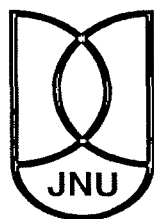


**STUDENT UNREST IN THE UNITED PROVINCES
(1936-1946)**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

TANU PARASHAR



**Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067
India
2009**

Date: 29th July, 2009

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, '**STUDENT UNREST IN THE UNITED PROVINCES 1936-1946**', submitted by **TANU PARASHAR** in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is my original work and has not been previously submitted, in part or full, for the award of any other degree of this or any other university.

Tanu Parashar
Tanu Parashar

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Sucheta Mahajan
Prof. Sucheta Mahajan

Supervisor



Centre for Historical Studies,
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067, INDIA

Neeladri Bhattacharya
Prof. Neeladri Bhattacharya



CHAIRPERSON
Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067, INDIA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Sucheta Mahajan for her valuable guidance and encouragement at all times. Her words of encouragement have always kept my spirits alive. I would like to thank her for providing me the guidance of Dr. Vishalakshi Menon whose valuable suggestions on my topic has always encouraged me to deliver my best. I would like to thank her for patiently hearing me and trying to give me a wider idea on the various aspects of my work.

Along with her, I would like to thank some of my faculty members who have always boosted me in more than one ways. Prof. Aditya Mukheejee whose very first words to me always made me realise that I have to make the best use of my time here in JNU. Dr. Mahalaxmi for her smile and words of encouragement cheered me up whether it was in the centre or at Nehru Memorial Library. Prof. Neeladri Bhattacharya for his interesting set of suggestions. Prof. Yogesh Sharma and Dr. Pius Fernandius whose very presence use to make me go back in the times of my interview in the centre. I would like to thank them for believing in me and giving me a chance to be a part of the CHS family. I would also like to thank Dr. Radhika Singha whose work on the 'Aspects of Quit India movement in U.P.' gave me the conceptual clarity about the region and the movement of 1942.

I wish to record the kind assistance and cooperation of the Staff of National Archives, Nehru Memorial Library, Indian Council of World Affairs Library, B.H.U Central Library, Kashi Pracharani Sabha, J.N.U Central Library, D.S.A. Library and D.U Central Library, who made things easy for me while I was engaged in collecting materials for my work. I would also like to thank my center's staff for their cooperation. At the same time I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to the scholars whose works have been freely consulted by me and have been listed in Bibliography of this book.

I wish to dedicate my work to my parents and Pragyaan Sir who stood by me in both my good and bad times. Sir has always been a pole star for me as he guided, motivated and showed me the way to handle my problems. The long discussions that I had with him are certain moments I'll always cherish. I would also like to thank Madhu Mam for boosting me up. I feel gifted to have such people in my life.

Last but certainly not the least, I wish to thank my sister for encouraging me, my friends Anuradha for her indispensable suggestions, Ranjana for her sense of humour, Tanushree for her unending talks, Abhijit for being a guide, Nancy for making me feel positive about everything, Rohit for his support and encouragement, Robert and Vineet for being my Editors-in Chief. And this little but special corner you for 'Ba' without whom taking even a single step seemed difficult for me but your very faith in me has always made me deliver my best. I want to thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

Above all, without the blessings of Sai baba this work would not have seen the light. He bestowed me with the grace to bring this work to its culmination.

Tanu Parashar.

CONTENTS

List of Plates	i
Abbreviations	ii
1. Introduction	1-10
2. Chapter One- Historiographical Trends in the Study of the Student Movement	11-31
• Conceptual or Theoretical Approaches to the Student Movement	
• Government Reports and Official Perspectives	
• Writings of Participants and Activists	
• Secondary Works on Indian National Movement as a Whole	
• Secondary Works specific to 1942 Movement	
3. Chapter Two- Political Disturbances and Student's Involvement in U.P. (1936-1942)	32-72
• The Student Movement in the United Provinces during 1936-37	
• The Student Movement in the United Provinces during 1937-39	
• The Division in AISF and the Indian Student Movement	
• Outbreak of the Second World War	
• The Movement of 1942 & the Students	
• The Student Awakening all over India	
• The United Provinces in context of 1942 Movement & the B.H.U Students	
• Contribution of Women and Girl Students in the Quit India Movement	
4. Chapter Three- Political Scenario Post 1942 Movement in U.P. and the Students	73-91
• The Activities of the AISF in 1943-44	
• I.N.A Trials and the Students	

- Royal Naval Revolt and the Students

Conclusion	92-97
Appendix	
Bibliography	98-108

LIST OF PLATES

- **Plate: 1** A sketch of the slogan of Quit India.
- **Plate: 2** A Photograph of Shri Raj Narain.
- **Plate: 3** A Photograph of Shri Prabhu Narain Singh.
- **Plate: 4** A Photograph of Ravindra Varma.
- **Plate: 5** A sketch of the slogan on 'Karenge ya Mareng'(Do or Die).

ABBREVIATIONS

AICC- All India Congress Committee
AISC- All India Students Congress
AISF- All India Students Federation
AIWC- All India Women's Conference
CA- Constituent Assembly
BPSF- Bengal Provincial Students Federation
B.H.U- Banaras Hindu University
BSU- Bombay Students Union
CID- Criminal Investigation Department
CLA- Central Legislative Assembly
CP- Central Provinces
C.P.I- Communist Party of India
CrPC- Criminal Procedure Code
C. R. Formula- C. Rajagoplachari Formula
C.S.P- Congress Socialist Party
CWC- Congress Working Committee
CWMG- Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi
DCC- District Congress Committee
FB- Forward Bloc
H.S.R.A- Hindustan Socialist Republican Army
INA- Indian National Army
IPC- Indian Penal Code
JNU- Jawaharlal Nehru University
MLA- Member Legislative Assembly
NAI- National Archives of India
NMML- Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NWFP- North West Frontier Province
PCC- Provincial Congress Committee
SWJN- Selected Works Jawaharlal Nehru
UP- United Provinces
WC- Working Committee

INTRODUCTION

In the introduction the important idea would be to build a set of general propositions in the context of the Student Movement in UP. In the last few decades there have been changes in the theoretical understanding of the ways in which academic scholarship tried to contextualize the student movement in terms of its origin, progress and its aim. For our purpose, we would try to understand the various trajectories of it in the context of Indian National Movement. Due to the infrequency in the availability of significant documents the present debate at the best is an attempt to reexamine the student struggle in terms of its location, events and participants.

The Location: (United Provinces):

The location of the 'United Provinces' is important in the context of the student movement, the politics woven around it and the developments in the freedom struggle post-1940. UP holds an important place as the movement of 1942 was waged on a large scale here and students came out in large numbers both from schools and colleges to participate in the struggle for independence. The main centres of the Quit India Movement lay from Bombay, Satara and Ahmedabad in Western India through U.P and Bihar in the north and Bengal and Orissa in the east. The development of politics in and around 1940s also get a major fillip through these developments in the United Provinces. Here the student movement provides an essential background for the political developments of freedom movement in general and United Provinces in particular. In the view of D.A Low, UP's dominant politics at the beginning of the twentieth century was like an 'empty shell'. "The flesh had dried up. The kernel had gone, only the husk remained."¹ By the 1920s the UP had become an important site of the freedom struggle.

If one views the political set up in and after 1936 the United Provinces shows an interesting political tangle wherein after the 1937 electoral victory Congress came out victorious and its control over provincial power during 1937-1939 seriously undermined the colonial authority. With the decline of the zamindars and the taluqdars they were able

¹ D.A. Low, *Rearguard Action, Selected Essays on Late Colonial History*, New Delhi, 1966, p.7.

to bring the 'steel frame' of the British administration under considerable pressure to accept local Congressmen as partners in government. The Congress emerged as a 'locus of authority' parallel to the colonial state itself. The onset of the Second World War in late 1939 brought an abrupt end to the so called take over by the Congress. This was the crucial period during which the Congress accepted office twice, constituting a change from a Movement to a Party meaning that from a wide range of politics dealing with the Movement in general, the Congress party slowly shifted its focus on developing and strengthening its own Party base in India in general. And as one goes through the present work one can analyze this 'shift' in focus in context of UP in particular. The Congress mounted two further campaigns in the 1940s namely, the Individual Civil Disobedience campaign of 1940-1941 and the Quit India Movement of 1942. In both these Movements the Congress was able to demonstrate its organisational capacity as well as strong popular support in UP. The news of the Quit India movement and arrests of leaders sparked off processions and hartals and which turned into attacks on Government buildings by "Students". By 12th August, as leaders and students fanned out into the countryside, sabotage of communication, attacks on police stations, Tehsil offices, and all Government buildings began. Even the peasantry of the Eastern districts participated in the movement. Thus, the official report, is "one of organized gangs with a good deal of support working in the eastern area on roughly coordinated plan and of sporadic action in the west by small groups, probably moving from place to place and not rousing widespread support. In the West the situation began to improve but, in Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Ballia and on the borders of Banaras outlying thanas were attacked by what can only be described as "lashkars" consisting of mobs of villages and goondas led by agitators."² Both the peasantry and students were seen as being the main troublemakers in the province.

The period '1936-1946' is selected for study as it is important to assess the nature of the relationship between the nationalist leadership and their popular following even in times less exciting than those of mass agitations. The student movement makes a beginning in 1936 with the birth of the AISC (All India Students Conference) at

² *Home Dept. (Poll)* 18/8/42, Fortnightly Report for the United Provinces (Hereafter FRUP) II, August 1942, cited in Radhika Singha, "Aspects of the Quit India Movement in U.P.", Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, 1986, p.2.

Lucknow. The initiative was taken by the UP Political Students Federation, itself a representative and dynamic organisation. Activities of students in and after 1936 began to increase but the movement of 1942 gave it the much needed fillip. This further makes the study of United Provinces interesting, as one can draw linkages between the role and participation of students in the Congress movement which strengthens after the electoral victory of 1937. Another interesting aspect of our study is how the war situation transformed the regional politics of UP. The students then came out in large numbers to fight for the cause of independence.

Lastly, the location of the revolt of 1942 was also influenced by the political tradition of the region, one strand of which, namely, the revolutionary idea of relentless militant confrontation greatly appealed to the student population. This aspect of my study will be important for understanding the intellectual formation of the educated strata of this region.

The Quit India Movement (setting the stage):

The movement of 1942 is regarded as setting the stage for the future developments to take place. The events in 1942 are also important in the context of the Student movement to highlight their activities in that region. In an article written on 19 April, 1942 which appeared in the *Harijan* of 26th April, Gandhi first gave public expression to the understanding which was to crystallize into the "Quit India" movement. Gandhi wrote that "whatever the consequences, therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too lay in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India."³ The period of discussion in the Congress Working Committee during its meeting at Allahabad at the end of April 1942 falls into two halves, the first of which is sufficient to reveal the essential structure of Gandhi's proposals for the withdrawal of the British. In the second half, extending to the Bombay meeting of the AICC, Gandhi's advice was that Indians should offer stubborn non-violent non cooperation to the Japanese. But not all people were satisfied that Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence would be capable of offering successful resistance. Gandhi later sent a draft resolution which was a direct precursor of

³ *Harijan*, April 26th 1942.

the resolution of 14th July. In this he states that “Japan’s quarrel, is not with India. She is warring against the British Empire. If India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan”⁴This draft invited remarks from both Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and C.Rajagopalachari. Nehru remarked “...whether you will like it or not, the exigencies of the war situation will compel them to make India a battleground. In sheer self-defense they cannot afford to keep out. They will walk through the country. You cannot stop it by non-violent non cooperation.”⁵ For those of the Working Committee who supported the draft, Achyut Patwardhan speaks “...the war is an imperialist war. Our policy can be that we take no sides.”⁶ Gandhi’s reply to one of the early questions put to him as to the nature of the proposed movement was that “it will be a movement which has to be felt by the whole world. It may not interfere with the movement of British troops, but it is sure to engage British attention.”⁷ These thoughts demonstrate the dominant motives underlying his “Quit India” move. He was not sure whether non-violence would be effective in warding off Japanese invasion or not. This uncertainty of Gandhi regarding the strategy to be adopted for this movement also makes its study all the more interesting.

Gandhi in his speech at the Bombay meeting, after the AICC had passed the Quit India Resolution mentions that “you may take it from me that I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. We shall do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt.”⁸ The situation of India further impels him to direct every man and women to consider they are free and to think and act for themselves and even if violence and rioting occurred during the movement this would not deter Gandhi as he was prepared to go to the extreme limit. Under such circumstances the speeches delivered by various leaders in Bombay, UP, and Bihar were directed towards the student community to inspire them to join in huge numbers to fight for independence.

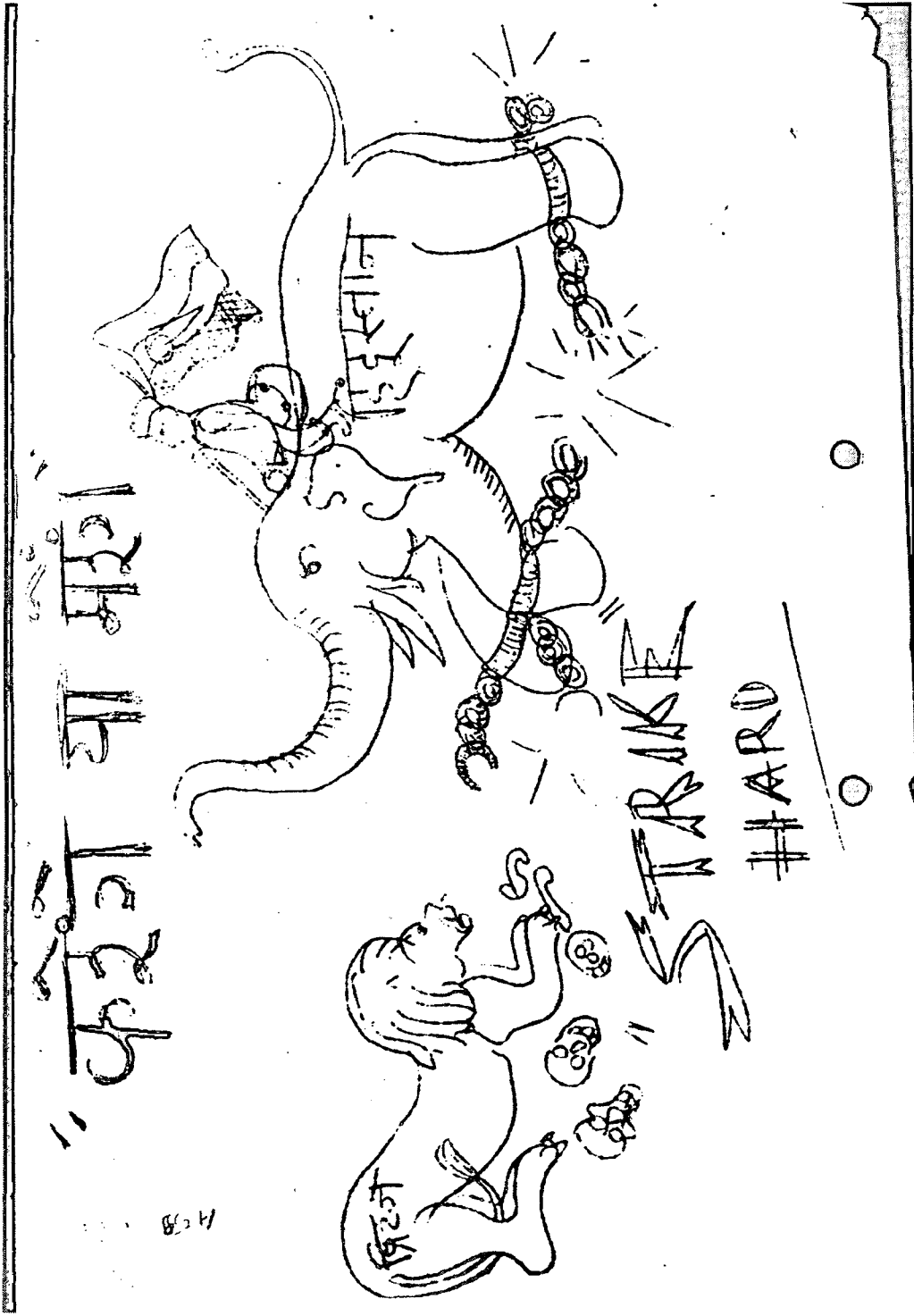
⁴ A. Moin Zaidi, *A Way Out to Freedom*, New Delhi, Orientalia, p.162.

⁵ *Ibid*, p.164.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ *Ibid*, p.167.

⁸ *Ibid*, p.177.



Source: C.I.D Records, Bombay, List 190LLXXII, Acc. No. 655, New Delhi, NMML..

Students and their Movement in United Provinces:

If one traces the history of the student movement then their role comes to light with the mass movements launched by Gandhi in and after 1918. There had been individual activities of students in various corners of India but it was the Non-cooperation movement which brought them together. The participation of the students of B.H.U.⁹ was noteworthy. A meeting was organized in the fields of Central Hindu College at Kamaccha wherein Gandhi gave a clarion call to students to join the Non-Cooperation movement in huge numbers.¹⁰ He had a tiff with Malaviyaji on the issue of leaving the institutions. Malaviyaji regarded the “institution as important for the country”. Kashi Vidyapeeth was founded by Shiv Prasad Gupta on the lines of national institutions to enroll students who had boycotted educational institutions. Many student activists like Sri Prakasa, Dr. Sampurnanad, Damodar Swarup Seth were among the prominent leaders of this institution. The students of both the institutions were active in the Civil Disobedience movement. They were active in Banaras, East U.P, and frontier towns of Bihar and they organised rallies, took out processions, and formed Seva Dals.

It was in 1927 that the first real student organisation was established in India. Bhagat Singh, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Sukhdev and Ihsan Illahi were its pioneers. They realised the significance of independent student organisations. The First Lahore Students’ Conference under the Presidentship of Late Lala Lajpat Rai attracted thousands of students. The lifting of the ban on various specialized units of the Congress such as Hindustani Seva Dal and the Youth Leagues and the release of several categories of political prisoners including those connected with the Kakori Conspiracy Case and Lahore Conspiracy Case gave a new dimension to the Congress as an ‘organization’. The members of the Hindustan Republican Army like the founder member Jogesh Chandra Chatterji, Manmath Nath Gupta, Parmanand, Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Sachindra Nath Bakshi were among those released. Many had been moved by the Marxist ideology and had even become members of the Communist Party. By doing so they hoped to acquire the mass base which they had so obviously lacked in the past. They now talked of organizing an ‘open mass revolution’ to achieve their objectives. “In 1938, they took a

⁹ *B.H.U. stands for the Banaras Hindu University founded in 1915.

¹⁰ Shyam Krishna Pandey & Dr. Rachna Singh, *Bhartiya Chhatra Andolan*, Part 1, Allahabad, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, p.121.

decision to join the CSP (Congress Socialist Party).” “After July 1937, when the ban on organizations like the Youth League, Hindustani Seva Dal and Naujawan Bharat Sabha was lifted”¹¹ Youth Leagues re-appeared in parts of eastern and central UP. According to Gyanendra Pandey, these Youth Leagues flourished in the politically backward regions and helped to link the “advanced centers of nationalist activity” with such backward areas.”¹² The first attempt at a revival of the Hindustani Seva Dal and Youth League was made in Kanpur in late 1937.¹³ From Benares and Pratapgarh there was evidence of regular Youth League activity by October.¹⁴ Youth Leagues in the UP had two main centres, Lucknow and Jaunpur. During the late 1930s and early 1940s, Benaras was the foremost centre of organised student activity in the province. In the late 1930s, both the Communist Party and the C.S.P placed work amongst students on par with the mobilisation of peasants and workers. The first all India organisation of the students was convened on the basis of a Conference held at Lucknow on 20th August 1936. The need was felt to co-ordinate the activities of the student organisations and develop an all India Conference. It was decided to start an organization, the All India Students Federation, to propagate its policies and thus was born ‘Students Tribune’. It was edited by Prabodh Chandra, a veteran student worker of Punjab, who also became the Chairman of Reception Committee of second All India Conference, held at Lahore. In those days Lahore was a lively political centre with meetings, debates & cultural events. Lahore Students’ Union was run by Prabodh Chandra, and “its special feature was the wide participation of women students.”¹⁵ These ideas were put into practice during 1937-1938 periods in the UP. “The First student union at Jhansi was constituted under communist auspices.”¹⁶ The impact of Communist propaganda on students in Banaras was especially noteworthy. “They organized a ‘Russian revolution week’ in November 1937, during which lectures were organized daily. The proceedings were expectedly dominated by

¹¹ AICC/28/1937, p. 11. Police department notification dated 20 July 1937, lifting the ban cited in, Visalakshi Menon, *From Movement to Government*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2003, p.139.

¹² Gyanendra Pandey, *The Ascendancy of the Congress in U.P., 1926-1934*, Delhi, Oxford University Press., 1978, p.67.

¹³ *The Leader*, 28 July, 1937.

¹⁴ PAI UP, No. 32/1937, 7-14 August, p.547: No.42/1937, 16-23 October cited in V. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 140.

¹⁵ Anil Ranjimbale, *History of Student Movement in India. Origins and Development, 1920-1947*, New Delhi, Manak Publications, 2001, pp. 345-346.

¹⁶ PAI UP, No.36/1937, 4-11 September, p.575. cited in *Ibid*, pp.145-146.

Communist leaders. Students of Kashi Vidyapith and B.H.U constituted the bulk of the audience.¹⁷ On the other hand the socialists believed in keeping student politics separate from partisan political activity.

The First UP Students' Conference held in November 1937 was presided over by Kamladevi Chattopadhyay, prominent socialist leader from Madras Presidency.¹⁸ The activities all over the United Provinces are worth citing. "In one case students even went on a rampage at cinema-house in Lucknow demanding concessional rates for non-students."¹⁹ Where the authorities would not yield, students were persuaded to walk out of their classes. Processions of students marched through the streets of Ballia and Bareilly. "By late 1938 and early 1939, however, the students of UP were experiencing a sense of drift and there were complaints that no major leaders had time for them."²⁰ Meanwhile, communal ideas were gaining entry into the student movement. It was reported from Allahabad, Kanpur, Dehradun and Ballia that Muslim students took no part in the Independence Day celebrations of 1939. Even Flag-hoisting became a controversial issue: Some Muslim students resented the hoisting of Congress flags at their institutions. They demanded that the Muslim League flag should be flown alongside. In Unnao, some students took out a black flag demonstration when denied permission to hoist the Muslim League flag on Independence Day.²¹ In Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Gonda and Ballia, rival Muslim Students' Federations had come into existence by August- September 1938. The Muslim League had even made in-roads into areas where there had been no organized student movement until then, for example, Pilibhit and Etawah. It was indeed unfortunate that the student movement, given its radical orientation and exposure to secularism fell prey to communalism. Students pledged their support for Bose even after the latter had been expelled from the AICC in August 1939. By 1940, dissensions within the left camp had their repercussions as well. The pro- Communist and pro-CSP groups were to part ways as a result of a split in the AISF in Dec 1940. The next movement was Quit India in

¹⁷ PAI UP, No.46/1937, 13-20 Nov, p.634, cited in V. Menon, *op.cit.*, p.146.

¹⁸ *The Leader*, 11 Nov. 1937, p.11 cited in *Ibid*.

¹⁹ PAI UP, No. 38/1937, 18-25 September, p.587, p. 147 cited in *op. cit*.

²⁰ M.N Roy Papers, Roll 10, Correspondence with the League of Radical Congressman, U.P 3. cited in *Ibid*, p.150.

²¹ PAI UP, No.5/ 1939, 21-28 January, p.20, cited in V. Menon, *op.cit.*,p.150.

which students from all across United Provinces participated. Later on one finds that the student movement begins to weaken due to lack of an organisational or ideological base.

Focus of study:

The focus of my dissertation is on tracing the growth of student movement in the wake of the War and also viewing its impact on the regional politics of UP. Proceeding with the general background of the War and the impact of political situation would give us an idea of the awareness among students about both the national and international crises. As the last mass struggle was waged in 1942 it will be interesting to note as to how the students responded to the movement. Thus it will be interesting to study the connection of a movement with a community²² and the location of the movement in the context of that community.

Objectives of my study:

My study is area specific but it intends to capture the scene of the student movement in the whole of India. I broadly intend to focus on how the Youth Leagues were transformed into student organisations and how did they function. It is interesting to note whether they were satisfied with their functioning or they looked for alternative leadership. Through the events it will be interesting to note the extent of their participation, programme and strategy. The lead given by the students of B.H.U is also brought out in this work. Moreover the different parties like the CSP, CPI, and Congress were active during this period. How did they carry the propaganda work among the students is also noteworthy. In light of the above set of questions I have tried to discuss the relation of students with the leaders and in which activities did these leaders sought the help of students out that students had come from various social backgrounds to join the movement is also dealt with here. These objectives would enable me to form an assessment of the student movement in general and the United Provinces in particular.

²² Herein 'Community' stands for "Student community."

Structure of work:

The first chapter is based on historiographical trends in the study of the student movement. Though writing on this issue is vast, 'in- depth studies are very few, and the literature is full of stray observation, wishful thinking and personal anecdotes.'²³ Still there are 'very few studies which examine how students' organizations play their role in conducting movements.'²⁴ I have divided the chapter as per my theme under heads pertaining to the important aspects of the period of 1936-46: progress of the student movement in the light of Second World War, Quit India movement and its aftermath. Some writings speak on issues concerning student community, while others broadly discuss their role in the light of the War and the Quit India movement. Authors like Ravindra Varma, P.M Joshi and M. Muni Reddy being student activist reflect on the aspects of their organisational activities, aims and programmes of the student movement, other works discuss the features of the Quit India movement and national movement at large. Authors like Govind Sahai, Gyanendra Pandey, A.C. Bhuyan, and D.N. Panigrahi broadly discuss the events of Quit India movement in respect to general scene of the 1942 Movement, momentum, participation and relate it with the freedom movement.

The second chapter deals with the movement of 1942 in respect of the student movement, linking it with the events of the period 1936-42. I will bring out the 'juncture' wherein the nascent organisations like Youth Leagues later turned into Student Organisations. How did these organisations function? What was the relationship the students had with their leaders? I have also dealt at length with the role of B.H.U students who were in the vanguard of the 1942 movement. They shouldered the responsibility of carrying the message of freedom to the outlying areas. How they rendered their service to the cause of the 1942 movement is clearly brought out.

The third chapter aims to focus on the aftermath of 1942 in UP and in the light of its events will discuss the activities of students. The party politics in post-1942 movement in UP is brought out in the light of the student activities in India at large and U.P. in particular. Moreover, I will discuss the role of C.S.P, C.P.I, and Forward Bloc in

²³ Ghanshyam Shah, *Social Movements*, 2nd Edition, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2004, p.217.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

mobilising the students. With the closing of 1946, what was the shape of the student movement in UP will also be taken up.

Sources:

Valuable information pertaining to 1939-1945 in UP can be obtained from the primary records of the Home Political Departments, the Census reports, Native Newspaper Reports, Imperial Gazetteers, Indian Annual Register, and a number of Official reports which give an insight into the social conditions of the country in general and the province in particular. The Unpublished records like the AICC Papers, UPCC Papers will be studied to know about the Congress policies and activities in U.P. in particular. The private papers like those of J.L. Nehru, Gandhi, Hallett, Linlithgow and many other prominent leaders give information about the leaders and their involvement in the movement in context of the period of my study i.e. 1936-46. Along with the written sources the oral sources will also be used carefully. The newspapers published in the period under study help one to cover the incidents and happenings on a regular basis to assess the intensity of the political upheaval in the period. The three major newspapers of UP in the 1930s and 1940s, Aaj, Abhyudaya, and Pratap carry detailed accounts of the 1942 movement and the role of students in United Provinces. Certain National newspapers like the Hindustan Times, the Leader, and the National Herald will also be consulted to study the political scenario of India and particularly its impact on UP. Along with important newspapers, others like the 'Student Struggle' which was published by the AISF and later newspapers like 'The Socialist' which was run by the Congress Socialist Party also furnish valuable information regarding the movement after 1942-1943. Among the secondary sources books, articles, pamphlets and journals like Social Scientist, Mainstream, Modern Asian Studies, Indian Historical Review and Quarterly Review of Historical Studies have been consulted. I have also consulted certain unpublished dissertations and thesis on the concerned topic.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

History is not only a story of man but the story of human behaviour. “The study of human behaviour is linked with the process of change which requires effective ‘catalysts’ and the dimension and momentum of change receive impetus from various forces.”¹ In the context of our National Movement, the ‘catalysts’ were the situations, the leaders and the ruled who acted as propellers for the freedom struggle. One can also say that India attained independence through ‘revolution’. Herein the word ‘revolution’ itself acts as a catalyst. The mid War Quit India movement climaxed India’s ‘Nationalist Revolution’, which overthrew a powerful, effective political regime, though many nationalists along with liberal imperialists and many of the social scientists did not consider nationalisms as that of India’s “Revolutionary”. As the liberal imperialists portray the attainment of independence as the “fulfillment” of colonial rule, the social scientists on the other hand describe ‘revolutions’ as “breakdowns”, “virus infection” and the like, judging it on the basis of the degree of disruptiveness which would make colonial nationalism as non-revolutionary’ though F.G. Hutchins is of the view that “the colonial nationalism is self-sustaining as the revolution makes possible the retention of colonial vestiges and it alone makes such vestiges legitimate and integral aspects of national development.”²

Samuel Huntington has argued that there was no revolution and the American nation founded (1776) was not a new one, though S.M. Lipset, another sociologist is of the view that the analysis of this “New Nation” (America) becomes meaningful only when the new American nation had already come into existence and not as an effect of a revolution.³ But in the view of Hutchins “in America no less than in other countries, it

¹ Manzoor Ahmad, *Indian Response to the Second World War*, New Delhi, Intellectual Publishing House, p.xi.

