
UNIT 34 INDIAN NATIONALISM DURING THE WORLD WAR II: QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT AND INA

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34.0 OBJECTIVES

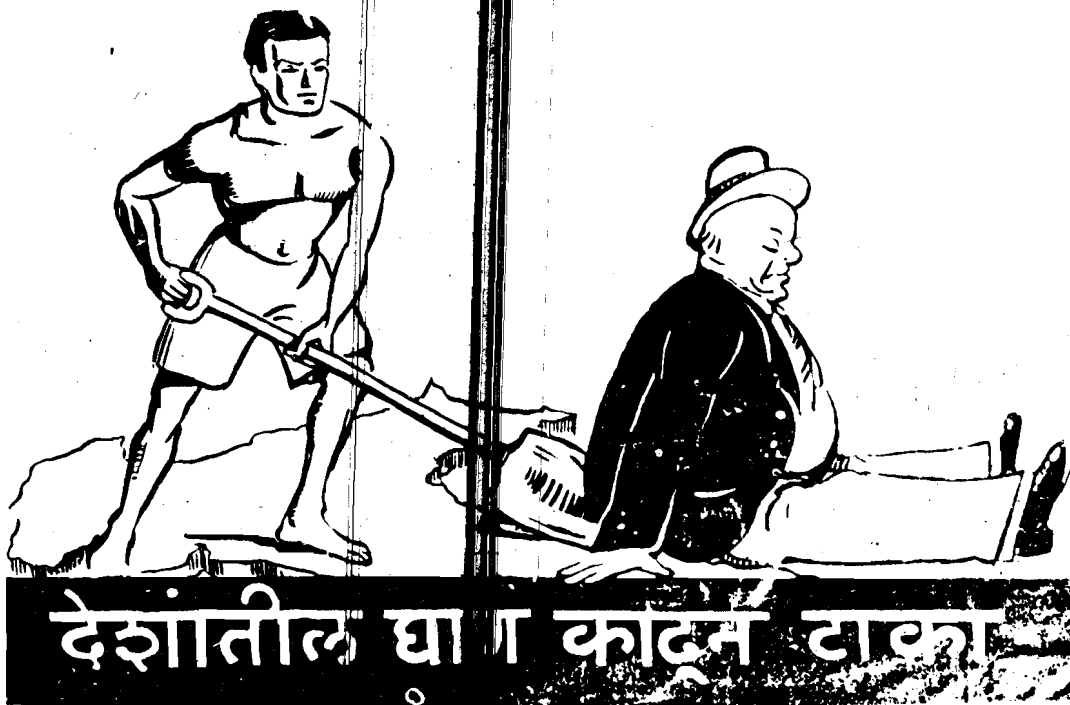
After reading this Unit you will be able to:

- know about the circumstances leading to the beginning of the Quit India Movement,
- explain the attitude of the various sections of Indian people towards this movement,
- learn about the response to this movement in different regions of the country,
- know about the repressive methods adopted by the British to crush the movement,
- understand the characteristics and the significance of this movement, and
- learn about the formation of the Indian National Army and the role it played in India's struggle for independence.

34.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Unit an attempt is made to familiarise you with the main political currents in the freedom struggle during 1939-1945. The emphasis in this Unit is on the Quit India Movement (QIM) and the role played by the Indian National Army (INA) during the struggle.

We discuss here the chain of events which led to the launching of the QIM. The Congress had hardly planned for directing or organising the movement when the Government unleashed repression to nip it in the bud. However, the calculations of the Government were falsified because the people, after the arrest of the Congress leadership, decided their own course of action and challenged the British in a way which to an extent could be compared to the struggle of 1857. New leadership emerged at local levels and their role was at variance with the Gandhian form of struggle. Non-violence was no more a guiding principle and all over there were attacks on Government property. Though the Government was able to crush the movement, its intensity had made it clear that the British would not be able to rule over India for much longer. This was also demonstrated through the formation and actions of the Indian National Army under the commandship of Subhas Chandra Bose. The Indians were not only capable of, but had actually confronted the British in armed struggle and formed the Azad Hind Government.



1. "Remove dirt from the country" — A Cartoon on Quit India.

34.2 1939 TO 1941

You would be interested to know the sequence of events and the circumstances during the period 1939-1941 which led to the Quit India Movement.

