CHAPTER VII

THE LAST PHASE OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE
AND THE POLICE
The Congress and the War Issue:

On 3rd September 1939, the Viceroy declared war on India's behalf against the Axis powers. This was immediately followed by the promulgation of the Defence of India Ordinance which armed the Government with emergency powers of all kinds. Although constitutionally valid, the Viceroy's action came as a rude shock to nationalist India, when, excluding the centre, the whole of British India was ruled by popular ministries.

The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha from 8th to 15th September 1939, under the Presidentship of Rajendra Prasad. The Congress President even invited M.A. Jinnah, the Muslim League leader, to participate in the discussion. Jinnah declined the invitation. The Committee decided to call upon the Congress members of Central Legislative Assembly to boycott the next session. Further, it reaffirmed that "the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people, and that the Indian people would not permit their resources to be used for imperialist ends."

A draft "Revolutionary Movement Ordinance" was prepared by the Imperial government and circulated to all the Provincial Governments in 1940, according to which the Government would acquire the power -
(1) to arrest, detain and control suspected persons,
(2) to control local authorities and educational institutions,
(3) to confiscate money or other valuables used for the revolutionary movements.
(4) to control cinematograph and dramatic performances and publications,
(5) to regulate means of transport,
(6) to control the use of post, telegraph, telephone, wireless telegraphy or broadcasting,
(7) to impose collective fines on inhabitants of turbulent areas, and
(8) to search places and persons.

It was also declared that the people taking part in boycotting, mock-funerals, quasimilitary organizations and sabotage activity or processing prescribed documents would be adequately punished. There was also a provision for "the constitution of special courts with special powers, for dealing with refractor accused". The memorandum on Press Control mentioned that "no adverse comment whether fair or not, on government action will be allowed. The press messages connected with atrocities committed by the police or military, reports of inflammatory or seditious speeches and comments deliberately designed to exhibit the government in an unfavourable light, would be suppressed."

The Congress meeting at Ramgarh on 19th March 1940 passed only one resolution which declared that nothing short of complete
Independence could be accepted by the people of India, that no permanent solution was possible, except through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage, that, the Congress could not help in the prosecution of war with men, money and material and it will resort to civil disobediences as soon as the organization is considered fit enough for the purpose. The A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee were authorized to take all steps necessary to implement the resolution. Jaya Prakash Narayan and some other Leftists were arrested shortly afterwards.

During the National Week in April (6 to 13) 1940, the Forward Block commenced, all over the country, its campaign of Civil Disobedience. Prominent members of the Block were gradually removed to Jail. Early in July Subhash Bose and hundreds of his co-workers were put in prison. A few days before his arrest in June 1940, Bose had made a passionate appeal to Gandhi "to come forward and launch his campaign of passive resistance since it was now clear that the British Empire would be overthrown and it was high time for India to play her part in the war. But the Mahatma was still non-committal and he repeated that, in his view, the country was not prepared for a fight and any attempt to precipitate it, would do more harm than good to India". The Mahatma further added that, "We do not our Independence out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence".

Hitler almost overran Western Europe in May-June 1940.
The issue of cooperating in war efforts of the British led to a serious split in the Congress rank. Gandhi, true to his creed of non-violence, was against India's participation in war in any case. To him "the issue was one of pacifism, and not of India's freedom". To a majority of his colleagues, however, non-violence was not a creed but a policy, and Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Congress, echoed the sentiments of most of them when he declared openly that "the Indian National Congress was not a pacifist organization but one for achieving India's freedom", and that the Indians had the "right to take to the sword if they had no other alternative".  

Quit India Movement

With the difference in the attitude towards the war, Gandhi lost his influence and leadership in Congress in June, 1940. Although Gandhi recovered his position and was asked by the Congress to lead Satyagraha campaign in 1940-41, he was again relieved of his responsibility by the Working Committee on 23rd December, 1941. This explains why Gandhi took no active part in the negotiations with Cripps and left Delhi.

But there was a marked change in Gandhi's attitude after the failure of the Cripps Mission. In an article published in the Harijan on 19th April 1942, he suggested that the safety and interest of both Britain and India "lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India".

The British Government had been considering a new move.
On 8th August 1940, the Viceroy announced in the 'August Offer', that the new constitution should be "primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves", provided that British obligations were fulfilled and minority opinions were not overridden. He promised that a representative Indian Constitution-making body would be set up after the war and that, in the meantime, the Central Executive Council set up. He called for the co-operation of all parties in the war effort to pave the way for attainment of India's full and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. The Congress reaction was unfavourable and the Muslim League repudiated the idea of united India.

Gandhi announced on 15th October 1940 that the movement would take the form of individual Civil Disobedience. It was inaugurated accordingly on the 17th by Vinoba Bhave, who was arrested on the 21st and sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment. Jawaharlal Nehru was nominated as Vinoba's successor, but he was arrested on the 31st before he could offer Satyagraha. The scope of the movement was extended gradually and numerous arrests followed, which included all the members of the Congress Working Committee, the All India Congress Committee and Legislators. The Congress President, Maulana Azad was arrested and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment on 3rd January 1941.

The Government of India had intended to hold a Conference of the Inspector Generals of Police in early 1942 to discuss police equipment, including motor transport, arms and clothing; requirement
of additional, armed police with reference to their functions vis-à-vis the army; difficulties of recruitment and the prevention of resignations; and the role of the police in air raid precautions. The proposal could not materialize. Further instructions were, therefore, issued to the provinces on all these subjects in a series of letters in April, 1942.

In the instructions issued by the Government of India, in June 1940 as regards the respective functions of the army and the police in relation to internal security duties, it had been stated that "although there are many police functions which soldiers would never ordinarily perform, the Army does in the last resort stand behind the police and must ultimately be prepared to deal with any situation in the field of law and order which passes beyond the capacity of the civil arm. While reiterating this principle, it was clarified now that "the defence of India against external aggression is the function of the Army and not of the Police; that the prevention of suppression of internal disorder is primarily the function of the Police and not of the Army; but that, in war as in peace, the secondary function of the Army is to stand behind the Police as the authority finally responsible for the preservation of internal security". Under the existing law, policemen had a right to resign at short notice, while in the prevailing situation it was of vital importance to keep the Police force at full strength. The Police (Resignation of Police) Ordinance No. XI of 1942 was issued, therefore, in April to provide for discretion to the local police authorities to refuse to accept a resignation, should
M. M. Joshi of the Communist Party had written to the Governor of Bombay, offering co-operation in the war effort. In forwarding his letter to the Viceroy, the Governor stated in May 1942 that help in the recruitment for the army and the police was quite unacceptable, as they would try to use them for their own purpose at a suitable moment. However, in view of the entry of Russia into the War on the side of the allies, the ban on the party was removed on 20th July 1942 and most of the detained leaders were released.\footnote{10}

The Cripps Mission arrived in India in March 1942 with the proposal that:

(1) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, a constitution-making body shall be set up and this body shall be elected under the system of proportional representation, by an electoral college consisting of the members of the lower houses of all the Provincial Legislatures for which new election would have been held. The Indian states will be invited to appoint representatives in proportion with their population. The constitution so framed may be accepted or rejected by the Provinces and the Princely states.

