicate its claim of being the sole representative of the Muslim. The success of provincial parties like Krishak Praja Party in Bengal and Unionist Party in Punjab illustrated that the Muslim electorates were primarily concerned with ‘provincial’ or ‘local’ issues. They wanted to safeguard their interests at this level rather than turn to the rational arena where the British, the congress and the Muslim League wrestled with the intricacies of devolution of power.


with the prosecution of the war, he proposed “the establishment of consultative
groups, representatives of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian
princes, over which the governor – general would himself preside. Thus without
weakening British hold on India, they harped out the differences among Indians, and
tried to use the Muslim League and the princes against the congress. A few months
later, Linlithgow in a private communication to Zetland (the secretary of state)
remarked: ‘I am not keen to start talking about a period after which British rule will
have ceased in India. I suspect that that day is very remote and I feel the least we say
about it in all probability the better.’ Speaking in the House of Lords on 18th
October, Zetland stressed on the differences prevalent among Indians, especially
between Hindus and Muslims. He branded the congress as a purely Hindu
organization. It was clear now that the British government had no intention of
loosening their hold on India during or after the war.

The Indian people and the national leadership reacted very sharply. Rajendra Prasad,
the president of the Congress, declared, “There is no room now left for any one to
doubt that British policy remains as it always has been.” Tej Bahadur Sapru, the
Liberal leader, commented, “The viceroy’s declaration is bound to cause much
disappointed.” Jawaharlal and Azad in a joint statement said, “If this is the final
answer of the British government to the people of India, then, there is no common
ground between the two and our paths diverge completely.” The angriest reactions
came from Gandhi who had been advocating more or less unconditional support to
Britain. He felt that the British government was still continuing the policy of divide
and rule. He further argued:

The Indian declaration (of the viceroy) shows clearly that there is to be no
democracy for India if Britain can prevent it...The congress asked for bread
and it has got a stone. Referring to the question of minorities and special
interests such as those of the princes, foreign capitalists, zamindars, etc.,
Gandhi remarked: The congress will safeguard the rights of every minority so
long as they do not advance claim inconsistent with India’s independence. But,
he added, ‘independent India will not tolerate any interests in conflict with the
true interests of the masses’.

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10 Bipan Chand, and others, op.cit., p. 449.
11 S. Gopal, Jawaharlal Nehru – A Biography, vol. one, p. 263.
The working committee meeting at Wardha on 22 and 23 October unanimously regards the viceroy's statement as unfortunate in every way and refused to give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the congress had always condemned. As a first step in this direction the committee called upon the congress ministries to tender their resignation. All the congress ministries resigned between 27 October and 15 November, 1939.

The governor assumed all powers under section 93 of the 1935 India Act. The withdrawal of the congress from provincial politics increased the relative importance of the league and the self importance of Jinnah. The preceding two years of congress rule in UP and other provinces had provided both the excuse as well as credence to the political slogan raised by the League of 'Islam being in danger'. Ever since the Muslim League's session in December 1938, Jinnah had been asserting ad nauseam that the congress was merely a 'Hindu body' which did not even represent all sections of its own society, e.g. The Scheduled Castes and the follower of the Hindu Mahasabha. After the resignation of the congress ministries, Jinnah appealed to all provincial, district and primary Muslim League units to observe Friday, 22 December as the day of deliverance and thank giving, 'because it was the high command of the congress that was primarily responsible for the wrongs that have been done to the Muslims and other minorities.

From Resignation of Congress Ministry in UP to Starting of Gandhi's Individual Satyagraha

On 30th October 1939, the UP assembly passed by 127 votes to 2 the congress ministry's resolution on war. It voiced the feeling of regret which the viceroy's statement of 17 October had produced in the minds of the Indian people. It also regretted that the British government had made India a participant in the war without popular consent and had, in complete disregard of Indian opinion, passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers of the provincial government. Kailash Nath Katju, Minister of Justice under G.B. Pant government stated: 'I am glad that the

17 Ibid.
On 5th November, 1939, following the instructions of the Provincial Congress Committee, Kashi (Benares) celebrated the resignation of Congress Ministries. The Congress committee organized a huge procession from Dashashvamedah Ghat on 4th November to facilitate the congress ministries for tendering their resignations. The procession was transformed into a meeting on reaching the Town Hall.22 It was a long procession led by Sampurnanand, the city congress committee president, Mahavir Singh and other well known congress office bearers and Krishna Chandra Sharma. They were followed by Congress workers from all the eight wards of the city singing patriotic songs, shouting slogans and waving the national flag. Then came various peasants mounted on bullock carts depicting how talks were held between the government officials and the country’s prominent leaders at the outbreak of war and what led to the resignation of the congress ministries. The masses marched alongside the bullock carts. The procession passed through Godoliya Chowk and Maidagin and reached the town hall where a meeting was held. All along the route, shopkeepers had decorated their shops and streets with banners and flags. These shopkeepers greeted Sampurmanand with garlands. Some of them had even arranged for illumination.23

The Hindi weekly Sangharsh reported:

...the congress has taken a step forward by resigning from their ministries. The imperialist government was ruling from behind the scenes. Now, they stand exposed before the people. The resignation of the ministries was imminent. The congress has declared in its resolution on national demand at the Tripuri Congress that, under the so-called provincial autonomy, the scope for the people’s welfare had come to an end. The congress had not accepted the ministries in the hope of governing; it has made clear at the outset that it was accepting power only with the goal of abrogating the constitution. There could not have been a better opportunity for the ministries to resign. Their resignation will make the Indian people aware of the true nature of the government of India Act of 1935, drawn up for British political scientist. The resignation marks the first step in the battle for freedom. The nation will now have to renew its great struggle, a greater struggle than the one we witnessed after the Great War in 1921, 1930 and 1932. The country will have to stand a greater test than ever before. It will have to face the imperialist once more; there will be more arrests, sentences and confiscations. Once more we shall have to pay the price for

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23 Aaj, Ibid.
freedom, many more sacrifices at alters of freedom. But the struggle for
independence is one in which there can be no defeat.24

"The resignation of the ministries", Nehru in his Allahabad speech on 7 November
1939, stated that at the present juncture was a great proof of non-cooperation, the
results of which would be grave and varied. He asked the masses to get prepared for
all eventualities.25 This was the time when on 15th November 1939, Viceroy wrote to
Haig. In his letter he talked about the differences between Gandhi and Jinnah on the
prevailing political situation. Citing example of ‘South Africa’ and ‘Irish free state’ he
wrote that pinning for freedom or independence was not a great mistake on the part of
Congress.26 Although the ministries resignation was the product of British
appeasement policy but British journalists have offered other explanation. Guy Wint
and George Schuster in their book India and Democracy have suggested, “The
congress would have lost the support of the people if it had not resigned”.27

In November 1939, Jawaharlal Nehru arranged a meeting between Gandhi and
Congress leaders of U.P. Congress men were asked to take part in constructive works
and start preparing for future movement. After this meeting UP PCC had resolved to
pay more attention to Charkha spinning. A UPCC circular dated 15 January 1940 of
announced the setting up a temporary committee of five members under the
convenorship of R.S. Pandit to deal with the spinning and weaving of Khaddar.28

The annual session of the All India National Congress was held at Ramgarh on 19th
and 20th March 1940 under the presidentiship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. A
Muslim candidate had consciously been selected to offset the Muslim League’s attack
of the congress for being a Hindu organisation. Ramgarh Congress expressed full
confidence in Gandhiji’s leadership. The resolution, after reiterating the congress
position on the war and asserting ‘nothing short of complete independence can be
accepted by the people’, declared that the congress would resort to civil disobedience

24 Sangharsh, Hindi weekly, 5 November 1939.
25 Nehru’s speech at Allahabad, SWIN, Vol. 10 pp. 228-29.
26 N.A.I. Haig Papers, Acc. No. 2068.
27 Wint, Haig papers, Acc. No. 2068.
28 AICC Papers, F. No. 20/1940, UPCC circular No. 139, pp. 317-19.
'as soon as the congress organization is considered fit enough for the purpose, or in case circumstances so shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis.'

The left groups – Subhas Bose and his Forward Bloc, the congress socialist party, the communist party, the Royists etc. characterized the war as an imperialist war and asserted that the war – crisis provided an opportunity to achieve freedom through an all-out struggle against British imperialism. It was convinced that the masses were fully ready for launching a mass movement against the government of India for getting complete independence.