² Francis G. Hutchins, *India’s Revolution: Gandhi and the Quit India Movement*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973, p. 3.

³ See Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968 and Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967. In S.M Lipset’s essay, “Revolution and Counter-revolution” Chapter 2 of *The First New Nation*, New York, Basic Books, 1968 cited in F.G.Hutchins, *Ibid*, p.4.

was revolution itself which solved many of the nation's problems and created others."⁴

I agree with Hutchins' view that "Revolutions are rooted in the commitment of individuals to embark on a new life".⁵ This can very well apply to my 'theme' of Student Movement wherein with the sincere and constructive efforts of the student community along with their leaders, the distant goal of complete independence seemed attainable.

This chapter undertakes to study the various works on the theme of "Student Movement" in India in general, and United Provinces in particular, along with the studies undertaken on aspects of the Indian national movement. As the period of study 1936-46 encompasses the last mass struggle waged by Gandhi called the 'Quit India' in the backdrop of the Second World War, I would like to discuss the events of Quit India movement in United Provinces in detail with particular reference to the ongoing student activities in the province.

There are some sets of questions that I am dealing with in my work. For example: through which 'mode' did these student organisations carry out their activities? Were the students satisfied with that 'mode' of organization? What were their thoughts regarding the leadership? How did the various political parties active during the time period 1936-1946 mobilise the youth in the party context (i.e., The Congress, The Congress Socialist Party, The Communist Party of India and the Forward Bloc) and how far were the students successful in their mission of mobilising the masses and people through their activities?

The choice of UP was important in the context of the student movement as the Movement of 1942 was waged on large scale here and students came out in large numbers both from schools and colleges to participate in the struggle for Independence. As pointed out earlier, if one views the political set up in and after 1936 the United Provinces shows an interesting political tangle wherein after the 1937 electoral victory Congress came out victorious and its control over provincial power during 1937-39 seriously undermined the colonial authority. With the onset of Second World War, the political set up changed as the Congress mounted two further campaigns in the 1940s, namely the Individual Civil Disobedience campaign of 1940-41 and the Quit India

⁴ F.G. Hutchins, *Ibid.*

⁵ F.G. Hutchins, *Spontaneous Revolution: The Quit India Movement*, New Delhi, 1971, p. 147.

movement of 1942. In both these movements mentioned above, the Congress was able to demonstrate its organisational capacity and garner strong popular support of the student community.

Conceptual or Theoretical Approaches to the Student Movement:

Philip G. Altbach's work namely "Turmoil and Transition" and "Student Politics in Bombay" are chiefly concerned with contemporary events. 'But their terms of reference (and hence their importance) are limited by their perverse conclusion that the modern Indian student movements began in 1920'.⁶ Altbach's justification is that: "Prior to 1920, the small Indian student community had little experience with politics, concerning itself primarily with academic life and with social and cultural affairs."⁷

"It seems possible, in fact, to argue that the terrorist movement was the first organized, all-India student movement, in the sense of possessing a centralized command and member groups dispersed throughout India. The Report of the Rowlatt Sedition Committee of 1918, by analyzing the distribution of arms, established beyond doubt that the terrorists had possessed them...By the end of the nineteenth century there was an already anxious discussion of the alienation of students from authority of all sorts. To some it was evident that the content of western education, especially its political theory, had encouraged students to take part in anti-Government agitation."⁸

One can also point out the fact that the authority of the state was also as fallible as that of western education. "The State appears to have lost its confidence in the loyalty of its subjects...educated young men, mostly disappointed in their purpose of securing State employment, have read all sorts of books on sociology and constitutional history and learnt the value of political agitations. The masses being ignorant and conservative, they cannot effect much social or religious reform without great self-sacrifice, but political agitation demands no self-sacrifice and is pleasant and may prove profitable. So they...clamour for political privileges and the government takes alarm."⁹ This thought is

⁶ Review of *Student Unrest in India*, History of Education Quarterly, Vol.13, No.2, Summer 1973,p.163.

⁷ Philip G. Altbach, ed., *Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India*, New York, Lalvani Publication House, 1968, p.23.

⁸ Review of *Student Unrest in India*, *op.cit.*.p.165.

⁹ Appav-aiya Madhav'-aiya, *Thillai Govindan: A Posthumous Autobiography*, Madras, Srinivasa, Varadachari & Company,1903, p.80.

dealt with in an early Indian novel 'Thillai Govindan' (1903) by Appav-aiya Madhav' aiya which took up the subject of a student being trapped in the web of tradition and modernity, that was later discussed in the R.K. Narayan novel, 'The Bachelor of Arts' (1937) wherein the main protagonist Thillai could not decide whether it was the family, nation or the world he valued the most. He felt so dissatisfied by traditional restraints that he became a wandering 'sadhu' for eight months. 'Even Edward Shils interpretation of 'the Indian Student' lies in the ambiguous role of the 'sadhu' as he is often suspected to be living in marginal conditions.¹⁰ Western education cut student off from their roots by attaching them to a system wherein just merit does not guarantee them a career and they have to choose either the caste-oriented traditions of their forefathers or abide by the westernized pattern of thinking which speaks and teaches one to overlook the traditional. Thus, one could take a rationalist approach wherein if one has to violate a certain said pattern of the society he or she feels free to opt for it and it could be a violent one. With such thoughts one can analyse that in today's India, "... authority is fragmenting and descending downwards. People are transferring their primary allegiances from the bureaucratic national state and university, to the caste, family, and, in this case, to the peer-group."¹¹

Altbach states that 'what is lacking is any ideological or organisational base in the Indian student community'. He argues that even the educational system has changed as during the pre-independence period college students constituted something of a presumptive elite and which is no longer true. In several of the new states (i.e. the developing ones), student movements have been involved in revolutionary political struggles, in educational reforms, and in a range of political and social concerns. Students have gained valuable training in political methods and ideology through the student movements. Altbach is of the opinion that 'the student political movements have been important in shaping political methods and social attitudes of the emerging (and occasionally the incumbent) elites in the developing nations. These student organizations, often the largest Western-oriented groups in the nations, have proved to be a spiritual and ideological "home" for those individuals who seek to engender western values and

¹⁰ *Review of Student Unrest*, op.cit., p.170.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.167.

methods'.¹² The Indian student movement has been deeply involved and committed to the nationalist movement. He divides the student movements into 'two' distinct phases which highlights the important changes which have taken place in Indian society.

Prior to Independence the students organized themselves in the form of political groups which provided strong support to the nationalist movement. The Non Cooperation movement of 1920 was the 'first platform' wherein the students were involved on a large scale. The call for the students to quit their colleges and support Congress-sponsored 'national colleges' received a lot of support. They got involved in "constructive" social service projects and in study circles. Youth Leagues were formed in major educational centers and provided coordination to the growing student political movement. "The dominant trend among the politically minded students was radical and Gandhian traditionalism and non-violence had much less influence than socialist ideologies."¹³

The 1930s have brought the intensification of the political struggle in India along with the growth in the student movement. Colleges were closed, agitations launched, and banned publications distributed. Though the struggle died down, the student movement got more organised due to the formation of the All India Students Federation (AISF) in 1936. 'The Congress Socialist Party at this juncture influenced the working of the student organization along with the Communist party. Study groups trained cadres in ideology as well as in organizational tactics. Many committed student leaders became active in the growing trade union movement or in cultural organizations sponsored by the leftist political groups'.¹⁴ The ideological intricacy of the student movement along with factional infighting became characteristic of the Indian politics that grew rapidly and is evident in the Nagpur Split in the AISF. (1940)

During the 1942 "Quit India" movement, the large scale nationalist student movement (the communists at this time were supporting the British war effort) succeeded in closing most of India's colleges and the students actively engaged themselves in the movement. By 1946, the student movement had lost much of its impetus. While the Students' Congress (the nationalist wing of the movement and successor to the non-

¹² Philip G. Altbach, *The Transformation of the Indian Student Movement*, Asian Survey, Vol. 6, No. 8 August 1966, p.448.

¹³ M. Muni Reddy, *The Student Movement in India*, Lucknow, K.S.R. Acharya, 1947, p. 30.

¹⁴ Interview with Raja Kulkarni, Secretary, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Bombay, March 13, 1965, cited in *op.cit.*, pp.450-451.

Communist wing of the AISF) remained a large active organization, its emphasis returned to campus issues or the Gandhian constructive program. Many radical student leaders were disillusioned by the compromises which the Congress leadership found it necessary to make in order to achieve independence without further bloodshed. The 1946 Mutiny of the Indian Navy was a further shock to them, since the Congress ordered the militant sailors to surrender to the British in the interest of a compromise.¹⁵

According to Altbach, there are many factors which contributed to the growth of the militant student movement in pre-independent India. He is of the opinion that most of the students came from upper middle or upper class and caste backgrounds, and higher education usually insured a fairly high status job after graduation, and most students did not have to worry about financial problems while studying. "From the beginning, many of the best students were involved in the student political movement, particularly in the left-wing groups, and this helped to make the movement more respectable."¹⁶ Thus one can conclude that during the period of 1930's and 1940's, the country was highly politicised and this had its impact on the student community and it was easy to create interest in the student movement. The western political ideologies also had its impact on the student ideas and discussions. Thus, the ideological orientation and the politically charged up environment contributed largely to the furtherance of the nationalist struggle.

Altbach in his second work, "Students' Politics in Bombay" states that "students' movements are generated by an emotional feeling often associated with inter-generational conflicts. They also have positive goals. As young intellectuals, they assume that they have a special historical mission to achieve, what the other generation has failed to achieve, or to correct imperfections in their environments. These student movements are combinations of emotional responses and intellectual convictions."¹⁷ That stands to justify that actions speak louder than words or one can say without requisite actions the ideas alone will never capitalise. Therefore, the student movements are an answer for the same. These works help in developing a broader paradigm to view the causes of student unrest and responses of both the political parties and organisations towards the student community and vice-versa.

¹⁵ Philip G. Altbach, The Bombay Naval Mutiny, *Opinion* VI, No.17, August 31st, 1965, p.35.

¹⁶ Philip G. Altbach, *op.cit.*, p.453.

¹⁷ Ghanshyam Shah, *Social Movements* (2nd edition), New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2004, p.213.

Ghanshyam Shah's work on "Social Movements" is quite interesting as he tends to discuss the ideas of various sociologists on the issue of student movements. Shah classifies movements as revolt, rebellion, reform, and revolution to bring about changes in the political system.¹⁸ He states that a number of students' agitations can be called political as they raise political issues related to government policy or action. Political parties play an important part in mobilising the students. "After the independence, the political elite of the Congress party advised students to depoliticise. However, all political parties have formed front organisations among students. They mobilise students for party or factional politics."¹⁹

Though several student agitations took up political issues, some studies show that the majority of students were not only non-ideological but also non-political. Herein Edward Shils observes that, 'Indian student agitation declares no fundamental criticism of its society; it has no schemes for the reconstruction of Indian universities'.²⁰ This can be stated as there is always a need to bring about a change in the institutional order in the scholastic world.

D.K. Mohanty also sums up in his work, "Higher Education and Student Politics in India" that, 'the linkage between student activists and party elites is an established fact of Indian political life'. This work helps us to make our research questions more need based as it gives a clear picture of the requirements of the political parties in relation to student politics. He states that this relationship is a mutual one. He also stresses that "the change of affiliation of party and organisational loyalty is a feature of all democracies."²¹ The factors causing such a change range from ideological ones to pure opportunism and this characterises our Indian political system.

Government Reports and Official Perspectives:

P.N. Chopra's Historical Judgement on Quit India Movement: Justice Wickenden's Report", an edited version of a report running into 105 printed pages is a

¹⁸ *Ibid*, "Introduction", p.29.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.215.

²⁰ Edward Shils, 'Student, Politics, and Universities in India'. In *Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India*. (ed), by P.G. Altbach, Bombay, 1968, p.147.

²¹ Dushmata Kumar Mohanty, *Higher Education and Student Politics in India*, Anmol Publications, 1999, p.167.

highly valuable document. The genesis of this report on the disturbances of 1942-43 may be traced to the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances of 1942-43 by the British Government."²² The Report was based on the intelligence reports, interrogation of the leaders of the movement, intercepted letters of prominent persons, speeches of the Congress leaders and other circumstantial evidence.

The report discusses at length all events and aspects of the 1942 Movement citing the important happenings in various provinces under study. As far as furnishing the information about the student movement is concerned, the author is of the view that "The Provincial reports on the disturbances are unanimous that the students took a most prominent part and generally speaking led the way in the immediate meetings and demonstrations following the arrests in Bombay and also took a lead in the first attacks."²³ In his final speech at Bombay Gandhi told the students that "he had not formulated his plans yet and he did not want them to join in the struggle for the moment, but they should be ready to abandon their studies and careers as soon as he gave the word."²⁴ Such direction in the form of speeches and statements by prominent leaders also shows that they were attached to the student community in more than one ways. Various leaders like Nehru and J.B. Kripalani were also associated with the student politics.

The picture of the student movement in the United Provinces does not emerge at length in this report. The question centering on the relation of the leaders with the student community also stands unclear after reading the text. One is unable to safely conclude as to what thoughts did the leaders have in their minds regarding the directions to be given to the student community. In the above context, Nehru in his speech dated 1st August 1942 in Allahabad states that, "he could not tell them exactly what part they should play, but the main thing was to concentrate and hold themselves in reserve for the great movement and not to dissipate their enthusiasm and energy on minor affairs."²⁵ On the other hand there is a reference to a woman teacher in the Mahila Ashram of Wardha admitting to a Sub-Inspector that she has sent an appeal to the students of Madras, "to dig

²² T. Wickenden, I.C.S., Judge in the Central Provinces, was selected by the government of India in consultation with the British government to prepare the report, P.N.Chopra, *Historic Judgement on Quit India Movement*, New Delhi, Konark Publishers, 1989, p. 3.

²³ *Ibid*, p.226.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.227.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.229.

trenches in the word, paralyze traffic, cut off telegraph and telephone wires. She said that she had not acted on her own initiative but her inspiration came from Gandhi who wanted so many things to be done.”²⁶ The speeches quoted here confers that the leaders were not unanimous in the ‘mode’ of mobilising the student community. This work otherwise remain an important work for my study.

Similarly “Quit India Movement: British Secret Documents” also discusses the character and course of the Quit India Movement. It discusses the August revolution wherein the administration was disrupted in such a way that it was unable to keep itself informed about the developments in the nooks and corners of the vast empire in India. “The Non-Cooperation movement came after the First World War when peace was the talk everywhere. The Civil Disobedience Movement came when peace reigned supreme. But the Quit India Movement was launched when the Second World War was at its height and the atmosphere everywhere was surcharged with violence. In case of the previous movements, the government was ready to face them politically. In the case of the Quit India, Churchill’s government was ready to crush it militarily.”²⁷

After the 8th August resolution of the Quit India Movement, the government was out to end the movement by crushing the Congress, but the people in general were awakened to their responsibility. This aspect of the situation made the government incapable of knowing the exact course and content of the revolution. As a result, the movement which sounded the death knell of the British Empire in no uncertain terms got out of the control of both the Congress and the Government. This movement gave the much needed base for both the leaders and the masses to come together to fight for the common cause. Such a mass awakening was not recorded in any of the earlier Gandhian movements and even this stands as a distinguishing feature of the Quit India Movement. “With 210 documents representing widely diverse sources, these Intelligence Reports of the British government provide a glimpse into the happenings of the Quit India days....As the documents show they are a sporadic and incoherent lot of collections which reached the British government from different places. Yet each document provides

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ P.N.Chopra, *Quit India Movement: British Secret Documents*, Review in Indian Historical Review XII Vol.1&2, 1985-86, p.448.

a price of information either regarding a general or a specific issue.”²⁸ “The intensity of the movement was such that various political parties and groups like Forward Bloc and terrorist parties of Bengal subordinated their differences with the Congress or Gandhi and actively participated in the movement.”²⁹

A. Moin Zaidi’s work, “The Way Out to Freedom”, which summarizes so far unpublished reports of the inquiries conducted by the Indian National Congress as well as the British Government, documents a vivid journey of this important phase (1942 Movement) of India’s struggle for freedom. ‘The author mentions that there were inquiries conducted at the highest party level and reports were submitted to the AICC under the signatures of the provincial party leaders. Some of these reports were neither exhaustive nor critical and they have left many important areas of the country uncovered’.³⁰ Certain features of the 1942 movement are notable like, “A revolution is nothing if it is not destruction of the old order with all its hateful instruments, emblems and associations. The objectives of a revolution are constructive but its processes are mainly destructive, whether violent or non-violent. The total ending of British rule was the professed and declared objective of the struggle.”³¹ Gandhiji’s reply came as a new lease of life for the people as he made it clear that the contemplated struggle was an All-India one. Another interesting feature was that ‘in the most backward states, demonstrations took place which came as the most agreeable surprise to the people and disagreeable surprise to the state authorities’. Nevertheless it is an essential work as it provides a host of information about the movement as well as the part played by the leaders and people.

Writings of Participants and Activists:

The first work on the present theme is done by Ravindra Varma whose pamphlet called “Whither the Students’ Movement or a plea for the establishment of a National Union of Students”, opens a new dimension of thoughts. The term ‘Student Movement’ is discussed thoroughly in this work as it opens a new paradigm of views as to what and

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.449.

²⁹ *Ibid*, Review in Indian Historical Review, 1974, p.235.

³⁰ A.Moin Zaidi, *The Way Out to Freedom*, New Delhi, Orientalia, 1973, p.xii.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.16.

how a movement is called a 'Student Movement'. How is it different from ideological movements based on an idea or even a religion? Varma is of the opinion that "The impatience and restlessness with which the students of our country reacted to the rising tide of rebellion drove them to political action."³² He is also critical of these student organisations which seek to be democratic and dynamic as he relates the defects of these organisations to the history of the student movement in our country which has been a direct consequence of our all round national movement.

This pamphlet is also a call for all kinds of student organizations and groups to reorganise wherein the author also brings out that "the lack of a proper programme suited to the needs of the new phase shifted the centre of interest from work to the machinery of the organizations, and resulted in rivalries, splits and demoralization."³³ He thus advises that "it is necessary today to shift and separate the functions constitutionally, and have different organizations for the different purposes the common organizations dealing with the common interests of the student community, and the political student bureaus of parties dealing with sectional political matters."³⁴ Thus, this work gives us a general understanding of the problem that the students were facing then and as to how these student organisations were constituted and carry on with their tasks.

M. Muni Reddy's study on "The Student Movement in India" echoes the later part of Varma's argument that "The students should put all their sectional interest and squabbles in cold storage". Reddy further insists that "by just trying to capture the student organisations will never be fruitful or there will be no coordination between the local units and districts, the districts and provincial, provincial and the All India Organisation."³⁵ His work is the first of its kind, wherein, giving the details about the events in connection with the student activities, he also provides a view point of his own regarding the politics woven around the student community, being a student activist himself. He suggests ways to strengthen the student organisations as he cites that "The want of scientific organisations is one of the serious defects among the student rank and it

TH-17286

³² Ravindra Varma, *Whither the Students' Movement or A Plea for the Establishment of A National Union of Students*, All India Students' Congress (AISC), Wardha, 1948, p. 9.

³³ *Ibid*, p.12.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.30.

³⁵ M. Muni Reddy, *Student Movement in India*, Lucknow: K.S.R. Acharya, 1947.

cuts at the root of our solidarity.”³⁶ His work further provides a conceptual clarity along with the historical understanding of the student movement in India.

P.M. Joshi’s work “Student Revolts in India” which was written after Independence was of the view that the students were fighting not only for the liberation of their own motherland but also for the freedom of all Asian and African countries which were the colonies of the British, or the French or the Dutch imperialists. With this perspective they had forged solidarity with the students of Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt and even China.³⁷ He further states that with the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement under the terms of the Gandhi Irwin Pact, the students were disappointed. They for the first time at a session of All India Youth Congress in Karachi decided to follow their own political line, which led to the foundation of the Youth Leagues. This event marks the point of ‘departure’ as the students separated themselves somewhat from the Congress organisations. “With the advance of the left movement and its growing influence over the students the difference in the outlook of natural leadership pared.”³⁸ Joshi also states that “young students became sharper with disapprovals sometimes becoming even open denunciation of the Congress policies. Such occasions became frequent especially when the Congress Ministries began functioning in several provinces.”³⁹ This fact underlines the difference in perceptions and opinions of the students towards their leaders and vice-versa. Moreover, the reactions of the student community changed as the movement proceeded in and after 1934. This aspect will also be highlighted through the work.

Prabodh Chandra, a veteran student worker of Punjab, who also became the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Second All India Conference held at Lahore wrote a work, “Student Movement in India”. He states that ‘one has to choose what is correct and this cannot be done if there are repressions and suppressions of thought and action. It cannot be done properly if high authority sits and prevents the free play of mind. Thus it becomes necessary for all thinking individuals, and more so for the students

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.100.

³⁷ P.M. Joshi, *Student Revolts in India*, Appendix II.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p.50.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

than for others, to take the fullest theoretical part in politics'.⁴⁰ But as a theory requires practice, the students should take part in political activities. 'Action and training both are essential and actions cannot be eliminated or else the training itself is deficient'. Thus he appreciates the quality of discipline among the students but nevertheless supports the issues that call for a strike (i.e. a form of action). For instance "the Fyzabad (U.P.) students left their classes when some of the students who went to hear Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were fined. Even the Cawpore, D.A.V. College students protested to attend classes when their principal issued an '*ukasaf*' or not taking part in the last Provincial elections".⁴¹ In short, the narrow outlook of the educational authorities and the force of circumstances lead students to strike.

The author also states that one also needs to study the 'psychology' behind the students strikes. Like in Aligarh, in October 1936, the students were expelled for rousing the spirit of nationalism amongst the students of the university. The students could not sacrifice their progressive colleagues so very easily and so they went on a strike, which compelled the authorities to close down the institution. Another incident at the Lucknow Christian College was one against the troublesome system of heavy fines. This shows that nature of events has a deep impact on the mindset of students which compels them to take an action.

Secondary Works on Indian National Movement as a Whole:

A.R. Desai's "Social Background of Indian Nationalism" argues about the rise of modern Indian intelligentsia in the history of modern India was vital as they brought ideas of nationalism and freedom to wider sections of the Indian people, through educational and propaganda work which involved great self-sacrifice and suffering. The author states that the educated middle class was the product of the new system of education initiated by the British government. It was composed of lawyers, doctors, technicians, professors, journalists, state servants, clerks, students and others. As the educated middle class grew in the country and became more conscious of its own sectional interests, its various groups and organisations came into existence such as youth

⁴⁰ Prabodh Chandra, *Student Movement in India*, Lahore, All India Students Federation, 1938, pp.128-129.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.134.

leagues and volunteer organisations. The process was particularly swift after 1930. This further highlights the causes behind the birth of 'Youth Leagues' which forms a part of my work. Further, a number of unions and associations came up. The rapid growth of student organizations and unions particularly after 1934, all over India, culminating in the formation of All India Students' Organisation was also notable.

Another work "Congress and the Raj" by D.A. Low is also a valuable addition to the historiography of the national movement. There are two general themes which run through the essays in this volume. Firstly, it is concerned with the aims of British rule and the methods that were used to maintain formal or informal control in a period of rapid change. Secondly, it is concerned with the growth of Indian opposition to the Raj, and especially with relating this to the structure of rural society. These essays under review provide a useful summary of the various themes. A critical examination of them enables us to monitor recent trends in the historiography of Indian nationalism and to assess the strengths and weaknesses of current interpretations of the political economy of the Indian countryside.

In adherence to the theme mentioned above, the essay of Johannes Voigt 'Co-operation or Confrontation? War and Congress Politics 1939-42', reaches the conventional conclusion that the strain of war made the ending of the Raj inevitable since the British were forced to take harsh action, especially in the suppression of the Quit India Movement, which finally alienated all India political opinion. This view is contested in R.J. Moore's essay on 'The Problem of Freedom and Unity: London's India Policy, 1917-1947' which suggests that the vital decision to wind up British rule had been taken before the 'Quit India' movement ever happened. Moore claims that after offering India full Dominion status after the war, the British could not reinvent their own declaration. India's post-war future was one of full independence. But one can safely conclude in the words of B.R. Tomlinson who is of the opinion that the British policy and its capitalisation was a reaction to events in India, not the other way round. There are other essential essays in the work being discussed wherein they deal in one form or another with the process of political activism and mobilisation in various localities of British India.

Madhu Limaye's work on "Indian National Movement: Its Ideological and

Sociological Dimensions” is not a chronicle of the freedom movement. It is mainly an analytical study, and the narrative element has been cut down to the minimum. He highlights that Hindu and Muslim differences over the concept of nation have been the major impediments in the path of nationalism which sought to consolidate itself by the means of the policies, plans and programmes implemented by our leaders and to be followed by the masses in general. With the spread of education a new class came into existence – the intelligentsia. The leaders of this class began to feel the need for a political platform to communicate their aspirations. They raised demands for the expansion of legislative councils, to be a part of the law making body and to be admitted to the government services on the basis of merit. The British rulers were alarmed by the growth of this new spirit along with the growth of native press. Thus the formation of the Indian National Congress was a ‘unique event’ in the history of modern India. For the first time men representing different religions, races, communities and castes came on a common platform to work together in unity. ‘It was the veritable birth of a nation’. The main objective of the Congress was to clear communal and provincial prejudices and encourage consolidation of national unity. “The Congress initially was a frankly elitist organization. But it had within it the potentiality of being a people’s organization.”⁴² In the next twenty years ‘the Congress grew from strength to strength. Its political programme was far from being radical. Yet it soon became the symbol of Indian nationalism. Self-government and independence was the ultimate goal of all Indian patriots. ‘The Congress did not find a nation already in full flower. It found an amorphous entity which had to be roused to think and act as a nation’.⁴³ The Congress operated through a chain of progressive leaders to achieve freedom.

Along with the Congress party there was another organization called the ‘Hindustan Socialist Republican Party’ whose contribution to the freedom movement is commendable. They went beyond sentimental patriotism and the theory of individual terrorism and their aim was not only national independence but ‘new social order’. The revolutionaries had faith in both political as well as socio-economic freedom. “.....They acknowledged that they had drawn inspiration, among others, from Guru Gobind Singh,

⁴² Madhu Limaye, *Indian National Movement: Its Ideological and Socio-Economic Dimensions*, New Delhi, Radiant Publishers, 1989, p.132.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.272.

Shivaji, Kemal Pasha and Lenin. A curious amalgam of religion, secular modern nationalism and Bolshevism! They mentioned Turkey and Russia because in both countries state power had been seized through armed insurrection.”⁴⁴

Even the role of socialists in the underground movement is commendable as they took up the leads after all the prominent leaders got arrested in the wake of the Quit India movement. S.C. Bose’s role is also discussed here as he had the capacity to stand firm against all odds and could think of challenging the leadership of Gandhi. Subhas stirred the people by resigning from the coveted I.C.S and founded the Indian National Army (INA) abroad to fight for the cause of India’s freedom. Limaye sums up that the Freedom Movement was a ‘many-mansioned house’ and all the parties and political groups contributed towards building the same i.e., the Moderates, the Nationalists, the Gandhians, the Socialists and other Leftists, the Revolutionaries, and even the Communists till the outbreak of war.

Bipan Chandra’s work “Indian National Movement: Long Term Dynamics” also confirms Limaye’s argument that Congress carried out the task of laying groundwork of the nationalist movement. He further states that the national movement derived its force from the intelligentsia and it “succeeded in mobilising the youth, the women, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the urban and rural poor, urban and rural artisans, and large sections of the peasantry and small landlords.”⁴⁵ One can possibly conclude that the Indian national movement through its leadership created openings for the transformation of the movement towards “socialist ideological hegemony” but this did not happen on account of the failure in grasping the Gandhian strategy and ideological framework and rightly interpreting it , following, absorbing and transcending them.⁴⁶ He engages us in an interesting study of the Congress, as ‘an organization’ and the ‘various elements’ which constitute the working of the national movement. But he leaves one to analyse as to how far the means and methods employed by both the leaders and people were successful.