34.2.1 Attitude Towards War

Generally speaking the attitude of Indians towards the World War can be categorised as follows:

i) Since Britain was in trouble, India should seize the opportunity to gain freedom. This was to be done by:

- opposing the British efforts to mobilise India's resources for the war.
- launching a strong movement against the British.

The prime concern of the proponents of this view was to achieve India's freedom and they were not concerned about the international situation.

ii) India should not seek advantage of Britain's problems. It should cooperate with the British in their war efforts unconditionally. Those who supported this view hoped that after the war the British would adopt a lenient view towards India in the light of her services, and suitably reward her.

iii) There were many who considered Fascism as a greater threat to mankind, and wanted to help Britain in the War. But this help was to be conditional. The conditions were India's independence in the future and an interim government of Indians for the moment.

iv) There were also certain sections whose attitude changed according to the changing war situation. There were also sections who maintained a neutral position.

What did the Congress do in such a situation? Practically all of attitudes mentioned above were visible within the Congress and it was a difficult task to steer towards a definite line of action. The Congress, at this juncture, offered full cooperation in the war, provided some sort of a responsible government was established at the centre immediately. As for the future, the Congress demanded a Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of free India. Thus, it is clear, that the section which was in favour of launching a movement against the British at this time, was not heard by the Gandhian leadership. Gandhi questioned the British, "Will Great Britain have an unwilling India dragged into the War

or a willingly co-operating with her in the prosecution of a defence of true democracy?" He further stated, "The Congress support will mean the greatest morale asset in favour of England and France".

Though Gandhi supported the Congress Working Committee Resolution of conditional support he himself was not for it as he stated later "I was sorry to find myself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally." Gandhi, in his personal capacity, was repeating his attitude towards the British of the First World War days i.e. cooperation. But now things were different and one had to come above one's personal views. Gandhi realised that his silence might turn out to be a "distinct disservice to both India and England" and he stated:

If the British are fighting for the freedom of all, then their representatives have to state in the clearest possible terms that the freedom of India is necessarily included in the war aim. The content of such freedom can only be decided by Indians and them alone.

How did the Government react? Well, the British were not prepared either to make any concessions immediately or make promises about the future — except a vague talk of dominion status. Defence of India Rules were promulgated in order to check defiance of British authority and exploit Indian resources for the War effort.

34.2.2 Individual Satyagrah

There were two opinions in Congress about the launching of civil disobedience. Gandhi felt that the atmosphere was not in favour of civil disobedience as there were differences and indiscipline within the Congress. Those advocating Civil disobedience were attempting to convince Gandhi that once a movement was launched differences would disappear and all would work for its success. But Gandhi would not agree. The Congress Socialists and the All India Kisan Sabha were in favour of immediate struggle. N.G. Ranga even suggested that the AIKS should sever links with Congress and launch an independent movement. He was, however, checked by P. Sundarayya from doing so. It was in such an atmosphere that the Congress met at Ramgarh in March 1940 under the presidentship of Maulana Azad who declared:

India cannot endure the prospect of Nazism and Fascism,
but she is even more tired of British imperialism.

The Ramgarh Congress called upon the people to prepare themselves for participating in a Satyagrah to be launched under Gandhi's leadership. But the Socialists, Communists, Kisan Sabhaites and those belonging to the Forward Bloc were not happy with the resolution. They held an anti-compromise conference at Ramgarh and Subhas Chandra Bose urged the people to resist compromise with imperialism and be ready for action.

In August 1940 the Viceroy announced an offer which proposed:

- expansion of Governor-General's Council with representation of the Indians,
- establishing a War Advisory Council.

In this offer he promised the Muslim League and other minorities that the British Government would never agree to a constitution or government in India which did not enjoy their support (we should remember here that the Muslim League had demanded Pakistan in its Lahore session of 1940). The Congress rejected this offer because:

- i) There was no suggestion for a national government.
- ii) It encouraged anti-Congress forces like the Muslim League.

The government was systematically putting under preventive arrest many Congress workers — particularly those with Socialist or Left leanings. All local leaders were under observation, while many labour leaders and youngmen were taken into custody.

Convinced that the British would not modify their policy in India (Gandhi had long meetings with the Viceroy at Simla in September 1940), Gandhi decided to start the Individual Satyagrah. The very reason for confining the movement to individual participation was that neither Gandhi nor the Congress wished to hamper the War effort and this could not have been the case in a mass movement. Even the aim of the Satyagrah was a limited one i.e. to disprove the British claim of India supporting the War effort whole heartedly.