The war situation in Europe took a grave turn shortly after the Ramgarh session of Congress. In mid-April, Germany launched the offensive in the west, and Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France collapsed. It had a profound effect on India. It was feared by many that Britain, too, would shortly share the fate of France. On 10 May 1940, Winston Churchill was called to Buckingham Palace and asked to form a new administration. The suspicion that chamberlain was not fully pursuing the war was largely responsible for his being replaced by Churchill. Once confirmed as Prime Minister Churchill set about creating a true National government, including Labour, Liberal and even Trade Union leaders in his cabinet. To dominate the character of politics for the next five years he had appointed himself as the defence minister also. Leopold Amery replaced Zetland as the new secretary of state. The change in the British set-up was bound to toughen the approach towards the handling of the Indian situation.

Faced with the worsening of the war situation, the British made a bold bid for winning the willing support of India in her war efforts. The new declaration of British policy, known as the “August Offer”, was issued in the form of a statement by the Viceroy Linlithgow on 8 August, 1940. Two main points emerged from the declaration. First relate to position of minorities says that they could not contemplate transfer of their
present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of govt.
whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India’s
national life. The second point was related with the machinery for building within the
British commonwealth of Nations the new constitutional scheme when the time would
come.36 There was no suggestion that they would constitute a National government of
the kind the congress had been demanding. It was made clear that the British would
still retain the key portfolios of finance, defence, and home in official hands. There
was nothing to meet the congress demand for independence at the end of war.37

The Muslim League’s reception of the ‘August offer’ was friendlier but congress
rejected it outrightly. Nehru criticized it as being “thousand of miles removed from
what congress thinks essential for India.”38 On 10th August 1940, Jawaharlal Nehru
wrote a pamphlet entitled “the Parting of the ways”, with a forward by Gandhi.39 He
wrote:

Declaration of the British government meant the final breaking of bond between
Indian and British mind. All hope of marching together had ended. Now there could
be no bond with out freedom. The way of co-operation was not for us; the hundred
year old hostility would remain and grow in future conflicts. He argued that Muslim
in India were only technically a minority. They were vast in numbers and powerful.
They could not be coerced against their will. In political and economic matters people
do not function religious groups. The communal question was essentially one of
protection of vested interests and religion had always been a useful stalking horse for
that purpose. Those who had feudal privileges and vested interests feared change and
became the camp followers of British imperialism. The British government on the
other hand delighted in using the communal argument to deny freedom.40

With deep anguish and regret the congress reassembled at Bombay on 15 September
1940. It declared the Poona offer41 infructuous and announced its reversal to the
Ramgarh position. This was the time when even those congressmen who were
skeptical of Gandhi’s scheme of non-violence against external aggression, returned to
the Gandhi fold.42 They conceded that Gandhi had the most accurate understanding of
British policy. But radicals and left minded congressmen wanted to show their

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36 Ibid.
38 Indian Annual Register, 1940, vol. II, pp. 16-19.
39 NAI, Home political, F.No. 37/14/1941, 1941, p. 4.
41 At Poona in early August the Delhi resolution was put to vote. Delhi resolution of July 3, 1940
offered Congress’s services to the govt. At Poona resolution was passed by 91 votes in favour and 63
votes against it. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pratul Ghosh. J.B. Kripalini and Hare Krishna Mehtab voted
against the resolution (Sitaramayya, op.cit., vol. II)
42 AICC, resolution of Bombay, 15 and 16 September 1940, A.M. Zaidi and S.G. Zaidi, The
strength by launching a mass movement. At this moment Gandhi asserted boldly to the congressmen that he knew when to start a mass movement. From the beginning of the war Gandhi had promised viceroy not to create problem for him. With the bourgeoisie reaping good return, the left getting restive and the League developing reservations, Gandhi realized that launching any movement at this state of the national struggle could easily get transformed into a class struggle or degenerate into a civil war. So to have a proper grip of the future course of congress actions and to manage the prevailing risk he began to talk of launching “individual satyagraha”.

**INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA**

On 11 October 1940, when the congress working Committee met, Gandhi unfolded his scheme for Individual Satyagraha. It was to be launched solely to establish and assert the right of freedom of speech. In this movement a few congressmen were expected to court arrest after giving due notice to the district authorities. Satyagrahi was expected to spin and submit at least a 1,000 yards of Khadi to the nearest congress unit. The sincerity of a satyagrahi was sought to be measures in terms of the length of the spun khadi. The individual Satyagrah had a dual purpose. While giving expression to the Indian people’s strong political feeling, it gave the British govt. further opportunity to peacefully accept the Indian demands. The congress and Gandhiji were anti-Nazi and were reluctant to take advantage of the British predicament. But one thing was sure that Gandhiji was beginning to prepare the people for the coming struggle.

On 17 October, Gandhi’s first Satyagrahi, Vinoba Bhave, a veritable political non-entity, made his anti-war speech to an audience of 300 at Paunar in Maharashtra. On 21st October, Vinoba Bhave was arrested. According to the judgment of 24th January 1941: King Emperor Vs Vinoba Bhave of Paunar Tahsil of Dist Wardha-

In the court of Mr. B.N. Kunte, Magistrate first class, Wardha Tahsil, Wardha District, simple imprisonment for a period of 6 months was announced. In the

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44 Bipan Chandra, & Others, op.cit., p. 453.
45 Vinobha joined the Wardha ashram almost at its inceptions. He had revolutionized takli spinning. He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity. File No. 3/42/41. Home Political (I), NAI, New Delhi, pp 110-11.
46 The Pioneer, 1 October 140, p. 8.
judgement it was said that the accused made anti-war speeches at 3 places viz – Sewagram, Wardha and Nagzari and influenced the public. He preached the public that it was a sin to take part in war. He was out to preach to the people of this country the cult of non-violence. He explained that the congress which was pursuing that work of preaching non-violence had complete faith about the achievement of the final goal by resorting to civil resistance. He further explained that it was a mis-statement of facts to say that congress by carrying out this propaganda against war and against British imperialism was trying to help the countries which were at war with Britain. If the congress, was denouncing British imperialism, she would denounce Nazism and Fascism with greater whemence. He concluded by adding that the congress propaganda was completely non-violent and harmless.47

Nehru who was very active in Eastern UP offered himself as the second Satyagrahi. Unlike Vinoba, Nehru enjoyed great mass credibility. His power over the masses could turn the individual satyagraha campaign on the most dangerous path. It was imperative to arrest him before he could make any Satyagraha speech.48 On his way back from Wardha (Maharahstra) where he had gone to meet Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested at Chheoki in the evening of October 31 under a warrant from Gorakhpur (Eastern UP).49 The news of his arrest spread rapidly throughout the country in general and in eastern UP in particular. There were spontaneous demonstrations all over the country, hartals in cities and towns, strikes by students in universities, colleges and schools in eastern UP. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru’s trial took place at Gorakhpur. He was sentenced to four years imprisonment.

The second phase of the moment started with the arrest of Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel in Gujrat. On 17th November, he gave notice to the District magistrate of his intention to shout anti-war slogans on the day following. Before, however, the next day dawned he was arrested at about 9 the same night under 109 defence of Indian rules. Satyagraha was suspended by Gandhiji during the x’mas week. The motive behind the suspension was to do nothing which would cause inconvenience to the officials and disturb the happy and jovial atmosphere during X’mas celebrations.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was arrested at Allahabad in Eastern UP on December 30. The country answered the arrest of the congress President by hartals and demonstrations in all parts of the country. The congress president was tried in Naini Jail and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment. In an extempore statement before the court the congress president pleaded guilty to the charge. He said that as the president

48 NMML, Linlithgow Papers, F. No. 125/103, p. 94.
of the Indian National Congress it had been his duty to explain to the people congress policy with regard to war. That policy was one of complete non-cooperation with the war effort going on in the country. If what he had done, was an offence, he had committed the offence and what was more, he had asked thousands of people to do likewise.\textsuperscript{50} The statement of Sucheta Devi, the secretary, women’s department, AICC office before the court was remarkable. She said:

We women, all over the world through our organisations have repeatedly declared our opposition to war. Ours was the role of creation and not of destruction. The mothers therefore cannot tolerate the butchering of the Nations youth to satisfy the ambitious of politicians. We look upon all wars as unjust and sinful. I therefore have not only conscientious objections to war but am an active war resister. I consider it my duty to persuade my brothers, in all peaceful manners, to desist from helping war, and thus save them from the sin of mass murder and carnage.\textsuperscript{51}

Morarji Desai, Sarojini Naidu and Bhulabhai Desai were also arrested under the defence of India Rules for making inflammatory anti-war speeches.\textsuperscript{52} Rangamal, wife of Gurusami Naicker, a congress worker of Govindanagaram village, Periyakulam taluk in Madura was charged on 17-01-1941. Another famous female leader Radhabai of Dhangaon in Nimar district of CP & Berar was booked on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January 1941. They asked the public not to help the British Government in India with men or money for the prevailing war. They highlighted the economic exploitation done by the Britishers.\textsuperscript{53} Sheonarayan Gupta of Bilaspur district, Kunjilal Sunar of Jubbulpore district, V. Gopal Nayar of Calicut, Pandit Ramdayal Chaturvedi of Hoshangabad district, Bhujbal Kurmi of Raipur district and Dattalal Malu of Nimar district were famous regional satyagrahi who interacted with the masses of their areas and got arrested.\textsuperscript{54}

Ramprasad Azad of Nimar district and Laduram P. Agarwal of Wardha district highlighted the bankruptcy of British government due the war. They said that the Queen’s rupee was being discontinued because it had more silver. On February 5\textsuperscript{th} 1941, Dattalal Malu informed the masses that old rupee had 15 annas of silver but new rupee contained silver worth 8 annas only.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid. p. 170.
\textsuperscript{51} Congress Bulletin, No. 6, Jan-8, Allahabad, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{52} Sachi Chakravarty, Quit India Movement: A Study, (Delhi, 2002), p. 24.
\textsuperscript{53} NAI, Home Poll, F. No, 3/9/41, 1941, pp. 5-15.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
According to Dr. Rajendra Prasad the protest registered by Satyagrahis against the war was more effective than speeches in the assembly. He exhorted Indians to be prepared to pay the price of liberty.56

The individual Satyagraha movement, which was supposed to be limited in its scope became much popular among the masses. This movement activated the masses for future movement. By 1941, more than 25,000 Satyagrahis had been convicted for offering individual civil disobedience.57

Table 3.1: Showing the total number of satyagrahis arrested in different provinces during the Satyagraha movement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of Province</th>
<th>The total number of Satyagrahis</th>
<th>The total amount of fines imposed</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>AJMER</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>ANDHRA</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1,18,969,120</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>ASSAM</td>
<td>317</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>BENGAL</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>BIHAR</td>
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<td>33,69,900</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>BOMBAY</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>DELHI</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>1,95,000</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>GUJRAT</td>
<td>644</td>
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<td>KARNATAKA</td>
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<td>KERALA</td>
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<td>MAHARASHTRA</td>
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<td>NAGPUR</td>
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<td>UNITED PROVINCES</td>
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<td>About 200,0000 (exact figure not received)</td>
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<td>UTKAL</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>12,25,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>VIDARBHAI</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>12,59,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>23,223</td>
<td>5,427,75,120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The figures given above do not include the many thousands who offered satyagraha but were not arrested. They do not also include the detenus and political prisoners other than staygrahis.


**Eastern U.P. and Individual Satyagraha**

Individual Satyagraha campaign generated mass enthusiasm, especially in eastern U.P. great leaders like Maulana Azad and Nehru are active in this part of U.P. Individual Satyagraha in UP started from Haldwani (on the foothills of Nainital). Her ex-premier G.B. Pant offered Satyagraha. He was given one year simple

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57 Bipan Chandra and others, op.cit., p. 454.
imprisonment by Haldwani Magistrate. The former minister of Justice, K.N. Katju, was accorded 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a heavy fine by the local magistrate. The former minister for local self-government, Vijayalakshmi Pandit received four months of simple imprisonment.\(^5\) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was always active among peasants and students. In his speeches he always highlighted the agrarian issue.\(^5\) The news of his arrest had an electrifying effect on the public.

Mr. S.K. Datta Paliwal M.L.A. (central), U.P. Congress President and Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain took a bye election campaign tour for Kedan Lal for the legislative assembly in Deoria (sub-division of Gorakhpur) area of eastern U.P. S.K.D. Paliwal was arrested for an alleged bad anti-war speech. He told the audience that if all Indians got united then these handful of Englishmen would be crushed in not time. He also criticised Mr. Moss for sentencing Pandit Nehru.\(^6\) In eastern UP, most of the local Congress leaders was arrested during the movement. In this situation UP CSP leaders like Mohanlal Gautam and Acharya Narendra Dev took charge of the movement. Both of them were arrested under section 107 Cr. P.C. in January 1941.\(^7\) After that swami Bhagwan and Ramendra Varma tried to transform the Gandhian movement into a more revolutionary one. Ikh Sangh (Sugarcane Grower's Association) was very active in Eastern U.P. Under the cover of Ikh Sangh, Mohanlal Gautam aroused excitement among the kisans during individual Satyagraha.\(^8\) In addition to the Radical democratic party, the local Congress Socialist were making their efforts to increase their influence over the labourers. President of the Cownpore Mazdoor Sabha – Mr. S.C. Mittra appealed for anti-fascist rally in Eastern U.P.\(^9\)

In spite of repressive policy of the British government, National Herald and Hindustan Times regularly reported on Satyagraha movement. 10 Honorary magistrates resigned as a protest against government repression against satyagraha.\(^10\) The resignations of the ten honorary magistrates were also notified in the gazette of United Province. These magistrates were: Pandit Ram Shankar Dikshit, Mr.

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\(^5\) The Leader. 1 December 1940, p. 6.
\(^6\) Visalakshi Menon, op. cit., p. 292.
\(^7\) NAI, Home Poll, F. No. 24/4/41, 1941, pp. 1-4.
\(^8\) NAI, UP, No. 3/141, 10-17 January, p. 9.
\(^9\) NAI, Home Poll, F. No. 241/41, 1941, p. 3.
\(^10\) Ibid. p. 42.
\(^11\) NAI, Home Poll, F. No. 3/47/41, 1941, p. 7; The Hindustan Times, February 14, 1941. (Devdas Gandhi was the editor in those days).
Chandrika Prasad and Mr. Sewa Ram of Unnao district, Lala Murari Lal of Hapur, Babu Girja Prasad Singh of the Ghazipur district in Benares division, Pandit Bisheswar Dayal Chaturvedi of the Agra district, Mr. Hari Datta Bahuguna of Hardwar, Lala Rameshwar Lal of Roorkee and Dr. P.N. Banerji and Pandit Ramanuj of the Kanpur district.

A meeting of district dictators of the UP congress was held under the presidency of Sardar Narbada Prasad Singh at Allahabad on September 16, 1941. The meeting decided to enlist new members for Individual Statyagraha, but the president of this meeting was arrested. Professor Radhe Shyam of B.H.U., who was working secretly as the provincial dictator since August 1, 1941, was also arrested.

Table 3.2: Following activists of the congress were arrested at various districts of the eastern U.P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>Name of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benares</td>
<td>Shanti Kumar Singh, Deonarain Singh, Jata Shanker, Mustafa Khan, Kamta Prasad, Syam Sunder, Khushal Chand Jain, Mahabir Prasad, Ram Krishna Lal, Ram Lakan Lal, Jagat Narain Shukla, Vir Karan Batra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballia</td>
<td>Lachhman Singh, Sheoram Dhobi, Rupan, Kesho Sheoshankar Singh, Baleshar, Har Narain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: NAI, Home Poll, F. no. 18/6/41, FR, June 1941; Home Poll F. No. 18/8/41, FR, August, 1941; Home Poll, F. No. 18/41, FR, September 141; Home Poll, F. No. 18/10/41, FR, October, 1941.