⁴⁴ J.N. Sanyal, *Sardar Bhagat Singh*, Nagpur, 1983, pp. 26, 28, 43, 44, 63 and 80-84 cited in *ibid*, p.288.

⁴⁵ Bipan Chandra, *Indian National Movement: Long Term Dynamics*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1988, p.1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.4.

Secondary Works Specific to 1942 Movement:

In the light of the above statement, an essay by Gyanendra Pandey “A Rural base for Congress: The United Provinces 1920-40” demonstrates that the role of the political institutions was very essential for the process of political mobilisation along with social power available to dominant classes at local levels. He basically focuses on the inherent tension within rural society. It gives an insight into the picture of the countryside, with its problems and situations. This forms an essential part of my discussion as without giving a brief outline of the socio-political scenario in the United Provinces, the theme of student movement cannot be introduced.

Gyanendra Pandey’s work “The Indian Nation in 1942” is a key work for the study of the student movement wherein he examines the contours of the Indian nation at this time. Pandey is of the view that the work of nation-building was over and the task of taking charge of the nation had begun. “For most ordinary Congressmen and women, for ‘students’, workers and peasants, artisans and petty traders, nationalism had come to mean a society awakening, a people on the move seeking more or less consciously to make their own history”.⁴⁷

Pandey further asserts that men as apolitical as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University (B.H.U.), were moved to say that there never was a period in the last hundred years when the feeling against the British was so bitter as it is today.⁴⁸ This statement further reflects the state of affairs in 1942 and students were an inseparable part of the scene. Even the Muslims of Eastern U.P. and Bihar, refrained from joining the students and other activists in the August action in Eastern U.P. and Bihar which provides “an important perspective on the boundaries of the ‘nation’ and the nature of the ascendancy that the Congress had established during the struggle for independence.”⁴⁹

Chandan Mitra’s article in the present work being discussed called “Popular Uprising in 1942: the case of Ballia” mentions that ‘In the 1930s, Banaras developed as a major centre for terrorist activities. A number of students from relatively affluent families of Ballia and Ghazipur went to B.H.U. and they came in contact with young men who

⁴⁷ Gyanendra Pandey, *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.155.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.157.

inspired them to take to revolutionary activities'. Another interesting aspect of the work is that "students played an important part in the activities of Congress like the 'Quami Seva Dal' which was active in most districts of U.P. Rajeshwar Tiwari and Vishvanath Chaubey were given the responsibility of organizing the Quami Seva Dal in Ballia. Both were students of B.H.U. in their early twenties, belonged to reasonably affluent landed families and both were members of the CSP."⁵⁰ Youths from neighbouring villages came in contact with the students and had long discussions on politics. The Congress Quami Seva Dal became a major instrument of mass mobilisation in Ballia.

Further, the essay provides a useful link to my research as it reflects that the 'students' propagated the message of the Congress in various ways as they boarded the 'Azad train' and told the crowd assembled at Bilthara Road that the programme of the Congress was to paralyse the government in every way and it was therefore the duty of the people to burn stations, post offices and police outposts.⁵¹ Thus, one concludes that provincial events find a good coverage in the present work being discussed which is otherwise missing in works discussed above. Both the aspects of student activities and their repercussions are discussed citing archival material and oral traditions.

A.C. Bhuyan's work "The Quit India Movement: The Second World War and the Indian Nationalism" mentions the events leading to the Quit India movement wherein the Congress was prepared to commit India to the Allied cause only after its demand for independence was conceded. The failure of the Cripps mission marked the beginning of the mass struggle and brought out the reality of the British rule. Only a free country could fight enthusiastically for the freedom of others. The Congress was compelled by the 'logic of events' to opt for a mass struggle. The Government came forward with the theory that the movement developed according to a pre-planned Congress scheme. The fact is that the masses acted spontaneously and they were spurred into action by the Congress workers and students, 'even though they acted more or less according to a uniform pattern everywhere'.⁵² The Congress had not officially directed the people to act but it was the spur of the movement which propelled them in to action. But the British

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.173.

⁵¹ Azad Train, A train hijacked by the students of Allahabad University, flying Congress flags arrived at Bilthara Station, *Ibid*, p. 175.

⁵² A.C. Bhuyan, *The Quit India Movement: The Second World War and the Indian Nationalism*, New Delhi, 1975, p.222

Government thought they were acting according to the Congress plan. They publicised the same in the media both in India and Britain. 'Though 'ironical' it may appear it was the Government itself which made people to believe that it was part of the Congress plan to attack Government buildings and the means of communications.'⁵³ The Quit India movement showed the strength of Indian nationalism to the British even though it failed to achieve its immediate objective and was brutally suppressed by the Government. A sense of unity was also reflected as all the non- Congress parties (except the Muslim League) got together in post 1942 period, which cannot be ignored.

Govind Sahai's work "42' Rebellion" mentions that the year 1942 completely transformed the country and gave a new direction to its political life. Moreover the leaderless masses were able to destroy the centers of alien administration. They devised a unique method of attacking the enemy. The movement was widespread. Sahai was of the view that it was difficult to narrate the story as one is so close to the event. Sahai, while citing the events in both the Eastern and Western U.P has concentrated on bringing out the spirit behind people's action and not just the acts of government suppression. This further brings one to a conclusion that the Quit India movement was a 'people's movement'.

A recent work done by Visalakshi Menon "From Movement to Government" is quite interesting. She concludes that the students got guidance and support from various political quarters. Her emphasis reflects how these student organisations were a "cause for alarm" for the government but this was only a symptom of the larger political forces at work in the province under study.⁵⁴ Their latent energies which crystallized in the Quit India Movement will be taken up in the next chapter. Moreover, this work echoes the argument discussed in Pandey's work. 'The Indian Nation in 1942' regarding students being an active and important part of the Congress organisational activities.

Gyanesh Kudaisya's "Region, Nation and Heartland" also tries to unravel the 'context' in which the Quit India movement took place. He focuses upon the larger context of colonial order in UP in the early 1940s. This has been done by highlighting the institutional changes which took place in the "colonial heartland" as a result of the impact

⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 222-223.

⁵⁴ Visalakshi Menon, *From Movement to Government*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2003, p.160.

of the war efforts. The British Government through their various policies tried to garner support for war efforts. As the war gathered momentum, there developed a silent public campaign in U.P. seeking to condemn the war effort as a whole. Gyanesh Kudaisya also accounts for a notable exception in Indivar Kamtekar's work in which the causes of Quit India Movement are largely described in terms of a "crisis of the colonial state". However, Kamtekar sees 'this crisis largely as 'war induced', without locating the causes of it in long term context of an erosion of colonial authority'.⁵⁵ Nevertheless his writings provide an insight into India of the 1940s. His work explores 'the nexus between the conditions of scarcity, the hardships and anxieties experienced by the people, and the rise of the Quit India Movement.'⁵⁶ Thus this work gives us an insight into the context of the war and 1942 movement and an insight into its various events.

A host of different works like those of D.N. Panigrahi's "Quit India and the Struggle for Freedom" has tried to untie "a certain mystery and romance" about the movement. Another recent study calls this movement "the biggest step the Indian National Congress took during the Second World War in assertion of India's moral right to be independent."⁵⁷

These studies provide us with useful set of hypotheses for the study of the student movement during 1936-46. Did the events define the students or vice-versa? What kind of relation did the students shared with their leaders and political parties? Was the Quit India movement a mass movement or an outburst of activity? These are certain sets of questions, which would be broadly discussed, in the successive chapters, though my focus will be more on how these student organisations worked in the United Provinces i.e., their mode of functioning and whether they were satisfied with the kind of leadership they received from leaders and the political parties alike.

I would like to conclude in the words of Ghanshyam Shah that 'very few studies examine how students' organisations play their role in conducting movements.'⁵⁸ "Though the literature on students' agitations is vast, in-depth studies are very few, and

⁵⁵ See Indivar Kamtekar, "A Different War Dance: State and Class in India 1939-45", in *Past and Present*, 176, Aug 2002 and "The Shiver of 1942", in *Studies in History*, Vol.18, No.1, 2002.

⁵⁶ Gyanesh Kudaisya, *Region, Nation, 'Heartland'*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2006, p.304.

⁵⁷ B. Qanungo, "The Quit India Movement, 1942", in M.N. Das, ed, *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress, Vol.III*, New Delhi, 1985, p.464.

⁵⁸ Ghanshyam Shah, *Social Movements*, 2nd Edition, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2004, p.217.

the literature is full of stray observation, wishful thinking and personal anecdotes.”⁵⁹
Thus, an attempt is made in this work to study the student unrest in the United Provinces
to bring out the essence of the period and bring some clarity to my research questions.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL DISTURBANCES AND STUDENT'S INVOLVEMENT IN U.P. (1936-1942)

An interesting appeal in a magazine called 'Krantikari' will be befitting to bring out the colours of the freedom movement wherein Jayaprakash Narayan is appealing to the youth in the following words:

"You have given great promises which nobody but you can fulfill. Remember, throughout the world youth is pouring out its blood in unmeasured quantities for causes good or bad. No cause can be greater, judged nationally or internationally, morally or materially, than the cause of freedom of four hundred millions of people. By becoming the soldiers of one-fifth of humanity, you will place yourself in the first ranks of the international army of freedom, peace and progress. The key to the world's future lies in Asia and India is the key to Asia. Therefore first march on, Comrades! Begin with your colleagues and friends and rest not there. Nothing but blood, toil and tears shall be our lot, but out of that shall emerge the freedom of our land and people. A free India and therefore a new world!"¹

In the present chapter, I propose to focus on how the Youth Leagues were transformed into student organisations and further, how they functioned. Were they satisfied with their 'mode' of functioning or did they look for an alternative leadership? What kind of terms did the students have with their leaders?

Taking the look at the background, in the words of Prabodh Chandra," the modern student movement might have originated under the influence of patriots like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the two greatest reformers of their time, who did much for the spread of education."² We know of some political consciousness among students in 1884, when they protested against the holding of the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service in England. This consciousness received a fillip in Maharashtra under the influence of Lokmanya Tilak and in Bengal by its partition in 1905. Aurobindo Ghosh and Sir Gurudas Bannerji played a prominent part in the Bengal

¹ Underground Documents of 1942 Movement, S.No. 8, Acc. No. 647, List 190 LLXIX, NMML, New Delhi.

² Prabodh Chandra, *Student Movement in India*, Lahore, All India Student's Federation (hereafter AISF), 1938, p.46.

student movement. They left their schools and colleges to advocate the cause of Swadeshi in the wake of partition. In Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh played a prominent part in arousing the students. There was no regular student organisation then.

The second phase of the student activities was visible after 1919 during the Rowlatt Act agitation and the first Gandhian Non- Cooperation Movement. There came repression and suppression in the wake of the Great War. The Rowlatt Act Day was celebrated throughout the country and students organised processions and hartals. In 1921, Gandhiji launched the Non- Cooperation movement. He exhorted students to leave schools and colleges and participate actively in the campaign. Gandhi said that “even if we cannot completely boycott schools and colleges we must test their prestige. That prestige was almost gone and is daily decreasing. And we must do nothing that would restore their prestige till they are nationalized and answer the requirements of the nation.”³ The regime of Martial law in Punjab brought the students of Punjab together. National colleges were established at Lahore and Aligarh while *Vidyapiths* were established at Banaras and Gujarat. Thus, there came up a number of national educational institutions. By July 1921, “137 national schools were opened and 8476 students were taking education in them.”⁴ A Congress leader, Shiv Prasad Gupta of Banaras, founded Kashi *Vidyapith*, which was similar to the Gujrat Vidyapeeth in 1921.

If one talks of the educational scenario it looked progressive and there was some improvement in the educational facilities provided in United Provinces between 1917-1930. The numbers of certified institutions in 1917 were 12,912 and by 1927 this increased to 18,559, which amounts to an increase of 44%. In the same period, the number of students increases from 805,420 to 965,059 which further rises to 12, 80,450 amounting to 50% increase.⁵

It was during this time that students felt the need for an independent and separate student organisation. After 1923 the student movement was dormant again. It was in 1927 that the first real student organisation was established in India. Bhagat Singh, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Sukhdév and Ihsan Illahi were its pioneers. They realised the

³ Articles of Gandhi List 190 LXII, File No. 32, NMML, New Delhi.

⁴ The Programme of Education in India, 1917-22, 8th Quinquennial Review, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1923, p. 5.

⁵ U.P. Administrative Report, 1927-28, London, 1928 cited in Pushpa Tomar, ‘Uttar Pradesh mein Chhatra Andolan’, Ph.D. Thesis, Meerut University, 1991, p. 101.

significance of independent student organisations. The first Lahore Student Conference under the Presidentship of Late Lala Lajpat Rai attracted thousands of students. "Other provinces followed the example of the Punjab and organized local student organizations. These student organizations did not have much cohesion and they worked locally and did not like to interfere and participate in the activities of students at other places."⁶ By 1928-1929, 'Youth Leagues' were born in various districts and educational institutions of U.P. They were organised at various centers like Allahabad, Lucknow, Banaras, Agra, Mathura, Jhansi, Meerut and Moradabad. Even in Meerut College, a Youth League was organised and its secretary was a student called Lakshman Swarup Tripathi.⁷ By September 1929, a student union was also organised in Meerut College.⁸

In the Banaras Hindu University (hereafter B.H.U), Kedar Prasad Tiwari organized the Youth League.⁹ Parmanand Trivedi was a student of B.H.U. and Secretary of the Banaras Youth League. He was a resident of Bihar and an aggressive and active worker of the League.¹⁰ Even the students of Kashi Vidyapith were active workers of B.H.U. Youth League.¹¹ This Youth League had contacts with the Naujawan Sabha and attended its Lahore session under the leadership of Parmanand Trivedi.¹² The District administration wanted to end the B.H.U. Youth League and thus Kedar Nath Trivedi got arrested on the pretext of distributing a pamphlet among the students of B.H.U. titled "The Philosophy of Bomb."¹³ The District administration directed the Vice Chancellor, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Principal Dhruv to declare these Youth Leagues as unlawful and ban them on the campus. They were directed even to punish the students for joining these leagues and to stop them being part of this organisation. The students got enraged over this and they posted a notice outside the house of the principal saying, "Traitors of our Nation." (*Apne Desh Ke Gaddar*).¹⁴ These students and the Youth League had as their central programme the ending of social and religious issues, fight against communal

⁶ Prabodh Chandra, *Student Movement in India*, Lahore, AISF, 1938, p. 49.

⁷ U.P. Police Secret & Extract 22 June, 1929, Part-348(B) cited in Pushpa Tomar, *op.cit.*, p. 112.

⁸ Dr. S.K. Mittal, The Role of Meerut College in the Freedom Struggle of India, '*Social Scientist*', Vol. 4, Nov. 1978, p. 431.

⁹ Education Department File No. 127/1930, U.P.S.A. cited in *op.cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Report of Banaras Commission, cited in *ibid*.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² *Ibid*, p.113.

¹³ *Ibid*.

¹⁴ *Ibid*.

forces and the British Raj and achievement of independence. They also worked to know the causes of unemployment among the youth and to organize the farmers and labourers.

These student organizations were active in those areas where there were no National organizations. The members of these organizations were mostly from semi-rural backgrounds.¹⁵ Even these Youth organisations were involved in working for the established and politically stronger centres. They successfully organised sabhas, took out processions and held meetings. Their success can be analyzed from the fact that even school students unions i.e., “Bal Bharat Sabha” and “Vanar Sena” participated in the events organised by these youth organisations. Even some of the important leaders of Congress took their education in these organisations.¹⁶ Underlying the above fact one can conclude that these Youth Leagues and student organisations did not spread in the whole of the United Provinces. There was no central committee or authority, to group these organisations into one body. Even Jawaharlal Nehru was disturbed over the issue.¹⁷

The spirit of patriotism triumphed over opportunism, corruption and treacherous elements. This reflects the political scenario of that decade. The year 1930 witnessed the second Non-Cooperation movement. There was again a call for sacrifice. The student organisations welcomed it by holding processions, hartals and courting imprisonment. The student organisations in Punjab, Bombay and Bengal were declared unlawful. This state of unrest continued upto 1933. In March 1931, the Gandhi Irwin Pact was signed. On the very eve of the Congress session, Bhagat Singh was hanged. The students and the youth vehemently opposed the pact. A wave of sorrow and indignation spread all over the country. The next four years were devoted to the cause by the politically advanced students who systematically worked, to consolidate the organisation and in the year 1936 an All India Students’ Organisation was founded. “Out of the vague and hazy motion of sacrifice and Swaraj, developed a scientific thinking. The socialist ideas of class consciousness became more visible and appeared more realistic.”¹⁸

It was during the close of 1935 that Messrs. Badiuddin and Prem Narayan

¹⁵ Gyanendra Pandey, *The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh, 1926-34*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 67.

¹⁶ A.I.C.C. G-39/1928 Lucknow Youth League Constitution and Circular of the Secretary of the Lucknow Youth League, A.I.C.C. G-29/1928, Paper-2, Allahabad Youth League, as cited in *op.cit.*, p. 114.

¹⁷ A.I.C.C. 39/1939, Head of Chief of All India Students Federation Karachi 28 June 1931, A.I.C.C. G/39, 1929, Letter of Lucknow Youth League Secretary J.K. Banerjee, as cited in *Ibid*, p.115.

¹⁸ Prabodh Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

Bhargava of the U.P. Students' Federation issued circular letters to various provincial and local student organisation proposing the formation of an All India Students' Organisation. It aimed to encourage cultural and intellectual cooperation on equal terms, to suggest improvements in the present educational system, to safeguard the rights of the student community and to prepare the student for citizenship in order to take a due share in political activities by arousing their political, economical and social consciousness. An organisation of the students of India was formed and named as the All-India Students Federation. The AISF (All-India Students Federation) was the outcome of the efforts of U.P Students' Federation, which strive to link the various provincial student organisations on an all-India basis, for the purpose of coordinating the struggle of thousands of Indian students in schools, colleges and universities for liberty, culture and peace. In the words of S.C. Bose, "A youth association is characterized by a feeling of dissatisfaction with the present order of things, and a desire for a better order accompanied by a vision of that order. Youth movements are not reformist in outlook but revolutionary."¹⁹ In August 1936 the first All India Students' Conference met at Lucknow, a number of 986 delegates came from 210 local and 11 provincial organisations to attend this session. The aims and objectives were formulated in around two days. A section of the delegates wanted the organisation to take an active part in politics, while the other opined that the political activities would resist the basics, and the federation would not develop into a mass organisation. Pandit J.L. Nehru who inaugurated this Conference and Mr. M.A. Jinnah who presided over its session gave their own suggestions.

The Aims and Objectives of the AISF were:

- (a) To encourage cultural and intellectual cooperation on equal terms between the students of various provinces and Indian states, and between students of India and other parts of the world;
- (b) To suggest improvement in the present system of education;

¹⁹S.C.Bose, *Perennial Inspiration to the Indian Youth, Birth Centenary Volume*, New Delhi, A.P.H Publishing Corporation, 1997. pp. 45-46.

- (c) To safeguard the rights of the student community;
- (d) To prepare the students for citizenship, in order to take their due share in the struggle for complete national freedom by arousing their political, social and economic consciousness.

On the one hand, the 'Federation' wants to unite students on their common grievances, and on the other it wants them to prepare them to take their due share in the country's struggle for complete independence.²⁰

This conference also felt the necessity and desirability of starting some official organ to:

- (i) Ventilate the grievance of students to support their cause and to organize them into a powerful organization.
- (ii) Seek to solve the problem of unemployment.
- (iii) Inculcate the spirit of simple living and high thinking;
- (iv) Agitate against the drab system of education.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra, President of the Punjab Students' Federation took this arduous task upon himself. The 'Student's Tribune', the official organ of the All India Students Federation makes its first appearance in November 1936 under his editorship. It publishes articles on various topics of interest to students and gives wide publicity to the activities of various student organizations.²¹

The Second All India Students' Conference met at Lahore under the Presidentship of Sarat Chandra Bose in November, 1936. Mr. Prabodh Chandra was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. This Conference was called only after 3 months, because it was to adopt the constitution and take stock of the organisational activities during this period. At this very conference a 'charter of student's demands' was adopted.

The Student Movement in the United Provinces during 1936-37:

During the period of 1936-1937, one comes across interesting changes in the government policies and the politics woven around it as different acts and plans were executed under the aegis of the British government and the Congress respectively. Under

²⁰ Prabodh Chandra, *op.cit.*, p.54.

²¹ *Ibid*, pp.55-56.

the Government of India Act of 1935, the Provincial and Central Assembly elections were declared to be held soon. There were two kinds of opinion on the issue of elections. One group wanted to participate in the elections in the same way as Swarjists did after the end of the Civil Disobedience movement. On the other hand, the second group did not participate in the elections and propose to continue the mass struggle. This group consisted of the C.S.P. and the Communist Party. The programme of Congress in the elections of 1937 included laying the groundwork for socialism and to foster economic development by ending the old Zamindari system. The leaders of the Congress party carried out a mass scale mobilisation to garner people's support for their party and programmes. In U.P. the mass scale election campaign was carried out under the headship of Pandit J.L. Nehru. Even the student community walked hand in hand with the leaders in mobilising the masses for the party cause. They organised meetings and processions for the Congress leaders. They even face suppression by government officials at various government buildings and educational institutions. They helped the leaders through all ways available and even collected money for election purposes. On 22nd January 1937, Nehru visited Agra University where the students collected a sum of Rs.601 for election campaign.²² In Banaras, the police officials confiscated books such as "Fascism and Germany" and "Basic Questions and the Congress Socialist Party" from a B.A. student named S.P. Tripathi.²³ The Independence Day was celebrated with much fervour as it boosted the ongoing election campaign in the United Provinces.²⁴

Even at B.H.U., the two Congress leaders, namely Moti Lal Upadhyaya and Satyanarayan Arya, declared their intention to celebrate the Independence Day. The University authorities refused permission for the same and this enraged the students who along with these two leaders took out processions and shouted slogans like 'Inqilab Zindabad' and other revolutionary songs that resounded in the premises of the University. The processions went around the university and culminated in the form of a meeting at the Birla Hostel. Devkant Barua headed it. The leaders delivered speeches centering on 'socialism'. The students were not permitted to help in the election of Sampurnanand.²⁵

²⁰ *Aaj*, 24 January, 1937.

²³ *Aaj*, 27 January, 1937.

²⁴ *Aaj*, 28 January, 1937.

²⁵ *Ibid*, Sampurnanand was the candidate of Banaras Provincial Vidhan Sabha.

At Kanpur, the Principal of the D.A.V. College issued an order prohibiting the resident students from going to the polling booths and working in the elections. The concessions and stipends of some students were suspended for a few days. The students had to go on strike when the principal refused to see them. This move was supported by the B.Sc. students who did not appear in the final exams. The order was withdrawn after a week's strike. Calling off the strike the students in a resolution affirmed their right to take part in politics.²⁶ They unfurled the Congress flag on the college building and even destroyed the windowpanes to express their dissatisfaction.²⁷

A residential Congress leader, Shri Balkrishna Sharma, requested the students to deal patiently with the Principal, Dewan Chand, who was a noble and prominent Indian and wishes the good of all students.²⁸ The District Magistrate of Kanpur took a strong step and under Section 144 of I.P.C. (Indian Penal Code) gave directions to stop all meetings and processions. The students went ahead with their processions and meetings, thus going against the authorities and law. One of the members of the strike committee got arrested and the Principal issued orders to close the college.²⁹ Later, the strike was called off and within a week the situation was under control.³⁰

The students were mistreated and even the authorities compelled the people living in the villages to work against the Congress candidates during the election process. At Banaras, a number of teachers lost their jobs as they campaigned for the Congress leaders. The students were even barred under laws (Section 144 of I.P.C. or Faujdari laws etc.) to cast their votes. At some places, the students were turned out of their respective schools on the pretext of participating in elections and were assisted too.³¹

In the Period of 1937-38:

This time period further makes the study of the United Provinces very interesting, as one can draw linkages between the role and participation of students in the Congress movement which strengthens after the electoral victory of 1937. After the elections in the

²⁶ Prabodh Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

²⁷ *Aaj*, 20 January, 1937.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Aaj*, 25 January, 1937.

³⁰ *Aaj*, 2 March, 1937.

³¹ *Aaj*, 27 February, 1937.

year 1937-38, the students carried on with two kinds of movements. One was focusing on turning down all the signs and symbols of British imperialism. The second was more or less fighting for their rights and privileges for which they were liable. They even supported the demands pertaining to the release of political prisoners. During 1937-38 the students of Lucknow, Allahabad, and Banaras were very active. The branches of AISF were working to organise the students in universities. After the electoral victory of the Congress, these organisations and the students started to work upon securing their rights and fighting for them.

The All India Students' Conference began its session on 12th August, 1936 and on its second day it passed several resolutions on a wide range of topics. One of them was condemning the action of Vice Chancellor of Lucknow University in expelling some of the students on their proposal in a meeting of the University to add the name of Mr. Saklatvala³² in the condolence resolution before the University meeting at the time of the death of King George V.³³ Their demands went unheard and they were arrested. Among those students arrested were Shafiq Naqvi, Jamal Kidwai and Jagdish Rohatagi.³⁴ The first session of AISF was also against the decision taken by the Vice-Chancellor. On 20th November 1937, the students of the Lucknow University celebrated "The All India Students Day" and on the same day the charter carrying the demands of students was declared in Lahore. They even organised a meeting which was addressed by the education minister, Pandit Pyarelal Sharma. He supported their charter of demands and advised them to follow the constructive programmes.³⁵

The Movement against Fee Hike and Flag Hoisting by the Students of U.P. :

During the period of 1937-39, the student movement focused on the problems around the rights of students and democratisation process. Their basic demands were: providing student unions, hostels and educational reforms and they organised movements for the achievement of the same. The strikes were held on 17th November, 1937 in Allahabad at

³² Mr. Shahpurji Saklatvala was leader of the British Communist Party and the Member of the House of Commons.

³³ Anil Rajimwale, *History of Student Movement, Origins and Development (1920-1947)*, New Delhi, Manak Publications, 2001, p. 295.

³⁴ *Aaj*, 28 January, 1936, *The Congress Socialist*, February, 1936.

³⁵ *The Leader*, 27 November, 1937.

Vidyamandir High School, Ewing Christian College and Aggarwal Intermediate College on the issue of fee hike. The students of Irwin College were dissatisfied at not being able to hoist the national flag on the college building.³⁶

In the above context, on 19th November 1937, the Allahabad Students' Association held a meeting at Purushottamdas Park. J.L. Nehru addressed this meeting and appealed to the student community to end the strike.³⁷ Nehru was asked by a student if they could hoist the national flag on their college building. He said that "There should be no division of opinion on the issue of flag hoisting".³⁸

In the same meeting, Ramesh Sinha, a leader of the U.P. Students' Association in his speech criticised both the Congress and Nehru and introduced a proposal whether the strike waged should continue or not.³⁹ The strike of students continued till December 1937. The Aggarwal College reduced its fee hike. The Ewing Christian College also got the permission to hoist the flag on their hostel and thus brought the Allahabad student's strike to its fruitful end.⁴⁰

The Division in AISF and the Indian Student Movement:

The national movement started to come to terms with the fact that the united front against British Imperialism was getting weaker by the year 1940. As the clouds of war surrounded the Indian political scene things started to take a dramatic turn. By July and August 1939, the students were busy in the movement waged for the release of political prisoners.⁴¹ Shafi Ahmed Kidwai, a Student leader, brought to light the causes of the Second World War, through the various debating competitions held in different colleges and universities. He delivered lectures on the issues related to war at Agra and Kanpur universities. The students held a meeting against the war issue in Allahabad.⁴² By 10th August 1939, they held a big meeting in Banaras wherein the students appealed to the

³⁶ *The Leader*, 19 November, 1937.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 21 November, 1937.

³⁸ *Ibid*.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 7 December, 1937.

⁴¹ *The National Front*, 27 August, 1939.

⁴² *The National Front*, 27 August, 1939.

Congress leaders to start a mass movement to turn the British imperialists out of India.⁴³

The Sixth AISF Conference was held on 25th December 1940 at Nagpur and proved to be a momentous event in the life of the organisation because it led to a major split in the All India Student's Federation and in the Indian student movement respectively. The nationalist group (M.L. Shah's group) alleged that M.A. Farooqui's group was trying to establish communist ideology over the organisation. According to a Secret Report of Bombay nearly 40 odd representatives belonging to the M.L. Shah group left the AISF. Though used to call itself the socialist group of the AISF, it was in minority during the split of AISF.⁴⁴ Even with the efforts of both Gandhi and Prof. Satish Kalekar the unity between the two groups could not be established. By 1944, nationalist group of the AISF changed its name to All Indian Students' Association.