On 17 October 1940, Acharya Vinoba Bhave inaugurated the Satyagrah by delivering an anti-war speech at Paunar — a village near Wardha. Bhave had been personally selected by Gandhi for this. His two other nominees Vallabhbhai and Nehru were arrested before they could offer Satyagrah. Between November 1940 and February 1941 many prominent Congressmen went to jail, but due to the limited nature of participation and restrictions imposed on Congressmen by Gandhi the movement could not achieve much. In some cases even the Congressmen were not very willing. For example, in Bihar, many Congressmen selected to offer Satyagraha were reluctant to relinquish the positions they held in municipal bodies. They either refused or “were extremely slow to court arrest” (see Stephan Henningam, *Peasant Movements in Colonial India*). In December 1941 the Congress Working Committee decided to suspend the movement. By this time the war had taken a new turn. The British were facing defeat after defeat and the Japanese forces had overrun South-East Asia. USSR had been attacked by the Nazis and there were pressures on the British from USSR, USA and China to reconsider their India policy. The Government released many political prisoners. After the fall of Rangoon to the Japanese the British decided to send the Crispin Mission to India.

Check Your Progress 1

1 Discuss in about ten lines attitudes of Indians towards the War.

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2 Which of the following statements are right (✓) or wrong (x)

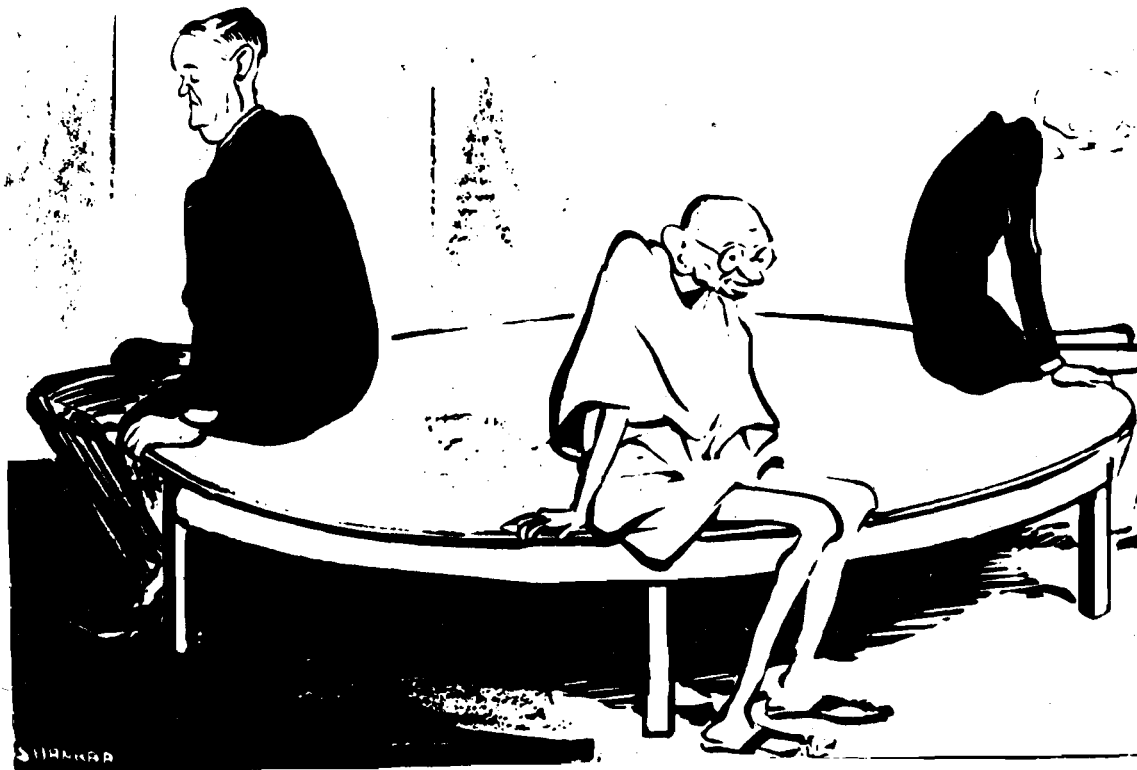
- i) Gandhi felt sorry that he was the only one who wanted to give unconditional support to the British during the War.
- ii) Gandhi agreed to give support to the British for the War effort.
- iii) Defence of India Rules were meant to defend the interests of the Congress.
- iv) Congress was opposed to Fascism and Nazism.
- v) Congress accepted the August Offer.
- vi) The individual Satyagrah continued till 1947.