Students and Left activities in Eastern UP during Individual Satyagraha

Leftist students groups were very active in 1930s and 1940s in Eastern U.P. On 26 January 1940 R.D. Bharadwaj emphasized the revival of student’s movement. Biswanath Mukherji, Abani Lahiri, and Bimal Kumar Shah were related to student’s federation. This was the time when AISF council meeting was held in Lucknow. Students were asked to protest the arrest of Abani Lahiri. The struggle between the communist and non communist groups in the students federation continued but

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65 NAI, Home Poll, F. No. 18/9/41, 1941, p. 57.
66 NAI, Home Poll, F. No. 75/22/41, 1941, p. 9.
communist sections had the upper hand. Whenever congress lenders were asserted during satyagraha, students used to demonstrate. It was reported that in Christ church college, Cownpore, Ackroyd and Schiff were still active. These two were world’s renowned left student leaders active among the students of U.P. Two Anushilan party members – Pattu Singh and Krishna Chandra Pandey were arrested by special branch officer in Cownpore. Documents recovered from them showed the Anushilan activities in U.P.

In those days Dr K. M. Ashraf was taking too much interest to organize the students of UP. On January 23, 1941, Sir Richard Tottenham (additional secretary to the govt. of India, home deptt) was informed by the secret agency that Dr. Ashraf accompanied by Hirendra Nath Mukerji and Miss Renu Roy from Bengal was to tour the province. The aim of the tour was to form the communist student’s federation.

Since 1936, Indian student movement had international connection. Balram Singh, secretary, UP, provincial student’s federation was in touch with European students group. Uma Ghosh and Sova Mazumdar were active among women students. In 1940, Miss Kanak Das Gupta (CPI) who was to preside over the All-India Women’s Conference, visited Lucknow University and addressed some 75 students. They were asked for selfless work to liberate the country. Banaras Hindu University and Kashi Vidyapeeth became the pivot of left activities in Eastern U.P. R.F. Mudie, Chief Secretary to government of United Provinces reported to the government of India on April 3, 1941 about the left activities in the following words:

...five students ie. Vir Kran Batra, Hit Narain Sigh, Digamber Yesh, Kundan, Amulya Gopal were the leaders of the communist and revolutionary section of the students federation in Benares and it was most desirable that early action would have been taken against them. Besides these students many others were involved in such activities.

Table 3.3: Confidential Identity of some Student leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Parentage</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Descriptive roll</th>
<th>Conviction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Vir Karan Batra</td>
<td>Arora (Punjabi)</td>
<td>Murari Lal Batra</td>
<td>About 28 in 1940</td>
<td>Calcutta &amp; Benares city</td>
<td>Fair complexion, round face, stout build, pimples on</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67 NAI, Home Poll, F. NO. 241/41, 1941, p. 3.
68 Ibid. p.12.
70 NAI, Home poll, F. No. 75/8/41, 1941, p. 15-16.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
<th>Build</th>
<th>Face</th>
<th>Hair</th>
<th>Speech</th>
<th>Accent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hit Nrain Singh Alias Hit Narain Bai</td>
<td>- Brij Bilas Varma</td>
<td>Born 1918</td>
<td>Arrah (Bihar)</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>thin</td>
<td>fast</td>
<td>curly hair</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Digamber Yeshwant Lele</td>
<td>- Yeshwan Ganesh Lele</td>
<td>Born about 1920</td>
<td>Dharwar, (Bombay presidency)</td>
<td>Height</td>
<td>about 5'</td>
<td>thin</td>
<td>sallow</td>
<td>forward</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kundan Alias Kunjan Alias warrior alias Kamleshwar</td>
<td>- Agant Narain Namodri</td>
<td>Born about 1919</td>
<td>South Malabar and Benares</td>
<td>Sallow</td>
<td>height about 5' 3''</td>
<td>thin</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>clean shaven</td>
<td>barefooted</td>
<td>wears Khaddar dress in Bengali fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Amulya Gopal Bhattacharji Alias Habul</td>
<td>- Nalini Kanta Bhattacharji</td>
<td>Born about 1916</td>
<td>Bengal and Benares</td>
<td>Rather dark</td>
<td>complexion</td>
<td>long face</td>
<td>socketted eyes</td>
<td>medium</td>
<td>height 5' 4''</td>
<td>wears spectacles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ram Avtar Sharma Goala Jagdish Narain</td>
<td>Born about 1917</td>
<td>Dinapur (Bihar)</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>complexion</td>
<td>round face</td>
<td>thin</td>
<td>average height</td>
<td>boil mark above right eye</td>
<td>wears spectacles</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: NAI, Home pol, F No. 75/8/41, 1941, pp. 17-29; Home Pol, F No. 75/10/41, 1941, p. 12.

**Vir Karan Batra:** first come to notice in 1937, as a student of the Benares Hindu University. He was concerned in the activities of Sheo Pujan Tripathi (communist) in connection with the Benares Mazdoor Sabha. He took a keen interest in student activities and became a member of the executive committee of the Benares student’s federation.⁷¹

⁷¹ NAI, Home Poll, F. No. 75/8/41, 141, p. 17.
In July 1939, was acting general secretary of the Benares students' federation when pamphlets entitled “A clarion call to students”, over his signature, were distributed in the Hindu University. On July 12, he wrote to Shafiq Ahmad Naqvi (CH) general secretary of the UP students' federation, regarding Benares student affairs, stating that three adult education centers were being started in the city and also referring to the classes for the training of volunteers which were being started.

In 1940, he continued to be a member of the executive Committee of the Benares students' Federation and was leader of the opposition in the Hindu University Parliament. In June 140, he sheltered D.K. Bedekar, an absconding communist. On November 6, he organized a strike in the Hindu University against the arrest and conviction of Nehru. He led a procession of students which ended in a meeting addressed by him. In his speech he exhorted Indians not to help in the government's war efforts. He moved a resolution condemning the repressive policy of government. He was responsible for the issue of leaflets on November 13 and 14, advocating a strike on November 16, as a protest against the repressive policy of government. These leaflets referred to the arrest of two students who had been found pasting communist literature in Benares. A strike was organized on November 16, mainly to protest against the orders of the DPI in regard to discipline in schools and colleges. He was mainly responsible for the success of the UP students' conference held in Benares in December 1940. He spoke at this conference and supported a resolution advocating the conversion of satyagraha movement into a mass movement. In the beginning of December he was reported to be a leading member of the communist student group of Gopal Das Srivastava which was carrying on communist propaganda among students and holding secret meetings and discussions. He received a letter from R.K.Gupta (CPI), Cownpore, informing him that he had been elected a delegate of the UP students' federation. He was also instructed whom to vote for the All India Students Council. (This was in connection with the efforts of the communist students to gain control of the students federation); on December 18. He was running a study circle in the Hindu University. In December 1940, he was elected to be a member of the committee formed to collect funds for the National Herald.

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72 Nehru was second person to offer Satyagraha after Vinoba Bhave. He was arrested at Gorakhpur in early November under the defence of India Rules for making inflammatory anti-war speeches.

73 Ibid. p. 19.
Following the split in the Benares student’s federation as a result of the Nagpur students’ conference, he, Gopal Das Srivastava and other communist students formed a branch and other communist students formed a branch of the students’ federation in opposition to the moderate section of the students. He organized an Ad-Hoc committee to carry on the work of the communist section of students’ federation in Benares and became the leader of this section. He agreed to assist Professor Kalelkar who had agreed to act as “returning officer” for the communist section of the Benares students’ federation. His name found reference in a letter written by T.K. Chaturvedi, General Secretary of the Communist section of the student’s federation. He was acting as a post-box for the absconding communist, Gopal Das Srivastava. On January 19, 1941 he wrote to M. Farooqi, the Delhi leader of the communist section of the students Federation, commenting on the activities of the moderate section. In his letter he also forwarded a programme for “Independence Day” and asked the addressee to visit Benares and address the students. On January 20, 1941, he participated in a meeting held to protest against the arrest of Dr. Ashraf (CPI). In the course of his speech, he challenged the government to prove their charges against Ashraf. Farooqi, the communist student leader arrived in Benares on 29-1-41 and put up with him.

He helped in sheltering Gopal Das Srivastava and N. Raja Shekhar Reddi, the two absconding communist students. On February 1, 1941, Sultan Minhaj, Communist of Lucknow, addressed girl students of the Hindu University. She urged the formation of a committee of girl students which would keep in touch with Batra. In February, Harish Chandra Tewari, an absconding communist student of Lucknow was seen with him in Benares. On 10-2-41 he received a letter from T.K. Chaturvedi (communist student leader of Cownpore) regarding his proposed tour of Benares.