(2) Until the new constitution can be framed, the British Government must retain control of the defence of India as part of...
Naturally these proposals were unacceptable to the Congress and Indians.

Quit India Resolution:

On 14th July 1942, the Congress Working Committee passed 'Quit India' resolution at Wardha. It renewed the demand that "British rule in India must end immediately" and reiterated the view that the freedom of India was necessary not only in the interest of India but also for safety of the world and for the ending of the Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of imperialism, and aggression of one nation over another.

The A.I.C.C. met in Bombay on 7th August 1942, and passed the following resolution:

The Committee approves of and endorses the Wardha resolution and is of the opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further jurisdiction, and have made it clear that immediate ending of British Rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for the cause of the world peace.

In order to meet the new situation the government had to increase the Police in the Districts. The Bombay Governor mentioned that the strength of the district police had increased from pre-war
figures of 702 officers and 17,647 men to 841 officers and 5,375 men to 555 officers and 8,096 men which represented a combined increase in the constabulary of 8,827 men: but that 4,506 of them had less than 4 months service and there were 864 vacancies on 15th July 1942.  

The Quit India Resolution was ratified by the All India Congress Committee on the evening of 8th August, Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee were arrested in the early hours of Sunday the 9th and removed from Bombay by a special train to the Aga Khan Palace in Poona and Azad, Nehru, Patel and other leaders to the Ahmednagar Fort. In fact, possibility of deporting these leaders to some of the African colonies was seriously considered and remained a contingency plan.

In Gandhiji's view arrests precipitated the violent activities. He expressed the view that the "wholesale arrests of the Congress leaders seemed to have made the people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control".  

Communist Party:

Next to the Muslim League, the Communist Party of India (CPI) was fast growing to be the most powerful political organization outside the Congress.  

On the other hand, the C.P.I. suffered a heavy blow,
at least for the time being, by the sudden removal of almost all its prominent leaders. Its leaders launched a full-scale attack on Gandhi, Nehru and the Indian National Congress. This new policy assured during 1928-34, was revealed in the "Draft Platform of Action of the C.F. of India" published in December 1930.

The C.P.I. established its influence over the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), and in 1931 organized its own labour front called the Red Trade Union Congress. They called for a wide strike of all textile workers on 25th April 1934, and it received overwhelming response all over the country. The Government of India took alarm and the communist party, along with some dozen Trade Unions under its control, was declared illegal. The communist party thereupon went completely underground.

The communists also infiltrated heavily into students' organizations. The All India Students Federation was hitherto dominated by nationalist ideals, but a communist faction soon made its influence felt and the students federation was clearly divided into two groups—communists and non-communists.

The split was complete and the two groups held rival conferences. The Conference of two communists and students held in December 1940, led by Hiren Mukharji and K.M. Ashraf, challenged the right of the Indian National Congress to speak for the whole of India and passed a resolution declaring "that the future of India should be
a voluntary federation of regional states based on mutual confidence.

"Thus instead of single nation comprising the people of India as a whole the communists upheld the idea of India as a multi-national state. This resolution was a clear bid to enlist the support of the Muslims by conceding the claim of Pakistan. In various other ways, too, the C.P.I. conciliated the Muslims in an attempt to win them over to communism. But it did not prove very successful. Communists did not realize that the Muslims could never accommodate the communists who regard religion as a pill of opium.

The C.P.I. declared an open war against the congress leadership. They wanted to "free the national front from the influence of bourgeoisie reformation and develop the political strength of the proletariat.

As a first instalment of the policy chalked out in the "proletarian path" the C.P.I. organized a general strike in the textile industry of Bombay in March 1941. It immobilized a majority of textile mills in the Bombay area, and 1,50,000 workers were involved at its peak. The government arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rule 480 persons who were either communists or their active supporters. The C.P.I. was disorganized and seriously crippled.

On the industrial front, the communists, using the control they exercised over the A.I.T.U.C. similarly exerted their utmost to keep workers out of the national unrest. The Party which had called for strikes, and more strikes, now demanded work, work
Other Political Parties and the Quit India Movement:

The main plan of the Communists was to intensify anti-war propaganda among workers, peasants, and students by 'underground' and 'open' movement. The C.P.I. was critical of the national leadership for not waging a struggle against the imperialist government. It regarded the Individual Satyagraha a 'phase of decay' of the Congress Party. Though the Communists did not join the Individual Satyagraha, they continued their propaganda against the war.

As a result, the repression by the Government also increased and the Communists suffered heavy losses, including the search of party offices which resulted in the exposure of identities of its members, sympathisers and financiers. The underground movement faced a serious crisis.

Though the C.P.I. agreed with the main thesis of the Quit India resolution of Bombay, it was opposed to any movement without an understanding with the Muslim League. At the A.I.C.C. session, the Communists among Congressmen opposed the resolution and later they did not participate in the mass upheaval. The C.P.I. talked about the workers and peasants of "people's war" and asked them to increase war production for the defeat of fascism. It is due to this policy of the C.P.I. that its role during the Quit India Movement has remained
a subject of controversy among nationalist circle. It was blamed for sabotaging the national movement and helping the British Government in arresting the Congressmen and other nationalists and subsequently receiving financial assistance from the government.28

The fact, however, is that while the C.P.I. opposed the Quit India Movement and condemned the sabotage, destruction and violence let loose by the people, it also attacked British imperialism. It held that the government was responsible for violence, suppression and destruction. Immediately after the arrest of Congress leaders, the C.P.I. held a public meeting on 10th August 1942, at Bombay and protested against the arrest of the Congress leaders and the incidents of firing, lathi-charge and suppression of the people.

B.T. Ranadive at this meeting demanded:
1) Release of the national leaders;
2) Lifting of the ban on the Congress; and
3) The establishment of a national government at once.29

The Communist-controlled Bombay Trade Union Congress repeated the same demands at its annual conference held on 23rd August 194230 and thus made a common cause with the Congress. The All India Students Federation, students' wing of the C.P.I., appealed to the students to protest in an organized manner against the action of the Government and demanded the release of the Congress leaders and establishment of a national government.31 Holding the British government responsible for the national crisis, P.C. Joshi stated: "The
insolent imperialists have struck the first blow. The Congress kept the door for negotiations open and the Government was responsible for the provocation to anarchy and violence.  

