

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

World War II broke out on 1 September, 1939. Congress explained its stance with regard to the world war as follows:

- It was opposed to fascism, Nazism and Japanese militarism.
- It demanded freedom for India.
- It insisted that India must not be involved in any war without the consent of Indian people.

Congress Working Committee's statement on 15 September 1939 added:

- Indian people alone should decide on questions of war and peace.
- India could not cooperate in a war effort for consolidation of imperialism.
- Britain called upon to declare its war aims.

Britain's Prime Minister explained Britain's war aim was self-preservation. To placate Indian opinion, the Viceroy Linlithgow announced on 17 October, 1939 that:

- Dominion status is the goal of British policy in India.
- Indian constitution to be reviewed after the end of the war.
- Minorities' interests to be properly safeguarded.
- Viceroy to set up a consultative committee of Indians to advise him on the war effort.

In protest against government's policies, Congress Ministers resigned in 8 provinces during October, November 1939. Muslim League celebrated the resignation of Congress government as "Day of Deliverance and Thanks giving."

August Offer

In order to placate the Indian political opinion, which was angry at the involvement of India in the war without India's consent on 9 August 1940, the Viceroy made a constitutional offer of a reformist type. The main points of the August offer were:

- Dominion status for India.
- Expansion of Viceroy's Executive council.
- Setting up of an Advisory War Council.
- Minorities assured of full weightage in any revision of the Indian constitution.
- After the war, a Constituent Assembly to be called to frame a constitution for India.
- Peace and defence to continue to be British responsibility.

An Overview

- Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly conceded.
- Jinnah and Muslim League were given a veto on Constitution in advance.
- Congress rejected the August Offer.
- Muslim League put up its demand for partition of India.
- The secretary of state explained that Indian constitutional deadlock was the outcome of differences between Indian political parties.
- Dominion status was explicitly offered.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League rejected the offer: Congress because the substance of independence was not contained in it and League because it was silent on the demand for Pakistan. The August Offer notable for one point that the post war Constitution was to be drafted by an Indian

Constituent Assembly which was to have a binding character. After failure of the "August-Offer" to receive a positive response from congress the latter turned to the Gandhian formula of civil disobedience as was laid down in the Ramgarh congress resolution of 1940. For the first time, the inherent right of Indians to frame their constitution recognized and the Congress demand for a constituent assembly was conceded.

Individual Satyagraha

Launched by Gandhiji to protest against:

- Unilateral association of India with the war efforts of the British India Government.
- The gradual curtailment of civil liberties e.g. speech, presses, right to organise associations.
- Vinobha Bhave was first to offer individual satyagrah on 19th October 1940 followed by Nehru and other satyagrahis joined in till December 1941.

Why was no mass movement organized?

- Because of the anti Nazi stand of the Congress. It didn't want to embarrass the allied war efforts.
- Lack of Hindu-Muslim unity. If launched, it might have led to communal riots.
- Masses were not ready nor was the Congress organisation in good shape.

By 1941 (15th May), 2500 satyagrahis had been convicted for offering individual satyagrah. Individual satyagrah served dual purpose:

- Expressed the protest of Indians.
- Prepared people for the larger movement.

Cripps Mission

In March 1942, a mission headed by Stafford Cripps was sent to India with constitutional proposals to seek Indian support for the war.

Stafford Cripps was a left-wing Labourite, leader of the House of Commons and government minister in the War Cabinet of Prime Minister Winston Churchill who had actively supported the Indian national movement.

Why was Cripps Mission sent?