3 Fill in the blanks:

- i) The Socialists were (favouring/opposing) the war effort.
- ii) Gandhi stated that the Congress support will mean the (greatest/least) moral asset in favour of (Germany and Japan/England and France).....
- iii) Gandhi (felt/desired) that the atmosphere was not in favour of (armed struggle/Civil Disobedience)
- iv) Subhas Chandra Bose was (happy/unhappy) with the Congress resolution at (Rangarh/Rampur)
- v) Acharya Vinoba Bhave (ended/inaugurated) the Individual Satyagrah.

34.3 TOWARDS QUIET INDIA MOVEMENT

seek an amicable settlement with India and obtain her active support in the War. Sir Stafford Cripps landed in India with a set of proposals and negotiated with leaders of various political parties.



2. A cartoon by Shankar on Negotiations (1942).

34.3.1 Cripps Proposals

Some of the Cripps proposals, embodied in a Draft Declaration were:

- Dominion Status would be granted to India immediately after the War with the right to secede.
- Immediately after the cessation of hostilities, a constitution — making body would be set up. It will consist of members from British India as well as Native States.
- The constitution so framed after the War would be accepted by the British Government on the condition that any Indian province could, if so desired, remain outside the Indian Union and negotiate directly with Britain.
- The actual control of defence and military operations would be retained by the British Government.

This Declaration was rejected by almost all the Indian parties. The Congress did not want to rely on future promises. It wanted a responsible Government with full powers and also a control over the country's defence. Gandhi termed the proposal "as a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank." The Muslim League demanded a definite declaration by the British in favour of the creation of a separate state for the Muslims, and also seats for the Muslim League on a 50:50 basis with the Congress in the Interim Government. The Depressed Classes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians demanded more safeguards for their communities.

Thus, the Cripps Mission failed to pacify the Indians. The British had merely taken up this exercise to demonstrate to the world that they cared about Indian sentiments, rather than to actually do something concrete.

34.3.2 Background to the Quit India Movement

The Congress had to decide its course of action in the wake of:

- the failure of the Cripps Mission;
- the arrival of Japanese armies on Indian borders;
- the rising prices and shortages in food supplies, and
- the different opinions within the Congress.

The Congress Working Committee adopted a resolution calling for complete non-violent non-cooperation with any foreign forces invading India (in May 1942). Rajagopalachari and a few other Congressmen from Madras attempted to get a resolution passed which proposed that in case the Madras Government invited them the Congress should form a ministry there. The resolution was rejected, but the very proposal demonstrated that there were certain Congressmen who wanted to cooperate with the government. Rajagopalachari was following an independent path. He had favoured the Pakistan demand, and was urging the Congress to support the War effort.

In May 1942 Gandhi told a gathering of Congressmen at Bombay that he had made up his mind to ask the British to quit India in an orderly fashion. If they did not agree, he would launch a Civil Disobedience Movement.

Many of the Congress leaders had reservations about the launching of a movement. Nehru was particularly concerned about the choice between fighting imperialist Britain and letting USSR and China down in the struggle against fascist powers. Eventually, he decided in favour of launching the movement. The Congress made it clear that the quit India demand did not mean that the British and the allied armies had to withdraw from India immediately. However, it meant an immediate acknowledgement of India's Independence by the British. On July 14 the Congress Working Committee adopted the Quit India Resolution which was to be ratified at the Bombay AICC meeting in August.

On 8 August 1942 the AICC passed the Quit India Resolution. After deliberating at great length on the international and national situation the Congress appealed to the people of India:

They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committee can function. When this happens every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself with in the *four corners* of the general instructions issued.

Gandhi told the British to quit and leave India in God's hand". He exhorted all sections to participate in the Movement and stressed "every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide". His message was 'do or die'. Thus, started Quit India Movement.