During the Quit India Movement, the C.P.I. increased its organizational strength and influence in some pockets and on workers' and peasants' fronts. It was a matter of great courage on the part of the Communist Party to adopt an independent line of action and aspire to snatch the initiative from the imperialists, bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie in the power struggle, but it had to pay a very high price for helping the government in war efforts. The C.P.I. indeed ignored its role in a colonial country, which could only be fulfilled by leading the people instead of raising the slogan of "People's War". Immediately after the release of the Congress leaders, the Congress Party started a tirade against the Communists and leftists from its various committees. Thus, the Congress was unfair to communists because it did not give credit to those communists who demanded the release of Congress leaders and had actively participated in the Quit India struggle.

The Muslim League and the Quit India Movement:

The Muslim League opposed the Quit India Movement. Jinnah was very closely watching the Congress move since the failure of Cripps Mission. While commenting upon the Wardha Resolution (July 1942) he stated that the decision of the Congress was "most dangerous" and appealed to the Muslims not to involve themselves in the "big move"
He appealed to the Muslims to keep themselves completely "aloof from the movement and not to surrender to the threats and intimidation of the Congress workers but to continue their normal avocations peacefully". He warned the Congressmen not to harass or molest the Muslims. 39

The Quit India Demand and the British Reaction:

According to an official report, Patel had advised the mill-owners of Ahmedabad to paralyse the textile industry at the time of the movement. The Textile Labour Association was already engaged in secret propaganda. The cloth market mahajans were contemplating a long strike extending over two months in case Gandhi was arrested. The Congress was also busy wakening student community. It was generally believed that non-payment of taxes, anti-war propaganda, general strikes to hamper the production, the refusal to evacuate areas required by military authorities and the establishment of a parallel congress government would be included in the programme. Like the leftist elements, the right wing congress leadership was also carrying on propaganda in favour of a general defiance of the law, boycotts, strikes, non-rent campaigns and hunger strikes. 40
The A.I.C.C. met in Bombay on 7 August 1942. It was attended by 250 members. The main resolution, which became famous as the Quit India Resolution, was moved by Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Vallabhbhai Patel. It was carried by a big majority, only a few Communist members (12) opposing it. Abul Kalam Azad, at the very beginning remarked: "Let us have declaration of Indian Independence forthwith and we, on our part, shall immediately enter into a Treaty of Alliance with United Nations for the sole purpose of fighting and winning this war". To dispel British and American doubts, he clarified that the Quit India demand stood only for the transfer of power.

Gandhi appealed to the United Nations and Britain to declare India free and prove their bonafides. Here was "the opportunity of a lifetime", he warned, "which never comes twice in the same generation, and history will say that they did not discharge their overdue debt to India".

On 9th August 1942 Gandhi woke up as usual at four in the morning for his prayers. He then told his private secretary, Mahadev Desai: "After my last night's speech, they will never arrest me". He was about to proceed with his daily routine when he heard that the police had arrived with detention orders for him. This followed the arrest of all important leaders all over the country.

The Government did not disclose the whereabouts of the
Congress leaders. They were not permitted to communicate even with their close relatives because "the preventive character of the Government action would entirely be defeated if such contacts were allowed." The Government also declared A.I.C.C., C.W.C. and the provincial Congress Committees as unlawful associations by exercising the powers under Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.

According to a Government report the message of Gandhi was that: "Every man is free to go to the fullest length under Ahimsa by complete deadlock, strikes and other non-violent means. Satyagrahis should go out to die and not to live. It is only when individuals go out to seek and face death that the nation will survive. Karenga ya Marengwe (we shall do or die)."

Serious disturbances immediately broke out all over India. Bombay being the venue of the A.I.C.C. session and also of the arrest of most of the top congress leaders, naturally exploded first. On the very first day (9th August 1942), crowds started throwing stones and Soda-water bottles at trains, buses and cars and at the Police. Some houses opened fire on sixteen occasions, killing eight persons and injuring forty-four. Similar incidents occurred in Poona, Ahmedabad and in some suburban areas of Bombay. All these places observed hartals. Mills and factories were closed. Europeans and government officials were molested. Even Indians in European dresses were not spared. Telephone and telegraph lines were cut; municipal and government properties were damaged. Barricades were put on the road.
One of the distinguishing features of the Quit India Movement was that the mass upsurge was accompanied by a fairly well-organized underground resistance movement. After the arrest of the top congress leaders on 9th August 1942, a number of junior congress leaders, present in Bombay in connection with the A.I.C.C. session went underground and began to function as the A.I.C.C. They decided to establish underground cell all over the country; they decided as a necessary preliminary step towards carrying on a mass insurrection in the country.

The underground A.I.C.C. first set up its office at Room No. 30 on the second floor of Petladhi's Mala No. 69/37, Cathedral Street Bombay. Besides this office, Rammanohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan and Sucheta Kripalani formed a separate cell, known as the Central Directorate of A.I.C.C. Later on Aruna Asaf Ali joined this group. Both the groups, however, functioned in close co-operation with each other. They did not merge together possibly to maintain secrecy and to deceive the police intelligence. The Central Directorate was more important than the A.I.C.C. office so far as the organization of the underground movement was concerned.

The A.I.C.C. used to receive information from the Central Directorate which the former used to pass on to the Bombay workers for being typed, printed or cyclostyled as they desired. The Central directorate also used to send propaganda bulletins to the A.I.C.C. office for onward transmission to different provincial units. These
propaganda materials easily received respectability at the provincial level because they bore the mark of the A.I.C.C.. Sometimes the Bombay office used to send two hundred envelopes a day. Important instructions to different places were sent through couriers from Bombay. The Central Directorate in Bombay was in a way the underground headquarters of the Congress Socialist Party. It found a useful modus operandi, according to which the Directorate would communicate its own plans and programmes through the A.I.C.C. office to different provinces, where these were accepted without any questioning. 48

The following account would show how the movement was carried on at various places in Bombay Presidency.

Bombay City and Around:

On 9.6.1942 the arrest of Congress leaders was followed by outbreaks of violence. At several places crowds started throwing stones and soda-water bottles at trams, buses and cars and also the Police.