1. To secure full Indian cooperation and support for their efforts in World War II, because of the reverses suffered by Britain in South-East Asia, the Japanese threat to invade India seemed real now and Indian support became crucial.
 2. There was pressure on Britain from the Allies (USA, USSR, and China) to seek Indian cooperation.
 3. Indian nationalists had agreed to support the Allied if substantial power was transferred immediately and complete independence given after the war.
- The Congress was divided on its response to India's entry into World War II. Angry over the decision made by the Viceroy, some Congress leaders favoured launching a revolt against the British despite the gravity of the war in Europe, which threatened Britain's own freedom. Others, such as Chakravarti Rajagopalchari, advocated offering an olive branch to the British, supporting

them in this crucial we Rajagopalachari, advocated offering an olive branch to the British, supporting them in this crucial time in the hope that the gesture would be reciprocated with independence after the war. The major leader, Mohandas Gandhi, was opposed to Indian involvement in the war as he would not morally endorse a war and also suspected British intentions, believing that the British were not sincere about Indian aspirations for independence. But Rajagopalachari, backed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru held talks with Cripps and offered full sun government, and eventual independence.

- Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, supported the war effort and condemned the Congress policy. Insisting on Pakistan, a separate Muslim state, he resisted Congress' call for pan-Indian cooperation and immediate independence.

Proposal of Cripps Mission

- Dominion status immediately after the war with the right of secession.
- A Constituent Assembly to be set up to implement these proposals and the members to be drawn from British India Provinces and Princely states.
- The British Government would accept the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly and negotiate a treaty agreement with India guaranteeing to protect racial and religious minorities.
- If any province desires, it could remain outside the Indian union and negotiate directly with the British.
- In the transition period, British would be responsible for India's defence.

Reactions

Some Indian leaders supported the proposal on the ground that at that point of time the defeat of Axis Powers was important. But the majority of the Indian leaders including Mahatma Gandhi found the proposal unacceptable.

Reasons for failure

The major reason for the failure of the Cripps proposal was the condition that the defence of India would remain in British hands and that effective power would be transferred only after the war. The Indian Nationalists doubted the intentions of British to share executive power. It was feared that the Indian members of the proposed Council could be prevented from taking part in the decision making process. The right to secede from the proposed union was against to the concept of Indian unity. It provided for Dominion status instead of complete independence and the representation of princely states by the nomination of the rulers rather than the peoples' representatives, which was again unacceptable. They realized that Britain was unwilling to offer real constitutional advancement and yet was using, India as an unwilling partner in the war effort.

Departures from the Past and Implications

- The making of the Constitution was to be solely in Indian hands now (and not "mainly" in Indian hands- as contained in the August Offer).
- A concrete plan was provided for the Constituent assembly.
- An option was available to any province to have a separate constitution-a blueprint for India's partition.
- Free India could withdraw from the Commonwealth.
- Indians were allowed a large share in the administration in the interim period.

Quit India Movement/August Kranti (1942-43)

Circumstances that led to Quit India :

- Failure of Cripps Mission made it clear that British were not really serious about any Constitutional advance.
- Congress realized that British were keen to hold on India and were trying to divide India on communal line.
- Popular discontent because of price-rise and wartime shortages.
- Initial British reversal in the war against Japan and rumours that British were withdrawing.
- British evacuation from Burma and Malaya leaving Indian soldiers in the hands of Japanese.
- Congress leaders feeling that a mass struggle was necessary to overcome the demoralized feelings of the masses.

Congress in its special session in Bombay passed the Quit India Resolution on August 9, 1942. Before the movement could start formally, all the leaders were arrested. It became thoroughly leaderless.

Significance

- Merger of violence and non-violence in the struggle for freedom.
- The emergence of 'Parallel Government in different parts of the country. Left leaderless, people resented throughout the country in any manner they could. It marked a new watershed in terms of popular participation in the national movement and sympathy for national cause.
- Active participation of students, peasants and women. A significant feature of peasant's activity was its total concentration on attacking symbols of British authority and lack of any incident of anti-Zamindar violence.
- Generous help of government officials at the lower levels of administration.
- It placed the demand for independence as the immediate agenda of national movement. It established that any further negotiation with British government would be on the transfer of power.
- The movement was violent contrary to the Congress policy of non-violence. But it was a natural outcome as the circumstances warranted it. Even Gandhiji refused to condemn the violence of the people because he perceived it as a reaction to the violence by the state.