The above information shows very clearly that Vir Karan Batra, at that time a 4th year student of Engineering college, Benares Hindu University, was a student agitators and worked on behalf of the communist party in the students’ federation. His connection with that group was further proved conclusively when his name found mentioned in papers recovered from the possession of Gopal Pranjpey, the well-known organiser of the U.P. section of the communist party of India. So the superintendent of police,

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74 Ibid. p. 19.
75 Ibid. p. 20.
76 Ibid. p. 20.
Benares had recommended his detention under rule 26 of the defence of India rules during individual Satyagrah.

**Hit Narain Singh Alias Hit Narain Bai:** first came to notice in 1939 when he was a student of 2nd year in Benares Hindu University. He had organized a branch of the congress socialist party under the directions of Kesho Prasad Sharma, the well-known organizer of the Anushilan group. He again came to notice in August 1939, in connection with revolutionary activities. He was one of the three trusted member recruited by Birendra Nath Bhattacharji (externed from U.P) to organize the Anushilan party in the Benares Hindu University. He was closely in touch with the two organizers of the party, Birendra Bhattacharji and Kesho Prasad Sharma. He sheltered Birendra Bhattacharji when he was absconding in December 1939. In March 1940, Pratul Ganguli, the Bengal Anushilan leader met him and instructed him regarding their future work on behalf of the party. He took active part in local student agitation. In September 1940, he accepted leadership of the Benares branch of the Anushilan party. He was appointed member of the executive committee of the Benares students’ federation. In October 1940, he received a letter from Sushil Bhattacharji, the absconding organiser of the Anushilan – cum – Bolshevik party organisation. He became the chief organizer of the strike in the Benares Hindu University, in November, on the occasion of J.L. Nehru’s arrest. He addressed student meetings on several occasions and took a prominent part in the provincial student’s federation conference and in its organisation held in Benares in December. His secretive activities had a very undermining effect on the students in Benares. He was also connected to socialist group controlled by the Anushilan party. He had an alliance with the student communist group of Gopal Das Srivastava. He attended the all –India students’ conference held in Nagpur in December and met members of the revolutionary socialist party of India (ie. Anushilan cum – HSRA). He was also in touch with Sushil Bhattacharji. In February, 1941, the All-India Students Federation meeting was held at Benares. 500 copies of a leaflet issued by the central committee of the R.S.P.I. from Nagpur were given to Sushil Bhattacherji for the distribution in the United Provinces. In January 1941, he was elected joint secretary of the UP student’s federation (anti-communist section). He took a prominent part in the All-

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77 Ibid p. 21.
78 Ibid. p. 22.
79 Ibid. P. 23.
India Students’ federation (moderate section) conference held in Benares on February 1 and 2, 1941.

Papers recovered from Delhi group contained a letter signed master Gupta and addressed to Mrs. Radhika Devi, Benares. Master Gupta was found to be identical with Sushil Bhattacharji, the Anushilan Organiser and absconder referred to above. Radhika Devi was found to be Hit Naryan Singh’s wife. It appears that he was using his wife as a post-box for correspondence with Sushil Bhattacharjee which further confirmed his connection with Sushil Bhattacharji and the Anushilan group during the Individual Satyagraha movement.

**Digamber Yeshwant Lele**: an MSc. Student of the Benares Hindu university, first came to notice in Benares in August 1939 when he was found in correspondence with Mahmud-ul-Zafar (CPI) regarding the sale in Benares of the National Front, a C.P.I. paper. In his letter he also referred to Rudra Dutt Bharadwaj, the leading C.P.I. organizer of the UP. He was also related to Madrasi Communist group. His name was found mentioned in papers recovered in the possession of Krishna Swami Reddy (CPI). In October 1940, it was found that he was engaged in conducting “study circles”. He was also related to Y.V. Charan. In October 1940 he received a letter from D.N. Kachrov, a communist student of Allahabad, in which the writer had asked about the group work of Raja Shekhar Reddi, one of the leaders of the Benares student communist group. In December, 1940, it was reported that he had joined the communist group formed in Benares by Gopal Das Srivastava. In January 1941, he was reported to be carrying on underground communist propaganda and was in touch with V. S. Ranade and Nurul Hasan, communist students of Allahabad. In the same month he wrote a secret communist party letter and sent with covered address in which addressee was asked to get in touch with one Upendra, a party name of some important communist, and Nurul Hasan of Allahabad. This letter clearly showed that he was a person of importance in communist circles during Satyagraha movement in Eastern U.P.

**Kundan Alias warrior alias Kunjan Alias Kamaleshwar**: a student of Kashi Vidyapith, first came prominently to notice in October 1940, when he was reported to

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80 Ibid. p. 25.
be in secret communication with the absconding communist, Gopal Pranjpey. He was one of the leading members of the communist group in the Kashi Vidyapith and was responsible for anti-war and anti-recruitment propaganda in Benares. He also organized secret communist study circle meetings in the Kumar Vidyalaya. In November 1940, he was searched and communist literature recovered from his possession. He was specially selected by the communist section of students to enlist students in the students' federation recoveries of communist party papers from the possession of Gopal Pranjpey, the absconding communist organizers, revealed that he had been working for the communist party under the party name of Kamelshwar. These papers proved that he was one of the most important members of the Benares communist group. He was also in touch with the provincial communist organisation and on occasions acted as a courier of communist correspondence between Benares and Allahabad.82

**Amulya Gopal Bhattacharji Alia Habul:** was student of Benares Hindu University. By 1939 he was active in Anushilan group of Birendra Bhattacharji (externed). He was found always in close association with him and his activities. He became a member of the literary known as “Bani Sangh” (a meeting place of revolutionaries) started by Surendera Sarkel (ex-detenu). In 1940 he started a library known as the “Pragati Sangh” and became its president.83 The library was a daily haunt of Bengali youths who were prospective recruits for the Anushilan gourp. In August 1940, he was in correspondence with Nirode Ranjan Dutta Gupta of Calcutta on party matters. In September 1940, he was reported be a prominent member of the Benares Congress socialist and Anushilan parties. After receiving a letter from Birendra Bhattacharji (externed) in September 1940, he called conference of local members and asked Hit Narain Singh to take over the leadership of the party. In October 1940 he gave shelter to Sushil Bhattacharji, the absconding Anushilan cum – Bolshevik party organizer. His “Pragati Sangh” was a part of the Anushilan party and he was also holding secret study circles in the sangh. In October itself, he was seen with Gopal Pranjpey, the absconding communist. He visited the Kashi Vidyapith frequently for party purposes. During individual Satyagraha movement, he took an active part in student affairs and in the UP provincial students’ conference held in Benares in December 1940. He

82 Ibid. p. 28.
83 Ibid. p. 29.
remained active in 1941 also. On 6-2-41, he was present at a meeting of the Benares Anushilan group held in connection with the arrest of Satynedra Nath Banerji in Benares in Eastern UP.\textsuperscript{84}

**Ram Avtar Sharma:** first came to notice in September 1940 as a writer of a letter on the political situation in which he voiced strong anti-British sentiments. He was a student of the Kashi Vidyapith and was a member of a local political group. He used to induce students of local schools and colleges to take part in the Civil Disobedience movement. In November 1940, he was assisting Kunjan Warrior, a communist in enlisting student for the Benares students’ federation. He was engaged in anti-recruitment propaganda and took active part in study circles. He advocated a general strike in all local educational institutions on November 16, 1940. He was caught on 13-11-40, while posting objectionable communist leaflets on the walls of the Queen’s College, Benares. He was sentenced to 2 years R.I. under rules 38/39, defence of India rules and 6 months R.I u/s 18 of the press Act.\textsuperscript{85}

Gandhi’s Individual Satyagraha movement passed through four phases and was called off by the end of December 1941 when prominent leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad were released. Gandhiji tried to manage all the risks during individual Satyagraha by giving 19 instructions to the Satyagrahis.\textsuperscript{86} In those days there were no fast means of communications. By individual Satyagraha Gandhi tried to advertise his future policy and programme to the masses. Thus, masses were trained for future Quit India movement which would be based on non-violence.

**The Cripps Mission and Its failure**

Sir Stafford Cripps was admired and reviled by colleagues for his radical brilliance and austere lifestyle. He was dubbed “Red Squire” by Churchill, who well knew how brilliant he was yet considered him “a lunatic”\textsuperscript{87} Cripps had recently returned from Moscow, where he served as British Ambassador, and had earlier visited India, where he met with Nehru and also traveled to Gandhi’s remote central Indian village Ashram to meet with the Mahatma alone. Like Nehru, he was an ardent socialist; and,

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid. p. 30.