The tyres of several buses were ripped open and some houses were burnt. The Post Office at Panjaripole was broken into and papers burnt, Grain-shops at Khetwadi, Madhav Baugh and near the Panjaripole Post Office were looted. A telegraph peon near Sicca Nagar was assaulted. Sub-Inspector Ballantine was surrounded and tunic and equipment torn off. A Police constable in plain clothes was assaulted at Girgaon Road. Sub-Inspector Eatemahomed, who took
refuse in a private house at Gai Wadi, was rescued after he had been injured. Police motor drivers were assaulted and a victoria driver molested. A military sepoy was assaulted at Bhendi Bazar and his pagree burnt. The Police used tear smoke four times, made a few Lathi charges and opened fire on 16 occasions, killing eight persons and injuring 44. In all 113 rounds were fired. 49

The next day crowds continued to indulge in acts of hooliganism. Municipal property at Ramwadi damaged, Government sugar shop at Bhuleshwar looted. Telephone wires cut near Byculla, Saifan Chowky, Kingsway and Bhoiwada. Telephone poles uprooted on Deodhar Road. Seven Police chowkies and one B.E.S.T. Chowkey at King's Circle burnt. Postal peon stoned and rescued by Police near Khetwadi. Train Ticket Examiner assaulted near Dhobi Talao. Sergeant Cahill stoned and slightly injured. Police constable mobbed at Dadar and turban burnt. Armed constable stabbed at Haines Road. Most of the schools and colleges were closed. Cloth markets, Jhaveri Bazar, Dana Bandar and many shops in Girgaum, Bhuleshwar, Kalbadevi, Dadar and Matunga were closed. Fire opened on 26 occasions, killing 16 and injuring 57, 159 rounds fired. 50

Thirtyone textile mills and 15 silk mills closed down, partly due to the instigation of the organizers of the Rashtriya Girni Kamgar Sangh and partly to the activities of students. In addition 12 large mills, 10 small factories and 6 saw mills were closed.
Benches, iron bars and sleepers were thrown across the permanent way, stones were pelted at passing trains at the station building, and railway property, train indicators etc. An electric clock, 2 electric automatic signals etc., were heavily damaged. At Marine Lines some students lay across the railway track disorganizing train services for some time. At Dadar Station a Military Officer was manhandled and when the Railway staff tried to rescue him, they were met with a fusillade of stones. Find that the fury of the crowd who were armed with brickbats, iron bars etc., showed no signs of abetting, the Police made several Lathi charges and fired 10 rounds in all. A Police Officer and 4 policemen were injured as a result of the stone throwing.

Of the two mills in Kurla, one worked with its full complement. At the other some 3,000 employees out of 3,900 stayed away.

On 11.8.1942 also there was no appreciable improvement in the situation. Stoppage of vehicular traffic, blocking of road, cutting telephone wires, damaging municipal property, uprooting trees, attacking the Police with stones and burning Police Chowkies continued. Three Post Office letter boxes were uprooted. A few Lathi charges were made by the Police, tear smoke was used twice and fire opened on 13 occasions, killing 6 and injuring 36. Eightyfive rounds were fired in all.

On 12.8.1942 some students removed benches from the pavement and placed them across the road. Others entered the Asiatic
Building to induce office clerks to strike work. Fifteen tiffin carriers who were proceeding to the Royal Indian Navy Dockyard were stopped at New Marine Lines. A number of street Gas Lamps were broken and crowds indulged in stone-throwing. A Post Box at Mangalidas Road was uprooted and burnt along with a large wooden box. A Letter Box and an electric wire-box of the B.E.S.T. at Dhanji Street were set on fire. Post and fuse boxes in other areas were also burnt or damaged. A lorry carrying bags of grain was looted at the Wadi Bunder Goods Yard. The Government grain shop at Vithalbhai Patel Road was broken open and the contents looted. Telephone wires were cut at Gaiwadi, Suparibag Road, Mugbhat lane and the Agripada Section. The B.E.S.T. buses were stopped and stoned at Hughes Road and the air was let out of the tyres.

Some of the village Patels and officers appointed by the Congress Ministry in the Bombay Province, also resigned their posts and the employees of the Municipal Committee of Ahmedabad resorted to strike. The teachers were of little help and even did not come out to give witness against the volunteers of the movement. Therefore, the saboteurs remained undetected. The village chowkiddars were almost useless in the worst affected areas. All these provincial reports clearly indicate that the attitude of the Government servants in the provinces was not in most cases hostile to the movement and its cause. In the absence of support from the rank and file in the administration in the country-side, it was impossible for the government to get its orders implemented. The number of Europeans recruited to
I.C.S. decreased considerably during the war. In 1941 only four Europeans were recruited in the I.C.S. and less in 1943 and 1944. The Indian Civil Service was thus, dominated by the Indians and the Government control depended on the loyalty of the Indians in the I.C.S. For Lord Wavell, after completion of his one year of Viceroyalty, wrote to Churchill:

Nor do we think in any case we can hold India by force nor the British soldiers wish to stay here any longer in large number after the war to hold the country down. The present government of India cannot continue indefinitely or even for long. The British Civil Service on which the good government of the country has up till now depended, might at most be described as moribund. Senior members are tired and disheartened, and it will be extremely difficult after the war to secure good recruits.

The Emergency Powers Ordinance was not promulgated, but the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance (II of 1942) was amended by Ordinance No. XLII of 1942 on 19th August. However, this had to be repealed in 1943 as a result of a ruling by the Federal Court. The Enhancement of Penalties Ordinance (III of 1942 was already in force and was amended later by Ordinance III of 1943. The Collective Fines Ordinance (XX of 1942) was amended by Ordinance XLIII of 1942 and was reported to have proved very effective. Many other Ordinances were issued, including the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Extension Ordinance LXVI of 1942.
Well over 50 Battalions of troops were delayed and, apart from arrests and detentions, the army and the police were empowered to fire upon persons who failed to halt when challenged or were about to damage property which these forces were protecting. Many printing presses were seized and closed down. The Congress Working Committee, and the Provincial Congress Committees, except in the N.W.F.P., were banned, but the Congress as a whole was not outlawed.54

The Bombay Government reported in September 1942 that the special measures adopted were efficacious and will be adequate for the future. For the future, they stated that the Armed Police will have to be expanded considerably and a proportion of the unarmed Police will have to be armed with muskets which were not available, but added that they could not manage without extensive military assistance.55

On 7th again disturbances occurred in the city. Soda-water bottles were thrown at the Police on several occasions, and one police constable and an innocent girl were injured thereby. The Police found a crude time bomb in the main hall of the Cricket Club of India and rendered it innocuous. Telephone wires were cut at Princess Street and Fanaswadi. The Police resorted to lathi charge on two occasions in the course of the day and one demonstrator was slightly injured.56

On 8th the last day of 'Gandhi Jayanti Week' efforts were
made to hold flag salutations or meetings in different parts of the city. Towards evening the police were compelled to make lathi charge several times to prevent crowd from a leather bag which had been surreptitiously placed beneath a seat.

Bombay continued to be agitating throughout the Quit India movement. On 5.10.1942 there was a disturbance in the Worli Jail when a section of the Political prisoners tried to create trouble.

On 14.12.1942 a bomb similar to the one thrown the previous day on Kalbadevi Road, was thrown into the 'coffee club' from the street. The resulting explosion injured ten persons, nine of whom were Europeans, viz., six military, two naval ratings and one R.A.F. personnel, and one Indian, a cook in the Coffee Club. One naval rating died subsequently. The explosion also caused much damage to crockery and glassware.