One can safely conclude that the formation of this organisation introduced an element of stability in student's activities and sought to build up a movement with a day to day programme. It is true that the formation of the All India Students Federation in 1936 gave much needed framework to the movement. But it will be too much to claim that their movement was a steady stream from then on, as there has been both periods of lull and feverish activity.

Coming to the question that I dealt with in this part of my work, I have showed the 'juncture' where the Youth Leagues got transformed into AISF as it satisfied the need to give an institutional expression to the consciousness of the student community and the national movement. In words of P.M. Joshi, "Freedom was not a magic word to invoke emotional response but precondition for a new revolution."⁴⁵

Thus, the various events discussed above bring to light that the students were satisfied with the working of the AISF and its various branches all over India. They were successful in uniting the students of various Universities particularly in Lucknow and Allahabad. We find students functioned through Leagues and unions in their respective colleges in Banaras, Agra & Allahabad. One can presume that over the question of satisfaction of the 'mode' of organization, the students were satisfied with the leadership

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ M.S.A. *Home Poll*, File No. 895-III, 1941-42-43, C.I.D. Report cited in Pushpa Tomar, *op.cit.*, p. 199.

⁴⁵ P.M. Joshi, *Student Revolts in India: Story of Pre-independence Youth Movement*, Bombay, University of Bombay Publications, 1972.

which they got in the events discussed above. Like in Agra, the students helped the Congress leaders in their election campaign through both men and money. For the leaders like Nehru, students formed the basis of successful campaigning. From the events of the D.A.V. College at Kanpur, one can conclude that the students were eager to help in the electoral process and Nehru appreciated the efforts of the youth. In a meeting addressed by Nehru at Shahjahanpur, the students were lathi charge for participating.

Another event highlights the sympathy which the leaders had in their heart for the student community and vice-versa. In October 1937, a mile long procession of fifteen thousand students from all parts of the United Provinces headed by Mr. Prem Narayan Bhargava, the then general secretary, AISF after parading the main streets of Lucknow marched to the house of Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant of U.P. (Congress) Premier, in order to place before him their grievances and demands passed by the All India Student's Federation at its Lahore Session. The demands were numbered 37, important among them being, the re-admission of three students in their higher classes in A.M.U., withdrawal of cases against Messrs. Romesh Chandra Sinha & J. Bhattacharya*⁴⁶ who were arrested for the alleged possession of the communist literature etc. While putting the demands before the Premier, it was impressed upon him that there was no communalism in the student ranks. The students organized the march to show that the All India Students' Federation was a truly representative body.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant in his reply mentions that their demands were in the nature of commands. He congratulated the members of the Federation for abolishing communalism. He placed before them the idea of Mahatma Gandhi which was service to country and non-violence. The Premier advised the students not to hanker after jobs but work in the villages. The Federation, they informed had implicit faith in the Congress government but requested the ministers also to listen to their grievances and not depend merely on the authorities version.⁴⁷

These are few important events, which justifies the statement that the students had faith in the Congress leaders and vice-versa. We do find at places students even defying the orders of the leaders but in a nutshell, the student organisations worked smoothly

⁴⁶ * They were two zealous workers of the U.P. Students' Federation.

⁴⁷ Prabodh Chandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-83.

under the guidance and encouragement of their leaders.

Outbreak of the Second World War:

The clouds of War began hovering over Europe in the early months of 1939. Therefore the Indian troops were sent to Egypt, Aden and Singapore in August 1939 to safeguard the British interests there. The Congress resented this step of the Government because it did not want India dragged into the war. Germany invaded Poland on 1st September 1939, and England declared war against Germany on 3rd September 1939.⁴⁸ Lord Linlithgow declared war against Germany on that very day when England had declared it on Germany, and thus India was made a belligerent country against Germany. Gandhi opposed this step of the Viceroy, issuing his statement on 5th September 1939. Gandhi met Viceroy on 4th September, and talked for two hours. The Viceroy made arrangements for Gandhi to get upto-date information about the war situation and he emphasised that the Congress Ministries should stay in office. He further explained to Gandhi his scheme of taking cooperation of all the political parties in India for defence purposes. Gandhi left the Viceroy with a good understanding, and he was greatly influenced by Gandhi's deep concern for Britain.⁴⁹

According to his pledge to the Viceroy, Gandhi pressed the Working Committee to offer unconditional cooperation to the British Government,⁵⁰ but the Committee did not agree with Gandhi and announced that the British Government had no right to make India a belligerent nation. They argued that India could not be a partner of the imperialistic powers, while she was denied her freedom. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru played an important part to get the resolution of the Working Committee passed against the cooperation in the war efforts with the British Government.⁵¹

On the 17th October 1939, the Viceroy issued his statement in which he made it clear that Britain's aim was to give India Dominion Status at the end of the war, and Britain wanted to fight to resist aggression against the freedom loving countries. Gandhi

⁴⁸ V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, Bombay, Orient Longman, 1957, p. 60.

⁴⁹ G.D. Birla, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, Calcutta, Orient Longman, 1953, p. 253.

⁵⁰ John Glendevon, *The Viceroy at Bay: Lord Linlithgow in India 1936-43*, London, Collins St. James Place, 1971, p. 138.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.139.

and the other leaders of the Congress condemned this declaration. On 22nd October 1939, the Working Committee passed a resolution rejecting the declaration as an unequivocal reiteration of the old imperialistic policy, and calling upon the Congress Ministries to resign. Gandhi further stated that the Congress was ready to negotiate and advised Britain to amend the mistake.⁵²

Sir Stafford Cripps, during his two-day's stay with Linlithgow told the Viceroy (Dec.1939) that having seen Jinnah, he had reached the conclusion that it was hopeless to bring Congress and Muslims together. But he urged the Viceroy to try to bring both parties to terms on some agreement. Sir Stafford Cripps created trouble for the Viceroy by encouraging Jawahar Lal Nehru who was already intractable in the eyes of the Viceroy.⁵³ The Congress Ministries resigned by the middle of November 1939. Linlithgow did his best in persuading the Congress Ministries to remain in office but he failed. On 20th March 1940, at the Annual Session of Congress a resolution was passed, which rejected the Dominion Status or any other status within the imperial structure. They demanded a Constituent Assembly and in case their demand was not accepted they threatened Civil Disobedience.⁵⁴ Jinnah denounced the Congress for its anti-war campaign because he considered it a sort of blackmailing the British Government to sponsor the realisation of the Congress objectives.⁵⁵

War changed every thing. The Congress Ministries resigned and coalition ministries fell. Events in U.P also reflected the same cause as at Kashi, following the instructions of the Provincial Congress Committees (PCC), the Congress Committee organised a huge procession from Dasashvamedha Ghat to facilitate the Congress ministers for tendering their resignations “..... Then came various peasants mounted on bullock carts depicting how talks were held between the government officials and the country's prominent leaders at the outbreak of war and what led to the resignation of the Congress ministries. The masses marched alongside the bullock carts.”⁵⁶ In the East, nationalism received a great stimulus, and in the middle of the war it had reached such a

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 154.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 158.

⁵⁴ R.C. Majumdar, *Struggle for Freedom*, Vol. XI, Bombay, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1969, p. 624.

⁵⁵ T. Walter Walbank, *A Short History of India and Pakistan*, New York, New American Library, 1958, p. 191.

⁵⁶ Mushirul Hasan, (ed.), *Towards Freedom, Documents on the Movement for Independence in India*, 1939, Part 1, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.206.

passionate intensity that Gandhi was successfully able to launch his 'Quit-India Campaign.' Later on Attlee and the British Government also fulfilled their wartime promises.⁵⁷

At this point of time, Gandhi knew that the Congress was not in a position of dictating terms to the Government, therefore he was in favour of giving help to the British Government in the war, but leaders like Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, were not inclined to a settlement with the Government. The Congress resolutions clearly show that, many of the Congress leaders hoped for an early fall of the British Government. During the fateful summer of 1940, the Congress Working Committee was almost in permanent session. They believed that Britain was done for and the Congress could dictate terms to England.⁵⁸

Thus, one can say that Gandhi was opposed to Indian participation in the war. Participation in the war meant for him a violation of the principle of non-violence. On the other hand, leaders such as Nehru, Azad and Rajagopalachari were prepared to support the war effort, but they were not ready to compromise on the issues of full Independence and National Government.⁵⁹ After July 1940 the majority of the Working Committee members agreed with him. Although Gandhi might have compromised over the extent of government responsibility, he was not prepared to sacrifice his convictions with regard to the war.⁶⁰

What marked the 'August Revolution' or the Congress launched anti-British campaign was the popular perception that the collapse of the state was imminent. This accounted for mass participation in the rebellion. The people had raised their voice against the British Government and "it was entirely wrong to think that this struggle was for freedom of speech, the struggle was for independence, without which there could be no freedom of any sort."⁶¹

⁵⁷ G.D. Birla, *op.cit.*, p. 158.

⁵⁸ M.N. Roy, 'India and War', Radical Democratic Party, Lucknow 1942, p. 26.

⁵⁹ Johannes H. Voigt, "Co-operation or Confrontation? War and Congress Politics, 1939-42", in D.A. Low, *Congress and the Raj*, p.360.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.369.

⁶¹ Report on the Satyagraha Movement in United Provinces cited in K.N. Panikkar (ed.), *Towards Freedom*, 1940, Part 1, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.473.

The Movement of 1942 & the Students:

This part of my study will focus on how the movement of 1942 provided the platform for the students to perform. In particular, what was the role of B.H.U. students in this movement and how far did they mobilise the students of other colleges and schools? Did the rural areas participate in the Quit India movement or not? All these questions will be discussed herein to study the student movement in detail. The Movement of 1942 was the climax of the freedom movement in India, and it remains unsurpassed in its fervour and the scenes of action, ever since the struggle for freedom started in India. The movement was the outcome of internal and external forces. Internally India was in political turmoil. Cripps arrived in New Delhi on 23rd March 1942, and immediately started negotiations with Indian leaders. He published his proposals⁶² on 30th March 1942. Gandhiji said that 'he represented himself and not the Congress'.⁶³ The failure of the Cripps Mission had left India more dissatisfied than before. The Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and Forward Bloc had drifted away to a greater distance than before. The Indian people had no faith in Britain's willingness to part with power. The political leaders did not like to wait till the war was over for their freedom. Indian grew more and more skeptical, disillusioned and indifferent to her fate.⁶⁴ Gandhi felt that the Indians were living in a state of ordered anarchy, which should go even if there was complete lawlessness after it. He also felt that the Indians could go on the lines of non-violence if there was any movement against the Government.⁶⁵ He firmly believed that England could not defend India against Japan; therefore it should leave India to her fate. Gandhi declared that he would resist Japan by non-cooperation. Therefore, Gandhi carried on his agitation against Britain throughout May, June, July and early August 1942. He hoped for the unity of Hindus and Muslims on the pretext of the departure of the British from India.

After Cripps left India, the Viceroy was much annoyed with Gandhi and his party. He was not ready to deal with them because he considered them 'impossible political leaders'. Gandhi was freely writing against the Government in the 'Harijan'. He thought

⁶² See N. Mansergh, (ed.), *The Transfer of Power (1942-47)*, Vol. I, London, 1970, pp.337-340.

⁶³ D.G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma- Life of Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi*, Vol.VI, Delhi,1962, p.72.

⁶⁴ *Home Political* (hereafter *Home Poll*), 1943, File No. 20/3/43, N.A.I, New Delhi.

⁶⁵ *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, cited above, Gandhi's Press interview on May 16, 1942.



Source: C.I.D Records, Bombay, List 190LLXXII, Acc. No. 655, New Delhi, NMML.

that the British concessions to India were owing to her worsening condition in the war. Rajendra Prasad and many other like-minded leaders, though they favoured cooperation with the Government, yet they could not dare come out against Gandhi like Rajaji.⁶⁶

The All-India Congress Committee met at Allahabad on 29th April 1942 where it passed a resolution to refuse to consider any scheme or proposal, which retained even in partial measure of British control over India. On 15th May 1942, Gandhi said in a press interview that after the Cripps Mission, he was not ready even to give moral support to Britain.⁶⁷ In the issue of 'Harijan' on 15th May he wrote "Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy." This was due to his belief that Japan was going to win the war.⁶⁸

The Working Committee of Congress met at Wardha on 6th July. After a tense discussion, the main resolution was passed on 14th July. It stressed on an immediate end of the British rule in India. After the Resolution of 14th July 1942, the masses felt that Gandhi would paralyse the Government and would bring freedom for India by some miraculous move. The Government did not anticipate a big mass-movement, because they felt that the masses were indifferent to the political situation in India.⁶⁹ Things had changed after the Resolution of the 14th July 1942. Henceforth, Gandhi wanted to start the struggle at once. Sardar Patel supported him but Jawahar Lal Nehru and Azad opposed him on the ground that the U.S.A. would intervene in two or three weeks in their favour. Azad thought that the country was not ready for the fight yet.⁷⁰

The effect of the Wardha resolution on the League was very adverse. Its papers began to criticise Gandhi for what they saw as his coercive policy. On 17th July 1942 'The Eastern Times' of Lahore wrote, "Wardha ultimatum was undoubtedly the greatest and the most unashamed attempt at black-mailing in history". Amery, the Secretary of State, was greatly disturbed by the Wardha Resolution and he wanted that Gandhi should be immediately arrested before he began his campaign. Amery wrote that he had no fear of holding the position in the House of Commons, but Linlithgow refused to act in

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, Letter from T. Stewart to Linlithgow, 21st June 1942.

⁶⁷ John Glendevon, *op.cit.*, p. 242.

⁶⁸ Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 41.

⁶⁹ *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, *op.cit.*, Letter from T. Stewart to Linlithgow, 15th July 1942.

⁷⁰ John Glendevon, *op.cit.*, p. 245.

haste.⁷¹ The Government tried to create an anti-Congress atmosphere but failed, because any pro-Government speech by any Indian carried no weight with the people, rather they resented such speeches. The Governor of U.P. favoured repressive measures against the Congress leaders before they could do anything effective. The Wardha 'Quit India' Resolution met with strong criticism from Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Ambedkar, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Jinnah and Rajaji. Dr. Ambedkar suggested that Gandhi should have settled the differences with other political parties. The Labour Party in England was also critical of this move. The Communists supported the demands of the Wardha resolution about the formation of a National Government in India, but they disagreed with the proposal to launch a country-wide movement without first bringing about unity between the Congress and the League.

All parties i.e., the Communists, Liberals, the Muslim League, the Congress, the Depressed Classes, and the Hindu Mahasabha continued demanding the formation of a national government in India, but they did not, however, all mean the same thing by a national government.⁷² Again, Ambedkar called it 'a treachery to India' and 'playing the enemy's game', and he urged all Indians to resist it.⁷³ On the other hand, Jayaprakash Narayan stated that "...there is no compromise, between the slogans of 'Quit India' and of a 'National Government'. Those who are running after the slogan of Congress live unity are merely serving the ends of imperialist propaganda. It is not the lack of unity that is obstructing the formation of a national government but the natural unwillingness of imperialism to liquidate itself. Further, it is not the unity of all the important elements in Indian life that is the need of the hour but the unity of all the national revolutionary forces."⁷⁴

Gandhi's idea seemed to be that since the war was going against Britain, British would come to terms with the Congress as soon as the movement was launched. The British would hesitate to take any drastic steps against the Congress when the Japanese were advancing towards the Indian borders, knocking down British resistance.⁷⁵

The All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay on 7th August 1942 and

⁷¹ *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, *op.cit.*, Linlithgow's letter to Amery, 14th July 1942.

⁷² *Home Poll*, 1942, File No. 19/8/42.

⁷³ *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, *op.cit.*, Ambedkar's speech, 22nd July 1942.

⁷⁴ *Underground Documents of 1942*, S.No. 8, Acc. No. 647, List 190 LLXIX, NMML, New Delhi.

⁷⁵ Abul Kalam Azad, *op.cit.*, pp. 73-77.

ratified the Quit India Resolution of the Working Committee. The Resolution demanded the immediate withdrawal of British power from India and sanctioned the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale. Every Indian who desired freedom and strived for it was to be his own guide till India was free.⁷⁶ Though Gandhi had declared that his movement would be non-violent, yet every one knew that the revolt could not remain non-violent in character as even Gandhi had proclaimed that it was an open rebellion.

After the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay, Gandhi declared, "We shall do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt."⁷⁷ He had no clear idea about the programme of the movement.⁷⁸ He wanted that the people should submit to the Government only if physically forced to do so. They were not to court arrest voluntarily. Azad did not like this move of Gandhi, because it would have provided a good opportunity to the Japanese after the withdrawal of the Britishers.⁷⁹

The A.I.C.C. Resolution was moved by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and seconded by Sardar Patel. It was passed but with thirteen votes against twelve. Perhaps the Congress leaders did not believe that they would be arrested. The arrests were so unexpected that some of the leaders forgot to take their spectacles, money-purses, books and even the clothes with them.⁸⁰

The Government was afraid that if the national government was established in India, Gandhi would disband the Indian Army and might sue for peace with the Axis powers. Gandhi himself had declared in context of the above issue in his speech in the meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha on 15th July 1942. The government considered that the move by the Congress was by a few Indians and the Congress did not speak for the whole India because the Muslims, Communists, the Kisan Sabha and many student organisations were against the Quit India Movement. The A.I.C.C. and all the Provincial Congress Committees, except that of N.W.F.P., were declared unlawful. Rigorous control was imposed over the publication of news and comments. The news of

⁷⁶ *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, *op.cit.*, 'Linlithgow's letter to Amery', 7th August 1942.

⁷⁷ R.C. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, p. 649

⁷⁸ *Home Poll*, File No. 18/8/42.

⁷⁹ Abul Kalam Azad, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

⁸⁰ *Home Internal* (hereafter *Home I*) 1943, File No. 20/3/43 cited in Prakash Chandra Joshi, "Quit India Movement in Meerut Mandal", Ph.D Thesis, Meerut University, 1986, p.286.

Gandhi's arrest spread like wildfire, and it was followed by popular demonstrations, meetings, hartals and processions in the various parts of the country. The youth of the country, particularly the students, took an enthusiastic part in the revolt. The students were everywhere to the fore. So serious was their revolt that many universities were forced to close down for months. "This is all the more notable considering that these are products of the demoralizing and denationalising education given in British controlled institutions."⁸¹ In the first two days there were disturbances in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona and Delhi only. After 11th August the situation began to deteriorate.⁸² On 12th August disturbances spread to wide areas of the country. After three or four days the condition in Bombay improved but students continued to spread violence at various places, such as Lucknow, Kanpur, Bombay, Nagpur and Ahmedabad. All organisations associated with the Congress were banned. The general idea of the people was that the Government was too weak to stand against the mass-movement. Education institutions and Universities soon emptied in the 'disturbed' areas. The Banaras Hindu University was taken over by the military. The Aligarh University remained open because it was the centre of the pro-League forces in northern India.

After a few days, disturbances spread to the suburbs of the big cities and also to the town areas. Hindu students were in the forefront everywhere, while most of the Muslim students were checked by the League from participating in the Movement. The creed of non-violence was ignored everywhere not only the government buildings, even private property was destroyed and looted.⁸³

The orthodox section of the Congress followed non-violent methods but the young persons which mostly included students who had no faith in Gandhian methods indulged in serious crimes and acts of sabotage. Bombs were freely used in many parts of India. Attlee approved of the detention of the Congress leaders as being unavoidable.⁸⁴ It is true that Gandhi had not formulated any definite programme of action before he was arrested on 9th August. The violence that followed the arrest of the Congress leaders was on the instructions of those who had escaped arrest. They sent instructions on behalf of

⁸¹ 1942 Movement Papers, List 190LLXIX, S.No. 7, p.2, NMML, New Delhi.

⁸² R.C. Majumdar, '*Struggle for Freedom*', Vol. XI, *op.cit.*, p. 650.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 652.

⁸⁴ *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, *op.cit.*, Attlee's letter to Linlithgow, dated 13th August, 1942.

A. I.C.C. to all the Provincial Congress Committees.⁸⁵ A group of Congressmen went underground and engaged in violent activities. This group carried on its activities till 1943, though the open movement was crushed within two months.

Most of the participants in this Movement were students, peasants and persons belonging to the lower-middle class, who had full faith in Gandhi and in his guidance. They followed violence because they realised non-violence was not enough to be used against an oppressive authority. By 15th September 1942 the situation had become clear and even the attempt to overthrow the Government had failed. There were further isolated incidents for the next month or two but there was nothing to cause anxiety to the Government. By the end of August, the police and the military had taken firm action. They had largely succeeded in suppressing the lawlessness, except in Assam. A large number of newspapers closed down as a protest against these suppressive measures.⁸⁶

The Movement varied from province to province and from place to place in its ferociousness, duration and force. In some provinces, it created a serious problem of law and order, but at other places the government took it in its stride.

The Student Awakening all over India:

The students of India were aware of the fact that without political freedom nothing can be achieved. Therefore, they left no stone unturned in order to achieve freedom for their motherland. Gandhi had always contemplated that the students should take an active part in this movement, but he was in a dilemma as to what role they should play in the movement. While addressing the 'Rashtriya Yuvak Sangh', he mentions that the knowledge needed by the students was that they should strive to get rid of British domination and other such evils. In his final speech at Bombay, Gandhi told the students that "he had neither formulated his plans nor want them to join in the struggle for the moment, but they should be ready to abandon their studies and careers as soon as he gave the word."⁸⁷

There were incidents all over India, which can be cited here in context of the mass awakening among students and the leaders who issued directions in the form of appeals,

⁸⁵ R.C. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, p. 656.

⁸⁶ P.N. Chopra, 'The Journal of Indian History', Vol. XLIX, 1971.

⁸⁷ Gandhiji's speech on 8th August 1942 at A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay.

instructions, and addresses to the student community all over India. “Finally, the revolt that was elemental and unorganised at first has now entered the phase of planning and organisation so that when the upsurge should come again there should be no waste of energy and no groping in the dark.”⁸⁸

The provincial reports on the revolt are unanimous that the students took a prominent part and generally speaking led the way in the immediate meetings and demonstrations following the arrests in Bombay and also took the lead in the first attacks. If one views this through the frame of events and happenings all over India, one can get a wider picture of how the leaders and students carried on the propaganda for the freedom of their country. “The object of the organisers however is believed to have been the inculcation of a revolutionary spirit in the local youth and it would appear possible that the seeds of a future revolutionary cell have been sown.”⁸⁹ There is a Police report of an address by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia to the Students’ Federation at Kanpur on 12th July. He called for support of Gandhi’s movement, and went so far as to tell students that even if Gandhi withdrew, they should nevertheless carry the movement on. In other words, he incited the students to attack the Government forces without fear when the movement came.⁹⁰

Similarly the students at Poona were addressed by Yusuf Meherally. On 25th July 1942 he had addressed the students at the Fergusson College Poona, and told them to take up the slogan “Do everything for liberating the country from bondage, even if it be by civil war, anarchy and revolution.”⁹¹ A few days later on 31st July, 1942, he addressed a meeting of the Bombay Congress and stated that the students must play their part effectively, leave their schools and colleges and plunge whole heartedly into the struggle for the freedom of their country. Vallabhbhai Patel accordingly called upon the students to act as ‘messengers’ and ‘newspapers’. At Ahmedabad, Vallabhbhai Patel addressed two students meetings, telling them that they must play their full part in the final struggle for freedom when it came.⁹² Pandit Nehru, when he spoke at the Tilak Day celebration on

⁸⁸ 1942 Movement Papers, List 190LLXIX, S.No.7. , p .3 , NMML, New Delhi.

⁸⁹ Intelligence Report on Preparations for Civil Disobedience in UP, cited in K.N Pannikar (ed.), *Towards Freedom*, 1940, Part 1, New Delhi, 2009.

⁹⁰ P.N. Chopra (ed.), *Quit India Movement – British Secret Report*, p. 190.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 191.

⁹² *Ibid*.

the 1st August, 1942 in Allahabad, had an audience mainly of students and said he could not tell them exactly of the part they should play, but the main thing was to hold themselves in reserve for the great movement and not dissipate their enthusiasm and energy on minor affairs.

As per the statement of Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, a meeting was organised at Banaras Hindu University (B.H.U.), on 8th August, 1942 by Raj Narain, a student leader of B.H.U. Kamlapati Tripathi was the principal speaker and he advocated sabotage and stated that he got the instructions from Pandit Nehru.⁹³ Therefore it was not surprising when the students led the riotous demonstrations and that the first leaflet, which appeared in Bombay, came from students. The instructions given to the students were published in the 'Congress Responsibility' pamphlet.⁹⁴ According to this pamphlet, the instructions were almost clear that the students should disrupt the communications and violence against property was also more or less sanctioned.⁹⁵ Message to students by Brij Lal Biyani,⁹⁶ was "being aware of the fact that the life of the individuals is included in the life of the nation, the students class should take the lead in this national struggle and see the consummation of life in the success of this movement. Remember the ancient glory of India. Keep in mind slavery of today. Look what the students in the different countries of the world are doing and do your duty."⁹⁷

The involvement of the Indian youth and students in this movement was a striking feature, particularly in Bombay, U.P. and Bihar. The student movement was particularly in the forefront and in fact was the most troublesome element in the cities.⁹⁸ In the Benaras division of U.P., it was reported that 30,000 students were expelled from schools and colleges and hundreds of schools and colleges were closed down for months.⁹⁹ Their contribution proved that the 1942 movement was indeed the 'movement of the youth'.

The Chief Secretary of Bombay reported, "The students class was particularly in

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ 'The Congress Responsibility for Disturbances 1942-43' A booklet published by the British Government.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁹⁶ A well known Congress worker from Berar.

⁹⁷ P.N. Chopra, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁹⁸ *Home Poll (I)*, 1942, File No. 3/34/42.

⁹⁹ D.N. Panigrahi, *Quit India and the Struggle for Freedom*, Delhi, Vikas, 1984, p. 24.

the forefront and in fact, was the most troublesome element in cities.”¹⁰⁰ In U.P. “the disturbances were in almost all cases started as a result of the activities of school boys and students.”¹⁰¹ The Chief Secretary of Madras said, “In some districts, students were the very problem in the part they played.”¹⁰² He added that the students were active everywhere. Students in particular took a leading part during the earlier stages of the disturbances. In the Central Provinces, on the whole the younger generation was more in evidence and it was to this class that persons working behind the scenes in the movement directed their attention.¹⁰³ The Bihar Chief Secretary wrote in a similar vein that the “students were much to the fore in organising and carrying out sabotage.”¹⁰⁴ From Bengal the official report was that “the disturbances were created by the students and school boys who were always susceptible to unruly influences.”¹⁰⁵

The United Provinces in the context of 1942 Movement & the B.H.U Students:

In the U.P. trouble started on 10th August 1942 when students took part in demonstrations and by 12th August the situation became critical. The gates of the Banaras Hindu University (hereafter B.H.U.) were closed to the District Magistrate and the students declared themselves as soldiers of free India, and called the University ‘headquarters of free India’. Parties of students rallied forth and organized sabotage. In Allahabad an attack was made on the Kotwali. Rural police were withdrawn to headquarters and tehsils.¹⁰⁶

In the U.P. the Movement was more extensive and forceful in the eastern districts than in the western districts. Ballia, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Basti, Mirzapur, Faizabad, Sultanpur, Banaras, Jaunpur and Gorakhpur were the most disturbed areas in the U.P. The trouble soon spread from the big towns to the outlying areas. The students from

¹⁰⁰ Chief Secretary (hereafter Secy) Bombay to Home Secretary Government of India 9th Sept. 1942, N.A.I. *Home Poll (I)* File. No. 3/34/43.

¹⁰¹ Chief Secy. U.P. to Home Secy. Govt. of India, 26 Oct., 1942, *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Chief Secy. Madras to Home Secy. Govt. of India, 26 Oct., 1942, *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Chief Secy. Central Provinces to Home Secy. Govt. of India, *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Chief Secy. of Bihar to Home Secy. Govt. of India 17 Sept., 1942, N.A.I., *Home Poll(I)*, File.No. 3/34/42.

¹⁰⁵ Chief Secy. of Bengal to Home Secy. Govt. of India, 11 Nov., 1942, *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, File No. 18/8/42.