Nature of Quit India Movement

- Phase I: Lasted till about the middle of August; predominantly urban; main forms of protest were hartals. Strikes and processions; clashes with police, and army, students and urban middle class played an important role.
- **Phase II:** Focus shifted towards the rural areas and the movement assumed the form of a virtual peasant rebellion and became very violent. Forms of violence included disruption of communication system, attack on police thanas, railway system distributed in NW Bihar, UP, Midnapore in Bengal and pockets in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa
- **Phase III:** Characterized by violent activity by educated youth directed against communication, police and army installation.

Effects of the Revolutionary Movement of 1942-43

It is true that the Quit India movement failed to oust the British from India immediately and certainly, there was agonizing mental depression between 1943 and 1944 in the country. But the moral and

political lessons of the 'Do or Die' programme were profound. The Revolution revealed that India's youth had grown defiant and would not tolerate the slavery of the British. There was a strong and ever-growing social and political consciousness in the country which, it was to be remembered, did not explode more violently only due to the superior force of the British arms. The country was, indeed, experiencing a deep sense of bitter humiliation, agony, resentment and anger, and another more severe explosion could not be ruled out. Although the Communists, the Muslim League, the Akalis and the Ambedkar group were opposed to the 1942 Revolution, it did have, unmistakably, a wide territorial and popular base. The Revolution, generally, was fiercest in the areas where the great patriotic revolt of 1857 had taken place. According to Jayprakash Narayan, "The revolution of 1942 occupies the same place in the history of this country, as the French and Russian revolutions in the history of their respective countries." The amplitude of the Revolution of 1942 has no parallel in history. In no other revolution had such vast multitudes taken part. But amplitude was not the only distinguishing feature of that Revolution. The year 1942 brought about a complete transformation in the country, it gave birth to New India and gave a new direction to its political life. The Revolution demonstrated to the world the heroic determination of the nation to end slavery. Churchill had claimed that the revolt had been suppressed with a firm hand. The Government had shown its callousness in inflicting severe oppression on the people. But the repression and brutalities and the tapasya of the leaders did create the impregnable fortress of a soon-to-be-liberated India.

Subhas Chandra Bose (23 January 1897-18 August 1945)

He was an Indian nationalist whose defiant patriotism made him a hero in India, but whose attempt during World War II to rid India of British rule with the help of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan left a troubled legacy. The honorific Netaji, first applied in early 1942 to Bose in Germany by the Indian soldiers of the Indische Legion and by the German and Indian officials in the Special Bureau for India in Berlin, was later used throughout India.

Bose had been a leader of the younger, radical, wing of the Indian National Congress in the late 1920s and 1930s. He was ousted from Congress leadership positions in 1939 following differences with Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress high command. He was subsequently placed under house arrest by the British before escaping from India in 1940.

Bose arrived in Germany in April 1941, where the leadership offered unexpected, if sometimes ambivalent, sympathy for the cause of India's independence, contrasting starkly with its attitudes towards other colonized peoples and ethnic communities. In November 1941, with German funds, a Free India Centre was set up in Berlin, and soon a Free India Radio, on which Bose broadcasted nightly. A 3,000-strong Free India Legion, comprising Indians captured by Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps, was also formed to aid in a possible future German led invasion of India. By spring of 1942, in light of Japanese victories in southeast Asia and changing German priorities, a German invasion of India became untenable, and Bose became keen to move to Southeast Asia. Adolf Hitler, during his only meeting with Bose in late May 1942, suggested the same and offered to arrange for a submarine. Identifying strongly with the Axis powers, and no longer apologetically, Bose boarded a German submarine in February 1943. In Madagascar, he was transferred to a Japanese submarine from which he disembarked in Japanese-held Sumatra in May 1943.