3. Gandhi drafting the Quit India Resolution.

34.4 THE MOVEMENT

The Congress gave the call for ousting British but it did not give any concrete line of action to be adopted by the people. The Government had been making preparations to crush the Movement. On the morning of 9 August all prominent Congress leaders including Gandhi were arrested. The news of leaders' arrest shook the people and they came to streets protesting against it. K.G. Mashruwala, who had taken over as editor of *Harijan* published his personal opinion as to the shape the protest should take:

In my opinion looting or burning of offices, bank, granaries etc., is not permissible. Dislocation of traffic communications is permissible in a non-violent manner — without endangering life. The organisation of strikes is best Cutting wires, removing rails, destroying small bridges, cannot be objected to in a struggle like this provided ample precautions are taken to safeguard life.

Mashruwala maintained that “Gandhiji and the Congress have not lost all hope of goodwill being re-established between the British and the Indian nations, and so provided the effort is strong enough to demonstrate the nations will, self-restraint will never go against us”.

Let us have a look at the spread of the movement and the response it evoked from various sections.

34.4.1 Spread of the Movement

Before his arrest on 9 August 1942 Gandhi had given the following message to the country:

Every one is free to go the fullest length under *Ahimisa* to complete deadlock by strikes and other non-violent means. Satyagrahis must go out to die not to live. They must seek and face death. It is only when individuals go out to die that the nation will survive, Karengé Ya|Marengé (do or die).

But while giving this call Gandhi had once again stressed on non-violence:

Let every non-violent soldier of freedom write out the slogan ‘do or die’ on a piece of paper or cloth and stick it on his clothes, so that in case he died in the course of offering Satyagraha, he might be distinguished by that sign from other elements who do not subscribe to non-violence.

The news of his arrest alongwith other Congress leaders led to unprecedented popular outbursts in different parts of the country. There were *hartals*, demonstrations and processions in cities and towns. The Congress leadership gave the call, but it was the people who launched the Movement. Since all the recognised leaders—central, provincial or local—had been arrested, the young and more militant cadres—particularly students—with socialist leanings took over as leaders at local levels in their areas.

In the initial stages, the Movement was based on non-violent lines. It was the repressive policy of the government which provoked the people to violence. The Gandhian message of non-violent struggle was pushed into the background and people devised their own methods of struggle. These included:

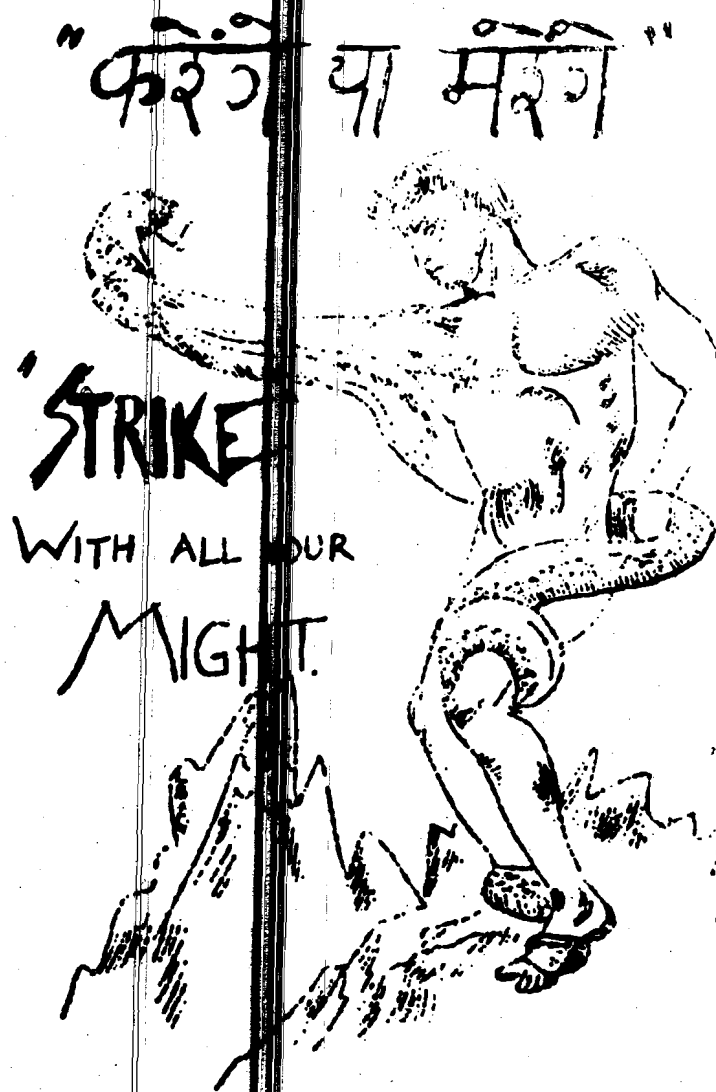
- attacks on government buildings, police stations and post offices,
- attacks on railway stations, and sabotaging rail lines,
- cutting off the telegraph wires, telephones and electric power lines,
- disrupting road traffic by destroying bridges, and
- workers going on strike, etc.