On 28th January, 1943 an attempt was made to set fire to the Ismail Yusuf College at Andheri. At about 10.45 p.m. a fire broke out in the Chemical Stores of the College Laboratory, but it was soon put out. This was followed later by another fire in the college hall, which also was extinguished after some damage had been done to the carpets, curtain and wooden stage of the hall. When the college premises were thoroughly searched, two crude incendiary bombs were traced, one of which had burnt itself out. The other was rendered innocuous.
Gandhi informed the Viceroy, on 29th January 1943, that he would commence a 21 days' fast from 9th February. The Government had offered to release him for the duration of the fast, but the offer was declined. H.P. Mody, M.R. Sarkar and M.S. Aney resigned from the Viceroy's Council on the issue of the fast on the 17th and there was a country-wide agitation for his release. The personal envoy of the U.S. President in India, Mr Phillips, was refused permission to see Gandhi in the Aga Khan Palace. His condition became serious on the 22nd. A Government pamphlet entitled 'Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances' was published on the same day. However, his health improved miraculously and the fast was broken on 3rd March.58

World opinion was in favour of an end to the political deadlock. Bernard Shaw had said:

The imprisonment of Gandhi is the stupidest blunder the Government has let himself be landed in by its right wing of incurable diehard. The King should release him unconditionally as an act of grace unconcerned with policy, and apologize to him for the mental defectiveness of his cabinet.

But the Government of India were adamant and even Gandhi's letter to Jinnah was withheld. Lord Wavell succeeded Lord Linlithgow in October. 59

The situation outside Bombay comparatively remained calm upto 10.8.1942. But from 11th August disturbances spread to nearby
areas like Kaira, Thana, Broach, Pach Mahals, Godhra, Surat, Ahmednagar, East Khandesh, Nasik, Satara, Belgaon, Dharwar, Ratnapuri, West Khandesh, Solapur, Bijapur, Kanara, and Kolaba. Incidents that occurred in these areas were almost identical in nature and character. Whatever the Bombay crowd did on 9th and 10th August was followed by the people of these places. On 12th August, the crowd at Chinchni forced policemen to burn their uniforms and join the procession. Almost from 6,000 to 8,000 mill workers came out of Mills in Ahmedabad. In many mills, workers themselves struck work. In Broach, the Gopal Mills had to be closed down because spinners refused to work. At Chaklashi (Kaira) a mob attacked the police station. Another mob attempted to burn down the Government dispensary and the Post Office at Chinchni (Thana). The Kacheri at Palghar was attacked by a mob, one police Sub-Inspector was assaulted at Rakta. In all these places, police had to open fire to disperse the crowd. Attendance of students in the schools and colleges in different districts was very poor. It ranged between ten and thirty per cent.

Students of the Gujarat College in Ahmedabad city were conspicuous in the disturbances. Some 200 of them entered the college and damaged furniture. On the arrival of the Police, they took to their heels and indulged in further destructive activities to telegraph property on the roads and along railway lines. Twelve telephone poles were pulled down behind the Gujarat College. Three rounds were fired by the Police and one person was injured. Elsewhere in the district there were cases of wire-cutting.
On 25.9.1942 the day was observed in 'Student Day'. Several demonstrations were staged in Ahmedabad city, and an attempt made by a crowd of 300 persons predominantly students, to hoist the Congress flag on a local High School building. The Police, who came to disperse them, were greeted with stones. The mob was soon dispersed.

In Ahmedabad city, on 9.2.1943 some 20 persons removed books from four girls, who were going to the Gujarat College. Some letters in a Postal Letter Box were burnt. A crude bomb was thrown against a police chowky in the city, but it did not explode and at Dholka a crude bomb exploded in the laboratory hall of the local High School, causing slight damage but no injury to person took place.

Stones were thrown at the Police on seven occasions and a bulb filled with acid once. The latter resulted in slight injuries to three persons, including two policemen. At one place a mob of about 150 persons persistently stoned the Police, who fired one round to disperse them. No one was injured. Soon after a crowd of 500 persons collected at the place and began stoning the Police. A lathi charge was made and they dispersed. The principal markets and some Hindu shops in Ahmedabad city continued to be closed.

In the third and fourth weeks of February 1943 the news that Gandhi's condition was grave, caused tension and considerable anxiety among the public. As a mark of protest against his non-release, all the mills, the principal markets and most Hindu shops in the
city were closed. An attempt was made by about 250 persons to take out a procession in the city. It was dispersed by a lathi charge. At two other places in the city the police were stoned, but no one was injured. Some boys assembled at Desai's place and offered prayers for Gandhi.

Thus, Quit India movement remained quite demonstrating in Gujarat in general and in Ahmedabad in particular throughout until it was suspended.

Satara District, which was a rural district of Bombay Presidency in Western Maharashtra played noteworthy role in Quit India Movement. Satara had a tradition of fighting against the alien rule from the middle of seventeenth century. Shivaji had some of his lieutenants from this district. The British government found it tough to dethrone Pratapsinh and after his dethronement they faced a tough time in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Satara remained vanguard in Satyashodhak movement of Mahatma Phule and played its due role in the freedom struggle in 1942.

On 12.2.1943 at Satara on learning that Pandu Patil, an absconder for whose arrest a reward of Rs. 1,000 had been offered, was sitting outside Kurlap village, an armed police party assisted by 9 villagers, provided with axes and spears, made for the spot. As soon as they saw the Police, Pandu Patil and another saboteur Ganapati Patil began escaping; finding the Police on their trail, Pandu Patil fired two shots at them. The Police returned fire with 3 rounds
and Pandu was seen injured. Ganapati Patil stopped running and attacked the Police with a spear. But in the ensuing scuffle Ganapati received axe and spear blows and was arrested; he succumbed to his injuries later. Pandu Patil, however, escaped successfully.62

On 29.10.1943 saboteurs belonging to the gang of Natha Lad went to Gotkhindi village in Walwa Taluka, tied the hands of a police informant, and beat him fracturing his left leg.

How the rural India of Satara District was up in arms can be seen in the contemporary records. A police party encountered a gang of armed saboteurs in the crops near Radewadi, a hamlet under Ankalkhop village. The gang was taken entirely by surprise but owing to the height and thickness of the crops, it was impossible to see any of the members of the gang. The gang fired two rounds at the police without effect. The police returned fire in the direction of the sound then dispersed through the crops and though pursued for some distance, contact could not be made with them again. The police party, however, recovered three bayonets, one sword, one pistol, some ammunition and two country-made bombs.