With Japanese support, Bose revamped the Indian National Army (INA), comprising of Indian soldiers of the British Indian army who had been captured in the Battle of Singapore. To these, after Bose's arrival, were added enlisting Indian civilians in Malaya and Singapore. The Japanese had come to support a number of puppet and provisional governments in the captured regions, such as those in Burma,

Philippines and Manchukuo (Manchuria). Before long the Provisional Government of Free India, presided by Bose, was formed in the Japanese-occupied Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Bose had great drive and charisma-creating popular Indian slogans, such as "Jai Hind," —and the INA under Bose was a model of diversity by region, ethnicity, religion, and even gender. However, Bose was regarded by the Japanese as being militarily unskilled, and his military effort was short-lived. In late 1944 and early 1945, the British Indian Army first halted and then devastatingly reversed the Japanese attack on India. Almost half the Japanese forces and fully half the participating INA contingent were killed. The INA was driven down the Malay Peninsula and surrendered with the recapture of Singapore. Bose had earlier chosen not to surrender with his forces or with the Japanese, but rather to escape to Manchuria with a view to seeking a future in the Soviet Union which he believed to be turning anti-British. He died from third degree burns received when his plane crashed in Taiwan. Some Indians, however, did not believe that the crash had occurred, with many among them, especially in Bengal, believing that Bose would return to gain India's independence. Indian National Congress, the main instrument of Indian nationalism, praised Bose's patriotism but distanced itself from his tactics and ideology, especially his collaboration with fascism. The British Raj, though never seriously threatened by the INA, charged 300 INA officers with treason in the INA trials, but eventually backtracked in the face both of popular sentiment and of its own end.

Subhash Bose and the I. N. A.

Subhas Chandra Bose was elected Congress President for the second time, after defeating Pattabhi Sitarammaya, presided over the Tripuri Congress in 1939. Earlier, he had been a Swarajist and was considered the Lieutenant of C. R. Das. He was influenced by the successes of Hitler in reorganizing Germany. He was a believer in strong methods against the imperial system. Due to the controversy that began regarding the nomination of the members of the Congress Working Committee, Bose resigned from the Congress Presidentship and was succeeded by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Soon, Bose organized an Anti-Compromise Front at the Ramgarh Congress of 1940. On January 27, 1941, he fled from the country. On March 28, Bose reached Berlin. On May 29, he had a meeting with Hitler but the latter was not willing to accept Bose's suggestion of the declaration of a free India. Bose used German Radio for broadcasting heroic messages to India. The daring escape from India to Germany and, later, to Japan shows his desire to win freedom, even by seeking support from the fascist powers.

- Indian Nationalist Army or the Azad Hind Fauz was founded by Capt. Mohan Singh with the help of Japanese in 1942 in Singapore. Itself it remained in suspension till it was taken over and reorganized by S.C. Bose in 1943.
- On 20 June, 1943, Bose reached Tokyo. On August 25, 1943, he declared from Singapore that the national flag would be hoisted on the Viceregal Lodge in Delhi. After meeting with Bose, Prime Minister Tojo of Japan declared in the Japanese Diet that full support would be given for the independence of India and for the elimination of the British influence from the country on 21 October 1943.
- The Provisional Government of Independent India (Azad Hind) was set up in Singapore and on 23 October, Japan and on 26 October, Germany recognized the Azad Hind Government. Burma, Rhodesia, China, Thailand, Italy and Philippines also recognized it. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind declared war on Britain and U.S.A on 22 October, 1943.
- On December 30, 1943, the Indian national flag was hoisted at Port Blair and with the control over Andaman and Nicobar islands; the Azad Hind Government got a territorial base of its own.
- On March 18, 1944, the I. N. A crossed the frontiers of Burma and India. It captured Tiddin and after crossing the Burma border reached Indian territories. On October 2, 1944, while celebrating the

Gandhi Jayanti, Subhas Bose declared that after India had become independent through the armed might the I. N. A, it (India) under the prophetic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi would deliver the message of non-violence to the world. A battalion of the Subhas Brigade was able to defeat a contingent of the British Indian Army. In January 1945, Netaji Subhas reached Burma. A unit of the I. N. A conquered Bishanpur on the Assam border and attacked Imphal which was besieged for four months. Another unit captured Kohima, but, eventually, the I. N. A had to retreat. In February 1945, it had to withdraw from positions in Burma. Certainly, it had created a history and a legend. After the surrender of Japan on August 9 (or 14), 1945, Netaji advised the I. N. A to surrender to the British army leadership. On 23 August 1945, Netaji's plane on way to Tokyo from Bangkok is said to have met with an accident.

