The building up of the I.N.A. or the *Azad Hind Fauz* has been monumental achievement of Subhas Chander Bose, the people of the I.N.A., and the revolutionary nationalists of south-east Asia like Rash Behari Bose A.M. Sahay, Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, Pritam Singh, Amar Singh, Mohan Singh etc., for the liberation of their mother land. A life soaked all through in the holy romance of patriotism, this adventurous spurt at once lifted them onto the lofty pedestal of national heroes. Although the I.N.A. was defeated in its Imphal and Burma Campaigns, but the romance of the India National Army marching singing to Delhi, galvanized a frustrated nation out of its torpor and substantially damaged the insulation of the Indian Army from the magnetic currents of popular enthusiasm for immediate independence.

The Indian national movement was built up over the years through progressive stages, where the phases of struggle alternated with the 'passive phases'. It is also an example of how the constitutional space offered by the existing structure could be used without getting co-opted by it. The national movement popularize democratic ideas and institutions in India, and was also a struggle for economic development and had a pro-poor orientation and was very much committed to secularism.

The freedom struggle has been studied from various historiographic perspectives, the Imperial, the Nationalists, the Subaltern, the Modernists and the Marxian perspective. In my research I do not
subscribe completely to any of these perspectives but elements from each perspective add to the framework and methodology, the basic premise being that the Indian freedom struggle was mainly the result of a fundamental contradiction between the interests of the Indian people and that of British Colonialism.

Although Congress was the main stream, the other streams like the peasants and tribal movements, the trade unions, the I.N.A., the R.I.N. mutiny also contributed in their own way to the freedom struggle. The freedom struggle was also supplemented through struggle outside India. The second front created by revolutionary nationalists in Europe and South-east Asia contributed in a big way to the freedom struggle. The genesis and growth of the Indian National Army constitutes the vision and struggle of about two million south-east Asian Indians and 50,000 soldiers who sacrificed everything for the sake of liberating their motherland.

The INA or the Azad Hind Fauz, unique in many respects has aroused considerable scholarly interest both in country and outside. For most of the scholars Western Japanese and Indian, the writings on Subhas and INA are complementary. The important works related to struggle, vision of INA are:

- *The Indian Struggle*, 1920-42.
- Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose.
- Important Speeches and Writings of Subhas Bose, 1947.
- Subhas Chandra Bose: Correspondence 1924-32.
- Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution, 1970.
- Testament of Subhas Bose, 1946.
- The Mission of Life, 1953.
- Azad Hind (Journal founded by Subhas Chandra Bose), 1944.
- Through Congress Eyes, 1938.
- Auchinleck, Claude: Manipur 1944 – A Documentary Record, 1944.
- Banerji, Bijay Kumar: Indian War of Independence with Special Reference to INA, 1946.
- Basil, Collier: The War in the Far East, 1941-45.
- *Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in South East Asia and India’s Liberation War, 1943-45*, 1989.
- Fujiwara Iwaichi: F. Kikan; *Japanese Army/Intelligence Operation in South-East Asia during World War II*, translated by Akashi Yoji, Hong Kong, 1983.
• Khan, Shah Nawaz: My Memoirs of INA and its Netaji, Delhi, 1946.
• Lebra, Joyce: Jungle Alliance, Japan and the Indian National Army, Singapore, 1971.
• Slim, Sir W.: Defeat into Victory, 1956.
• Toye, Hugh: The Springing Tiger: A Study of a Revolutionary, 1951.

There has been lot of publications on the I.N.A., but most of them are macro level biographies and studies. In my research I wish to do some serious work at the micro-level, i.e. the role played by participants
from Haryana with specific reference to their struggle vide Imphal and Burma campaigns. The other aspect that fascinates me is that about 997 files have recently been transferred from the Ministry of Defence to national archives, which may throw additional light on the vision and struggle of I.N.A.

The drawbacks and deficiencies in I.N.A. studies, which as a researcher, I think is that most of the studies are of macro level nature, secondly the work related to I.N.A. can be grouped into three-four broad patterns, which suffer from subjective prejudice the first being the works of British and American writers, Whose works follow the Imperial Methodology, which has a myopic view of Indian National Movement. The second being that of the Japanese writers, which analyse the achievement of I.N.A. from a paternalistic view i.e. the vision, strategies and objectives of I.N.A. are subordinated to Japanese aims objectives and strategies. The third being the biographies of the participants, which are mostly eulogies and are narratives in nature. And the fourth one is serious research done by Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta and other writers like Sarin, Hugh Toje, Joyce L. Libra, Sithanshu Bose etc.

There are many misnomers attached to Subhas Chander Bose and the I.N.A. The communist newspaper Pravada, called him a “puppet” and a “fascist”, whereas the British and American historians call him as a “quisling” of Hitler and Tojo. Similarly the revolutionary nationalists are called “fugitives” and the I.N.A. soldiers and officers as “deserters”. I through my research will objectively analyse their viewpoint and an
attempt will be made to dispel the mist of these unfavourable criticism, made mostly by foreign writers and historians that shrouded the activities of I.N.A. Through this research project, I also wish to analyse the nature of I.N.A., finding answers to the questions, was the I.N.A. a true revolutionary army? Was the I.N.A. a “stooge” of the Japanese? And were the people of Haryana who are termed as “martial race” less political active or nationalists than the “non-martial races”?