B.H.U. spread in the neighbouring districts and incited people to revolt. Ballia became the storm centre of the Movement in the U.P. The sudden arrest of Congress leaders in Bombay left the people of Ballia aghast and indignant. Markets were closed down in protest against the repressive policy of the Government. "On 11th August, a huge procession of students, numbering about 15,000 marched towards the district courts to get the court work suspended. They even violated section 144 C.P.C. Mr. Wais, a sub-divisional officer of Ballia who was mainly posted at L.W.M. college.....ordered lathi charge on the students and as a result 100 students were injured and one of them succumbed to his injuries in the hospital...About 50 students were arrested."¹⁰⁷ The arrest of a few girls and random firing by the police in the market sent a wave of indignation into the hearts of the people and they took possession of the Tehsil, Treasury and Armoury. The main leader of the 1942 movement here was Chittu Pandey. The revolutionaries of Ballia were able to free this province of the British control. With the involvement and participation of the police force, they were able to break their hold over this province. The people under the leadership of Chittu Pandey set up a 'National Government'. The people remained in complete control of the district till 19th August 1942.¹⁰⁸ Due to such circumstances, military was called to suppress the rebellion in Ballia.¹⁰⁹ The people destroyed the Government buildings. Ballia, after the rebellion, resembled a country that had been fought over and conquered. The situation in Ballia was unknown to many other parts of India due to censorship of the press.¹¹⁰

Ghazipur was next door to Ballia. Youngmen of the district, in the absence of leaders assumed leadership. "It was said that at Nandganj Railway station there was a hot contest between the people and the soldiers, the latter having fired incessantly on the people. The young insurgents remained at their posts. It was estimated that some 70 to 80 youngmen died at the spot, and several hundreds were wounded."¹¹¹ Ghazipur remained practically under the control of the revolutionaries from 19th to 21st August. People took

¹⁰⁷ Govind Sahai, *42' Rebellion*, Delhi, Rajkamal Publications, 1947, pp 219-220.

¹⁰⁸ *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, *op.cit.*, The U.P. Government Press Note, dated 19th August 1942.

¹⁰⁹ *Home Poll*, 1942, File No. 18/8/42.

¹¹⁰ Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India*, Vol.2. "The Guardians", London, Jonathan Cape, 1955, pp. 311-12.

¹¹¹ Govind Sahai, *op.cit.*, p.230.

possession of the thanas without much resistance.¹¹² Insurgent activities were carried on throughout the district. The students of the Banaras Hindu University played an important role in this Movement. All the Universities of U.P., except the Aligarh Muslim University (hereafter A.M.U.) were closed down. The A.M.U remained completely aloof from the Movement. The Muslims generally remained aloof from it and their quarters remained quiet. In Cawpore, Hindu clerks preferred to go their work through Muslim quarters.¹¹³ The police lathi charged the students several times. After the arrival of the military at the B.H.U., the movement went underground. The students formed themselves into guerrilla-bands and carried on sabotage in the area.¹¹⁴ Ghazipur and Ballia were brought under complete control by about 4th September 1942.¹¹⁵ But the disturbances continued for a few months.

The Banaras Hindu University popularly became the storm centre of rebellious activities and from here the rebel operation was organised in eastern India, particularly Eastern U.P. and Southern Bihar. There could be many reasons for this including wider issues of education and employment of youth. In terms of provincial figures for literacy, the region showed satisfactory results. "The district wise breakup for male literacy in the Indo-Gangetic plain for 1931 is: Banaras 164; Jaunpur 96; Ghazipur 109; Ballia 106; Azamgarh 81; even if one excludes Banaras, Ballia and Gazipur do quite well. Of this literate population, those who could afford tended to go for higher education to 'Banaras', the intellectual hub of east U.P. and west Bihar. Consequently educated unemployment a pervasive phenomenon was also felt sharply in this region."¹¹⁶

Thus, while writing the history of Quit India movement, one cannot escape the contribution made by the students of B.H.U. East U.P. and Bihar were the two major centres where the movement of 1942 turned violent. This movement was more expansive in its strength and coverage in comparison to 1857 revolt. Visions of 1857 were easily conjured in the circumstances of August 1942. On the 9th August, a procession organised by the students of the B.H.U. marched through the streets of the city and terminated at Dashaswamedha Ghat. The university students took out a procession and made their way

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Linlithgow's letter to Amery, 19th August, 1942.

¹¹³ *Home Poll*, 1942. File No. 18/8/42

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, op.cit., Linlithgow's letter to Amery dated 4th September 1942.

¹¹⁶ Govind Sahai *op.cit.*, p.214.

towards the Criminal Court to hoist the flag there. "The same day girl students took the *Khadi bhandar* under their possession, which had previously been occupied by the police."¹¹⁷ Repression was the order of the day everywhere. Even the University could not escape. Seeing the situation the Viceroy sent instructions to Sir Ganga Singh in these following words: 'In these circumstances the Governor has felt that he has no option but to authorise the occupation of University's buildings and hostels; and action in that sense will be taken in the next couple of days.'¹¹⁸ A strong army forced the students to leave their hostels and even the lodgings of Malaviyaji and the Vice Chancellor, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, were not spared. In the month of February 1943, the office of B.H.U was gutted by fire. The military occupied the campus and even "electrical apparatus worth lakhs was removed by the military."¹¹⁹ Those times were full of events of great importance and enthusiasm among the students. "There were frequent arrests of students and strikes form the order of the day. Stone pelting was a common act followed to disperse a mob of students revolting."¹²⁰

In the Western U.P, the Movement was not intense because the economic condition of the masses was better than the peasants of the Eastern U.P. Due to this they were not dissatisfied with their conditions. Secondly, in the western districts, there was a huge Muslim population in the towns and cities, where the Muslims on the advice of the League kept themselves aloof from the Movement. But even then in the big cities, like Agra, Meerut, Bijnor and Moradabad, there were some activities by the Congress workers. The military and the mounted police suppressed the Movement in the eastern districts of the U.P. with high-handedness.¹²¹

The Congress had expanded its network significantly during the early 1930s, but it was the drive to enroll new members during 1937-1939 that saw the establishment of Congress offices in almost every big village in the U.P. and Bihar. The sustained membership drive and the general political activity added to the political consciousness.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.243.

¹¹⁸ Viceroy to Sir Ganga Singh, cited in Partha Sarthi Gupta (ed)., *Towards Freedom*, 1943-44, Part 3, New Delhi, 1997, p. 2330.

¹¹⁹ 1942 Movement Papers, List 190LLXIX, S. No.7, p.5. *op.cit*.

¹²⁰ Personal interview with Mrs. Leela Sharma ,a retired Principal of V.K.M Degree College at Banaras, w/o Late Dr. Radhey Shyam Sharma who was a great freedom fighter of that time. He was a Professor in Chemistry Department at B.H.U. (The interview was conducted on 15.02.09).

¹²¹ Govind Sahai, *op.cit.*, Delhi, 1947, p. 209.

In the politically backward of the region like Eastern U.P. and Western Bihar, which had never been in the forefront of earlier Gandhian agitation, the qualitative leap in consciousness can be said to have come during the late 1930s.¹²² The Congress organization with its headquarters was working in an organised manner especially in the areas of Eastern U.P.¹²³

Another important fact in the context of 'August Revolution' is the role of an organisation called 'Qaumi Seva Dal' which erupted in the areas around Banaras and Ballia. This was the group of young socialists led by Ram Lachan Tiwari, a student of B.H.U. Rajeshwar Tiwari and Vishwanath Chaubey were given the responsibility of organising the Qaumi Seva Dal in Ballia. Both were students of BHU, in their early twenties, belonged to reasonably affluent landed families, and both were members of the CSP. Paras Nath Mishra left B.H.U with his friend Sita Ram Rai of Ghazipur on 12th August after taking part in processions in different parts of Banaras city for a few days. There were camps organised by the Dal. Some of these camps lasted for about two months. Youths from neighbouring villages came and lived together. They travelled by train to Saidpur in Ghazipur as part of the plan agreed [to] at a meeting in the B.H.U campus for students to return to their villages and spread rebellion. From Saidpur, they started walking. On the way, they held impromptu meetings in several villages where people assembled to hear from them that Banaras was in flames; that the British Raj was collapsing everywhere and that it was the duty of the people to loot and burn all symbols of the Raj. 'We ended our meetings with slogans like 'Thana jalaa do!' (Burn the police stations); 'Stations phoonk do!' (Set fire to railway stations); and 'Angrez bhag gaya!' (The English have fled) and so as.'¹²⁴

These speeches had such a deep impact on the people that "On 14 August a mob of 4000 to 5000 reducing the station to rubble, looted the army supply train arrived."¹²⁵ Paras Nath Mishra mentioned above undertook all these events. Paras Nath Mishra arrived in his home village in the afternoon of 13th August. His friends in the locality were enthused by stories of the happenings at Benaras and decided to organise something

¹²² Gyanendra Pandey, *The Indian Nation in 1942*, p. 170.

¹²³ A.I.C.C. Papers, File No. 20(1) 1937 & C. 1939. NMML, New Delhi.

¹²⁴ Gyanendra Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹²⁵ Durga Prasad Gupta, *op. cit.*, 1973, p. 33.

in the locality as well. They went to a neighbouring village where a local fair (Dambar Baba Ka Mela) was in progress. Paras Nath addressed a meeting at the mela, in which he called upon the people to assemble at Bilthara Road on the following day so that the railway station could be attacked.¹²⁶

The University Training Corps was converted into an “Indian National Army” under the command of Dr. Kaushalya Nand Gairola.¹²⁷ The planning of sabotage and organisation of Banaras students was so thorough that the University was being considered by the government as a focus of sabotage and railway dacoity organisation.”¹²⁸ Consequently, the University was closed down *sine die* and the students were asked to leave the campus, which was occupied by the army on 19th August.¹²⁹ “Even some Jain students were actively involved in the 1942 movement”¹³⁰ To penalise the Banaras University authorities, the Government of India was considering the proposal to take over the University building for use as a military hospital and to withhold the second installment of the Central Government’s grant for the year 1942-43. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor had no control over the students. They scattered, helped and guided people in different areas in sabotage activities. In all 134 students were externed from the Benaras District. These students came from different parts of India, such as Delhi, Punjab, Bihar, Assam, Madras. U.P. and various princely States.¹³¹

It was from this base that groups of students rallied forth and organised sabotage in the whole surrounding areas. The delegation from the Benaras University visited Allahabad University and planned to attack the Kotwali. Even the girl students took part in the demonstrations.¹³² Girl students were active participants and they gave the much needed leadership to the movement. The processions taken out on the 12th which passed through the Government House were led by three girls, daughters of Shrimati Vijaylaxmi

¹²⁶ Gyanendra Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹²⁷ Dr. K.N. Gairola, Assistant Professor, Engineering College, B.H.U., played a very important part as an underground leader in the Quit India Movement of 1942, Viceroy to Secretary to State to India, 17 Aug. 1942, *Home Poll (I)*, File No. 3/06/1942.

¹²⁸ *Home Poll (I)* File No. 3/34/42.

¹²⁹ *Home Poll (I)* File Nos. 3/26/42 & 18/10/42.

¹³⁰ Personal interview with Shri Anand Krishna, father of the caretaker of Bharat Kala Bhavan at B.H.U (as conducted on 16.02.09).

¹³¹ *Ibid*, File No. 22/47/44.

¹³² *Ibid*, File.No’s, 18/9/42, 18/10/42 & 18/11/42.

Pandit, Mr. Justice Mulla and a police officer.¹³³ They faced bullets bravely. Later on, the students in collaboration with the Congress Mandals became more active in the area east of Faizabad and Allahabad. Members of Hindustan Socialist Republican Army also rendered help to these students. After sometime, the Lucknow and Agra students followed suit.¹³⁴

Linlithgow succinctly described the situation to Amery, "In all the disturbances students have been prominent and, as a particular example, the Banaras Hindu University has been working as an organising centre. In this last fact we should ourselves be inclined at present to see that main key to the situation. The volume of revolutionary propaganda spread throughout the country, by communist and other organizations, combined with the nationalist and anti-British preaching of Congress had a cumulative effect on the educated and impressionable youth of the country. To the younger generation the 'non-violent non-cooperation' of Gandhi has never made a really strong appeal. Either they have deliberately seized control and exceeded the instructions of Congress, or the Congress leaders may themselves have instigated and subsidised a revolt the violence of which may have gone beyond their expectations, or there may have been more sinister forces at work. What matters for the moment is that youth is in command and has been putting into execution a revolutionary programme which could hardly have spacing into existence at moment's notice."¹³⁵

By coincidence, another incident took place early in the morning of the 14th August at Bilthara Road. A train hijacked by the students of Allahabad University, flying Congress flags, arrived at the station. The students were on their way to Gorakhpur and had been stopping the train at every major station *en route* to deliver lectures on the collapse of the British Raj and to urge the people to launch action. The students on board of this 'Azad train' told the crowd assembled at Bilthara Road that the programme of the Congress was to paralyse the government in every way and it was therefore the duty of the people to burn stations, post-offices and police outposts. This excited the crowds greatly and by the time Paras Nath Mishra arrived at the railway stations, the crowds had

¹³³ Govind Sahai, *op. cit.*, p.251.

¹³⁴ *Home Poll(I)* File.No's. 18/9/42, 18/10/42 and 18/11/42.

¹³⁵ Governor General to the Secretary of State, 22 Aug. 1942, *Home Poll.(I)*, File. No.3/16/42.

already began destroying the station building.¹³⁶ The Bilthara Road incident helps to throw some light on the nature of leadership and the patterns of mass mobilisation in the countryside during the 1942 movement. Paras Nath Mishra was a young university student. He had returned from Banaras with first hand news of developments in that city. His stories confirmed what the people had in any case been hearing in the neighborhood.

The role of the students in the 1942 movement is also indicated by the story of the 'Azad train'. The student hijackers not only brought the news of disturbances, but also enthused the people into action. There was no evidence whatsoever that the people of the locality had planned any actions prior to the arrival of Mishra and the Azad train. The mobilisation was quite *impromptu* as the hastily planned meeting at 'Dambar Baba Ka Mela' tends to indicate.¹³⁷

Due to Meerut being near to Delhi, the students of Delhi and B.H.U. arrived at Meerut to boost up the morale of the Meerut students.¹³⁸ Therefore the students of Meerut College, including girls' students, assembled inside the Meerut College ground on 10th August 1942¹³⁹ and then attempted to get into the Civil Court, situated opposite to their college. The mounted police had to be summoned in order to disperse the angry mob of students. Police had to lathi-charge the processionists in order to chase them away from the Collectorate building. In this situation, many students were arrested. Eventually, the students became so aggressive that they wrecked their own science laboratory completely, forgetting that the same was not the Government's property.¹⁴⁰ Thereafter the students formed syndicates and became active to organise sabotage in nearby towns.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, the government had to resort to lathi-charge at various places to disperse them.¹⁴² Keeping the situation in view the students of Meerut spread into nearby villages and continued their activity.¹⁴³

Linlithgow jumped at U.P Governor Hallet's description of the situation as a

¹³⁶ Durga Prasad Gupta, *Ballia mein san '42 Ki Jankranti*, Ballia, 1973, p. 33.

¹³⁷ Chandan Mitra, 'Popular Uprising in 1942: The Case of Ballia' in Gyanendra Pandey, (ed.), *The Indian Nation in 1942*, Calcutta, 1988, p. 176.

¹³⁸ Personal Interview with Shri Kailash Prakash and Master Sundarlal of Meerut cited in Prakash Chandra Joshi, *op.cit.*, p. 261.

¹³⁹ *The Hindustan Times*, 16 August, 1942.

¹⁴⁰ N.B. Bonarjee, *'Under Two Masters'*, Calcutta, 1970, P. 196.

¹⁴¹ *Home Poll (I)*. File No. 18/9/42, Fortnightly Report, U.P. for the week ending 12 Sept. 1942.

¹⁴² *The Hindustan Times*, August 16, 1942.

¹⁴³ Dr.Amba Prasad, *The India Revolt of 1942*, Delhi, S. Chand, 1958, pp.60-61.

'Rebellion' and thereafter this term was regularly employed in office parlance to describe the Quit India Movement. The Government felt that it had no alternative but to quell this uprising by savage force. In doing so, however, it further undermined the already tottering legitimacy of the Raj.¹⁴⁴ We get an idea of the intensity of the movement from Niblett's well-known account of the revolt in Azamgarh district.¹⁴⁵ The condition of Eastern U.P. and its neighbouring districts can also be studied through the following lines "...Railways, telegraphic stations, including in the sub divisions, had been isolated and complete anarchy and chaos' were reported to be reigning in the interior. Police officers coming in with alarming reports appeared in plain clothes, saying that if they had come in uniform, their uniforms would have been torn, they would have been molested and the letters snatched away."¹⁴⁶

Ballia town was relatively quiet during the first few days of the movement. Only one Congress leader was arrested, who was a local MLA, Radha Mohan Singh. There were a few processions of students, as well as the incident of police firing. By 15th August students from Benaras started arriving by train. Word spread that Congress Raj had been established. Administration in the surrounding areas began to collapse. The town was cut off from the outside world from 15 August. Rumours circulated that Lucknow had fallen and that administration in Bihar had collapsed. The District Magistrate initiated talks with the leaders of the DCC whom he had imprisoned.¹⁴⁷

As we have discussed, the fact that the student movement spread to the rural areas was also an indication of the mass-scale activities, which were undertaken, by both students from Delhi and B.H.U. and also the schoolboys and girls who participated from their respective districts in and around Meerut.

According to a Government Report, "In Meerut the centre of interest began to move out to outlying towns and it was noticeable that students were beginning to move

¹⁴⁴ Gyanendra Pandey, *op. cit.*, p.165.

¹⁴⁵ R.H. Niblett, *The Congress Rebellion in Azamgarh: August-September 1942, as recorded in the diary of R.H. Niblett*, edited by S.A.A. Rizvi, Allahabad, Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, 1957, as cited in *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Gyanendra Pandey, *Ibid.*, p. 166-167.

¹⁴⁷ Anil Rajimwale, *History of Student Movement in India. Origins and Development (1920-1947)*, New Delhi, Manak Publications, 2001, p. 410.

into the rural areas.”¹⁴⁸ The students continued to be the mainspring of the movement in all places, cutting of communications and attacks on government buildings and property increased after the students went underground. Not only in towns but in remote villages also, the students staged open demonstrations in sizeable strength.¹⁴⁹

It was “21st of Sept. 1942, the day on which government had ordered that all boys should return to schools, was the occasion for demonstration. On the same day 200 students of Meerut College had a flag salutation ceremony on the college ground and mobbed their teachers who, as usual appeared to have been terrified. Police had to lathi charge on the students to disperse them.”¹⁵⁰ On 23rd itself K.D. Malaviya visited Meerut and met some underground workers. Kailash Prakash, a student leader and dictator of Meerut Division was also present in this meeting.¹⁵¹ It was learnt that “many students were indulged in making bombs. On 14th November 1942 a country made bomb exploded in the office of the Controller of Military Accounts (C.M.A), damaging furniture and the government records.”¹⁵² The police inferred this to be an act of the students. Afterwards some cartridge revolvers, blank rifle cartridges, gunpowder, sulphur and potassium permanganate were found on a hedge near Meerut College. The police linked this recovery with sabotage of C.M.A.’s Office.¹⁵³ Students maintained the tempo of the movement, which was otherwise diminishing fast. This further shows how the movement turned violent in Meerut. School boys and college students were instrumental in keeping the movement alive. The students of Government High school attempted to set fire to a room of their school.¹⁵⁴

The Chief Secretary of the U.P. Government reported regarding the activities of the students of Meerut. “Meerut is outstanding as the only district in which anything like a real procession managed to form and there the trouble appears to be entirely attributable

¹⁴⁸ *Home Poll. (I)*, File No. 10/8/42 Fortnightly Report for the Second Half of August (U.P.) 1942, henceforth FRUP I or II cited in Prakash Chandra Joshi, *op.cit.*, p.263.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Home Poll (I)*, Fortnightly Report from the Government of U.P. for the second half of September 1942, F. No. 18/9/42 cited in *ibid*, p.264.

¹⁵¹ Extracts from the U.P.S.B.’s letter No. G/C. 10-B, Sat, 42, dated 30. 10. 42. to Home Secy. U.P., Home Pol. (I) F. No. 3/31/42 & KW cited in Prakash Chandra Joshi, *ibid*, p.265.

¹⁵² Meerut District Gazetteer, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁵³ *Home Pol. (I)* Fortnightly Report (U.P.) for the First Half of December 1942, F. No. 18/12/42 cited in *op.cit.*, p.265.

¹⁵⁴ *Home Poll (I)* Fortnightly Report (U.P.) for the week ending Oct. 3, 1942, File No. 18/10/42.

to school boys and girls. It is interesting to note that with the exception of Meerut, which has been constantly troubled by students activities, the districts which were formerly most disturbed are now the quietest.”¹⁵⁵

Other districts around Meerut were also actively associated with the movement. After the arrest of leaders at Bombay the students of S.B. Inter College in Muzaffarnagar, D.A.V. Inter College and other schools became active and assembled on 10th August 1942.¹⁵⁶ The students took an active part in the sabotage activities also. They looted mailbags, destroyed the mail, disrupted railway tracks, telephone and telegraph wires were cut which became a very common feature.¹⁵⁷ A letterbox was set on fire at Kairana, Muzaffar Nagar district and letters were damaged with phosphorus on 9th September 1942.¹⁵⁸ Students from nearby districts also came to Muzaffar Nagar to take part in the sabotage activities. One group of students came from Meerut, along with their teacher, to blow the bridge of Khatauli. But they could not succeed in their attempt and were arrested.¹⁵⁹ Students of Bulandshahr took an active part in the Quit India Movement. The students inspired the villagers not to pay any tax to the government. They conveyed the message of Gandhiji to the best of their ability and understanding. Throughout the District, students were the main forces behind revolutionary activities.¹⁶⁰

The students of N.R.E.C. College and Sanskrit Mahavidhyalaya were very active in the movement of 1942.¹⁶¹ Apart from the students of towns, the students of rural areas also made their contribution to the movement. A meeting was held in Kutchesar Junior High School, declaring the British Government as a usurper, and a local government was declared in 35 villages of that area having Kutchesar as its headquarters. It was further resolved that no tax should be paid to the British Government and no one should go to the courts for justice, as the government itself was illegal. The students took an oath that they will never render their services to the British forces and will hamper the recruitment as

¹⁵⁵ *Home Poll (I)*, Fortnightly Report from Govt. of U.P. for the Second Half of September 1942. File No. 18/9/42 cited in *op.cit.*, p.267.

¹⁵⁶ *Home Poll. (I)*, File No. 18/8/42, Fortnightly Report, U.P, for the week ending 12 September, 1942.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Smt. Vijay Laxmi in her article, “Meerut Zile Ke Teen Pramukh Rashtriya Sansthain” in “Sachitra Smarika, Janpad, Meerut” (ed.), Harsh Bal, Meerut, 1981, pp. 22-23.

¹⁶⁰ Personal interview with Shri Khajan Chand, Master Harish Chandra Sharma and Shri Chunni Lal Sharma of Bulandshahr cited in Prakash Chandra Joshi, *op.cit.*, p.270.

¹⁶¹ Chintamani Shukla, *Bulandshahr Zila Ka Rajnaitik Itihas*, Bulandshahr, 1981, p. 191.

far as possible.¹⁶²

Even the students of Dehradun declared hartal on 10th August. The students of D.A.V. College took out a procession and forced the other schools to close down.¹⁶³ The students of Dehradun took an active part in the movement. In the following days they forced the government offices to close down. The students also forcibly closed banks and post offices. "They attempted to hoist Congress flags and staged demonstrations at several occasion."¹⁶⁴ The students of D.A.V. College attacked the British soldiers at Axley Hall. Many of the soldiers got seriously injured. Students made it difficult for the Europeans to come out of their houses freely.¹⁶⁵ Thereafter the police took severe measures against the agitating students. Appreciating the prevailing situation, the students spread out in the villages and inspired the rural populace to participate actively in the movements. They took out processions, hoisted tri-colour flag and held mass meetings in the villages.¹⁶⁶

Girl students also took an active part in all these activities. The girls of 'Mahadevi Kanya Pathshala' made posters and pasted them on walls, worked as couriers, propagated for *charkha* and *khadi* in the villages. The students in the villages organised a 'no-rent' campaign. Actually the students sustained the movement for such a long period; otherwise it would have petered off long before.

These incidents give us an insight into the involvement of students from both towns and villages and thus prove it to be a mass-scale movement. One cannot ignore the participation of women along with girl students who also contributed their lot in the movement of 1942 and the ongoing student movement in U.P.

Contribution of Women and Girl Students in the Quit India Movement:

The contribution of women in the struggle for independence is worth noting. They never hesitated to undergo any ordeal and laid down their lives gallantly for the cause of

¹⁶² Shri Harish Chandra Sharma, the then Head Master of Kutchesar Junior High School and a prominent freedom fighter from Bulandshahr, in a personal interview as cited in Prakash Chandra Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-272.

¹⁶³ *Shivalik Mail*, Dehradun, 9th October 1985, p. 3. (article by R.P. Mathani)

¹⁶⁴ *Home Poll (I)* File No. 18/9/42, Fortnightly Report (U.P.) for the week ending 5th September, 1942.

¹⁶⁵ *Shivalik Mail*, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ *Home Poll, (I)* File No. 18/9/42, Fortnightly Report (U.P.) for the week ending 26 Sept. 1942.

freedom. They were Mrs. Annie Besant, Smt. Rameshwari Nehru, Smt. Aruna Asif Ali, Smt. Sucheta Kripalani, Smt Kamladevi Chattopadhyaya, Mrs. Hajra Begum, Smt. Hansa Mehta etc who came to the forefront of the 1942 movement.

The participation of women in the political activities and freedom movement increases markedly after the emergence of Gandhiji on the political horizon of India. The character and nature of Gandhian movements suited them exceedingly. Gandhi was a firm advocate of non-violence and it was due to this policy that women participated boldly in the national movement. In all movements launched by Gandhi, the participation of women was commendable. It was first in South Africa in 1913 that Gandhi had for the first time drawn in women in public demonstrations and realised the huge political potential of woman. During the Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919 he again gave a call to women to participate in the nationalist campaign. Even during the Non- Cooperation movement started in 1921, he prescribed a limited role for women. Gandhi knew the strength of women especially in demonstrations. Even in Dandi March thousands of women volunteers took to picketing of foreign cloth, liquor shops and illegal manufacture of salt. Even on the War issue the women desired freedom for all those people who are being exploited or oppressed by their stronger neighbours. "As women we sympathise with the sufferings of the people in the warring countries and pray for a speedy cessation of hostilities and for a lasting peace."¹⁶⁷ Similar trends could be witnessed in the Quit India movement though women across class and religious lines began to claim a more active role in the public domain. On 8th August 1942, after his "Do or Die" message to the nation, Gandhiji explicitly called the women to join the struggle. Prior to the launching of the Quit India Movement the participation of women was already decided. A Government report reads the follows "It is understood that a decision was reached sometime ago in Congress to utilize Congress women volunteers as couriers in the event of general movement."¹⁶⁸ On the call of Mahatma Gandhi the women of India plunged into the movement despite the dire consequences. All over India they organised hartals, took out processions and held meetings. Consequently they were arrested *en masse* and

¹⁶⁷ War Resolution: All India Women's Conference, 14th Session, Allahabad, 27 January 1940 cited in K.N Panikkar (ed), *Towards Freedom*, 1940, Part 1, New Delhi, p.19

¹⁶⁸ Extract from S.B. U.P.'s Report of 27.7.1942, Home Poll (I) File No. 3/31/42, N.A.I. New Delhi. cited in Prakash Chandra Joshi, *op.cit.*, p.

were subjected to atrocities by the police. Some of them even died in the prison while serving a sentence.¹⁶⁹ In Meerut one girl student committed suicide in the jail while serving a sentence.¹⁷⁰

At Allahabad, the girl students formed a vanguard and led the attack on the District Officer.¹⁷¹ The women participated in the underground resistance movement as well and undertook the hazards willingly. To organise underground activity during the movement, a definite programme for the success of the people's revolution was planned and Jayaprakash Narayan, with his associates had to frequently change the places of operation. When he proceeded to Nepal, the youngest sister of Achyut Patwardhan, Vijaya, accompanied him to man the All India Centre of Azad Dastas.¹⁷² Smt. Sucheta Kripalani also took an active part in the movement and followed the Gandhian policy of non-violence. Most of the underground workers, including women, had coined nicknames to avoid detention. For example Sucheta Kripalani was named Dadi, Aruna Asif Ali as Kadam etc.¹⁷³ Women also took part in the constructive programmes and propaganda. During May 1942, Gandhiji had sent Khurshed Ben Naroji, Meera Ben and Mridula Sarabhai to carry out propaganda and to prepare the ground in Bengal, Orissa and Bombay for the ensuing movement.¹⁷⁴

Following the arrest of our national leaders at Bombay on 8th August, a wave of resentment and indignation commenced at Meerut. On 10th August, Srimati Prakashwati Sood and Smt. Kamla Chaudhary gave fiery speeches at the Town Hall which incited the people beyond measures and consequences.¹⁷⁵ Consequently they were arrested on 11th August morning. The girl students participated in the processions and demonstrations with zeal and courage. The girl students of Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur were very active in the movement. The participation of women can be judged by the fact that

¹⁶⁹ *Home Poll (I)* 1942, File No. 3/34/42.