Achievements

Though the INA failed in achieving its objective, it did acquire great significance in the national movement.

- It internationalized the question of Indian independence and thus speeded up the process.
- It proved that the Indian soldiers were not only a mercenary but patriot too and hence the British could no longer depend on them for the subjugation of their country.
- It also suggested that the non-violent methods of the Congress did not exhaust the armoury of the struggle for freedom.
- Its organization set a beautiful example of communal harmony and commandership.

Why was INA agitation a landmark?

- The high pitch or intensity at which the campaign for the release of INA prisoners was conducted was unprecedented.
- It had a wide geographical reach and the participation of diverse social groups and political parties was immense. This had two aspects.
 - Nature of the agitation was extensive.
 - Spread of pro-INA sentiment to social groups hitherto outside the nationalist pale.
- Significant section of government employees' loyalist section and even men of the armed forces submerged in the tide of pro-INA sentiment.
- The response of armed forces was extremely sympathetic.

C.R. Formula March 1944

CR formula was for Congress-League co-operation. Gandhiji supported the formula.

- The League would endorse the demand for independence and co-operate with Congress in forming a provisional government for the transitional period.
- At the end of the war a plebiscite for all the Muslim majority areas in the Northwest and Northeast would decide whether they should form separate state.
- In the event of partition, agreements would be made for defence, communication, commerce and essential matters.
- Above terms would be operative only if the British transferred full powers to India.

Gandhi-Jinnah talks of 1944

- As the Allies by the turn of tides saw more victories, the attitude of British administration towards Congress softened. Moreover, America had been pressing on meeting India's demand for self-governance though being an ally of Britain in the war. Although other Congress leaders were still in prison, Gandhi released on 5 May 1944.
- After his release, Gandhi proposed talks with Jinnah on his two-nation theory and negotiating on the issue of partition. The CR formula acted as the basis for the negotiations. Gandhi and Jinnah met in September 1944 to ease the deadlock. Gandhi placed the CR formula as his proposal to Jinnah. Nevertheless, Gandhi-Jinnah talks failed after two weeks of negotiations.

Rejected by Jinnah

- Jinnah wanted the Congress to accept the two-nation theory. He wanted only the Muslim population of the North West, North East to participate in the Plebiscite, and not the entire population. Jinnah considered that the League represented all Muslims and the adult franchise demanded by the formula was redundant.
- Opposed the idea of common Centre.
- Jinnah had placed the claim to British Indian Provinces then regarded as Muslim majority regions in the north-west; Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab, and in the north east, Assam and Bengal). Thus if a plebiscite happened, Jinnah ran a risk partitioning Punjab and Bengal.

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (10 December 1878 – 25 December 1972)

Informally called Rajaji or C.R., was an Indian politician, independence activist, lawyer, writer and statesman. Rajagopalachari was the last Governor-General of India. He also served as a leader of the Indian National Congress, Premier of the Madras Presidency, Governor of West Bengal, Minister for Home Affairs of the Indian Union and Chief Minister of Madras state. Rajagopalachari founded the Swatantra Party and was one of the first recipients of India's highest civilian award, the Bharat Ratna. He vehemently opposed the use of nuclear weapons and was a proponent of world peace and disarmament. During his lifetime, he also acquired the nickname 'Mango of Krishnagiri'.