The researcher thesis is spread over in six chapters. The first chapter is Introduction, which contains trends and objectives of national movement and the historiographical perspectives. The formative years of vision of Subhas Chander Bose, the early spadework done by revolutionary nationalists in South-east Asia, and the growth of Japanese interest in India’s struggle for freedom. The second chapter is The Vision and Philosophy of I.N.A., here I have stressed how about 50,000 strong INA, which was constituted from Indian army’s P.O.W. and civilians from south-east Asia were guided by the vision of their leaders, hence the vision of the rank and file was same as that of their leadership. In this chapter the growth and consolidation of ideas of Subhas from his boyhood to his escape to Germany, which later on formulated the vision of I.N.A. are discussed at length. The chapter also takes into account the vision and philosophy of Rash Behari Bose, A.M. Sahay, Pritam Singh, Amar Singh, Raja Mahendra Pratap etc. Finally the role of Japan has been analysed critically.

The third chapter is Growth of I.N.A. – From Legion to National Army. The chapter discusses the activities of Bose in Germany
leading to the formation of the Indian legion. Next the activities of revolutionaries in South-east Asia, the Tokyo and Bangkok Conferences are studied. In the end the chapter discusses the role played by Mohan Singh and Japan's relation with I.N.A.

The fourth chapter related to Struggle – The Imphal and Burma Campaigns and the Red Fort Trials, which deals with the actual engagements, which the I.N.A. went through at Arakan Front and at the east of Irawady river in Burma. This chapter discusses the war events in general and the heroic deeds of the participants with special reference to Haryana in particular. The last part of the chapter discusses the Red Fort Trials, the change it brought in the political situation, the dilemma of the British Indian government and finally the verdict and release of all I.N.A. prisoners.

The fifth chapter is Memoirs and Reminiscences discusses the memoirs of the actual participants on the basis of personal interviews. I came to conclusion that the memoirs of the soldiers i.e. rank and file almost coincide with that of their regimental commanders and division commanders hence, in construction of this chapter memoirs of Col. P.K. Sehgal, Col. Dhillon, Maj. Gen. Shah Nawaj Khan, Capt. Kanwal Singh, Col. Malik, Capt. Shamsher Singh, Capt. Lakshmi Sehgal and some soldiers of Haryana are taken into account. This chapter also takes into consideration the memoirs of Maj. Fujiwara of Japan and Dr. Ba Maw of Burma.
The sixth chapter is Conclusion, which tries to give answers and to the questions and queries relating to aims, objectives and methods that Subhas Chand Bose adopted in the formulation of I.N.A. The attitude of Japan is analysed, in the end the contribution of I.N.A. to the freedom struggle is discussed.

The completion of this thesis has been made possible by the help rendered by number of individuals and institutions. My greatest debt is to Dr. J.S. Dhankar, Reader, Department of History my supervisor and guide, whose critical scrutiny of my various drafts and exacting standards of scholarship have helped me to avoid many errors in argument and style.

I shall be falling in my duty if I do not express my thanks to Professor Neelima Dahiya, Head, Department of History, who has been an inspiration to me as a researcher, teacher and a family friend, The other members of the staff Dr. Manmohan and Dr. B.D. Yadav helped me at various stages of my research. I am grateful to them.

I also express my deep thanks to Dr. Ishwar Singh Dalal, Principal, Jat College Rohtak who allowed me a one year study leave, and the U.G.C., which finally sanctioned one year teacher fellowship with all the service benefits.

I acknowledge the help rendered by the staff of N.M.M.L., New Delhi, National Archives of India, New Delhi, Secretariat Library, New Delhi, Sapru House Library, New Delhi, I.C.H.R. New Delhi and M.D.University Library Rohtak.
I am very thankful to my respondents, who have furnished me information on various aspects pertaining to my investigation.

I feel obliged and indebted to my wife Anita, my children Guddu and Chottu, whose valuable time and attention had to be diverted for the completion of my Ph.D. thesis.

I dedicate this Ph.D. thesis to my father, who has been a *Sarva Guna Sampanna* and a role model tome, and who always wished that I do a research work on the subject which concerns the common man.

Last but not the least, I am also thankful to Mr. Raj Kumar Pahwa and Mr. Sunil Dahiya, M/S S.S. Computer Centre, for completion the typing work within the stipulated timeframe.

(Rajbir Gulia)
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1 – 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>The Vision and Philosophy</td>
<td>30 – 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Growth of I.N.A. – From the Indian Legion to I.N.A.</td>
<td>87 – 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The Struggle – Imphal, Burma Campaigns and the Red Fort Trials</td>
<td>166 – 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Memoirs and Reminiscences</td>
<td>306 – 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>375 – 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>400 - 405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>