Preface

India waged a relentless war against the British imperialism in 1857. This was the first armed struggle in which many sections of the society participated. Though many scholars have analysed this revolt in their own perspectives yet it left a profound impact on the colonial masters. The struggle initiated by the Indian National Army outside the Indian boundaries was the second armed struggle for the liberation of the Indian masses from the clutches of the British imperialism. The credit goes to Rash Behari Bose, Subhash Chandra Bose and others for organizing the Indian National Army during the II World War. Subhash Chandra Bose before this had started preparing the Indian masses for a national struggle which should synchronize with the coming war. But Mahatma Gandhi and his followers did not favour the idea of such a struggle.

At the Tripuri session of the Congress held in March 1939, Bose proposed that the Congress should give to England an ultimatum demanding “independence within six months” and should simultaneously prepare for mass civil disobedience to enforce this demand. He was of the opinion that the British Government would not be able to face an all India Satyagraha for a long period due to the new developments taking place in Europe. He deemed it an appropriate opportune for India in the given situation. But this proposal was not acceptable to Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and others who felt that the people were not yet fully prepared for such a movement. His proposal was not given
due consideration, therefore, he was utterly disappointed. Shortly after this, he announced the formation of the Forward Block with radical ideology within the Congress.

When I heard that the National Archives of India has received 990 declassified Indian National Army's files from the Ministry of Defence, Government of India, my interest began to arouse to pursue research work on the leadership and activities of the Indian National Army whose role in India's liberation movement was of a very high order. In these files, I found Military Bureau Gazettes, Azad Hind Fauj Gazettes, Interrogation Reports of various units and regiments of I.N.A., strategic planning of the army, statement and transcripts of radio broadcasts of Rash Behari Bose, publications of the Department of Enlightenment and Culture, Reports of the Court Martial Proceedings, Red Fort, Delhi, Abundant Informations on administrative establishment and financial matters of the Indian National Army etc. All these files have immensely been used by me in this piece of research for providing many new informations on this topic.

Now it would be appropriate here to analyse different trends of historiography on this significant aspect of modern Indian history. The first major trends emerged was of the nationalist historians who differed on techniques, methods and ideological aspects as far as the activities of the Indian National Army was concerned. The authors include in this category are Pattabhi B. Sitarammaya, History of the Indian National Congress Vol.II; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom; Jawaharlal Nehru, Autobiography; M.K. Gandhi, My Experiment With Truth;

In this trend of nationalist historiography, there are two trends which differ from each other on some aspects of the liberation movement. The first trend was represented by official scholars of the Indian National Congress who either through their memoirs or other writings did not approve the methods and techniques solely based on the arms and ammunitions by the I.N.A. Bose considered Britain’s involvement in the war as ‘a golden opportunity for India’ but the Congress leadership under Gandhi was not prepared to utilize this advantage. Therefore, he himself decided to take up the fight with the cooperation of anti-British nations of the world. The second stream of scholars emerged in post-independent India which did not to some extent agree with the Congress scholars on the activities of I.N.A. These scholars have applauded the heroic activities of Bose and his I.N.A. volunteers who were not merely mercenaries but were willing to lay down their lives for the shake of the country also.
The next trend was represented by the British historiographical writings generally found in the *Confidential Reports of Criminal Intelligence Bureau, official writings, private papers of Lords Linlithgow, Wavell, Mountbatten, Atlee* followed by the multi-volumes' set of Mansergh and Moon, *The Transfer of Power* etc. have different views altogether from the Indian viewpoints. They did not even accept India as a nation till the last minute of their empire in India but continued to believe that she was a conglomeration of different caste, communities and regions without any national identity.

The British charged Bose and his army personnel that they waged "war against the king-Emperor" and they were declared "guilty of gross brutality in the method employed to induce their fellow prisoners to join them". In order to punish them, a military tribunal was set-up and the public trial was held in November, 1945. But the Congress to win the sympathy of the Indian masses decided to defend their cases. This was undoubtedly a change in the attitude of the Congress leaders which was a good sign of national integrity. The editors of *The Transfer of Power* explicitly observe that the Indian people neither launched any movement for national liberation nor were they prepared for administering their own country properly. It was their good sense and conscience prevailed which compelled them to leave India. In their response, Indians historians also published several volumes under the auspices of Indian Council of Historical Research, Delhi in which they have challenged the British views regarding the Indian liberation movement. The writings of the Indian historians
clearly say that India got freedom not by the British charity but by waging relentless war against the colonial masters.

The third trend of Marxist historiography emerged quite late. The scholars of this school are Rajni Palme Dutt, *Indian Today*; M.N. Roy, *India in Transition*; A.R. Desai, *The Social Background of Indian nationalism*, Bipan Chandra, *Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India* and other works also, Ayodhya Singh, *Bharat Ka Mukti Sangram*, Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India* etc. who completely differed from the Congress ideology and programme. Bose won the Congress Presidential election solely due to the support of the Socialist and Communist sections within the Congress. The rift always continued to be visible sometimes between the right wing and left wing and sometimes between the centralist-leadership within the Congress. The scholars of this school always defended Bose and his I.N.A. personnels' activities till the entry of Russia in the World War II but, later on, a change emerged in their view point and deemed it prudent to keep silence on this vital issue of national importance. They praised the heroic activities of the I.N.A. not openly but silently.