Most of these attacks were to check the movement of the military and the police, which were being used by the government to crush the Movement. In many areas, the government lost all control and the people established Swaraj. We cite a few such cases:

- In Maharashtra, a parallel government was established in Satara which continued to function for a long time.
- In Bengal, Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar functioned for a long time in Midnapore district. This national government had various departments like Law and Order, Health, Education, Agriculture, etc., along with a postal system of its own and arbitration courts.
- People established Swaraj in Talacher in Orissa.

- In many parts of eastern U.P. and Bihar (Azamgarh, Ballia, Ghazipur, Monghyr, Muzaffarpur, etc.) police stations were over run by the people and government authority uprooted.

The Movement had initially been strong in the urban areas but soon it was the populace of rural areas which kept the banner of revolt aloft for a longer time. The Movement got a massive response from the people of Bombay, Andhra, U.P., Bihar, Gujarat, Orissa, Assam, Bengal, Karnataka, etc. But responses in Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, etc. were weak.



A Poster on Quit India.

34.4.2 Responses and Trends

“Quit India” and “Do or Die” were the slogans of the day, and yet there were varied responses to the Movement. The working class in many industrial centres went on strike. Some of these centres were Bombay, Cawnpore, Ahmedabad, Jamshedpur and Poona. In Delhi the strike on 9 August was the result of the workers coming to the streets. But in most of these centres the strikes did not last long, except in Ahmedabad where it continued till about 3 months.

In Bihar, Patna was cut off from the rest of the areas as a result of mass actions and on the Northern side, the Sub-Divisional Officer of Begusarai reported:

.... the school students started the movement; they were joined by all sections of Congress Workers. The sober section of Congress tried to keep the movement under control, but when they allowed the village mass to join, it became an economic question: the vast properties, especially food grains at railway stations attracted them ... the poor labourers took prominent part in the loot. The merchants class in outlying stations were at the mercy of the Congress ... the sober sections did not approve it but they had no hold at the time.

Towards A Sovereign State

This reflects the level of participation by the rural people and the constraints of Gandhian leaders (described as sober sections) in directing the Movement. A similar situation existed in eastern U.P. The account kept by R.H. Nibblet of what happened at Madhuban Police Station in Azamgarh district shows the fury of the revolt in that area. Nibblet has mentioned how the police station was attacked in an organised manner from three sides. The people from one side reaching earlier, waited at a distance for the people to reach from the other sides. The police fired 119 rounds to check the attack which lasted about two hours.

In Orissa the government used aeroplanes to check the advance of peasant *guerillas* towards Talcher town. In Maharashtra the battles were long drawn in the Satara region.

Besides mass action there emerged another trend in the movement. This was the trend of underground revolutionary activity. On 9 November 1942, Jaiprakash Narain and Ramnandan Misra escaped from Hazaribagh Jail. They organised an underground movement and operated from the regions bordering Nepal.



6. Equipment of Congress Radio.

Similarly, in Bombay, the Socialist leaders continued their underground activities under leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali. The most daring act of the underground movement was the establishment of Congress Radio with Usha Mehta as its announcer. This radio carried broadcasts for a long time. Subhas Chandra Bose, speaking over Berlin radio (31 August 1942) described this movement as "Non-violent guerilla warfare". He suggested that:

The object of this non-violent guerilla campaign should be a two-fold one. Firstly, to destroy war production in India, and, secondly, to paralyze the British administration in the country. Keeping these objects in view, every section of the community should participate in the struggle.

There was massive participation by the students who spread to the countryside and played a role in guiding the people there.

The Movement did not evoke much response from the merchant community. In fact most of the Capitalists and merchants had profited heavily during the War. In certain cases, the Capitalists did appeal to the government (through FICCI) to release Gandhi and other leaders. But their argument was that Gandhi alone could check attacks on government property. They were worried that if such attacks continued they may get converted into attacks on private property. The Muslim League kept aloof from the Movement and no communal riots were reported. The Hindu Mahasabha condemned the Movement. The



7. Bose speaking over Berlin Radio.

Communist Party of India due to its "people's war" line did not support the movement. The princes and the landlords were supporting the War effort and did not sympathise with the movement. There were also Congress leaders like Rajagoplachari who did not participate in the movement and supported the War effort.