¹⁷⁰ Thakur Prasad Singh (ed.), *Swatantrata Sangram Ke Sainik Sankshipt Parichay* (Dept. of information U.P.), 'Introduction'.

¹⁷¹ *Home Poll. (I)* File No. 3/34/42.

¹⁷² Azad Dastas- The main part of their Revolution is an open rebellion of the people. Each Dasta was formed around a leader who should select and recruit his Azads and to whom the latter should pledge implicit obedience. 'In India our Azad Dasta can become instruments of complete paralysis and demoralization of the British Rule' (Source: Partha Sarthi Gupta, (ed.), *Towards Freedom, 1943-44*, Part I, New Delhi, OUP, pp 67-72.)

¹⁷³ Statement of Ram Sevak, Mata Prasad Pandey in P.N Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Report on Quit India Movement*, Delhi, 1976, p.332.

¹⁷⁴ N. Mansergh, *op.cit.*, Vol.2, p.154.

¹⁷⁵ *The Hindustan Times*, 16 August 1942.

when arrests were made at Meerut out of 80 arrested, 61 were girls.¹⁷⁶ Even in Dehradun, the girl students of Mahadevi Kanya Pathshala took an active part with determination and courage to face any consequences.

On the other hand, the Government adopted repressive measures to contain the movement, as the Congress office was taken in possession of the police. On 10th August 1942 a group of girl students raided the office and seized it. Batches of girl students toured the district and rendered whatever relief and help they could render to the people. "It was reported from Banaras that the women were dragged by their long hair, they were asked to perform *Baithak*, and no food was given to them. In one case the child of a woman was roasted alive before her eyes. Some women were tortured to disclose the whereabouts of their husband. It is learnt that nine students were externed from B.H.U. for actively participating in the movement."¹⁷⁷

During this period a Women's Department of Indian National Congress was launched in 1943, with Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani as Secretary-Incharge of this Department. This department organized volunteer corps¹⁷⁸ and they were taught simple drill, first aid and the art of self-protection in an emergency. The corps was also involved to help the refugees. Indian national movement created a social and political space wherein women lives were changed in a positive manner. Both urban and rural women participated in the struggle and carved out their own independent domains.

There are some interesting aspects which can be studied in the light of the student movement in U.P. such as :

(a) The methods employed by the Students:

The students of Muzaffarnagar pasted anti-government slogans on the walls of the town. Students also printed posters and pamphlets and distributed them throughout the town. Pamphleteering was the most widespread activity. The students also resorted to picketing and they prevented other students from entering the college by blockading the

¹⁷⁶ *Home Poll (I)*, File. No. 18/9/42, Fortnightly Report (UP) for the week ending Sept.24, 1942, , cited in Prakash Chandra Joshi, *op.cit.*, p.297.

¹⁷⁷ Manmohan Kaur, *Role of Women in the Freedom Movement*, Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1968, pp. 216-217.

¹⁷⁸ Manmohan Kaur, *Ibid*, pp. 234-235.

road. In the context of the 1942 movement in Dehradun “The police took severe measures against the agitating students. Appreciating the prevailing situation, the students spread out in the villages and inspired the rural populace to participate actively in the movement. They took out processions, hoisted tri-colour flag and held mass-meetings in the villages”¹⁷⁹ The students also participated in revolutionary activities i.e. looting mailbags, destroying letter boxes, tampering with railway tracks etc.

(b) Relations with Leaders:

The first leaflet which circulated in Bombay, copies of which were actually seized on 9th August, was of interest as it related to students and in particular to Vallabhbhai Patel and Yusuf Meherally, in the Bombay Presidency. Vallabhbhai was even more specific, according to a Bombay report dated 5th August 1942, when he addressed two meetings of Bombay students. He is said to have told them that the Congress would not come any more to tell them what to do and what not to do, but they ought to take the initiative and do what seemed proper under the circumstances. He told students that it was for them to take the lead when the leaders were arrested. Even Dr. Keskar had been to Benaras to motivate the students in the University. Nehru has been a driving force for the student community.

Nehru appealed to the students by encouraging them to join the movement. He even appreciated their efforts to help leaders carry out their tasks. At Wardha on January 18, 1942 Nehru said, “Students should study politics and current events and be prepared to play their part well in the national struggle and national reconstruction, like the English students leaving aside their studies to defend their motherland. Do not run away when villages and towns are being bombed but help the victims and conduct them to safe places and face any eventuality courageously...stand at the duty post, organize volunteers, strengthen the Congress, secure the help of non-Congressmen, if available, for meeting the imminent crises which is approaching owing to the Japanese menace to freedom. Carry out the Congress constructive programme and follow the Congress.”¹⁸⁰ This interest of the leaders brings out the fact that students were essential elements of the

¹⁷⁹ *Home Poll (I)* File No. 18\9\42, Fortnightly Report (U.P) for the week ending 26th Sept., 1942, N.A.I. , New Delhi.

¹⁸⁰ Jagat. S. Bright, *Important Speeches of J.L. Nehru*, Lahore, The Indian Printing Works, p. 209.

society who were expected to be both responsible and responsive to their leaders and vice-versa.

Along with Nehru even Gandhi, in context of supporting the nationalist institutions states, “Whatever I have said about practising lawyers applies to students also who cannot or will not withdraw from schools. Most of our volunteers are drawn from the student world... They too must contend to be unambitious servants of the nation.”¹⁸¹ This implies that even Gandhi wanted the students to play their part well. He trusted them with the duty to serve their motherland. Hajra Begum also states that the main field of action was among the students. “The various leaders like Romesh Sinha, P.D. Tandon, and O.P. Sanghal were the group of active workers at the Allahabad University. They organized big rallies of students...they (the leadership) did not do the field work. But these students and all others were doing the field work.”¹⁸² These details give us a broad idea that the students were in touch with the leaders throughout the movement. They looked upto them for constant encouragement and support.

(c) Social background of the students:

The students came from different backgrounds and it is interesting to note that not all classes of students joined the movement. The students from both East and West UP participated in the movement. As far as their social composition is concerned ‘Middle class students, preponderatingly Hindu, were very much in the forefront, especially in the early days of the movement, whether in urban clashes, as organizers of sabotage, or inspirers of peasant rebellion’.¹⁸³ The British rulers also have their take on this issue as they noticed that “apart from the hooligans, Hindu students and other persons especially enlisted by the Congress, the public at large and especially the rural population broadly stayed aloof from the movement, except in Bihar where almost the bulk of the non-politically-minded population participated spontaneously in the outbreak.”¹⁸⁴ Apart from the middle class students, labourers, and businessmen, the peasants played a key role in 1942, prompting Max Harcourt to call it ‘a major peasant rebellion’, dominated by the high and middle castes.

¹⁸¹ Articles of Gandhi, List 190 LXXII, File No. 32, NMML, New Delhi.

¹⁸² Hajra Begum, *Oral History Transcript*, Acc. No. 613, p.107., NMML, New Delhi.

¹⁸³ Prof. Prashanto Kumar Chatterji (ed.), ‘Classes and Communities in the Quit India Movement’, in *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. 38, April-Sep, No. 1 & 2, 1998, p.77.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.80.

This brings out the fact that the leaders are important to students and the students are those essential elements of the society, which cannot be overlooked by the leaders. It is wrong to argue that the leaders use the students for their purposes. Students are those 'means' without which the 'ends' could remain unattained. Thus the leaders find the support of the students essential for attaining power, position and for the successful completion of their tasks.

Thus this chapter with its broader picture dealing with the political background of the War issue along with the party politics of the period 1936-42 provides a wider picture of the student movement in India in general and United Provinces in particular. The participation of students all over India in the Movement of 1942 and later the focus on the contribution of B.H.U students provides a balanced picture as one gets to know the extent of their involvement. One could say that I have tried to deal in this chapter with the connection of a movement with a community and the location of the movement in context of that community.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL SCENARIO POST 1942 MOVEMENT IN U.P. AND THE STUDENTS

For the purpose of the analysis of the movement, the United Provinces can be divided into two zones, Eastern and Western. The Movement had been much greater success in the Eastern Zone than the Western Zone and the reasons for it were not far to seek. The population in the eastern area was extremely dense and the administrative staff was not in proportion to its population; communications were bad and those that existed were liable to damage by floods in the rainy season, the whole area was to some extent cut off from the rest of the province and looked to Banaras and the east rather than to Lucknow and the west. Military garrisons were smaller and less numerous. The proportion of Muslims was particularly small.¹ Moreover, the Eastern districts i.e, Ballia, Azamgarh, Sherpur, Ghazipur, Banaras, and many others had close connection with states like Bihar and Bengal and had been the breeding ground for revolutionary activity on the part of the H.S.R.A., the Youth League, the Forward Bloc and members of the Congress Socialist Party. Along with these geographical and economic factors “the people were more adventurous, brave and migrative by temperament... There were a number of uneducated and unemployed persons in these districts. All these factors had conspired together to create the requisite conditions to serve as a breeding ground for any mass upheaval. It was for this reason that the Eastern part of the Province became the storm centre of the Movement. All these essential ingredients of mass uprising were lacking in the Western districts. “Moreover, the Western districts were generally populated by people who did not live under scarcity of any kind. They were generally well to do people and had not much of revolutionary zeal in them.”²

The effects of the Quit India Movement were widespread and it affected the other parts of India as well except UP. Nearly 57 battalions of the army were dispatched to meet the crises in time. The Governor General of India, Lord Linlithgow in his letter to the British Prime Minister Churchill informed him of the serious conditions prevailing after the 1942 movement in the following words: “I am engaged here in meeting by far

¹ Govind Sahai, *42' Rebellion*, Delhi, Rajkamal Publications, 1947, p. 213.

² *Ibid*, p.214.

the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security.”³

Hallett who was considered “a past master in the art of putting down the people’s movement”⁴ was the Governor of these provinces. He made the announcement that “those who are not with us are against us”. The Congress as an organisation was an eyesore to Hallett, and he tried his best to suppress the rebellion and stabilize the tottering structure of British imperialism in India. Public humiliations, detentions without trial, indiscriminate torture of the people, and other such harsh measures had become the order of the day. Even the wearing of *khaddar* was a crime, and no part of the Province was an exception to it.

In the Eastern districts, village after village was destroyed, looted and burnt. The inmates were beaten, their property was looted and collective fines were realized from them. Even the people in support of the Government could not escape the repercussions of the movement. “The Zamindars, traders and middle class people fell victim to the sweeping orgies of loot and arson engineered by the government. It was impossible to make a correct estimation of the damage done to the public by the Government. But it was quite clear that the Hallet regime had only single end in view, and that was to crush opposition of any kind, and to force on the people the idea of British overlordship in India.”⁵ On the other hand, the Western districts were not active in the movement as there were many towns and cities in which Muslim population was considerable, who did not take much part in the movement because of the anti-Congress policy followed by the Muslim League. These districts were not much affected by the war conditions because they thought that Japan was at a distance. The peasantry was in a better shape in the Western districts as they were less exploited by the landed aristocracy. The middle class people formed the bulk of the population of these districts who were never enthusiastic about the revolutionary change.

By the end of September, the Movement of 1942 was suppressed by the British Government and it resulted in widespread fear and dissatisfaction among the leaders and

³ N. Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol. 2, A Telegram of Linlithgow to Mr. Churchill dated 31 August, 1942, p.853.

⁴ *op.cit.*, p. 217.

⁵ *Ibid*, p.218.

masses. A number of prominent Congress leaders and party workers were arrested. Thus, it sounded the death knell to the Congress plans and programmes which it proposed to adopt during the period of 1943-44. Both the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha were busy cooperating with the British Government for securing their selfish ends. During this period, the demand for Pakistan was getting stronger with the League. The ban on the Communist Party was removed and it was demanding the foundation of the National Government, the release of political prisoners and asking for the united front for all parties. The C.P.I. (The Communist Party of India) was organising movements for the same. The impact of the Second World War was devastating on the economy of the country and on essential commodities like sugar, oil, grains, cloth etc. The C.P.I. provided these necessities to the people and the public at large.⁶

Gandhi announced that the Civil Disobedience part of the 'August Offer' stood nullified after his release from prison in May 1944. With the efforts of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Rajagopalachari, the League and Congress party worked hard to come together. The Communists tried to influence both the Congress and Muslim League by supporting the cause of unity of the two parties. Jayaprakash Narayan stated that, "the Muslim League during its entire career has not once taken the path of struggle and suffering nor is it ready to take the path today. India cannot win her freedom without fighting for it. And when the Muslim League is not prepared to participate in the fight, a settlement with it in no way strengthens the forces of freedom".⁷ Thus, they built a consensus whereupon the League discussed the matter of working with Congress at their Karachi Resolution of 1944. The terms of settlement reached between the Congress and the All India Muslim League came to be known as the C.R. Formula (i.e., C. Rajagopalachari Formula). It was decided that the League will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period. Furthermore, after the termination of the War, a Commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall

⁶ Shyam Krishna Pandey and Dr. Rachna Singh, *Bharatiya Chhatra Andolan Ka Itihaas*, Part-I, Allahabad, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, pp.401-421.

⁷ Jayaprakash Narayan, *Towards Struggle*, Bombay, Padma Publications, 1946, p. 42.

ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan".⁸ This was termed as the C.R. Formula which was binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India. On the basis of the above terms, the talks between Gandhi and Jinnah started. But they proved to be unsuccessful as Jinnah turned out to be a staunch supporter of the idea of Pakistan and desired the fulfillment of his wish for a separate state under the aegis of the British regime.

The news of the failure of the Congress and League accord spread all across the country. But the efforts at unity of both the parties against the British Government did not waver. In the year 1945, the leaders of both the parties namely Bhulabhai Desai, a Congress leader and Liaquat Ali of the Muslim League discussed the formation of an Interim Government at the centre. It was decided that the Government will comprise of 40 representatives each of the Congress and League and the rest 20 belonging to the other parties. This agreement was presented to Lord Wavell who in turn went to London to discuss the same. He returned to India on 14 June 1945, and the Secretary of State for India, L.M. Amery announced a new policy for India in the House of Commons. The new agreement (Liaquat Ali and Desai agreement) stated that the number of Congress and League leaders should be equal. But the British government was shrewd enough to declare that the number of Hindus and Muslims should be equal. The Simla Conference started on 25 June, 1945. "In accordance with the Viceroy's declaration the Conference was attended by the Presidents of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League as well as representatives of the Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs. The leader of the Congress party and the Deputy leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly, the leaders of the Congress party and the Muslim League in the Council of State and the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European group in the Assembly were also invited. The only participants were those who then held office. The Hindu Mahasabha tried to get an invitation but the Viceroy did not accept its claim."⁹

Due to staunch attitude of Jinnah, the Conference ended in a fiasco. But an interesting aspect of the Conference was that both the parties (i.e. Congress and League) played the blame game. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's role as representative of the

⁸ B.N. Pandey, *The Indian Nationalist Movement, 1885-1947 Select Documents*, London, The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1979, pp.144-145.

⁹ Abdul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, Calcutta, Orient Longman, 1959, p.108.

Congress Party was a laudable one. He refused to accept “Congress as a representative of the Hindus and tried to suggest ways through which the nominees from both the parties could find their place in the party so that the organisation retains its national character. But he did not blame the Desai-Liaquat Ali formula and said that “the attitude of the Muslim League has been responsible for the failure of the Conference.”¹⁰ He even states that the failure of the Simla agreement was due to communal and not political reasons. He did not hold the British imperialists responsible for its failure.

Jinnah never wanted the Congress to be projected as ‘a Nationalist Organization’. He wanted to be called the champion of the Muslim community. On the other hand the C.S.P. (i.e., the Congress Socialist Party) was of the opinion that “the Congress is the weapon which the Indian people have forged through fifty years of struggle. It is the People’s Front in India and we all have to play our part in sharpening that weapon and raising it so that it achieves its historic purpose.”¹¹ On the other hand, Jinnah insisted on being the sole representative of the Muslims, and this brought the real face of both Jinnah and the League before the people. The Muslim League was basically a party representing the interests of the businessmen and zamindars and the masses did not figure in it to a major extent. This was the real composition of the league at that time.

The political scenario of the country needs to be discussed at this juncture as the mass movement had subsided and its place was taken over by what turned out to be futile talks and dialogue between the leading parties. These conditions had their effect on the student movement. In the years 1943-44, slackness, groupism, turmoil and separatist tendencies found their place in the student movement. During the same year, a famine occurred in Bengal and the students carried on the relief works. There was a split in the AISF in 1943-44. Now, along with, the All India Students Federation, the National Students’ Organization, the National Students’ Congress and the Muslim Students Federation and many other such organisations started to function all over the country. With the help of the leaders of the Congress Party, a National Students Organization was constituted. Later on the Congress Socialist Party in North India took up the task to

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.116.

¹¹ M.R. Masani, Chairman’s Address, All India Congress Socialist Party, Fourth Annual Conference, 1938, P.C. Joshi Archives on Contemporary History, J.N.U., New Delhi, p.15.

mobilise the youth to form an All India Students' Congress.¹² During these years, the Muslim League emerged as a powerful political and communal power. Thus, the Muslim Students Federation was fast becoming quite popular among the Muslim students.¹³

In the present chapter, I would bring out the activities of these student organizations, the activities of the students in UP and the role of different political parties in the context of the students.

The Activities of the AISF in 1943-44:

After the suppression of the Quit India Movement, the educational institutions were reopened and the students supported them. The prominent student leaders who were rusticated from their respective institutions and others who decided to take part in active politics were re-organising their activities in the changed political scenario.

Due to the split in the AISF, the unity among the students was missing. The C.P.I. tried their best to establish unity among the students. Even the nationalist group of students like those belonging to the Congress, Socialists, Forward Bloc, Gandhians and Nehruites were dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. Thus, the student leaders started to work on the campus related issues. The C.P.I. along with the nationalist student leaders planned to establish a platform for the furtherance of student's interests. 'The party has, as a whole, exercised a restraining effect on students, and its influence over the student community, though not great, has, such as it is, been used in the direction of preventing student strikes and disorderly demonstrations'.¹⁴ This was notably the case during the time as they even felt that the C.P.I. would change its policy on the pretext of the Second World War. Nevertheless, for the different political parties, the unity of the students was important.

The United Student's Conference: Bombay

On 21st August, 1943, in Bombay Presidency a United Students' Conference was organised. Various students and youth organisations participated in this Conference.

¹² *Home Poll (I)* File No. 92/44-1944.

¹³ The Muslim Student's Federation was born in 1937, Jinnah, while addressing the conference stressed on the need to organise Muslim student movement in the face of the Congress organisation.

¹⁴ Government of India to all Provincial Governments, Partha Sarthi Gupta, ed., *Towards Freedom*, 1943-44, Part- II, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1997, p.1640.

According to a popular student's magazine 'Hind Praja' (issue of Oct. 1943), 'The Conference organised by volunteers of both the North Bombay Student's Union and Bombay Student's Union was attended by nearly 3000 students' representatives. "This Conference gave a new programme and policy for the students to follow in future. The Conference organised an 'Ekta Samaj' and it regulated the affairs of the Bombay Students Union."¹⁵ The Conference brought those students together who were dissatisfied with the internal conflicts among the Communists and Nationalist student's organizations. With the efforts of the 'Ekta Samaj', many students of Bombay joined hands with the nationalist – socialist wing of the student's organisation. The Bombay Students Union continued to function under the impact of the communist students.

The students of UP organised rallies, hartals and processions at various places. On 13th February 1943, in Lucknow a meeting of 400 students was organised. The Congress, Communists and the muslim students participated in the meeting. They proposed to organise a committee of students to carry forward the task of organising the movement for the release of Mahatma Gandhi. The students of Jubilee College wrote a letter to Jinnah asking for his assistance in the release of Gandhi.

Bengal Famine (1943) and the Student's Relief Work:

During the War, the economic conditions of the people were getting bad to worse resulting in famine at many places. Prices of food, kerosene and paper were soaring high. India had to supply grain to the British army and to a number of other British colonies. This was a heavy strain on India's food supplies. In 1941 the domestic food supply fell far below the pre-war level.

A hurricane and flood in Bengal in the autumn of 1942 reduced the harvest of rice by more than one million tons. The total rice shortage reached more than 4 million tons. This coupled with the war situation created severe conditions.¹⁶ Famine broke out in 1943. It spread to Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, etc. affecting no less

¹⁵ Shyam Krishna Pandey and Dr. Rachna Singh, *Bharatiya Chhatra Andolan Ka Itihaas*, Part-I, Allahabad, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, p.402.

¹⁶ Anil Rajimwale, *History of Student Movement in India. Origins and Development, 1920-1947*, Delhi, Manak Publications, 2001, p.412.

than one-third of India's population.¹⁷

The AISF and other student organisations plunged into famine relief work. The SF (i.e., Student Federation) volunteers manned the fair-price shops at many places. Student activists helped unearth the hoarded stocks and their sale at reasonable prices. In Bombay Congress and the Communist students worked together. Along with food scarcity there was paper and kerosene shortage which seriously affected education of students. SF organized relief and agitation for the solution of the problem. Bengal suffered the most dreadful famine in September-October 1943. The Working Committee of the AISF (All India Student's Federation) appealed for efforts for the relief of the people. Appeals were made to the student organizations to form United Relief Committees. In Calcutta, a Teachers and Students United Relief Committee was formed on 23rd September 1943 with Dr. B.C. Roy as Chairman and Prof. Tripurari Chakravarti as Treasurer along with several other prominent figures on it. The workers of SF collected cash and started kitchens. So extensive was their activity that they could feed 15 to 20 thousand people within two weeks.¹⁸ Even students of Poona demanded the College Committees to cancel the annual gatherings and appealed to them to send the money saved for Bengal relief. "The Kanpur Students' Union collected Rs. 625 by 20th September 1943."¹⁹ Students of Gwalior state and Agra played an active role in the relief work. An All India Students' Workers' Conference met in Bombay from 25th to 30th November 1943. It was attended by 93 delegates from 14 provinces representing eighty thousand members of the AISF (Farooqui). It surveyed the movements from July to November 1943 and noted the success in anti-fascist propaganda and achievement of unity among different sections of students. Rs. 65,000 was collected for Bengal relief in this period, and 3000 volunteers of the Bengal Provincial Student's Federation were managing 86 kitchens feeding 2600 daily.²⁰ Education was seriously affected in Bengal though the students Joint Relief Board appealed for allocation of more funds to get the education going.

"The most important feature of the student movement during the 1943 period was

¹⁷ *The Student*, Vol. III, No. 13, 22 December, 1943, New Delhi, NMML.

¹⁸ *The Student*, Vol. III, No. 10, October 1943, p. 6 cited in *op.cit.*, p.413.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 9-10, cited in Anil Rajimwale, *op.cit.*, p.413.

²⁰ *The Student*, 7 December 1943, p. 11.

the foundation of student unions in the princely states of Travancore, Mysore, Cochin, Kashmir, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kota and Kolapur etc. Even at the state level, unions were organized.”²¹

The year of 1944 was not a fruitful one. The student organisations were functioning separately both at national and provincial levels and the leaders tried their utmost to influence the students for their sectarian interests. The leaders were influenced by the socialist ideas and thoughts. They felt the need to reorganise the AISF but, Ali Jawad, Zaidi, General Secretary of the Federation refused the same. Thus, student leaders published a pamphlet collectively giving the causes of its re-organisation. It carried the signatures of prominent student activists and leaders namely – Ravinder Verma, Ramuni Menon, P. Kunte, C. Dalal, Jagdish Dikshit, S.K. Sangal, D.P. Verma and A.K. Damodaran.²² But herein we also find that leaders like Gandhi gave a 14-Point Programme for students,²³ wherein he advises students to work zealously for the achievement of India’s independence by peaceful and legitimate means, and sent directions like ‘they should keep themselves aloof from party politics...They should not dissipate their energies in mutual squabbles in connection with various student organisations but should present a united front’.²⁴ The students were advised to start study circles and village service leagues in their schools and colleges to work for implementing programmes in social, economic, political and educational fields.

Eighth AISF Conference, Calcutta 1944:

It was in October 1944, that Jagdish Dikshit, a student leader, proposed to change the name of All India Student’s Federation to ‘All India Student’s Congress’. The 8th AISF Conference was held from 28th to 31st December 1944, and was attended by 987 delegates representing 76,000 members. The biggest delegation was from Bengal (238) followed by UP (103) and Andhra (76).²⁵ Everyone who greeted the conference had an important advice to offer i.e., to end the disunity among the students in the interest of the

²¹ Shyam Kishore Pandey and Dr. Rachna Singh, *op.cit.*, p.404.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ This 14-Point Constructive Programme for Students is different from Gandhi’s 14-Point Constructive Programme chalked out for Congress Workers. See Bimal Prasad (ed), *Towards Freedom*, 1945, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.146-147.

²⁴ See Gandhi’s 14-Point Constructive Programme for students in Bimal Prasad, *Ibid.*, p.146.

²⁵ Anil Rajimwale, *op.cit.*, p.416.

nation. The realisation of the seriousness of the situation among the students during the war, particularly after the famine, can be gauged by the speech of Prof. Dhurjati Prasad Mukherjee who presided over the Conference. He pointed out that even the textbooks for the students were not available, and there was cultural and educational decline. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu stressed the same point and appealed to the student community to sink their differences for the sake of the nation's freedom. Prof. Hiren Mukherjee also addressed the students.²⁶

The AISF reviewed the work of the previous three years which were full of achievements. It had been trying for a common platform of policy and activities for all the students belonging to different organisations. During the most distressing days of famine and epidemics, it was the first to put before the students the urgency of unity. Its relief work was respected by people like Dr. B.C. Roy and Sarojini Naidu as among the biggest achievements. Prof. D.P. Mukherjee said, "I detect a few rays of hope..... Friends, your work for relief would do any man's heart good..... you have popularized the idea of social equality, social justice between classes and communities, and thereby you have sought to improve the quality of our nationalism."²⁷ The resolution on unity passed by the conference appealed to all the fraternal student organizations for joint action with AISF on common issues such as student's rights and liberties, patriotic system of education, relief work, national unity, national government, release of Congress leaders, winning of war against fascism and winning Indian freedom.

The Conference also appealed to the students not to divide their ranks on the issue of characterizing the war, for that only distracts our attention from the urgent task of joining together for service of our people and achieving a national government.²⁸

The Shah group of the AISF held its Conference in Bombay towards the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945. It was at this conference that the organization renamed itself as the All India Student's Congress.²⁹ The Conference was presided over by Prof. Humayun Kabir, and R.K. Sidhwa inaugurated it. Masani opined that they should not get mixed up in factional politics. In the course of his address Humayun Kabir said that they

²⁶ *The Student*, Vol. V, No. 1, 22 January, 1945.

²⁷ Anil Rajimwale, *op.cit.*, p.146.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Forum: India Weekly News Magazine*, Vol. 3, 7 January 1945, No. 21, cited in P.M. Joshi, *Students Revolts in India*, p.70.

were meeting after four eventful years. Events had compelled the students and others to make a searching examination of the fundamentals of the organization preparatory to the building up of a well-knit and effective mass movement. Events subsequent to the passing of the August resolution would be enshrined in golden letters.³⁰

The Conference wanted to change the flag too but postponed its consideration to the next session. Ram Sumer Shukla was elected president and Dinkar Sakrikar the General Secretary.³¹ The Conference passed resolutions on the communal problem, student demands, organizational matters, and one commending the expulsion of the communists. The Conference was attended by 400 delegates. The news magazine 'Forum' commented that there could be no greater irony than that the Calcutta AISF Conference should have by an official resolution acknowledged the correctness of the lead given by the nationalist student organization. They had withdrawn their people's war resolution.³²

This period of the student movement produced a large number of student and youth leaders who played an outstanding role as the builders, organisers and guide of the Movement. Many of them came to occupy important and leading positions in several fields of life, particularly the political one in independent India. Events like Ninth of August were regarded as a sacred day in the memory of India's non-violent struggle for Independence. Students observed this day at many places. Gandhi in his advice to the students on the above issue states that, "I therefore, like the idea of students abstaining from going to school on the ninth provided they devote the whole day to self-purification and service and there should be the strictest adherence to truth and *ahimsa* in whatever they do."³³ Yusuf Meherally was one of the outstanding leaders in Bombay and at an all India level. Dinkar Sarikar, P.M. Joshi, Ravindra Varma and several others did a lot of work in building All India Student's Congress. M.L. Shah was among the most outstanding leaders of the student movement. The other important leaders were Ansar Harvani and Ali Jawad Zaidi, P.N. Bhargava and Prabodh Chandra cannot be forgotten. Rustom Satin, Harish Tewari etc. were among the leading student figures of U.P.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.75.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.77.