The fourth trend belongs to those official participants who voluntarily enlisted themselves into the Indian National Army on the call of Rash Behari Bose and Subhash Chandra Bose during the World War II. These I.N.A. personnel and officials displayed their heroic participation through their memories, diaries, and monographs which are as follows: Mohan Singh, *Soldiers Contribution to Indian Independence: The Epic of the Indian National Army*; S.A. Aiyer, *The Story of I.N.A.*; Niranjan Singh
Gill, *The Story of I.N.A.*; L.L. Talwar, *Netaji and His I.N.A.*; Laxmi Sehgal and P.K. Sehgal, *Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose* and other I.N.A. officials’ writings clearly shows that they have a lot of praise for the activities of I.N.A. whose part and parcel were themselves. They have recorded their participation like a devotee and have not critically analysed the defects and drawbacks in the strategical aspects of the I.N.A. movement. History now-a-days needs greater interpretation and objectivity. So without them, it can be like a story which is treated presently as a futile exercise in historical writings. All these officials should have highlighted all the aspects in proper perspective so that the conclusions could be drawn on the logical basis.

Kamath, *Subhash Chandra Bose*; Satish Chandra Maikap, *Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and Indian War of Independence*; B.N. Pandey (ed.), *Leadership in South Asia*; D.K. Roy, *Netaji - The Man Reminiscences*; T.R. Sareen, *Japan and the Indian National Army*; A.Shishah Yaznaso, *II World War in Manipur* etc. etc. Why these scholars became interested in this second front of Indian independence movement? When the new materials came out and became available to the scholars, new biographical sketches and works on the Indian National Army began to appear in the country. Besides, Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, published many books and held national and international seminars/conferences on this important aspect of modern Indian history. Most of these works belong to the nationalist historiography which has highlighted their experiences, strategical drawbacks, attitudes of Axes powers and other regional problems which they faced during this great armed struggle. Besides, they have discussed some such aspects which have not duly been covered by the earlier scholars. Now it would be appropriate to discuss the chapterisation scheme. I have divided my thesis into six chapters including conclusion for the proper discussion of the subject.

**Chapter-I: Historical Background** deals with the East India Company, its economic and social policies and exploitation, emergence of provincial and local organisations, formation of the Indian national Congress, first phase of India’s national movement, 1885-1905, second phase known as the extreme nationalism, rise of the revolutionary movement in Indian politics etc. After the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa and his increasing interest
in Indian affairs due to Rowlatt Act, Jallianwalah Bagh massacre, Mont-Ford Reform proposals; formation of Indian Muslim League and the other activities upto 1940 have been covered in this chapter.

**Chapter-II: The Formation of Indian National Army**
deals with the factors responsible for its formation such as Mohan Singh’s efforts, Japanese Imperial Army’s attitude, holding of different conferences in South-East Asian regions, involvement of Rash Behari Bose, N. Raghavan, K.P.K. Menon, Gurdial Singh, Budh Singh, Nagappa Chettiyar, J. Manekshah, Dr. Majumdar, B.K. Das, S.C. Goho, S.N. Chopra, D.N. Das; fall of Singapore, dissolution of I.N.A. formed by Mohan Singh, Major Fujiwara efforts and liaison with the Indian National Army’s officials etc. have been discussed in this chapter.

**The Chapter-III: The Re-organisation of the I.N.A.: Its Activities** discusses the circumstances which felicitated the entry of Netaji into South-East Asia to do all that was required to strengthen the movement. The roll of Netaji in reorganizing, controlling and emboldening the I.N.A. as an organisation and its movement in Burma and North-East Indian States are also discussed in this chapter. What were the reasons behind the failure of this movement and, consequently, the efforts of Netaji to enter U.S.S.R. have also been highlighted in this chapter. What were the aims, objects and policies and how could these be achieved have been properly analysed. How did they succeed in establishing a communal harmony, gender equality, social security and economic planning, are also the theme of immense interest in this chapter.
Chapter-IV: Aims, Objects and Policies of the Indian National Army have been discussed in quite detailed way. Besides the Indian National Army, another important organisation i.e. Indian Independence League came into being with the outside help and cooperation. This organisation alongwith its offshoot i.e. Department of Enlightenment and Culture under Director of Military Bureau published enough literature in order to propagate the policies and programme of the League. Rash Behari Bose’s efforts in creating self-confidence and other activities in and around have also been given due consideration in this chapter.

Chapter- V: The British Attitude deals broadly with the global policies and British role therein on many vital issues etc. The efforts made by the Indian revolutionaries such as Mahendra Pratap, Anand Mohan Sahay, R.B. Bose, M.N. Roy during the World War II, comparison between fascism and communism, co-prosperity sphere, British Liberal, Labour and Conservative parties’ attitude, British newspapers and journals writings on different aspects during this period, correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and Viceroy, between British Foreign Office and American Foreign Office, Cabinet Mission and the attitude of press, political parties during the I.N.A. trials, govt. planning to deal with Bose and others if they captured alive and other related issues have duly been covered in this chapter. In the last, conclusions have been drawn on the logical basis.

The completion of this thesis has been become possible with the extensive efforts made by a number of individuals and institutions. My greatest debt is to Professor B.D. Yadav, my
supervisor whose critical scrutiny of various drafts and exacting standards of scholarship, have helped me to avoid many errors in argument, way of presentation and style. I deem it my proud privilege to have worked under his able and inspiring guidance.

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