However, the intensity of the Movement can be gauged from the following figures:

- In U.P. 104 railway stations were attacked and damaged according to a government report. About 100 railway tracks were 'sabotaged' and the number in case of telephone and telegraph wires was 425. The number of post offices damaged was 119.
- In Midnapore 43 government buildings were burnt.
- In Bihar 72 police stations were attacked; 332 railway stations and 945 post offices damaged.
- Throughout the country there had been 664 bomb explosions.

How did the government react to this massive upsurge? This is the question which we shall deal in the following section.

34.4.3 Repression

The Government had geared all its forces to suppress the popular upsurge. Arrests, detentions, police firings, burning of Congress offices, etc. were the methods adopted by the Government.

- By the end of 1942 in U.P. alone 16,089 persons were arrested. Throughout India the official figures for arrests stood at 91,836 by end of 1943.

The QIM collapsed, but not without demonstrating the determination of the masses to do away with British rule. The Congress leadership did not condemn the deviation by the people from the principle of non-violence, but at the same time disowned any responsibility for the violent acts of the people.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1 Which of the following statements are right (✓) or wrong (x).
 - i) Gandhi wanted only a limited section of the people to participate in the QIM.
 - ii) The leadership of the QIM was taken over by militant youth and socialists.
 - iii) No parallel governments were formed during the QIM.
 - iv) The sober section of the Congress attempted to control the movement, but failed.
 - v) There was no underground activity during the QIM.
 - vi) Capitalists and merchants participated in great numbers in the QIM.

- 2 Discuss in about ten lines the measures adopted by the people to uproot the British authority during the QIM.

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- 3 Discuss in about ten lines the measures adopted by the British to crush the popular upsurge.

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34.5 INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

The QIM was a struggle fought against the British in India. But equally important is the role of the Indian National Army which waged battles against the British from foreign soil.

30.5.1 Formation of INA

There were many Indian revolutionaries working abroad for the country's cause. Among these was Rasbehari Bose, living as a fugitive from the British since 1915 in Japan. He



9. Rashbehari Bose and Mohan Singh Inspecting INA.

seized the opportunity offered by the War to mobilise Indians for an armed struggle against the British. There were a number of Indian soldiers fighting on behalf of the British. The Japanese after defeating the British in South East Asia, took a number of Indian soldiers as prisoners of War. Major Fujiwara a Japanese army Officer persuaded Captain Mohan Singh — a POW (Prisoner of War) — to work in collaboration with the Japanese for India's freedom. In March 1942 a conference of Indians was held in Tokyo, and they formed the Indian Independence League. This was followed by a conference in Bangkok (June 1942) where Rashbehari Bose was elected president of the League and a decision was taken to raise the Indian National Army. Captain Mohan Singh was appointed the Commander of the INA which now had about 40,000 Indian soldiers. This conference invited Subhas Bose to lead the movement.



10. The House in Calcutta from where Bose Escaped.

Bose had escaped from India in 1941 to Berlin. In June, 1943 he came to Tokyo and then joined the INA at Singapore in July. Rashbehari Bose handed over the leadership to Subhas Bose, and an Azad Hind Sarkar was formed. In November, 1943 the Japanese announced their decision to hand over the administration of Andamans and Nicobar islands to the INA. Thus, started the heroic struggle of the INA for India's independence.



11. INA in Action.

34.5.2 Actions of INA

The INA in a few months time had three fighting brigades named after Gandhi, Azad and Nehru. Soon other brigades were raised, namely the Subhas brigade and the Rani Jhansi brigade. The overseas Indians contributed heavily in terms of money and material for the army. The slogans of the INA were 'Jai Hind' and 'Delhi Chalo'. The most famous was Subhas's declaration that "Tum Mujhe Khoon Do Mein Tumhe Azadi Dunga" (you give me blood I will give you freedom).



12. Bose Inspecting Rani Jhansi Brigade.

Fighting side by side with the Japanese armed forces the INA crossed the Indian frontier on 18th March, 1944. The tricolour was hoisted on Indian soil. However the INA failed to capture Imphal due to two reasons:

- i) The Japanese failed to supply the necessary material and air cover to the INA.
- ii) The Monsoon prevented their advance.