\textsuperscript{85} NAI, Home Poll, F. No. 75/10/41, 1941, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{86} NAI, Home Poll, F. No. 75/10/41, 1941, p. 194.

like Gandhi, he was a strict vegetarian. He was a personal friend of several of the principal leaders of the Indian National Congress, especially of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.\textsuperscript{88} He was on the most cordial terms with several of the members of the congress socialist party. For all these reason it seemed that Cripps was the ideal cabinet minister to be dispatched to India at this time of extreme danger and mounting anxiety over the possibility of a Japanese invasion.

During his stay in Delhi of nearly three weeks he held frequent conferences with the Press, and used these occasions for explanation and amplification of the text of the declaration. He did not, however, disclose it to the public until he had discussed it with the main political leaders. He met a great number of people, including all leaders and representatives of organisation of any political or communal standing.\textsuperscript{89} On March 29\textsuperscript{th}, Sir Stafford Cripps made the Draft Declaration Public. Followings were the provisions of the Draft Declaration:\textsuperscript{90}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[a)] Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India.
\item[b)] Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of Indian states in the constitution – making body.
\item[c)] His majesty’s government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to:
\begin{enumerate}
\item [(i)] The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession of it so decides.
\item [(ii)] With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, his majesty’s His Majesty’s government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution, giving them the same full status a Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.
\item [(iii)] The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between his majesty’s government and the constitution – making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by his majesty’s government for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other member states of the British commonwealth.
\item [(iv)] Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation.
\end{enumerate}
\item[d)] The constitution – making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities:
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{88} Ram Manohar Lohia, The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps, Proscribed Literature, (Bombay, 1942), pp. ii & iii; NAI, Home Poll, F. NO. 37/16/1942, 1942
\textsuperscript{89} NMML, Quarterly Survey of the Political and Constitutional Position in British India (henceforth QSPCP), NO – 19, 1942, p. 34.
Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the lower houses of the provincial legislature shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the Electoral College.

Indian states shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India until the new constitution can be framed his Majesty's government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the government of India with the cooperation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.91

During the first 2 days, Cripps stayed at the Viceroy's House and met the members of the executive council and some of the governors.92 He then moved into a house where he could live independently, and began his discussion with political leaders. In the course of negotiations, Cripps interviewed Gandhi, Azad and Nehru. Jinnah alone represented the Muslim League. The Hindu Mahasabha was represented by Savarkar and four other delegates, the depressed classes by Ambedkar and M.C. Rajah, and the Liberals by Sapru and Jayakar.93

The congress was in the middle of stage throughout Cripps' negotiation. The negotiation broke down because the congress objected to the provision for dominion status rather than full independence, the representation of the princely states in the constituent assembly not by the people of the states but by the nominees of the rulers, and above all by the provision for the partition of India. The British government also refused to accept the demand for the immediate transfer of effective power to the Indians and for a real share in the responsibility for the defence of India. An important reason for the failure of the negotiations was the incapacity of Cripps to bargain and negotiate. He had been told not to go beyond the Draft Declaration. Moreover, Churchill, the secretary of State, Amery, the Viceroy, Linlithgow, and the

91 Ibid, p. 566.
92 Q.S.P.C.P. -19, 1942, op.cit., p. 34.
commander-in Chief, Wavell, did not want Cripps to succeed and constantly opposed and sabotaged his efforts to accommodate Indian opinion.94

Linlithgow – and Churchill preferred to leave the government of India unchanged, its autocratic powers undisturbed by Cripps or any one else, at least until the war ended.95 But with United States helping Britain to survive Axis assaults on every front, Churchill dared not ignore Roosevelt’s concerns about India. At this time Cripps was viewed as Britain’s most effective wartime prime minister-in-waiting. By sending him off to India, Churchill had solved two of his most thorny problems with a single deft stroke, both appeasing Roosevelt and undermining Cripps’s popularity by letting him proved how inept was he at global diplomacy.

In its extreme form the congress believed that mission was dishonest and was intended to fail; eg. a leader in the National Herald of April 24th said:

The Cripps Mission was a result of American pressure. It was a stage-managed show to buy off world opinion and to foist pre-concerted failure on the people of India.96

The causes of the break with congress have been variously surmised: each of the following has been seriously alleged – (i) the British government intervened to prevent a settlement because Sir Stafford was going too far; or because the congress leaders showed a tendency to come to terms; or because bombs had been dropped at Vizagapatam and Cocanada; (ii) The governors intervened; (iii) the viceroy intervened; (iv) Delhi official intervened; (v) Professor Copland intervened; (v) Jinnah Imposed his veto (suggested by Rajagopalachari in addressing a group of the Madras Congress Legislature Party).

The real reason was tersely given in a phrase which Sir Stafford is reported (though he subsequently denied that he had made any such statement) to have uttered at Karachi – “The Congress wanted all or nothing: They could not have all, so they got

94 Bipan Chandra & others, op.cit., p. 455.
96 QSPCP, No. 19, 1942, op.cit., p. 40.
nothing". There was no drawing together of section of Indian opinion; as Mr. Amery said in the debate in the House of Commons on April 28th:

Sir Stafford flew many thousands of miles to meet Indian leaders in order to arrive at an agreement with them; Indian leaders in Delhi moved not one step to meet each other either without him or in his presence; they made no attempt to reach an agreement among themselves.98

There might be thousand of causes for the failure of Cripps Mission. But the most plausible cause has been explained by Mr. Ram Manohar Lohia in his book: The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps. According to him the empire was England's necessity. Economic and geo-political factors compelled England to continue maintaining a far flung empire. The geopolitical apparatus and the industrial machine had been made of from the British state essentially the British Empire. According to him what would the factory-worker together with his exploiting master, the trader, the administrator, the seaman and above all, the book-writer and the political gentry do without an empire? To all these the empire was as the blood in their veins. To save Britain and to save the empire were interchangeable term. It was the life-cry of the existing British state. Churchill had the lustiest cry of all English children and he was also the supreme exponent, in speech and in action, of the imperial necessity of the British state.99

From Cripps’ departure to the passing of the Quit India resolution

Cripps left India on April 12th, 1942. The failure of Cripps Mission made it clear that Britain was unwilling to offer an honourable settlement and a real constitutional advance during the war, and that she was determined to continue India’s unwilling partnership in the war effort. The empty gesture of the ‘Cripps offer’ brought about an immediate and distinct change in the attitude of Gandhi. He was hitherto definitely opposed to any mass movement during the world war, but now his mind veered round it. In all this background the All-India Congress Session began on April 29th at Allahabad in Eastern UP and continued until May 2nd.100 Azad’s Presidential address dealt mainly with the Cripps Mission. Rajendra Prasad moved the adoption of the working committee’s resolution of April 2nd rejecting the Cripps proposals, and the resolution was passed, almost unanimously. Nehru then proceeded to move three

98 Q.S.P.C.P. No. 19, 1942, op.cit., p. 35.
100 Q.S.P.C.P. – 19, 1942, op.cit., p. 42.
resolutions which had been adopted by the working committee in the preceding two days; They were seconded by Bhulabhai Desai, and passed unanimously.