Rajagopalachari was born in the village of Thorapalli in the Krishnagiri district of the Madras Presidency (now the Krishnagiri district of Tamil Nadu) and educated at Central College, Bangalore, and Presidency College, Madras. In 1900, he started legal practice and in time became prosperous. After entering politics, he became a member and later President of the Salem municipality. He joined the Indian National Congress and participated in the agitations against the Rowlatt Act, joined the Non-Cooperation movement, the Vaikom Satyagraha, and the Civil Disobedience movement. In 1930, Rajagopalachari risked imprisonment when he led the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha in response to the Dandi March. In 1937, Rajagopalachari was elected Premier of the Madras Presidency and served until 1940, when he resigned due to Britain's declaration of war on Germany. He later advocated cooperation over Britain's war effort and opposed the Quit India Movement. He favoured talks with both Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League and proposed what later came to be known as the *C. R. formula*. In 1946, Rajagopalachari was appointed Minister of Industry Supply, Education and Finance in the Interim Government of India, and then as the Governor of West Bengal from 1947 to 1948.

When Mahatma Gandhi entered the Indian independence movement in 1919, Rajaji became one of his followers. He participated in the Non-Cooperation movement and gave up his profession as a lawyer. In 1921 he was elected to the Congress Working Committee and served as the General Secretary of the party. His first major breakthrough as a leader was the 1922 Gaya session of the Indian National Congress in which he strongly opposed Council-entry. In the absence of Gandhi who was in prison, Rajaji led the group of "No-Changers" or those who were against Council-entry against "Pro-changers" or those who advocated Council entry. When the motion was put to vote, the "No-changers" won by 1748 to 890 votes resulting in the resignation of important Congress leaders including Pandit Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, the then President of the Indian National Congress.

- Rajaji was one of Gandhi's chief lieutenants during the Vaikom Satyagraha. It was during this time, that E. V. Ramasamy functioned as a Congress member under Rajaji's leadership. The two later became close friends and remained so till the end despite their political rivalry.
- In the early 1930s, Rajaji emerged as one of the foremost leaders of the Tamil Nadu Congress. When Mahatma Gandhi organized the Dandi march in 1930, Rajaji broke the salt laws at Vedaranyam near Nagapattinam along with Sardar Vedaratnam and suffered imprisonment. Rajaji was subsequently elected President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. When the Government of India Act enacted in 1935, Rajaji was instrumental in getting the Indian National Congress to participate in the general elections.
- The Indian National Congress was elected to power in 1937 for the first time in Madras Presidency Rajgopalchari was the first Chief Minister of Madras Presidency from Congress party.

C.R. formula

During the Second World War, the British government, under the viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow had said that any move towards an Indian statehood would be possible only if the Indian National Congress (INC) and the Muslim League resolved their differences.

The League was increasingly demanding a separate nation of Pakistan for the Muslims whereas the INC was against the partitioning of the country.

To break this deadlock between the two major political parties in India, C. Rajagopalachari, INC member who was close to Mahatma Gandhi, proposed a set of plans called the CR Formula or Rajaji Formula.

The CR formula entailed

- i. The League was to endorse the Indian demand for independence and to co-operate with the Congress in formation of Provisional Interim Government for a transitional period.
- ii. At the end of the War, a commission would be appointed to demarcate the districts having a Muslim population in absolute majority and in those areas plebiscite to be conducted on all inhabitants (including the non-Muslims) on basis of adult suffrage.
- iii. All parties would be allowed to express their stance on the partition and their views before the plebiscite.
- iv. In the event of separation, a mutual agreement would be entered into for safeguarding essential matters such as defence, communication and commerce and for other essential services.
- v. The transfer of population, if any would be absolutely on a voluntary basis.
- vi. The terms of the agreement will be applicable only in case of full transfer of power by Britain to Government of India.

Desai-Liaqat Pact

- Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress with Liaqat Ali Khan, leader of the Muslim League drafted a proposal for the formation of an interim government at the centre, consisting of-
- an equal number of persons nominated by the Congress & League in the Central legislature
- 20% reserved seats for minorities
- No settlement could be reached between the Congress and the League on these lines
- But the fact that a sort of parity between the Congress and the League was decided upon, which had been far-reaching.