In the meantime the British were able to regroup their forces and made counter attacks. The INA fought heroically with tremendous loss of manpower, but the course of war was changing. With the collapse of Germany and set backs to the Japanese armies, the INA too could not stand on its own. Subhas Bose disappeared. Some believed he died in an air crash, while others refused to believe that.

34.5.3 Impact

The INA had failed to achieve its goal but it made a significant impact on the freedom struggle:

- i) It became clear to the British that they could no longer depend on the loyalty of Indian soldiers and treat them as mercenaries.
- ii) The struggles of the INA demonstrated that those who waged an armed struggle against the British were not at all affected by communal division. There were Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in the INA who had fought as Indians.
- iii) The actions of the Rani Jhansi Brigade — an exclusively women force — demonstrated the capabilities of Indian women waging armed struggle against the British.
- iv) The INA had also demonstrated the enthusiasm and concern of overseas Indians for the freedom of their motherland.

In dealing with the role of Subhas Bose during this period, we have to take note of the fact that what he did was not due to his support to Fascist Germany or expansionist Japan, but for India's freedom. He was determined to maintain the independent existence of INA from the Japanese, and while in Berlin he had problems with the Germans regarding the use of Indian Legion against USSR. The British Government court martialed the INA officers and soldiers and put them on trial for conspiring against the King (you will read about this in Unit 35).

Check Your Progress 3

1 Discuss in about five lines the sequence of the formation of the INA.

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2 Which of the following statements are right (✓) or Wrong (x).

- i) The INA was formed by Subhas Bose.
- ii) Subhas Bose completely towed the Japanese line.
- iii) The British could no longer depend on the loyalty of Indian troops.
- iv) The INA reached the Indian soil.

3 What was the impact of the INA on India's freedom struggle? Answer in about ten lines.

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34.6 LET US SUM UP

The various sections of Indian people had different attitude towards the War, and these were reflected within the Congress. The Individual Satyagraha launched by Gandhi, due to its limited nature of participation, did not get widespread response. It took the Congress almost three years after India was dragged into the War to reach a decision about launching the Quit India Movement. With the declaration for starting the Movement, the British adopted a policy of ruthless repression. All prominent Congress leaders were arrested overnight and the Congress could get no time to plan the line of action to be adopted. However, the Movement took its own course with the people directing their own actions. The youth and Socialists were at the forefront in directing the Movement. In its initial phase it were the people in the urban centres who were involved but soon the Movement spread to the country side. In many regions the British authority was uprooted and parallel governments established. The methods of struggle adopted by the people surpassed the confines of Gandhian non-violence and the "sober sections" among Congressmen could not control them.

The British were able to crush the Movement, but underground activities continued for a long time. The Movement had made it clear to the British that it will be difficult for them to retain their hold on India for a long time, and the heroic struggles waged by the INA further demonstrated this.



13. INA Soldiers.

34.7 KEY WORDS

Collecting Punitive Fines: Fines imposed by the government on the residents of an area where 'riots' etc. have taken place.

Constituent Assembly: A body which performs the task of framing a constitution.

Forward Blocs: Party formed by Subhas Bose in 1940.

People's War: A term applied to Second World War by the Communists after Hitler attacked USSR.

34.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1 Your answers should include the four views mentioned in Sub-sec. 34.2.1.
- 2 i) ✓ ii) ✓ iii) (x) iv) ✓ v) (x) vi) (x)
- 3 i) opposing, ii) greatest, England and France, iii) felt, Civil Disobedience, iv) unhappy, Ramgarh v) inaugurated

Check Your Progress 2

- 1 i) (x) ii) ✓ iii) x iv) ✓ v) (x) vi) (x)
- 2 Base your answer on the write up in Sub-secs. 34.4.1 and 34.4.2. It should take into account the various acts of people like attacks on police stations, formation of parallel governments, etc.
- 3 These were imposing fines, firing on people, arrests etc. See Sub-sec. 34.4.3.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1 See Sub-sec. 34.5.1. You should be very clear in your answer that Rashbehari Bose formed the INA and not Subhas Bose.
- 2 i) (x) ii) (x) iii) ✓ iv) ✓
- 3 See Sub-sec 34.5.3.