One of the resolutions talked about the collapse of the civil administration in Rangoon and lower Burma just before the Japanese invasion. Another resolution condemned the government for arranging the evacuation of certain areas for military purposes without making due provision to avoid hardship to the local inhabitants or giving them adequate compensation. The molestation of women by soldiers was also reported. In a third resolution, the racial discrimination shown in the treatment of evacuees from the far-east was deplored and the speedy evacuation of Indian from the unoccupied territory in Burma was demanded. These resolutions were couched in language calculated to bring government into hatred and contempt, to undermine public confidence in government’s ability to defend India, to excite hostility against the armed forced, and to encourage the establishment of a parallel administration.101 Before the government action, AICC office at Allahabad had distributed the cyclostyled copies of resolution in large numbers. On May 1st the AICC considered the main resolution surveying the war situation. The resolution was moved by Pandit Pant, seconded by Rajendra Prasad, and passed by a large majority, only four members (including two communists) dissenting. The Cripps proposals, it was stated, had led to greater bitterness and distrust of the British government; the present army had been maintained mainly to hold India in subjection; while foreign armies were invited to India for its defence, the vast manpower of India herself was not used; it was impossible for congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retained, even in partial measure, British control an authority in India; Britain must abandon her hold on India. On the last day C. Rajagopalachari’s view of coalition government in Madras was rejected and Congress made it clear that it cannot agree any proposals to disintegrate India.102

Three School of Thought103

101 Ibid.
102 On 23 April, 1942, Rajagopalachari and some of his old congress supporters in Madras legislature adopted two resolution for submission to the AICC, the first recommending the acceptance of Pakistan principle as the basis of a settlement between the congress and the League, the second proposing the restoration of responsible government in Madras (Coupland, II, Ibid. p. 288).
Between the close of the AICC meeting of Allahabad (early May) and the next working committee meeting at Wardha (which assembled on July 6th), the history of the Congress may be most easily described by following separately the activities of the leaders of the three main schools of thought – Gandhi, Nehru and Rajagopalachari.

By January 1942, Gandhi announced his decision to resume publication of the Harijan, Harijan Sevak and Harijanbandhu. But he worked mainly through the medium of the Harijan. Even before the Allahabad meeting, the outline of the “Quit India” campaign had been traced. In the Harijan of April 26th Gandhi Wrote:

...if the British left India to her fate as they had to leave Singapore, non-violent India would not lose anything. Probably the Japanese would leave India alone... how much more credible, how much braver it would be for Britain to offer battle in the west and leave the East to adjust her own position... what ever the consequences, therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain’s too lie in orderly and timely withdrawal from India.

In the next issue Gandhi wrote:

I feel convinced that the British presence in the incentive for the Japanese attack. If the British wisely decided to withdraw and leave India to manage her own affairs in the best way she could, the Japanese would be bound to reconsider their plans.

On May 10th he wrote:

The time has come during the war, not after it, for the British and the Indians to be reconciled to complete separation from each other... I must devote the whole of my energy to the realization of the supreme act... The presence of British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the bait. Assume, however, that it does not; free India will be better able to cope with the invasion. Unadulterated non-cooperation will then have full sway.

Many felt that British withdrawal would lead to chaos and invasion. Gandhi would not mind chaos: in the issue of May 17th, he said there was “confusion in some minds” about his invitation to the British to withdraw from the country: this confusion he made worse confounded by the typical utterance: “Leave India to god. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy”. The same issue contained an account of a press interview given by Gandhi at Bombay; it was on this occasion that he coined the

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105 Harijan. 26 April 1942

106 Harijan. 3 May 1942

107 Harijan. May 10, 1942
phrase ‘ordered anarchy’ to denote British rule in India at the present time; he was prepared to risk complete lawlessness in India as a result of the disappearance of this ‘ordered anarchy’, though he believed that people would evolve real popular order out of chaos. It was on this occasion also that he made sad confession that since the Cripps mission he would no longer give even moral support to Britain. Thus he wrote a series of articles elaborating his idea which was soon to crystallize into the ‘Quit India’ movement. Gandhi’s changed attitude to Britain also brought about a change in his method of activity. After the civil disobedience of 1930 Gandhi had abandoned the idea of mass movement. But, as Azad put it his “mind was now moving from the extreme of complete inactivity to that of organized mass effort.”

On 7 June Gandhi Wrote:

I waited and waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait I might have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation that I have prayed and worked for may never come, and in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people resist the slavery.

In the middle of June he addressed an open letter to Chiang Kai-Shek, “I am anxious to explain to you”, he said, “that my appeal to British power to withdraw from India is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India’s defence against the Japanese or embarrass you in your struggle. India must not submit to any aggressor or invader and it must resist it... but unless we are free we can do nothing... I am straining every nerve to avoid a conflict with British authority. But if in the vindication of the freedom which has become an immediate desideratum this becomes inevitable, I shall not hesitate to run any risk however great.”

Nehru visited different parts of country and addressed large public meetings. The gist of his speech was that only congress programme of self-sufficiency could save India, since Britain could no longer defend her. In June he spent a good deal of his time at Wardha, and the upshot of his conversations with Gandhi (in which Azad participated and supported Nehru) was revealed in a press interview and speech at Bombay on

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110 Statement published by the Government of India on the congress Party’s responsibility for the disturbances in India, 1942-43.
June 17th and 18th. He endorsed Gandhi's demand for the withdrawal of the British, but explained that it did not mean that Englishmen as individuals should pack up and go, but that political power should be transferred completely; there would be no peace between Britain and India except on a basis of independence. He would oppose Japanese aggression not with ahimsa alone, but even with the sword - but only if India was free; India free would offer stiffer resistance than she could in her present state; so vast a country could not be overrun easily; but the only immediate issue was the elimination of foreign domination. While the whole world was in the throes of a gigantic struggle, he hated India being a mere spectator. If India fell, China would fall and Russian resistance might also be affected; it would be intolerance if Japan won and dominated Asia. Reliable reports of the Wardha conversation indicated that at that time Gandhi had failed to win over either Azad or Nehru to his proposal for a mass movement. But Gandhi could always play the trump card of his personal value to the Congress. It is known that towards the end of May he put to the President a proposal which he must have known would not be accepted - that Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, and his other followers should be allowed to resign from the working committee "and in their place you may choose other persons whom you like".

Rajagopalachari, undaunted by his defeat at Allahabad, announced his plan of campaign at a press conference in Delhi on May 4th. He explained that he was not going to carry on a war against the Congress; he must make the congress change its policy and must cultivate public opinion on which the congress policy depended. He was dissatisfied with the present congress policy because non-cooperation against the Japanese was futile. At first he received some support from leading Muslim Congressmen. The Muslim presidents of the provincial committees in the Punjab and the Frontier province openly approved of his move. Asaf Ali was willing that the bogey of Pakistan should be brought out into the light. Dr. Syed Mahmud was satisfied with the correctness of Rajagopalachari's view but, like Asaf Ali, was cautious about coming into the open. Both Planned to persuade the working committee to pass a resolution (in conformity with Azad's suggestion to the AICC in Allahabad) appointing a committee of five congressmen to meet a similar committee to be nominated by Jinnah to negotiate a congress-league settlement.

Speaking at Ramnad (Madras province) on May 22nd Rajagopalachari said that, while some held that the unity of the country could not be achieved while the British remained, others said that without unity Britain could not be compelled to yield to the national demand; this vicious circle must be broken; unity was essential not only for wrestling power form an unwilling Britain but also for resisting Japanese aggression. On June 15th at Madura (Madras province), he directly challenged Gandhi’s latest theories. Though Britain was guilty of many crimes against India, the greatest being the emasculation of a people full of potential military strength, she could not possibly add to her crimes the offence of leaving India in chaos to become a certain prey to foreign ambition; every inch vacated by Britain would be occupied by Japan. Gandhi’s position was out of question; Nehru and Jinnah should come together and save the nation. But Rajagopalachari was fighting a losing battle. Even by the middle of May, the Kerala provincial congress committee has resolved that he was working against the best interests of the country.

“Many important men” (in the context this could only mean congress leaders) had made up their mind that effective resistance against Japan was impossible, that in no circumstance would the British transfer power to enable India to organize her national defence, and that Jinnah would never agree to work with the congress. He disagreed with all three propositions. It was useless to play a waiting game against the Muslim League; if the congress accepted the principle of territorial self-determination, he was certain that Jinnah and the League would join the congress in a united political front.

Non-Party Leader’s and M.N. Roy’s Activities Just before the Passing of Quit India Resolution

Non-party Conference met at New Delhi on February 21st, Sapru presiding. Sapru being indisposed, his printed address written on Feb 14th was read by Jayakar.113 Main resolution expressed profound dissatisfaction that all real power in central government is still concentrated in British hands as four key portfolios are withheld from Indians; and urged that His Majesty’s government should immediately adopt following measures:114

114 Ibid. p. 7.

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(i) Declaration that India should no longer be treated as dependency rule from white-hall, and that henceforth her constitutional position and powers will be identical with those of dominions.

(ii) During war executive council shall be reconstructed as truly national government on basis of joint and collective responsibility and consisting entirely of non-officials enjoying public confidence and charge of all portfolios subject to responsibility to crown and without prejudice to commander in chief’s position.