³² *Ibid.*, pp.78-79.

³³ Ninth of August and Students: Gandhiji's Advice, Explained by Pyarelal Nayyar in Bimal Prasad (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.106.

By July 1945 the Simla Conference had ended in a fiasco. The Labour Government won the majority in British Parliament under the leadership of Clement Atlee. Lord Wavell was unhappy at the turn of events. He predicted that the Labour Government would try to hand over power as early as possible to the Congress. "Whatever radical changes occurred on the international scene is being mentioned before. The Independence question cannot be overstretched in terms of its importance and need. The announcement of new elections in the coming winter which was made on 21st August, 1945 was inevitable once the war had ended, for the last elections had been held in 1934 for the centre and in 1937 for the provinces.³⁴ It was essential as the U.P. Governor Hallet, pointed out to Wavell on 14th August, as the 'first step' towards providing constitutional activities for the agitators.³⁵ After talks in England, Wavell on 19th September merely reiterated the promise of early realization of full self-government.³⁶

INA Trials and the Students:

"How little British policies had changed as yet was indicated by the initial decision to put on trial no less than 600 of the 20,000 INA prisoners, while another 7,000 would be dismissed from service and detained without trial."³⁷ The trials started at the Red Fort in Delhi, and the three convicted were General Shahnawaz, Capt. Dhillion and Lt. Sehgal. They were alleged to have insulted the Indians held under the Japanese authorities. The people had deep respect for both S.C. Bose and the three convicted officers. The students also rallied around in different parts of the country to garner support for the fellow Indians. The students started the movement in the whole of the country and it spread to Delhi, Punjab, Bengal, United Provinces, Bombay, Assam, Rajasthan, Central Provinces and Madras. All the political parties active during the period decided to come together, namely, the Muslim League, Justice Party, Hindu Mahasabha, Sikh League, Akali Dal and the Ahrar Party.

³⁴ Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1945*, Madras, 1983, p.418.

³⁵ Nicholas Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. 6, p. 68, cited in *op.cit.*

³⁶ Sumit Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p.418.

³⁷ GOI (War Department) to Secretary of State August 11, 1945, *Mansergh*, VI, pp.49-51. cited in Sumit Sarkar, "Popular Movement and National Leadership, 1945-47", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.17, No. 14/16, Annual Number (Apr., 1982), p.679ii.

The Intelligence Bureau accepted and wrote in 20th November, 1945: ‘One thing seems clear and that is that sympathy for the INA is not the monopoly of those who are ordinarily against government. It is equally clear that this particular brand of sympathy cuts across communal barriers.’³⁸ A correspondent B. Shiva Rao met the INA officers awaiting trial at the Red Fort and mentioned in his report dated 20th November, 1945 that “There is not the slightest feeling among them of Hindus and Muslims A majority of men now awaiting trial in the Red Fort is Moslem. Some of these men are bitter than Jinnah is keeping alive a controversy over Pakistan.”³⁹ The British authorities were not happy with the sympathy gathered by these INA officers under trial. The Governor of Punjab (Sir B. Glancy) in January 1946 gave the much needed information that “one disturbing feature is the attendance of Indian Army personnel in uniform at meetings held in honour of the INA accused.”⁴⁰

“What the officials feared in the autumn of 1945, was another Congress revolt, a revival of 1942 made much more dangerous this time by the likely combination with widespread agrarian revolt, labour trouble, army dissatisfaction, and the presence of INA men with military expertise.”⁴¹ From October 1945 to February 1946, the movement carried on in the country for the release of the INA officers was under the leadership of students. They played a very important role in organising a massive scale demonstrations for their release. They issued a statement on 17 October 1945 that “The INA officers should be released And they collectively feel that the British have no authority to put them under trial.”⁴²

In observation of the INA Day several towns in Punjab observed complete hartal. All shops in Lahore- in the city, the civil lines and the suburbs remained closed. Thousands of students belonging to various colleges and schools absented themselves from their colleges and formed peaceful processions. In the afternoon a huge students rally was held in Golbagh where speeches were made by student leaders. A resolution was passed demanding the immediate release of all INA men and officers. Fourteen

³⁸ N. Mansergh, *op. cit.*, p.514.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, A copy of letter dated 20th November, 1945 from B. Shiva Rao to the President of the Board of Trade, p. 564.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Sri B. Glancy (Punjab) to Field Viscount Wavell p. 807, (Extract) dated 16 Jan. 1946.

⁴¹ CP Governor Twynham to Wavell, November 10, 1945 in *N. Mansergh VI*, pp. 468, 577-83 cited in Sumit Sarkar, “ Popular Movement and National Leadership, 1945-47”, *op.cit.*, p.679ii.

⁴² *The Student*, 10 November, 1945.

persons have been arrested in connection with either alleged prejudicial speeches or statements. They include Lala Kidarnath Sehgal, M.L.A. (Congress), Panda Sant Ram, a prominent Congressman and Sardar Habhajan Singh Ahluwalia, a Student leader.⁴³

“On 8th November, 1945 at Allahabad Ram Sumer Shukla President of the All India Students Congress has called upon the students all over India to observe November 12th as the INA Day. Mr. Shukla in a statement to the press address that “The INA has added a golden chapter to the annals of India’s Independence Movement. These brave sons of the motherland who fought against the British Imperialism on the one hand and stood against the Japanese militarism on the other stand today as legendary heroes of the surging nationalism. They are the very breath of the revolutionary India and the militant student world will not tolerate ever the slightest injury inflicted upon them. I call upon the students to observe November 12th, as the INA Day when prabhat pheris, flag hoisting ceremonies, processions and public meetings should be organized and the release of these national heroes should be demanded.”⁴⁴

“In Lucknow, mounted police made a lathi charge on a student procession in which several girls were injured and... Fifty students, including four girls were arrested. Of these 16 boys were let off with a warning. Section 144 of I.P.C had been promulgated in the city for a month.”⁴⁵

On 12th November at Lucknow, fifty students were arrested and several injured, when mounted police made a lathi charge on a students’ procession organized by the Students’ Congress in connection with the INA and Political Prisoners Day. 500 students of the University, Intermediate Colleges and all the 25 High Schools instead of going to their classes, moved towards the Aminuddowla Park where the meeting was arranged to be held. By 11 am, the park was full of students both boys and girls. After recital of the flag song and some poems composed in praise of the INA men, the students headed by Mr. T.L.V. Setty, President of the Lucknow Students Congress started the procession. The city D.S.P. with the aid of some mounted policemen, tried to check the progress of the procession, but the students steadily continued to move on.

Mr. Lakshmikant Mishra, reporter of the ‘National Herald’, and Mr. Ram Krishna

⁴³ *The Hindustan Times*, 6 November 1945.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 9 November, 1945.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 13 November 1945.

Awasthi received lathi blows and were arrested. Besides these, among the arrested were Mr. Rameshwar Mishra, Secretary of the U.P. Students' Federation, Sardar Jaswant Singh, President of the Sikh Students' Federation. Mr. Devendra Pratap Singh, President of the Lucknow Nationalist Students' Federation, and Messrs. Ajay Kumar Mishra, Mahendra Pratap and Ranjit Singh. The Muslim Students' Federation also cooperated in observance of the Day. After the lathi charges, the processionists rushed into the park and were surrounded on all sides by the police. The meeting then began as was already announced with great enthusiasm under the Presidentship of Mr. Amar Harvani who was recently released from jail after about four years detention. The city observed complete hartal and all Muslim shops were also closed. The University students who held a protest meeting in the afternoon, condemned the high handed action of the police in making the entirely unprovoked lathi charge and arresting students. It is learnt that of the 50 students arrested, 16 were warned and let off. The students under detention included four girls.⁴⁶

'An appeal of the students organisations of the UP to observe 'Basudha Singh Day' was issued by Mr. Ram Saran Vidyarthi, President of the Society to 'Serve Patriots in Prison'. He suggested that the President of the UPCC to issue instructions to Congress Committees in the province to celebrate the Day by appealing to the Viceroy to exercise his clemency to commute the sentence of death passed on Mr. Basudha Singh of Fyzabad in connection with the 1942 movement.'⁴⁷

"On Nov. 12th students, boys and girls of all institutes observed strike. A procession which started from St. John College paraded the main streets of the city and terminated in a meeting at the Baker Park. Mr. Ram Lachman Tiwari presided the meeting and students carried pictures of S.C. Bose, Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon. All matters have remained closed on 12th November. Students of B.H.U and other educational institutions refrained from attending classes. A number of small processions of students were taken out in the city to collect funds for helping INA defence."⁴⁸

Cawpore:

"Meetings were held condemning the police behaviour especially on girl students. A Resolution condemning the action of the Lucknow and Amritsar police stations of

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 13 November 1945.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 15 November 1945

⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

Lucknow and Amritsar students in connection with the INA day observance was adopted by the Executive Committee of the Cawpore Student's Union at a meeting."⁴⁹

Lucknow:

"Students of Lucknow University, Hindus and Muslims – observed a complete strike on Tuesday as a protest against the lathi charges by the police on students', INA Day processions. Some other educational institutions also remained closed Nationalist and Muslim students of Lucknow University for the first time assembled in the A.P. Sen Hall to denounce the incidents of Monday and passed the resolution protesting against the lathi charge, by the police on students, the indifference of the Vice-Chancellor towards the whole incident, and demanding unconditional release of Mr. Bhriḡudutt Tewari and seconded by Mr. Mushraff Hussain, the meeting, expressed its indignation and resentment against the high handed action of the Lucknow authorities. In banning the I.N.A. Day procession, making lathi charges at five different places on peaceful students' processions and arresting a large number of students."⁵⁰

A huge students' procession was taken out in observance of I.N.A. Day. While proceeding from Wellington Square to Dalhousie Square, it was obstructed by the police in the Dharumtolla Street near New Cinema at 3'o clock that afternoon.⁵¹ The police wanted the processionists to disperse, but the students declined to do so and squatted on the street stopping all traffic. They raised shouts of 'Marshal Bose Zindabad', 'Jai Hind' and 'Chalo Chalo Delhi' Chalo' and demanded the release of I.N.A. prisoners. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose on being informed of the situation, advised the students to disperse quietly. He sent the following message to the demonstrators: if they owe allegiance to the Congress they must accept the direction of the Congress. Mahatmaji and the Congress repeatedly said that Civil Disobedience is not to be resorted to now.⁵² The next day on 22nd November, the Calcutta Tramway Coolies Union, All- Bengal Motor Transport Workers Unions and Calcutta Bus Workers Union have declared a one day strike today. Schools and the Colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University remained closed from Nov. 22nd to 24th by an order of the Vice Chancellor. Students of Islamia College also declared

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *The Hindustan Times*, 22 November, 1945.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 22 November 1945.

a strike from where they marched in a procession to the Wellington Square.⁵³ The girl students from Ashutosh College marched to Wellington Square the same morning and held a meeting to express their support of the student's procession yesterday. The happenings at Calcutta influenced the student movement at large. The students played an important role in the release of INA prisoners as is evident by the happenings of Calcutta.

On 23rd November 1945, students of the Allahabad University held demonstrations against the actions of the police on the students of Calcutta. The B.H.U. students organized hartal against the happenings at Calcutta and the administration ordered the close of the university and institutions.⁵⁴ Under the aegis of the Student's Congress, a meeting was organized in Calcutta.

On 22nd November in Meerut, the Student's Congress decided to observe the INA Week from November 25th to December 1st. In an appeal, the President of the Students' Congress has requested the public to contribute liberally to the INA Fund.⁵⁵

On Nov. 24th, Banaras students observed the Khurshed Hussain Day on Friday as a mark of respect to the memory of Khurshed Hussain who died in Lucknow as a result of the police lathi charges on students and also as a protest against the action of the Bengal government in firing at peaceful demonstrations of Calcutta students. All shopkeepers, Hindus and Muslims alike, observed a complete hartal.⁵⁶

On Dec. 1945, at Lucknow University, the students organized meetings and rallies to celebrate 'Raj Narain Mishra Day'.⁵⁷ This brings us to the conclusion that at various places in both India and UP there were widespread demonstrations and events of importance in connection with the INA trials.

Royal Naval Revolt and the Students:

On 18th Feb. 1946, around 20,000 naval soldiers went on a strike. The British flags got replaced by the flags of Congress, Muslim League, C.P.I. and they were placed on the ships amidst the slogans of 'Jai Hind', 'Inquilab Zindabad', 'Hindu-Muslim Be

⁵³ *Ibid*, 23 November, 1945.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 25 November 1945.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 27 November 1945.

⁵⁷ *The Student*, 5 January, 1945.

United', 'Down with British Imperialism' etc.⁵⁸ The Bombay Students supported the Navy and took out pamphlets in support of them.⁵⁹ By 21st February, the British soldiers started to fire on the soldiers and with the help of other soldiers. Both Congress and Muslim League supported the British government. The public and students at Bombay and other areas had their sympathy with the naval soldiers.⁶⁰ On 19th February 1946, after the Naval Mutiny the British Prime Minister Attlee announced a Cabinet minister to be sent to India and this proved the fact that though the Cabinet mission was not successful in its task, it opened the doors of independence to India. After the formation of Interim Government on 1 Aug. 1946, the possibility of getting complete independence matured. In 1946, there were communal riots in Bengal, Bihar and other provinces. There were labour strikes at various places in the country. By 1946, the student movement had lost much of its impetus. While the Students' Congress (the nationalist wing of the movement and successor to the non-Communist wing of the AISF) remained a large active organisation and its emphasis was on campus issues or the Gandhian constructive programs. "The 1946 mutiny of the Indian Navy was a further shock to them, since the Congress ordered the militant sailors to surrender to the British in the interest of a compromise."⁶¹

By the end of 1946 and the beginning of 1947 there were Tebhanga and Telegana movements carried out by the peasants who were fighting against the feudal system. But even with the efforts of students, labourers and masses in general, it became difficult to form a united front to fight against the imperialist tendencies which started to raise its ugly head and brought the country on the verge of partition. But still one cannot ignore the importance of these later movements, in the history of freedom struggle. Thus one can conclude that during the period of 1930s and 1940s, the country was highly politicized, particularly in the cities and towns, where most of the colleges were located and from where a large number of students were recruited to join the movement. This atmosphere

⁵⁸ *Home Poll (I)* File No. 5/21/1946.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ G.R. Malik, "Role of Students in National Movement from 1920-1947", Ph.D. Thesis, Meerut University, 1982, pp. 314-316.

⁶¹ Philip G. Altbach, "The Bombay Naval Mutiny", *Opinion* VI, No.17, August 31st, 1965, p.35, cited in Philip G. Altbach, "The Transformation of the Indian Student Movement", *Asian Survey*, Vol.6, No.8, Aug. 1966, p.452.

had its impact on the students. According to Altbach, “The western political ideologies also had its impact on the student movement, thought and discussion.”⁶² Thus, the ideological orientation and the politically charged up conditions contributed largely in furtherance of the nationalist struggle.

⁶² Philip G. Altbach, *Ibid*, p.453.

CONCLUSION

“From times immemorial, youth all over the world have played a major role in building nations and civilizations and in bringing about social and economic changes. In the entire history of mankind's march to progress, youth has been the vanguard of change, because by nature and aptitude, youth always look towards the future.”¹ Even Our Indian National Movement speaks volumes of the sacrifices made to liberate India from the shackles of the British rule. In the course of the struggle many lost their lives, many were imprisoned and others were forced to live in very difficult conditions under British rule. The enthusiasm, bravery and zest for freedom showed by the people even in the most adverse conditions was evident from the brutal repression carried out during the Quit India movement.

The focus of my research is on tracing the growth of student movement in the wake of political upheavals (i.e., the Second World War and the Quit India Movement and its aftermath) and also viewing its impact on regional politics of U.P. Proceeding with the general background of the War and the impact of political situation give us an idea about the awareness among students about both the national and international crises. As the last mass struggle was waged in 1942 it will be interesting to note as to how the students responded to the movement. Thus one will study the connection of a movement with a community² and the location of the movement in the context of that community.

The study broadly begins by discussing the works by scholars from different disciplines along with history so as to bring out the conceptual framework of my study. These commentators may be sociologists, political scientists, thinkers, activists and even journalists by profession. Their analysis of the student movement and its progress in the light of the political upheavals of the 1930s and the 1940s provide us with a wide variety of views. The works of student activists Ravindra Varma, M.Muni Reddy, P.M. Joshi speak more on issues related to the student movement, i.e. their aims, programmes, and the problems that the students incurred in the organisations and bodies. Varma is of the

¹ www.indianyouthcongress.in/aboutiyc-2.html, consulted on 22.07.2009. Anand Sharma, President of Indian Youth Congress 1985-1987. He has been given the responsibility in the Union Cabinet of India as Minister for Commerce and Industry. He assumed charge as the Minister on 29th May 2009.

² Herein 'Community' stands for "Student community."

opinion that “The impatience and restlessness with which the students of our country reacted to the rising tide of rebellion drove them to political action.”³ He has further suggested ways of organising the student movement but he brings out the weakness faced by the students and as to how these student organisations were constituted and carried on with their tasks. On the other hand, M. Muni Reddy’s work suggests ways to strengthen the student organisations as he cites that “The want of scientific organisations is one of the serious defects among the student rank and it cuts at the root of our solidarity.”⁴ Joshi seeks to bring out the areas where students differed from their leaders and followed their own political line. This gives us some idea as to how the students organisations functioned but along with this a broader picture is also shown which reflects on the defects in terms of their functioning.

With this it becomes imperative to study the ‘juncture’ wherein the Youth Leagues were transformed into student organisations. It was in 1927 that the first real student organisation was established in India. Bhagat Singh, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Sukhdev and Ihsan Illahi were its pioneers. They realised the significance of independent student organisations. The First Lahore Students’ Conference under the Presidentship of Late Lala Lajpat Rai attracted thousands of students. “Other provinces followed the example of the Punjab and organized local student organizations. These student organizations did not have much cohesion and they worked locally and did not like to interfere and participate in the activities of students at other places.”⁵ By 1928-1929, ‘Youth Leagues’ were born in various districts and educational institutions of U.P. These Youth Leagues came up in big educational centres like Allahabad, Lucknow, Banaras, Agra, Mathura and Moradabad. It was the year 1930 that witnessed the Civil Disobedience Movement. There was again a call for sacrifice. The student organisations welcomed it by holding processions, hartals and courting imprisonment. The student organisations in Punjab, Bombay and Bengal were declared unlawful. This state of unrest continued upto 1933. It was in March 1931, that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed. On the very eve of the Congress session, Bhagat Singh was hanged. The students and the

³ Ravindra Varma, *Whither the Students’ Movement or A Plea for the Establishment of A National Union of Students*, All India Students’ Congress (AISC), Wardha, 1948, p. 9.

⁴ U.P. Administrative Report, 1927-28, London, 1928 cited in Pushpa Tomar, “Uttar Pradesh mein Chhatra Andolan 1920-1947”, Ph.D. Thesis, Meerut University, 1991, p.100.

⁵ Prabodh Chandra, *Student Movement in India*, Lahore, AISC, 1938, p. 49.

youth vehemently opposed the pact. A wave of sorrow and indignation spread all over the country. The next four years were devoted to organisation by the politically advanced students who systematically worked. It was in 1934 at Lucknow, a Conference of the U.P. Students' Federation was held which led to the formation of the "All India Students' Federation" in the year 1936. 'The socialist ideas of class consciousness became more visible and appeared more realistic.'⁶

In the organization of students one can see the impact of nationalist ideas which spread with the education imparted to them. Thus the students started to take interest in the economic, social and political problems facing the country. This might have also led them to organise into one body to carry out their tasks. It is also noticed that the nationalist ideas spread with the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and students played their role in these sessions. Thus with the spread of these ideas among the middle class even the students were influenced by them.

During the period of 1936-1937, one comes across interesting changes in the government policies and the politics woven around it as different acts and plans were executed under the aegis of the British government and the Congress respectively. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, the Provincial and Central Assembly elections were declared to be held soon. There were two kinds of opinions on the issue of elections. One group wanted to participate in the elections in the same way as Swarajists did after the end of the Civil Disobedience movement. On the other hand, the second group did not participate in the elections and propose to continue the mass struggle. This group consisted of the C.S.P. and the Communist Party. The programme of Congress in the elections of 1937 included laying the groundwork for socialism and to foster economic development by ending the old Zamindari system. The leaders of the Congress party carried out a mass scale mobilisation to garner people's support for their party and programmes. In U.P. the mass scale election campaign was carried out under the headship of Pandit J.L. Nehru. Even the student community walked hand in hand with the leaders in mobilising the masses for the party cause. They organised meetings and processions for the Congress leaders. They helped the leaders through all ways available and even collected money for election purposes. After the elections in the year 1937-38,

⁶ Prabodh Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

the students carried on with two kinds of movements. One was focusing on bringing down all the signs and symbols of British imperialism. The second was more or less fighting for their rights and privileges. They supported the demands pertaining to the release of political prisoners.

During the period of 1937-39, the student movement focused on the problems around the rights of students and democratisation process. Their basic demands were: providing student unions, hostels and educational reforms and they organised movements for the achievement of the same. The strikes were held on 17th November, 1937 in Allahabad at Vidyamandir High School, Ewing Christian College and Aggarwal Intermediate College on the issue of fee hike. Even after the division in the AISF one finds the organization carrying out its activities despite of their factional differences.

One can also conclude that the formation of this organisation introduced an element of stability in activities and sought to build up a movement with a day to day programme Anil Rajimwale is of the opinion that the AISF appears to be an effort of student leaders themselves, whether politically affiliated or non- affiliated.⁷

One can presume that the students were 'satisfied with the leadership' which they got and vice-versa. Like in Agra, the students helped the Congress leaders in their election campaign through both men and money. For the leaders like Nehru, students formed the basis of successful campaigning. From events at the D.A.V. College at Kanpur, one can conclude that the students were eager to help in the electoral process and Nehru appreciated the efforts of the youth. At Shahjahanpur, a meeting was addressed by Nehru where the students were lathi charged for participating. S.M. Jafar states that "even though we were imprisoned we were in close contact with the student leaders. We used to send directions to them... Ram Krishna Sinha, Chandradutt Tewari etc. were underground leaders but they were issuing orders to the students outside as well."⁸ This event highlights that leaders were in touch with the students even after their arrest in the 1942 Movement. Such events give us a broad idea that the students were in touch with the leaders throughout the movement. They looked towards them for constant support

⁷ Anil Rajimwale, *History of the Student Movement, Origins and Development, 1920-1947*, New Delhi, Manak Publications, p.303.

⁸ Shyam Krishna Pandey in an interview with S.M. Jafar cited in Shyam Krishna Pandey, *Bhartiya Chhatra Andolan*, Part I, Allahabad, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, p.496.

and guidance.

The students even came from different backgrounds and it is interesting to note that not all classes of students joined the movement. The students from both East and West UP participated in the movement. As far as their social composition is concerned, one view is that 'Middle class students, preponderatingly Hindu, were very much in the forefront, especially in the early days of the movement, whether in urban clashes, as organizers of sabotage, or inspirers of peasant rebellion'.⁹ This aspect is also dealt with in my work.

I have discussed in detail the role of B.H.U students in the movement of 1942. Along with this how the 1942 movement spread to rural areas is also worth noticing. Banaras being the centre of national education was easily accessible to political information and the ready availability of a receptive audience in terms of the population in and around Banaras helped in the spread of the movement. Later it is noted that "Just as the B.H.U students spread to eastern regions with the students of Allahabad University. Similarly, the students of Lucknow University took control of areas like Barabanki, Sitapur, Hardoi, Lakhimpur kheri, Faizabad, Rae Bareilly etc. Burning of trains, destroying railways form the core of their activities. This continued for a month."¹⁰ Such events portray that the students from urban areas spread the message of rebellion in the neighbouring villages and rural areas. The B.H.U was the storm centre in the movement of 1942.

The third chapter focuses on the aftermath of 1942 movement in UP. Here the party politics in post-1942 movement in UP is focused on in the light of the student activities in India at large and UP in particular. The role of political parties (ie. the Communist Party, the Congress Socialist Party, and the Congress) is also discussed in this chapter. There was a split in the AISF in 1940 and the All India Nationalist Students' Federation was formed. Due to the split in the AISF, the unity among the students was missing. The C.P.I. tried their best to establish unity among the students. Even the nationalist group of students like those belonging to the Congress, Socialists, Forward

⁹ Prof. Prashanto Kumar Chatterji (ed.), 'Classes and Communities in the Quit India Movement', in *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. 38, April-Sep, No. 1 &2, 1998, p.77.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp.496-497.

Bloc, Gandhians and Nehruites were dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. The student leaders started to work upon the campus related issues. The C.P.I. along with the nationalist student leaders planned to establish a platform for the furtherance of students interests. "The party has, as a whole, exercised a restraining effect on students, and its influence over the student community, though not great, has, such as it is, been used in the direction of preventing student strikes and disorderly demonstrations."¹¹ This was notably the case during the time as they even felt that the C.P.I. would change its policy after the Second World War. As we have seen, the students of UP organised rallies, hartals processions at various places. On 13th February 1943, in Lucknow a meeting of 400 students was organised. The Congress, Communists and the Muslim Students participated in the meeting. They proposed to organise a Committee of students to carry forward the task of organising the movement for the release of Mahatma Gandhi. Even the role of C.S.P is commendable. Jayprakash Narayan was arrested and the AISC raised the issue of the quick release of all the leaders and even the political prisoners. It was a massive rally which was organised in Patna for J.P's release. The students played a pioneering role in the movement waged for the release of I.N.A prisoners. They participated in it irrespective of their religion. This brings out the solidarity on the part of the students.

However, the student movement post 1946 and after independence is one of a sectarian character and this could be attributed to the poor educational system and even the social, economic and political system. To continue the movement, the All India Students' Congress was formed in 1944 which continued the struggle against the British. After Independence, the All India Students Congress was converted into the National Union of Students in the year 1950.

¹¹Government of India to all Provincial Governments, Partha Sarathi Gupta, (ed.), *Towards Freedom*, 1943-44, Part- II, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1997, p.1640.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES: (Official)

Proceedings and Files of the Government of India, Home Department Political, Judicial, Public and Police, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

Proceedings and Files of the Government of United Provinces, General Administration, Judicial (Criminal), Police and Departmental Records pertaining to 1936-1946, Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow.

Weekly Intelligence Reports, Public Abstracts of Intelligence & Appreciation of both political situations pertaining to the students' participation, Criminal Investigation Departmental Office, Lucknow.

Files from Criminal Record Room, Varanasi Collectorate, Uttar Pradesh Regional Archives, Varanasi.

Indian Annual Register of 1936 to 1946, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

Communist Party and Communist Socialist Party Related Documents, Archives of Contemporary History of India, (P.C Joshi Archives) JNU, New Delhi.

UNOFFICIAL:

All India Congress Committee Papers (Microfilm) (NMML)

AICC Supplementary Papers

J.L Nehru Papers

Jayprakash Narayan Papers

Linlithgow Papers (Microfilm)

Rajendra Prasad Papers (Microfilm)

M.Hallett Papers (N.A.I)

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS:

Census of India, 1931, 1941, 1951.

Chopra, P.N, (ed.), *The Quit India Movement: British Secret Report*, Delhi, 1976.

Chopra, P.N (ed.), *Historic Judgement on Quit India Movement, Justice Wickenden's Report*, Delhi, Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1989.

District Gazetteers Aligarh, Nanital, Agra, Dehradun, Banaras, Kanpur, Allahabad, Bulanshahr, Meerut, Lucknow.

Fighters for Freedom Who's Who, Vol.2, Varanasi Division (UP Govt. Information Department, 1964).

Mitra, N.N, Indian Annual Register, Calcutta, 1933-1942.

Mansergh and E W. R Lumby, eds., *The Transfer of Power, 1942-47*, Vols. 1&2, Vol.6, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office,1971.

UP Political Who's Who, 2nd Edition.

UP Administrative Reports, 1935-1942.

UP Gazetteers, 1935-46.

UP Legislative Assembly Debates 1936 to 1946.

UNOFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS:

Gupta, Partha Sarthi (ed.), *Towards Freedom Documents on the Movement for Independence in India*, Part- II, 1943-44, New Delhi, Oxford University Press,1997.

Hasan, Mushirul (ed.), *Towards Freedom, Documents on the Movement for Independence in India*, Part 1, 1939, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2008.