On 18.1.1944 about 15 persons armed with guns, spears etc., entered the house of Ramchandra Hari Pawar, a retired military sepoy of Tambave, Taluka Karad, caught hold of him, searched his house and removed his S.B.B.I. gun. Similarly, they searched other houses in the village for arms, but without success. Before departing from the village, they took Dinkar Sitaram, the Police Patil, and
Shankar Ramji Jadhav, both of Tambave, from their houses to a field where they beat them with sticks on the soles of their feet. This was what was known as Nana Patil's 'Prati Sarkar' movement.63

Satara made the most significant contribution to the underground resistance movement in the Bombay Presidency. Most of the guerrillas here were trained in the handling of arms and ammunition. The insurgents under the leadership of Nana Patil made raids on Taluka treasuries and police outposts. Nana Patil was the director of the whole region. Political dacoities were often undertaken. On 3rd March 1945 for instance, they raided the local branch of the New Citizen Bank of India and took away Rs. 17,000. They also attacked running trains, police outposts, post-offices and nearby villages. Many guerrillas died in encounters with the Police. The people of Satara established their own 'Prati Sarkar'. The village Panchayats used to decide legal cases. In the Southern part of the Satara district, about 75 per cent of civil disputes were decided by these courts. It will have to be admitted that absconders had very skilfully set up an organization to which the villager was turning for the redress of his grievances. Documents seized during a raid on one of the villages (where a court of the so-called parallel government was holding a session) showed that all the features and paraphernalia of a parallel government had been set up.*

* Home Political File No. 18/3/45, 18/6/45, Fortnightly reports, Bombay, March, June 1945. On 26th June 1945, the Police raided a temple in Nerla village where a people's court was functioning at that time. The Police arrested twentyseven persons, for assembling there. A register of summary trial proceedings was seized. The Police also found some notices issued by the 'Patri Sarkar', Home Political File No. 18/7/45. Fortnightly report, Bombay, July 1945.
But the arrests caused a great setback to the underground movement in the Bombay region. Some of the guerilla leaders who survived did their utmost to revive the movement through the Rashtra Seva Dal units. Apprehending further trouble, the Bombay Government banned the Rashtra Seva Dal in September 1945 and ensured that the movement did not revive.*

Belgaum in the Southern part of Bombay Presidency was another place where 1942 movement went with vigour and energy. The place was well ahead in education as it had a sizable Anglo-Indian Christian population in the town and it was a great military training and recruiting centre. It was also right from the beginning a British territory and as such political movements from the close of the nineteenth century went afoot unabatedly.

On 17.8.1942 there were two serious riots in the course of the day, one at Nipani and the other at Bailhongal in Belgaum District. Boys from the High School at Nipani having held a meeting in the school compound, took out a procession and marched to the Motor Stand, and there destroyed the sentry box. While the Police were mustering at this point, the mob, which had grown in fury and numbers had in the meantime burnt the Post Office, cut telegraph wires and was advancing towards the Police Station. As they would not disperse, though warned, the police opened fire, 15 rounds were fired. The mob fell back, and on its retreat to the town, indulged in further acts of vandalism they burnt the Chavdi, the Court of the Honorary Magistrate and some toddy and liquor shops. Ten persons

were injured in all of whom two died.

At Bailhongal serious disturbances broke out in the wake of the arrest of some students, who attempted to organize a procession. When the arrested persons were being taken to the Police Station, a crowd numbering 7,000 persons followed them. Later, the mob seriously stoned the bus in which the arrested persons were being despatched, and demanded that they (the arrested persons) be set free. When their request was refused, they stoned the police heavily and some 72 officers and men were hit. Eventually, the police opened fire, injuring nine persons, of whom four succumbed to the injuries later. Twentytwo rounds were fired by the police. The cutting of telegraph wires and dismantling of telegraph posts continued. Schools were closed with a view to preventing students from taking part in the demonstrations.

This unprecedented struggle with fury and determination was conducted by the people everywhere. Some 500 persons including 200 girls attempted to hold a flag salutation ceremony at Thalakwadi in Belgaum in connection with Gandhi's birthday. They were dispersed by the Police following some stoning by the mob. Towards evening a mail bus was held up by an armed gang of about 20 persons near Sampgaon. A tree had been felled and placed across the road. When the bus halted the leader of the gang covered the driver with a pistol and simultaneously others rushed out. The gang took away all the mail bags and a box containing films. The passengers, who ran away were left unmolested and their belongings untouched. A
P.W.D. building at Hattargi and an unused road patrol building were set on fire. Karkop bungalow in Saundatti Taluka, two village chavdies, a rest house at Manoli, and primary schools at two villages were burnt. Telegraph property was also damaged at several places in the district, wires being cut and poles uprooted.

In villages of Belgaum district on 31.1.1943 gangs of saboteurs, operating separately, attacked the houses of Kulkarnis, Police Patels and Sanadis, with a view to securing their arms and destroying Government records. Thus, the records and swords of the Kulkarnis of Nandihalli and Jamloor, and of the Police Patils and Sanadis of Khodanpur, Hire-Nandihalli, Kalbhavi, Swatgi, Belavdi were stoned by saboteurs. The gang which attacked the Police Patil of Khodanpur, consisted of about 120 men armed with lethal weapons and pistols. Similarly, saboteurs attacked the houses of the Kulkarnis of Belavdi and Sidsamudra and of the Police Patils and Sanadis of Hoskoti, Pattihal and Sasamudra, and burnt Government records and decamped with a gun and a sword. In addition, the saboteurs burnt down the toddy shop at Swatgi and destroyed the contents of the liquor shop at Belavdi. The Dharamshala at Yadwad was also set on fire.65

On 26.1.1943 attendance at schools in Gokak, Belgaum city and Nipani and the Lingraj College Belgaum was very poor and a partial hartal was staged in Belgaum city in observance of 'Independence Day'.

Six telegraph wires were cut between Belgaum and Desur
and 2½ spans of wire stolen near Belgaum. In addition eight posts were broken between Belgaum and Sulebhavi. All telegraph wires along the railway line were cut and twelve posts broken.

On 4.2.1943 some 25 armed saboteurs broke open the Saundatti Post Office, burnt the records and removed cash and stamps worth about Rs. 241. The Chavdi at Athani was set on fire, and the revenue records burnt. The cattle pound at Inam-Hongal and the furniture and records of a primary school at Badli were also burnt. The police had to open fire twice in the course of the day; in the first instance in an encounter with some 100 armed dacoits in Murgod, resulting in injury to a dacoit; and police constable was injured on the head, when the dacoits opened fire on the police. The second occasion was when rounding up a gang of 150 armed saboteurs at Pachaput. The saboteurs pelted stones and fired at the Police, and a policeman was injured by a stone. Firing was then resorted to by the police. Thirtyseven rounds were fired. It resulted in the death of a person. In fact the Police record of Belgaum district is full of people's agitation during Quit India movement.

On 2.9.1943, a gang of 25 saboteurs attacked the mail bus at the Manoli Motor stand in Saundatti, overpowered the Police escort and snatched away 3 police rifles, 19 cartridges, a mail bag and some cash. Some of the saboteurs, who were armed with pistols, fired some shots and damaged the motor tyres. Elsewhere, saboteurs snatched a mail bag from a village postman at Chikhaltiholi, decamped with 3 swords of the Police Patil of Godikatti, burnt the
records in the village society office at Sangoli, after firing the office and raided the Ganja shop at Inam Hongal, burning the account books and deadstock in it.