Conclusion

It was M.K. Gandhi's attempt to resolve the political deadlock by persuading Bhulabhai Jivanji Desai to make an attempt to appease the league leaders, but the proposals were not formally endorsed either by the Congress or the League.

The Simla Conference (June 1945)

In September 1944, Gandhiji met M. A. Jinnah several times but no positive result followed as the latter was bent upon having the two nation theory recognized. Gandhiji could agree on partition provided there was a Joint Board which would control internal security, foreign affairs and transport. To Jinnah, this would be a moth-eaten' Pakistan. A Non-Party Conference in April 1945 also gave its opinion against partition. Wavell who had succeeded Linlithgow in October 1943 as the Viceroy, made a radio announcement on June 14, 1945 that an All-Parties Conference would be held in Simla on June 25. On June 15, the members of the Congress Working Committee were released and a wave of enthusiasm swept the country. According to Wavell's proposals, the Viceroy's Executive Council was to be expanded, but it was to contain an equal number of members from the Muslims and the Caste Hindus.

Wavell Plan

Lord Wavell proposed the following:

- With the exception of the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief all other members of the Executive Council would be selected from leaders of the Indian political life.
- This Council would have "a balanced representation of the main communities, incident proportions of Muslim and caste Hindus".
- Though the Governor-General's veto would not be abolished, it would not be used unnecessary in the interest of the Indian people.
- The portfolio of External Affairs (other than those of Tribal and Frontier matters which had to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) was to be transferred from the Governor-General to an Indian member of the Council.
- In the long run India would have a Dominion Status.
- Indians would get the privilege of drafting their own Constitution only after the major political parties had reached an agreement.
- **Breakdown Plan:** Wavell Plan is also known as Breakdown Plan and was not accepted by the British, for whom, leaving without a universally agreed was dishonorable. It also said that in case of a disagreement, the British should withdraw to the 6 Pakistan Provinces, and leaving the Congress to deal with rest of India.

Failure of the Plan

1. Jinnah insisted that all the Muslim members of the executive council should be elected by the League.
2. Special safeguards for the Muslim in the Council for Muslim Bloc. The Shimla Conference failed to achieve any success because its offer, according to the Congress, was inadequate, indefinite and unsatisfactory. It ended in failure because of the unwillingness of Wavell to part with power when the war was still going on. Also there were no provisions made in it for the future constitutional set up. Wavell was ready to accept four nominees of the League and one Muslim nominee of the Unionist Party of the Punjab, Khizir Hayat Khan, in the Executive Council but Jinnah was not ready to tolerate this. He insisted that all Muslim representatives would be chosen by the League. It was clear that the British imperialists were behind Muslim communalism and were trying to encourage it against the rising tide of the force of Indian nationalism.

Situation After Second World War

- Tortuous negotiations involving the Government, Congress and Muslim League, increasingly accompanied by communal violence and culminating in freedom and the partition.
- Sporadic, localized and often extremely militant and united mass action by workers peasants and states' peoples which took the form of a countrywide strike wave. This kind of activity was INA Release Movement, Royal Indian Navy (RIN) revolt, Tebhaga movement, Worli revolt, Puniab Kisan Morchas, Travancore peoples' struggle (especially the Punnapra-Vayalar episode) and the Telangana peasant revolt.
- When the Government lifted the ban on the Congress and released the Congress leaders in June 1945 they expected to find demoralized people instead they found tumultuous crowds impatient to do something.
- Popular energy resurfaced after three years of repression. People's expectations were heightened by the release of their leaders. The Wavell Plan backed by the Conservative Government in Britain failed to break the constitutional deadlock.
- In July 1945, Labour Party formed the Government in Britain. Clement Attlee took over as the new prime minister and Pethik Lawrence as the new secretary of state.
- In August 1945, elections to central and provincial assemblies were announced.