Panikkar, K.N, (ed.), *Towards Freedom, Documents on the Movement for Independence in India*, Part 1, 1940, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2009.

Prasad, Bimal (ed.), *Towards Freedom, Documents on the Movement for Independence in India*,1945, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2008

NEWSPAPERS:

Congress Socialist, 1936-1938.
The Leader, 1937-1941, 1945-1946.
The National Herald 1936-42.
The Pioneer, 1937-1941, 1945-1946.
The Hindustan Times 1936-46.
The Student 1943-46.
Aaj (Hindi), 1936-41, 1945-46.
Sangharsh (Hindi), 1938-1939.
Student's Struggle.

ORAL HISTORY TRANSCRIPTS: (NMML)

Sampurnanand.
Sri Prakasa.
M.A Farooqui.
K.D Malaviya.
Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay.
A.K Damodaran.
Ram Krishna Khattri.
Achyut Patwardhan.
J.B Kripalani.
Hajra Begum.
Sundarlal.
Sucheta Kripalani.
Jayprakash Narayan.
Prabodh Chandra.
T.K. Chaturvedi.

INTERVIEWS

Mrs. Leela Sharma, Banaras, 15th February 2009.
Mr. Anand Krishna, Banaras, 16th February 2009.

Mr. Shiv Shankar Shastri, Banaras, 17th February 2009.

Mr. Prabhu Narain, Banaras, 18th February 2009.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS:

Ahmad, Manzoor, *Indian Response to the Second World War*, New Delhi, Intellectual Publishing House, 1987

Altbach, Phillip.G, *Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India*, Bombay, Lalvani Publishing House, 1968.

_____, *The Student Revolution: A Global Analysis*, New Delhi, Lalvani Publishing House, 1970.

Azad, Maulana, *India Wins Freedom*, Madras, Orient Longman, 1988.

Barrier,N.G, *Banned:Controversial Literature and Political Control in British India,1907-47*, Delhi, Manohar,1976.

Bonarjee, N.B., *Under Two Masters*, Calcutta, Oxford University Press, 1970.

Bose, Subhas, *The Indian Struggle, 1920-42*, compiled by the Netaji Research Bureau Calcutta, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964.

_____, *Perrenial Inspiration to the Indian Youth, Birth Centenary Volume*, New Delhi, A.P.H Publishing Corporation, 1997.

Bhuyan, A.C., *The Quit India Movement: The Second World War and Indian Nationalism*, New Delhi, Manas Publications, 1975.

Birla, G.D.,*In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, Calcutta, Orient Longman,1953,

Brass,Paul R. *Factional Politics in an Indian State, the Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1966.

Brijbhushan, Jamila, *Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya*, New Delhi, Abhinav Publications, 1976.

Chandra, Bipan, *Communalism in Modern India*, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1984.

- _____, *Ideology and Politics in Modern India*, New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, 1994.
- _____, *et al*, *India's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi, Penguin Books, 1988.
- _____, *Nationalism and Colonialism*, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1979.
- Chandra, Prabodh, *Student Movement in India*, AISF Publication Department, Lahore, 1938
- Chatterji, Jogesh Chandra, *In Search of Freedom*, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1976.
- Cormack, Margaret Lawson, *She who rides a Peacock; Indian Students and Social Change*, Bombay, Asian Publishing House, 1961.
- Coupland, R., *The Constitutional Problem in India (Part II Indian Politics 1936-1942)*, Oxford, 1944.
- Dutt, R.P, *India Today*, 2nd Edition, Calcutta, Manisha Granthalaya Publishers, 1940.
- Dutta, K.K, *Renaissance, Nationalism and Social Changes in the Modern India*, Calcutta, Book Land, 1965.
- Desai, A.R., *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1966.
- Emmerson, Donald.K.,(ed.), *Student and Politics in Developing Nations*, London, Pall Mall Press, 1968.
- Gandhi M.K., *To the Students*, Ist Edition, Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1949.
- Ghosh, K.K., *The I.N.A.*, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1969.
- Glendevon John, *The Viceroy at Bay*, London, Collins St.James's Place, 1971.
- Guha, Ranajit, (ed.), *Subaltern Studies*, Vol.1, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1982
- _____,(ed.),*Subaltern Studies*,Vol.2, New Delhi, Oxford University Press,1983,Vol. 3, New Delhi,1984, Vol. 4, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1985.

- Huntington, Samuel P., *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968.
- Hutchins, Francis G., *Spontaneous Revolution: The Quit India Movement*, New Delhi, 1971.
- _____, *India's Revolution: Gandhi and the Quit India Movement* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Joshi, P.M, *Student Revolts in India: Story of Pre-independence Youth Movement*, Bombay, University of Bombay Publications, 1972.
- Kavyalankar, Dinanath Vyas, *August san 1942 ka Mahan Viplav*, Agra, Samvat, 2003.
- Kulkarni, V.B., *British Dominion in India and After*, Bombay, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1964.
- Lipset, S.M, *Revolution and Counter-revolution*, New York, Basic Books, 1968.
- _____, *The First New Nation*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1967.
- Low, D.A., (ed.), *Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle 1914-47*, New Delhi, 1977.
- Majumdar, R.C., *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol.II, 1933-47, Bombay, Padma Publications Ltd, 1947.
- Mahajan, Sucheta, *Independence and Partition*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2000.
- Masani, M.R, *The C.P.I-A Short History*, London, Derek Verscholye Ltd, 1954.
- Menon, Visalakshi, *From Movement to Government, the Congress in the United Provinces 1937-1942*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2003.
- _____, *Indian Women and Nationalism: The UP Story*, New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, 2003.
- Menon, V.P, *The Transfer of Power in India*, Bombay, Orient Longman, 1957
- Naik J.P.& Nurulla Saiyyad, *Bhartiya Shiksha Ka Itihas 1800-1973*, New Delhi, The Macmillan Company of India Ltd, 1974.
- Nanda, B.R (ed.), *Essays in Modern Indian History*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1980.

Narayan, Jai Prakash, *Towards Struggle*, Bombay, Padma Publications Ltd, 1946.

Nehru, Jawaharlal, *An Autobiography*, reprint, Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1962.

Niblett, R.H., *The Congress Rebellion in Azamgarh: August- September 1942*, Allahabad, Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, 1957.

Pamba, *Thillai Govindan: A Posthumous Autobiography*, Madras, Srinivasa, Varadachari and Company, 1903.

Pandey, B.N., *The Indian Nationalist Movement, 1885-1947 Select Documents*, London, The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1979.

Pandey, Gyanendra, *The Indian Nation 1942*, Calcutta, K.P. Bagchi, 1988.

Prasad, Amba, *The Indian Revolt of 1942*, Delhi, S. Chand, 1958.

Prasad, Bimal, *A Revolutionary Quest: Selected Writings of J.P. Narayan*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1980.

Qanungo, B., *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. III*, New Delhi, Vikas Publication House, 1985.

Ranjimwale, Anil, *History of Student Movement*, New Delhi, Manak Publications, 2001.

Reddy, M Muni, *Student Movement in India*, Lucknow, K.S.R. Acharya, 1947.

Sahai, Govind, *42' Rebellion, An Authentic Review of the Great Upheaval of 1942*, Delhi, Rajkamal Prakashan, 1947.

Shah, Ghanshyam, *Social Movements in India*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2004.

Singh, Darbara, *Indian Struggle 1942*, Lahore, Hero Publications, 1943.

Samupurnanand, *Memoris & Reflections*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962.

Sitaramayya, Pattabhi, *The History of Indian National Congress*, 2 Vols, Bombay, Padma Publications 1947.

Srivastava, C.P., *Lal Bahadur Shastri: A Life of Truth in Politics*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1995.

Tomlinson, B.R, *The Indian National Congress and the Raj, 1929-1942*, London, The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1976.

Varma, Ravindra, *Whither the Student Movement*, Wardha, All India Students'Congress, 1948.

Venturi, Franco, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in the 19th Century Russia*, New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1960.

Vidhyarti, R.S. *British Savagery in India*, Shiv Lal Agarwal & Co., Agra, 1946.

Vishwa Yuvak Kendra, *The Dynamics of Student Agitations*, Bombay, Somaiya Publications Pvt Ltd, 1973.

Walkbank, T. Water, *A Short History of India and Pakistan*, A Mentor Book, New York, New American Library, 1958.

Woodruff, Phillip, *The Men Who Ruled India; The Guardians*; London, Jonathan Cape, 1954.

Zaidi, A.M, *The Way Out to Freedom*, New Delhi, Orientalia, 1973.

ARTICLES:

Altbach, Philip.G, "The Transformation of the Indian Student Movement", *Asian Survey*, Vol.6, No.8, (Aug. 1966), pp.448-460.

_____, "Student Politics and Higher Education in India", *Daedalus*, Vol.97, No.1, (Winter, 1968), pp.254-273.

_____, "Student Politics in the Third World", *Higher Education*, 13, (1984), pp. 635-655.

Arnon, Ruth Soule, "Review: Student Unrest in India", *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol.13, No.2, (Summer, 1973), pp.163-171.

Bhattacharya, S, "Paradigms Lost: Notes on Social History in India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.17, No. 14/16, April 1982, pp.690-696.

Bhattacharya, Buddhadeb, "Gandhi's Attitude towards Political Power", in S.C.Biswas (ed.), Vol.II, of "Gandhi Theory and Practice Social Impact and Contemporary Relevance, IIAS Shimla, Aug 1969, pp.262-274.

- Chatterji, Prof. Prashanto Kumar, "Classes and Communities in the Quit India Movement", *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol 38, April-Sep 1998, No.1& 2, pp.77-90.
- Damodaran, Vinita, "Azad Dastas and Dacoit gangs: the Congress and Underground Activity in Bihar, 1942-44," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No.3, Jul, 1992, pp.417-450.
- Gould, William, "Congress Radicals and Hindu Militancy: Sampuranand and Purushottam Das Tandon in the Politics of the United Provinces, 1930-1947", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.36, No.3, 2002, Cambridge University Press, pp.619-655.
- Greenough, Paul, "Political Mobilization and the Underground Literature of the Quit India Movement, 1942-44", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 17, No.3, 1983, pp.11-47.
- Gupta, Amit Kumar, "Defying Death: Nationalist Revolutionism, in India, 1897-1938", *Social Scientist*, Vol.25, No.9/10 ,Sep-Oct, 1997, pp.3-27.
- Harcourt, M, "Kisan Populism and Revolution in Rural India: the 1942 Disturbances in Bihar and East United Provinces", in D.A. Low, (ed.), *The Congress and the Raj Facets of the Indian Struggle, 1917-1947*, 2nd Edition, New Delhi, 2004, pp.315-345.
- Hay, Stephen, "Review: [untitled] Reviewed work(s): Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915-1922 by Judith M. Brown India's Revolution: Gandhi and the Quit India Movement by Francis G. Hutchins", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No.1, Feb, 1975, pp.172-173.
- Henningham, Stephen, "Quit India in Bihar and the Eastern United Provinces: The Dual Revolt", in Ranjit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies*, Vol.II, pp.130-179.
- Jayaram, N., "Sadhus No Longer: Recent Trends in Indian Student Activism", *Higher Education* Vol. 8, No.6, Student Activism, Nov.1979, pp.683-699.
- Kamtekar, Indivar, "A Different War Dance: State and Class in India 1939-1945", *Past and Present*, 176, August 2002, pp.187-221.
- _____, "The Shiver of 1942", *Studies in History*, Vol.18, No.1, 2002, pp.82-102.

- Kudaisya, Gyanesh, "Constructing the 'Heartland': Uttar Pradesh in India's Body-Politic" *South Asia*, Vol.25, 2005, pp. 153-181.
- Labez, Leopold, "Student & Revolution", *Survey* (68) July 1968, pp.3-28.
- Mitra, Chandan Sourav, "Popular Uprising in 1942: the Case of Ballia", in Mittal, S.K, "The Role of Meerut College in the Freedom Struggle of India", *Social Scientist*, Vol.7, No, 4 ,Nov, 1978, pp.35-56.
- Namboodiripad, E.M.S, " Perspective of the Women's Movement", *Social Scientist*, Vol.4, Nov-Dec., 1975,pp 1-8.
- Omvedt, Gail, "Women and Rural Revolt in India", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 6, No.2, (Sep., 1977), pp. 22-41
- Pandey,Gyanendra (ed.), *The Indian Nation in 1942*, Calcutta, 1988, pp.165-184.
- Ranadive, B.D, "The Role played by Communists in the Freedom Struggle of India", *Social Scientist*, Vol.12, No.9, Sep, 1994, pp.3-32.
- Rao, B Shiva,"Review: The Quit India Movement", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.6, No.1, 1972, pp.108-112.
- Samaddar, Smt. Krishna, "Women's Contribution to the Freedom Movement in India", *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*,Vol.32, Oct 1992-Mar1993, No.3& 4, pp.52-69.
- Sampson, E. Edward, (ed.), "Stirrings out of Apathy: Student Activism and the Decade of Protest", *The Journal of Social Issue*, Vol.XXIII, (3), July, 1967.
- Shankar, Dr.Girija, "Socialist Movement in India and Jayaprakash Narayan (1929-1948)", *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol.17, No.2, 1977-78, pp.80-91.
- Tomlinson, B.R., Review: "Congress and the Raj: Political Mobilization in Late Colonial India, in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vo,1.16, Part 2, April 1982, pp.334-349.
- Voight, Johannes H, "Co-operation or Confrontation? War and Congress Politics 1939-42", in D.A. Low, (ed.), *Congress and the Raj*, London, 1977.

UNPUBLISHED THESIS AND DISSERTATIONS:

Gomar, Pushpa, "*Uttar Pradesh mein Chhatra Andolan 1920-1947*", Ph.D Thesis, Meerut University, Meerut, 1991.

Ioshi, Prakash Chandra, "*Quit India Movement in Meerut Mandal*", Ph.D Thesis, Meerut University, Meerut, 1986.

Singha, Radhika, "*Aspects of the Quit India Movement in U.P.*", M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, New Delhi, 1986.

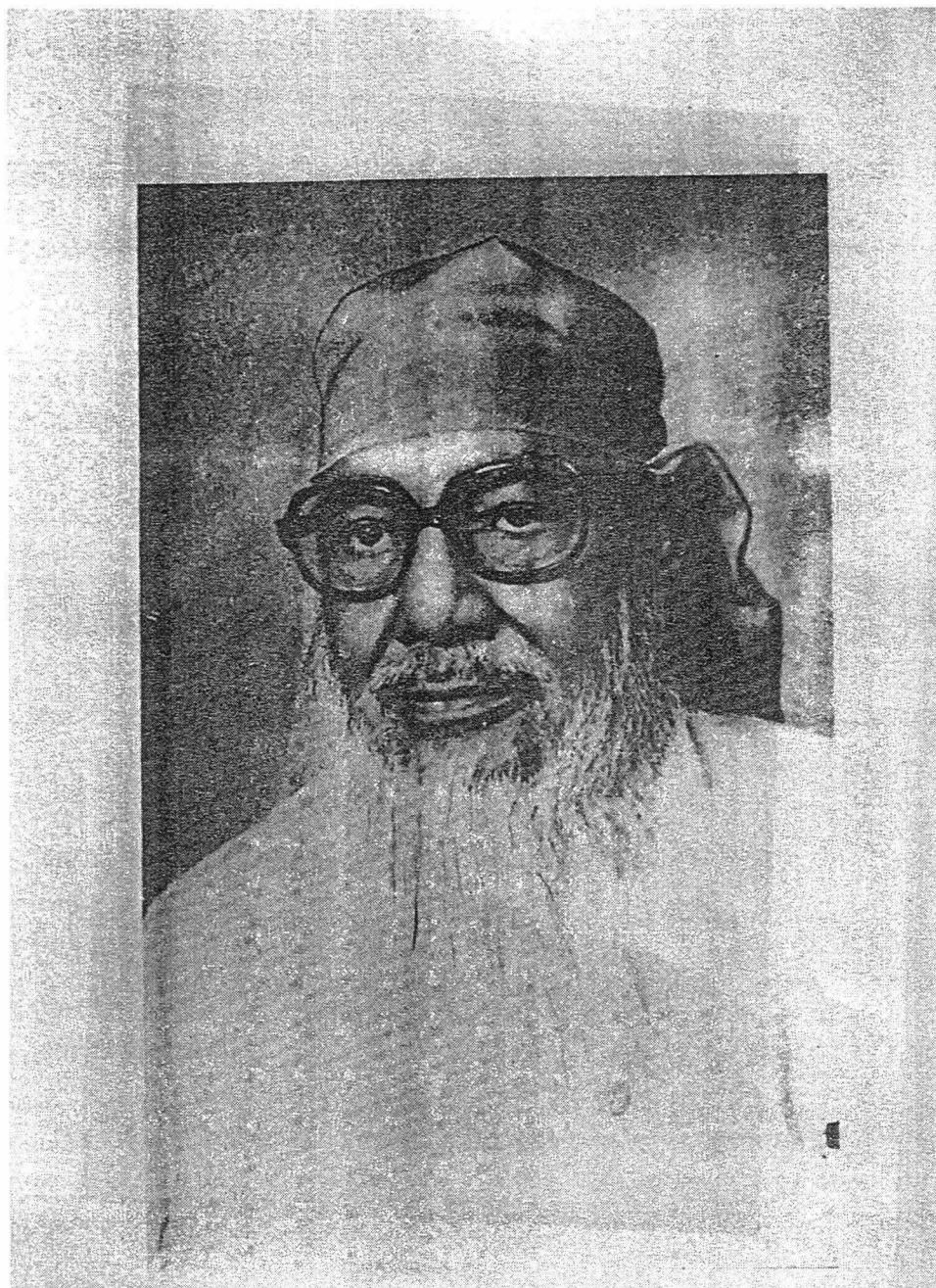
Malik, G.R "*Role of Students in National Movement from 1920-1947*", Ph.D. Thesis, Meerut University, Meerut, 1982.



Ravindra Varma*¹

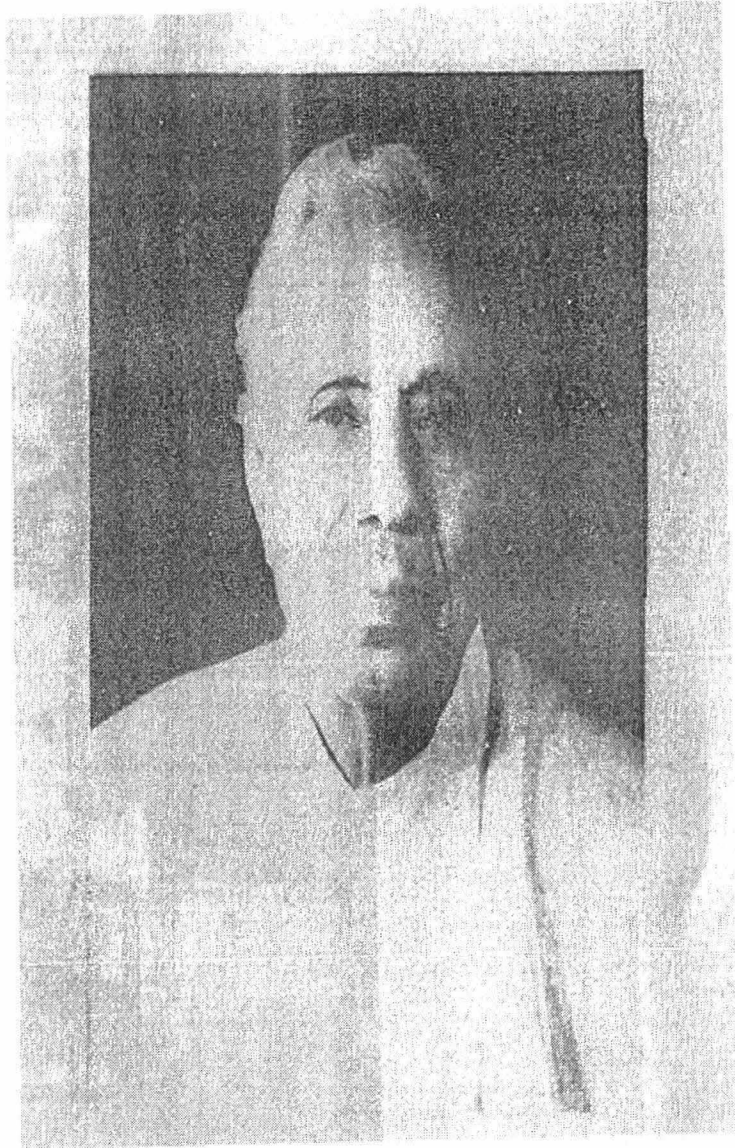
The former Union Minister, G. Ravindra Varma, one of the last links in the chain of Gandhians. He belonged to a royal family of Mavelikkara in southern Kerala. He played into the vortex of the freedom struggle while studying at the Christian College in Chennai. He was the founder President of the Indian Student Congress and the World Youth Assembly. He was also the Minister of Labour and Parliamentary Affairs in the Moraji Desai's ministry. He had been the chairman of Gandhi Peace Foundation since the death of its founder-Chairman Diwakar in 1989.

¹ *Source: [http:// www.the hindu. com/2006/10/11/stories/2006101100341400. htm](http://www.thehindu.com/2006/10/11/stories/2006101100341400.htm) (The Hindu, online edition, Wednesday, Oct 11, 2006.)



Shri Raj Narain

Born in 1917 at village Motikot, in Varanasi. A law graduate from B.H.U. He was in the National Committee of Student's Federation from 1934-44. He was arrested during the Quit India Movement for leading a large demonstration of students of B.H.U. and detained till 1945.



Shri Prabhu Narain Singh*¹

He was the General Secretary of B.H.U. Students' Congress. He was engaged in mobilising the students by engaging them in Congress activities. He along with Raj Narain studied law at B.H.U. With the arrest of leaders on the pretext of the 1942 movement, Prabhu Narain along with Rajnarain, Prof Radhey Shyam Sharma and Prof. Gairola went underground and carried their propaganda work. Prabhu Narain along with a mob of students burnt the Gangpur Kutchery and Kapsethi station in Varanasi. He was arrested with Raj Narain in September 1942 and was imprisoned for over two years.

¹ In an interview with Shri Prabhu Narain Singh as taken on 18th February 2009, Banaras.

Appendix 1*

Statement Showing Damage Done And Losses Suffered By Both Sides During Movement in U.P.

1. General

Total Number of Convictions	15,142
No. of Detentions	5,317
Collective Fines imposed	Rs.34,89,380,8/2
No. of places where collective fines imposed	579
Damage to Permanent Way	95

2. Firing by Police or Military

No. of Places		68
	(Revolvers	266
	(Muskets	1587
No. of Rounds	(12 Bore	149
	(Rifles	301
No. of Killed		133
No. of severely injured		227
No. of occasions on which Police fired		116

3. Damage to Police Stations

No. of Police Stations completely burnt		6
No. of Police Stations attacked		15
Property lost	(Revolvers	13
	(Muskets	75
	(And unknown quantities of ammunition.	
Policemen Killed		18
Policemen severely injured		12

4. Post Offices and Telegraphs Etc.

No. Of Post-Offices destroyed	9
No. of Post- Offices attacked	87
Letter- Boxes destroyed	70
Postmen attacked	50
No. of Places where Telegraph and Telephone and Telephone Wires were cut	337

5. Railways

No. of Stations attacked	72
No. of Stations burnt	15
No. of derailments	14
Railways personnel killed	9
Railway personnel injured	14

6. Use of Explosives

No. of Bomb explosions	60
No. of Bombs or Explosives discovered before doing damage	157

7. Cases of Sabotage

No. of cases sabotage to electric supply Companies or their apparatus or installations	7
No. of cases of sabotage to Roads	84
No. of case of sabotage of canals or Tube-well irrigation systems	40
No. of cases of sabotage other than these	327

8. No. of Casualties (Public)

Fatal	207
Non- Fatal	458
(Police) Fatal	16
(Police) Non- Fatal	333

9. Estimated Loss

To Government	Rs.3,63,366
To Other Parties	Rs. 1,02,73
Railway tracks damaged	15
Wire Cuttings	337cases
Bomb explosions	60
Un-exploded Bombs	157
Property damaged	Rs. 7 to 8 lakhs
Firing at	118 occasions
Casualties	204
Police officers killed	16
Govt. buildings destroyed	250
Railway stations destroyed	104
Trains derailed	14

* Source: D.N. Panigrahi., *Quit India and Struggle for Freedom*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1984.

Appendix 2

List of Main Participants of the 1942 Movement:

1. **Sevanand Sadhu-** At Sadat, in Ghazipur, one Sevanand Sadhu led the mob which had looted the seed store and then set the police station on fire throwing the inspector and constable into the flame.
2. **Raghav Das-** He was a resident of Poona but migrated to U.P., where he had established an ashram at Barhaj; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; associated with a number of educational institutions in Eastern U.P.
3. **Paras Nath Mishra-** He was a Brahmin of village Misrauli in Ubhaon (Ballia), took vow to keep train services dislocated between Tutipar (railway station) and Banaras.
4. **Deonath Tiwari-** He assisted Paras Nath Mishra resident of Belthara Road, Ubhaon.
5. **Chittu Pandey-** He was a participant from countryside, the President of D.C.C had been reluctant to come out of jail but **Mahananda Mishra**, associated with the underground H.S.R.A organisation in East U.P. and **Vishwanath Chaubey**, the Secretary of D.C.C had forced the issue declaring that they would come out.
6. **Thakur Bhup Narayan-** He was previously not in prominence emerged now as an organiser.
7. **Algu Rai Shastri-** In Azamgarh, on the 11th returning from Bombay contacted student at Katipati and told them of the programme.
8. **Chandrashekar Asthana-** It was again on 12th August that Chandra Shekhar Asthana of Kashi Vidyapeeth arrived with pamphlets giving instructions of sabotage and a meeting was held at Shri Krishna Paathshala after which Congressman dispersed over the countryside with group of students' intent of taking control of thanas and disrupting communications.
9. **Kedar Prasad Tiwari-** He was the Assistant Secretary of the Youth League, a suspected terrorist.¹

¹ U.P Political Who's Who, 1936, No.167, New Delhi, NMML.

10. **Gokul Das Shastri**- He founded “Mukti Sadhak Sangha” in after 1930’s and tried to organise a violence party with connections in Bihar, Ballia, Bundelkhand.
11. **Jharkhande Rai**-He was from Ballia, reorganising the H.S.R.A in Azamgarh and Ghazipur. He founded the organisation “Jagrat Bharat” influenced by the Shivaji cult but had a socialist leaning.
12. **Raj Deo**- He headed a splinter group of the original H.S.R.A he founded a Provincial Yuvak Sangh at Sitapur, a central organisation of H.S.R.A, was elected with Virupaksh Angde as Chairman and Jharkhande Rai as Prime Minister and Chief organiser.
13. **Sachin Bakshi, Jogesh Chatterji and Ram Krishna Khattri** after their release from prison moved on to motivate the people to join the movement of 1942.
14. **King Behari Singh**-The Jaunpur terrorist group was led by him, organised a train dacoity between the Khalispur and Babbatpur railway station on the Fyzabad-Banaras line.
15. **Arjun Singh**- He was from Azamgarh, a sympathiser of the terrorist group, active in Kaumi Seva Dal just like Mahananda Mishra in Ballia.
16. **Beni Madho Rai**- He was a Member of the terrorist group, and Captain of the Dal in Ghazipur.
17. **Vishwanath Mardanna**- An ex- revolutionary who had joined the C.P.I. after the death of Bhagat Singh.
18. **Suraj Prasad**- A Congress volunteer arrived from Banaras, late in the night of 9th August.
19. **Uma Shankar Mishra**- Suraj Prasad met Uma Shankar Mishra and shows the issue of “The Aaj”. He was appointed as the dictator of the district and passed on some secret messages. It was decided that the people should be informed through improvised loud-speakers about the intentions of the leaders to observe a hartal from 10th August, indefinitely awaiting further instructions from Oakdenganj. Uma Shankar Mishra gave a call for revolutionary action on 10th August.
20. **Ram Anant Pandey**- As a train from Banaras stemmed into the Ballia railway station with estatic students announcing the impending victory of Mahatma

Gandhi and the national movement and the retreat of the British Raj. He was involved in this incident.

21. **Ashok Nath Verma-** He belonged to Faizabad, eldest son of Acharya Narendra Dev and educated at Central Hindu School, Varanasi. He got his higher education from Allahabad University. He attended first All India Student's Conference at Lucknow in 1936. He participated in students' movement And Quit India movement. He was the Secretary of U.P Student's Congress 1945-46.
22. **Raj Narain-** Born in 1917 at village Motikot, in Varanasi. A law graduate from B.H.U. He was in the National Committee of Student's Federation from 1934-44. He was arrested during the Quit India Movement for leading a large demonstration of students of B.H.U. and detained till 1945.