Solapur was another place which played a significant role in Quit India movement. On 27.9.1942 an attempt was made by some eight persons to dislocate work in the old Mill at Sholapur by causing a minor disturbance, but normal conditions were soon restored with the arrest of six of the culprits two having by then absconded in the confusion. Soon afterwards an explosion occurred when a mill hand threw on the floor a crude bomb, which had previously been placed secretly in his 'pan' box. The explosion caused the worker minor multiple injuries in the face. Later in the day another explosion occurred on the road outside the Vishnu Mills and caused minor injuries to two women and two children. Two other crude bomb explosions also took place in the course of the day but they were harmless and there were no casualties. The next day, a crude bomb in the Narsinggirji Mill Chawls exploded killing a mill-worker. There were four other bomb explosions in Sholapur city, but no one was injured.

On 29.9.1942 a bomb exploded in the Oil Mill on a loom and injured three workers slightly. Another bomb exploded in Chatti Galli and injured three men and a girl of 11 to 12 years. Still another bomb explosion occurred when a fleeing cyclist threw a bomb at a Head Constable who challenged him. The Head Constable received minor injuries in the legs and hands. On 26.1.1943 'Independence
Day' was observed by students and some shopkeepers in Sholapur city. Students assembled in the premises of their institutions and sang 'Vande Mataram' and then returned home without attending classes. In the D.A.V. College 'Pledge' was also read out to an assembly of students. An attempt was made to set fire to the old Kacheri at Karmala and only slight damage estimated at Rs. 25 was caused.

The Quit India Movement played a very significant role in the history of India's struggle for independence. After 1857 it was the only movement where people's participation was not only massive but effective as well. Though the Government was successful in suppressing the movement temporarily, its impact was so serious that it shook the foundations of the British administration in India. The government had never expected that the movement would be so intense and its consequences so grave.

Germany surrendered unconditionally on 7th May 1945. Mr Amery announced in the House of Commons that the members of the Congress Working Committee in custody would be released. They were in fact, released soon afterwards.

A Labour Government came into power in England on 26th July. Japan surrendered in August, and the Second World War was over. It was announced on 21st August that general elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures in India would be held at the earliest possible date. A further announcement on 19th September stated that the British Government intended after these elections and
consultation with legislatures, to bring into being a constitution-making body and a new Executive Council. The Congress even while considering the announcements unsatisfactory in some respects, resolved to contest the elections and drew up a manifesto for this purpose.

On 19th February, the British Government announced that three members of the Cabinet would visit India "to promote, in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion the early realization of full self-government". A Mission arrived in the country on 23rd March. Elections to the Provincial Legislatures were held in the same month. The Congress won an overwhelming victory in the general seats and the Muslim League in the seats reserved for Muslims and representative Governments were formed in all the Provinces.

There were Hindu-Muslim riots in Ahmedabad and elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency early in July. The Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Mission's proposals on 29th July and resolved upon direct action. The Viceroy decided to reconstitute his Executive Council, without any representative of the League and invited Nehru to discuss the matter with him on 12th August. Nehru suggested a coalition government to Jinnah, but he did not accept the suggestion and the League gave a call for the observance of Direct Action Day on 16th August.

In Bombay, there was a hurried increase in the Presidency Police and the strength rose to 3 D.I.Gs., 31 S.Ps., 50 A.S.Ps. and Dy.S.Ps., 164 Inspectors, 967 S.Is. and 32, 251 H.Cs. and
Constables. The Wireless and Motor Transport Sections were improved and an Anti-Corruption Branch was created at Poona. In Bihar, the usefulness of the Wireless Branch was fully established in the Postal strike in August and the communal disturbances of November.

The British Decision to Quit India:

The end of the Second World War in 1945 also marked the end of India's struggle for freedom which had commenced just about a quarter of a century before. The non-violent, non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements had practically come to an end in 1933. The violent revolutionary movement which had started early in the twentieth century spent its force by 1935. A combination of the above two movements in August 1942 was ruthlessly crushed by the Government before the year was over. Lastly, the efforts of Subhash Bose to fight the battle for India's freedom with the help of foreign powers, culminating in the campaign of Azad Hind Fauz or Indian National Army on the eastern frontiers of India, came to an end with their retreat along with Japanese force in July 1944.

The people's war in 1942 overstepping the limits of non-violence put by Gandhi, must have opened the eyes of the British to the terrible dangers lurking ahead. Though they sternly put down movement with the help of the sepoys, they could no longer depend upon the loyalty of the sepoys as they might even turn against the British as they did in 1944. In the meantime the hammering blows of Japan had shattered beyond recovery not only the British army
and navy in the east, but also all the political and military prestige which, even more than material sources, formed the solid foundation of the British rule in India.

The Viceroy announced on 28 January 1946 that he would establish a new executive council formed by the political leaders and also set up a constitution-making body as soon as possible. But before further steps could be taken, a great sensation was created all over India by the revolt of a section of Indians serving in the Royal Indian Navy, followed by grave disturbances in the city of Bombay.

It started on 13th February when ratings of the signal school in Bombay went on hunger strike in protest against what their central strike committee described as "untold hardships regarding pay and food and the most outrageous racial discrimination", and in particular against their commanders' derogatory references to their national character. They were joined later by ratings from other naval establishments. These persons got completely out of hand. They took possession of some of the ships mounted the guns and prepared to open fire on the military guards. A very ugly situation developed. Admiral Godfrey broadcast to the ratings calling upon them to surrender. It was due largely to the efforts of Vallabhbhai Patel that on 23rd February, the ratings surrendered. In the mean time, contrary to the advice of Congress and Muslim League, strikes and hartals were organized in Bombay and unruly crowds went about looting and setting fire to banks, shops, post offices, police posts and grain shops. The Police had to open fire several times and the
military had to be called to assist before order could be restored. Over 200 persons were killed as a result of these disturbances which had their repercussion in other centres such as Karachi, Madras and Calcutta.

The Constituent Assembly:

The Constituent Assembly met on 9th December 1946, but the Muslim members did not attend. Rajendra Prasad was elected president and Nehru moved the 'Objectives Resolution'. It envisaged the Indian Union as "an independent sovereign republic", comprising autonomous units with residuary powers, wherein the ideal of social, political and economic democracy would be guaranteed to all sections of the people and adequate safeguards would be provided for minorities and backward communities and areas.

But its discussion was postponed till 20th January 1947 to enable the representatives of the Muslim League and the Indian States to participate in the constituent Assembly.