(iii) British government should recognize right of India to direct representation through person chosen by national government in all Allied war councils and peace conference.

(iv) National government should be consulted on same footing and to same extent as Dominions.

Jayakar said that for 150 yrs government had been telling people of country they need not worry about country’s defence as British government would look after it. But now in Singapore, once declared immune from all attack, they confessed there were no food, water and munitions. What guarantee did government give that these three “Nos” would not be repeated in this country? “This government has proved itself absolutely incompetent to conduct war without cooperation of people we want to tell this government, ‘move aside’; we shall take charge of conduct of war before it is too late”.

M.N. Roy was mainly active in United Provinces, Bihar and Bombay. After his suspension and resignation from the congress, he changed the name of his party from the ‘League of Radical Congressmen’, to ‘Radicals Democratic Peoples Party’. He wanted that his followers should form an anti-fascist mass movement.\textsuperscript{115} He started an all India propaganda tour to canvass support for the new party. This began in the UP, and followed in the C.P, Bihar, Bombay and Bengal. He also expressed his views to the masses through his paper \textit{Independent India}. He tried to form a ‘National Democratic Union’ composed of all independent public men and of such groups and parties as may agree to join them, who see the great possibilities of the present situation and have the courage and vision to utilize them. He explained to his dedicated followers that their ultimate hopes lay in the British empire being completely exhausted after victory had been won and the common enemy of fascism defeated, leaving a ready-made popular mass movement in India under their control with political power already in their grasp. Roy’s public and private utterances conclusively show his conviction that the days of congress as mass revolutionary movements are finished. His present more aims primarily to replace congress as a mass movement and hence as the majority party.

\textsuperscript{115} NAI, Home poll, F. No. 128/41, 1941, p.4.
By now there was a growing feeling of imminent British collapse. The news of Allied reverses and British withdrawals from South-East Asia and Burma and trains bringing wounded soldiers from the Assam–Burma border confirmed this feeling. Letters from Indian in South – East Asia to their relatives in India were full of graphic accounts of the British betrayal and their being left at the mercy of dreaded Japanese. Such was the time when nationalist leaders thought that people were getting demoralized and might not resist Japanese occupation. In order to build their capacity to resist Japanese aggression, it was necessary to draw them out of this demoralized state of mind and convince them of their own power. High-handed government action such as the commandeering of boats in Bengal and Orissa to prevent their being used by the Japanese had led to considerable anger among the people. Popular discontent, a product of rising prices and war like shortages was gradually mounting. The popular faith in the stability of British rule had reached such a low that there was a run on the banks and people withdraw deposits from post office savings accounts and started hoarding gold, silver and coins. This was particularly marked in east U.P., Bihar and in Madras Presidency.

In the above background the working committee met at Wardha on July 6th. Gandhi was present there. The only absentee (apart from Rajagopalachari and Bhulabhai Desai both of whom had resigned) was Dr. Khan Sahib; Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Acharya Narendra Dev, Jairamdas Daulatram, and Hare Krishna Mahatab were present by special invitation. On July 10th a resolution was passed on grievances caused by military preparation. It gave instruction to the people affected by government orders regarding evacuation of lands and houses, requisitioning of boats and vehicles, salt manufacture, and volunteer defence organizations. Where boats were essential for everyday life, they should not be surrendered; restrictions on defence organizations should be disregarded; compensation should be given on a lavish scale. But government orders should not be disobeyed until all avenues of negotiations had been thoroughly explored.

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117 Bipan Chandra, & others, op.cit., p. 459.
The main resolution of Indo-British relation was not passed until July 14th.119 The Gandhian group was predominant here. Maulana, Jawaharlal and Pant were critical of some of the suggestions. Eventually amendments were proposed. Main provisions of the Wardha resolution were as follows:

(i) British rule in India must end immediately; the freedom of India is necessary for the safety of the world. The abortive Cripps’ proposals showed clearly that the British hold on India is in no way to be relaxed.

(ii) All aggression must be resisted, but resistance is only possible if India feels the “glow of freedom”.

(iii) The congress had tried utmost to resolve the communal tangle, but the presence of British made this impossible.

(iv) On the withdrawal of British rule, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a provisional government, representative of all important section of the people. (This passage was prepared by an incongruous touch of Nehruism, reminding princes, zamindars, and the moneyed classes that power must essentially belong to the workers in the fields and factories). Representatives of free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relatives and or the co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression.

(v) The congress has no desire to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied powers or to jeopardize their defensive capacity, and is therefore agreeable to the stationing of their armed forces in India.

(vi) Should this appeal to great Britain fail, the congress will be reluctantly compelled to utilize all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920 when it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of the political rights and liberty.120 The widespread struggle would be under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The issues raised would be referred to the A.I.C.C. for final decision at Bombay on August 7th, 1942.

Preparation in U.P. and the Passing of Quit India Resolution

The congress and the other political organizations were very active in U.P. Raghupat Sharma, a district level congressman from Eastern U.P. stated that, in early 1942, pamphlets were already in circulation and people were being instructed about the steps they would take during the future movement. This time there would be no jail-going, participants were advised to remain hidden, to cut telegraph wires etc.121 The Congress Socialists had a big role in the planning. Acrcharya Narendra Dev might have initiated the preparation. Chandroday Dikshit, a Lucknow-based CSP leader, refers to a letter from the Acharya to him and others in March 1942 suggesting that a

119 TOP, V-II, pp. 385-387.
120 In September 1920, a special session of congress held at Calcutta passed a resolution accepting Gandhi’s policy of non-violent non-co-operation. In December of the same year, the 35th session of congress held at Nagpur reaffirmed this policy, and furthermore, Gandhi was able to secure the alteration of the congress creed ‘in such a fashion as to eliminate the declared adherence of that body to the British connection and to constitutional methods of agitation’. [Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1920, London, H.M.S.O., 1921, pp. 57, 67] cf. TOP, V. II, p. 387.
movement on a much larger scale was being contemplated by Gandhi. Acharya Kripalini had also hinted about the movement.

The Wickenden’s Report suggests the U.P, along with Bihar and Delhi were the best prepared areas in the country for the Quit India movement. Most of the preparations were done between 14 July and 7 August. Jawaharlal Nehru interacted with a group of revolutionaries. UPCC had instructed the masses that “everybody would be free to use his own weapons according to his choice. Revolutionaries could do as they pleased and also Kisan and labour leaders”. Nehru had organized a secret congress volunteer corps in the province, similar to Asoka Mehtas, people’s volunteer Brigade in Bombay. Dr. Sampurnanand who was active in Benares had a private meeting with the congress workers on 27 July. In this meeting it was decided that congress dictators would be appointed to control the movement in every district as far as possible. Keshav Dev Malaviya, the Congress socialist leader acted as provincial ‘dictator’ in UP during the opening phase of the movement. He was succeeded by Acharya Jugal Kishore. Rammanohar Lohia and Acharya Narendra Dev had a close association with Gandhi. Kamlapati Tripathi was also active in Eastern U.P.

Meetings throughout the province were the norm at the end of July 1942. Students of Benares were addressed by several congress leaders like Dr. Sampurnanand, Kamlapati Tripathi, Acharya Kripalani and others. Their professors received instructions from the congress leaders. Raja Ram Shashtri was asked to keep a batch of Kashi Vidyapith students in readiness by Balkrishna Keskar of the foreign department of the AICC. During this period district congress workers frequently visited their headquarters to receive instruction. The PCC had formed an emergency committee of five-Jawaharlal Nehru, G.B. Pant, Dr. Sampurnanand, Ram Manohar Lohia and Mohanlal Saksena were the members. And the province was divided into

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122 Ibid.
125 Sachindra Nath Sanyal refers to a private talk given by Nehru in a letter to Durga Das Dated 1 August 1942, op.cit., pp. 55, 253.
126 Ibid; pp. 110, 255.
When all preparations were done then the All India congress committee met in Bombay on 7-8 August. The Wardha resolution of July 14 was given most careful consideration. After prolonged discussion of 7 August, the committee reassembled at the Gowalia Tank Maidan on 8 August 1942 at 3 p.m. Nearly 250 members of the AICC and 10,000 visitors attended the historic meeting. Quit India Resolution which was drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru was passed amidst wild enthusiasm and tumultuous cheers. Only thirteen members of the AICC voted against it.\(^\text{129}\)