The Transfer of Power:

Mountbatten was so deeply moved by the rapid deterioration in communal relations that he was eager to effect the transfer of power without any avoidable delay. He sent his plan to London on 2nd May, 1947 and received it back on 10th May with the approval of the Cabinet in modified form. This plan envisaged the division
of India into quite large numbers of autonomous states to start with. But Nehru, to whom Mountbatten showed it confidently in advance, was dead against such organization of India. It was at this stage that V.P. Menon, a high official in the Viceroy’s secretariat, dealing with the various reforms proposals for a long time put up a plan which he had drawn up during the regime of Wavell, but of which no notice was taken by the secretary of state to whom it was sent. It was based on the portion of India into two states enjoying dominion status, the predominantly non-Muslim areas in the Punjab and Bengal being excluded from Pakistan. This plan, being approved by Nehru, was accepted by Mountbatten. Thereafter the Viceroy had consultation with Nehru and Patel on behalf of the Congress and Baldev Singh on behalf of the Sikhs. In the light of these consultations the new plan was finalized. On 18th May 1947 the Viceroy proceeded to London. The cabinet approved the new plan and issued statement on the main points, i.e., Bengal and the Punjab, Sind, N.W.F.P., British Hindustan and Assam problems.

Lord Mountbatten returned to India on 31st May 1947 and discussed the statement with the party leaders on 2nd and 3rd June. The leaders having accepted it, the Prime Minister announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3rd June 1947. The Viceroy also spoke over the All India Radio on the evening of 3rd June and immediately after it the statement of His Majesty’s Government was broadcast and released to the Press.

Lord Mountbatten held a press conference on 4th June
and announced that the transfer of power would be effected not in June 1948, as declared in the statement of 20th February 1947, but much earlier than that, and probably about 15th August, 1947. AICC also gave consent to the creation of Pakistan and thus two nations came into being on 14/15 August, 1947.

It is hardly necessary to say that August 15, 1947 was hailed with joy all over India, and no words can be adequately used to describe the tumultuous scenes of wild rejoicings witnessed in every city and every village. Lord and Lady Mountbatten attended the function.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Gandhi told the Viceroy "... I could not contemplate without being stirred to the very depth, the destruction of London, which had hereto been regarded as impregnable. And as I was picturing before him the House of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction I broke down. I have become disconsolate". N.N. Mitra Ed., The Indian Annual Register (Calcutta, n.d.) Vol. 2, 1939 p. 379. Bhuyan, Arun Chandra - The Second World War and Indian Nationalism.

2 Home Political File No. 4/19/40.


4 The Indian Struggle Vol. 14, p. 33.

5 Ibid., p. 34.

7 Tendulkar - Mahatma Vol. 5, pp. 391-395.


9 H.D.F. 174/7/42 Police.


12 Ibid., p. 624.

13 Ibid., pp. 639-40.

14 Telegram No. 193-C, dt. 27.7.1942.


16 V.P. Menon. The Transfer of Power in India, pp. 262-63.

17 Communism in India by Gane D. Over Street and Marshall Wind-miller (hereafter referred to as Communism), p. 140.


20 Ibid., pp. 71-72.

21 Ibid., pp. 79-80.

22 Ibid., p. 84.
For details, see H.D. Pol. (I) FN 7/7/1939.
The Communist, March, 1940.

Ibid., November 1940.

(Extracts from reports on Political situation, Assam).


For details, see R.C. Majumder (ed.) Op.cit., p. 708

H.D. Pol.(I) FN 18/8/1942 (F.N.R. From Bombay for the
first half of August, 1942).

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H.D. Pol.(I) FN 6/15/1942 (The statement issued by P.
Bharucha, General Secretary of the A.I.S.F.).

P.C. Joshi, Congress and the Communists (Bombay, People's

H.D. Pol.(I) FN 7/23/1943 (Report prepared by Deputy
Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, Calcutta, 16 August,
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For details, see A.I.C.C. F.N. P-1 of 1945-46 (charges
against the members of the C.P.I. in the Congress - The
Report issued by a Congress Committee led by Nehru).

Ibid. (J.B. Kripalani, AICC General Secretary to the ALL
PCCs, 19 Sept. 1945, Circular No. 10, P-1/187).
The Hindustan Times (New Delhi) 24 July, 1942.
The Statesman (New Delhi), 10 August, 1942.
Ibid.
Home Political File No. 18/7/42, Fortnightly Report, Bombay, July 1942.
The Hindu, 8 August 1942.
D.G. Tendulkar, Mahatma (Bombay, 1953), Vol. 6, p. 216.
Home Police File No. 3/21/42, National Archives of India, New Delhi. Rechard Tottenham, Additional Home Secretary had however, noted. To shut down even this kind of communication might appear somewhat inhuman. The Viceroy's Executive Council meeting on 19 August 1942, decided to allow Gandhi and his party and the CWC members to receive purely personal messages from their close relatives. They were also permitted to see newspapers including past issues.
Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43 (New Delhi, Government of India, 1943), p. 74. The Government's version of Gandhi's message was based on the texts used in underground congress bulletins.
Home Political File No. 3/15/43 and Arun Chandra Bhyuan - The Quit India Movement, the Second World War and Indian Nationalism.
Among these leaders were, Mrs Sucheta Kripalani, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Ram Nandan Mishra, Achyut Patwardhan and Sadiq Ali. Home Political File No. 4/4/1944, National
Archives, New Delhi. After sometime, Girdhari Kripalani, Balkrishna Keskar, Dwarkanath Kachru and Ram Sevak Pandey, joined the underground group. Ram Sevak pandey's statement, Home Political File No. 3/70/43.

Besides them there were also Purshottam Trikamdas, Mohanlal Saxena, Sadashiv Mahadeo Joshi, Sane Guruji, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and Poornima Bannerjee, Onkar Sharad Lohia (Delhi, 1942), p. 100. Most of them had assumed nicknames in order to escape detection, e.g., Sucheta Kripalani - Dadi, Aruna Asaf Ali, Kadam, Achyut Patwardhan - Kusum, and Sadiq Ali, Satya, Sushila etc.. The person who acted as intermediary between the A.I.C.C. office and the Central Home Political File No. 3/70/43.

47 Arun Chandra Bhuyan Op.cit., p. 32. The office was run by Sadiq Ali (the office Secretary of the A.I.C.C.). Ram Charan Pandey (clerk) Gangadhar B. Pathkey (typist) and Motiram (Peon), Home Political File No. 3/70/43.


49 Dr. Sanjiv P. Desai, Bhaskar, Dhavarkar - Calendar of the Quit India Movement in the Bombay Presidency, p. 2.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

55 H.D.F. 156/43 Police; Letter No. 3/33/42-Pol.(I) dt. 5.9.1942.
57 Ibid., pp. 240-45.
61 Ibid., pp. 251-58.
62 Ibid., p. 259.
64 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
65 Ibid., p. 227.
66 Ibid., p. 374.
67 Ibid., p. 243.
70 Ibid., p. 802.
71 Ibid., pp. 803-06.