Three Day National Seminar
on
Indian National Army &
Its Contribution to India’s Independence
(8-10 Feb. 2017)

Inauguration:
Shri Prakash Javadekar
Hon ble Minister
Human Resource Development, Govt. of India
through Video Message

Special Invitee
Major General G. D. Bakshi
Eminent Military Historian

Introduction
Professor Purabi Roy
Convener of the Seminar &
Member of ICHR

Guest of Honour:
Dr. B. R. Mani
Director General & Vice-Chancellor
National Museum, Govt. of India, New Delhi

Felicitations to the Heroes of INA:
Col. Aman Bahadur Singh
Former Member of Indian National Army and
Ex-Capt. Of Indian Army, 7th Battalion, Rajputana Rifles

Mrs. Momota Mehta
Former Member of the Rani Jhansi Regiment of
Indian National Army

Key-note Address
Professor Chitra Ghosh
Professor of Political Science (Rtd.)
Lady Brabourne College, Kolkata

President:
Professor Y. Sudershan Rao
Chairman
Indian Council of Historical Research

- Member Secretary

Date: 8th Feb. 2017 (Wednesday)
Time: 10-30 AM
Venue: National Museum Auditorium, Janpath, New Delhi
RSVP
Dr. Noopur Singh
011-23384662/ 23386033/23387877
Welcome: Dr. Jyotsna Arora, Dy. Director (Library)

**Lighting Lamp by the Guests**

Presidential & Opening Remarks: Professor Y. Sudershan Rao, Chairman ICHR

Introducing the Seminar Theme: Professor Purabi Roy, Convener of the Seminar

Inaugural Message: Shri Prakash Javadekar
Hon’ble Minister
Human Resource Development, Govt. of India

*through Video Message*

**Felicitations to Heroes of INA**

**Col. Aman Bahadur Singh**
Former Member of Indian National Army

**Mrs. Momota Mehta**
Former Member of the Rani Jhansi Regiment of Indian National Army

Message: Major General G. D. Bakshi, Special Invitee

Message from Guest of Honour: Dr. B. R. Mani
Director General, National Museum, New Delhi

Key-Note Address: Prof. Chitra Ghosh, Lady Brabourne College, Kolkata

Concluding Remarks: Professor Y. Sudershan Rao, Chairman ICHR

Vote of Thanks: Dr. S. K. Aruni, Member Secretary
Three Day National Seminar on
Indian National Army & Its Contribution to India’s Independence

Programme

DAY-1

Venue:
8th February Auditorium
National Museum
Janpath Road, New Delhi

Inaugural Session: 10.30AM - 1.00PM

Welcome
Dr. Jyotsna Arora, Dy. Director (Library)

Lighting Lamp by the Guests

Presidential & Opening Remarks
Professor Y. Sudershan Rao, Chairman ICHR

Introducing the theme of the seminar
Professor Purabi Roy, Convener of the Seminar

Inaugural Video Message
Shri Prakash Javadekar
Hon’ble Minister
Human Resource Development, Govt. of India

Felicitations to Heroes of INA

Col. Aman Bahadur Singh
Mrs. Momota Mehta
Former Member of the Rani Jhansi Regiment of Indian National Army

Message
Major General G. D. Bakshi, Special Invitee

Message from Guest of Honour
Dr. B. R. Mani
Director General, National Museum, New Delhi

Key-Note Address
Professor Chitra Ghosh, Former Professor of Political Science, Lady Brabourne College, Kolkata.

Concluding Remarks
Professor Y. Sudershan Rao, Chairman ICHR

Vote of Thanks
Dr. S. K. Aruni Member Secretary

8th February

Venue:
Auditorium
National Museum
Janpath Road, New Delhi

Session I 2 to 5 PM
G.D. Bakshi
Maj. General (Retd.)

Military Evaluation of the Structure, Motivation and Combat performance of the INA

Er. Vekho Swuro
Independent Scholar, Nagaland, Author: Delhi Chalo Last Camp

INA's first administered village in Nagaland

Sandhya Jain
Freelance Journalist

Indian Media Netaji S.C. Bose and INA: A case study

DAY-2  Venue:
Lecture Room II
9th February  India International Centre (Annexe)
40 Max Mueller Marg, New Delhi

Session II 9-30 – 1-00 PM

Chair: Dr. Saradindu Mukherji, Member, ICHR
Kaushik Roy,
Professor, Dept. of History, Jadavpur University, Kolkata and
Global Fellow, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Norway

*Japan and INA in South-East Asia: Origins and Organization of the INA*

M. Jugindro Singh
Associate Professor and Head of Department, History, Moirang College, Manipur

*The First and the Last INA Headquarter of Free India*

Abhijit Bhattacharyya
Advocate, Supreme Court

*Bose: the eternal legend of Jai Hind*

Tapan Chattopadhyay
DGP (Retd.), Member, West Bengal Public Service Commission

*The Nature and Extent of INA’s Freedom Offensive: British Intelligence Assessment*

V.K. Vashishta
Former Professor & HOD, Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati University, Ajmer,
Former Fellow, IIAS, Shimla

*Subhash Chandra Bose, Indian National Army and Rajputana States*

Lunch: 1.00-2.00 PM
Chair: Professor Nikhilesh Guha, Member, ICHR

Monmayee Basu,
Associate Professor, Hansraj College, Delhi University

Netaji and Empowerment of Indian Women: Role of Rani Jhansi Regiment of INA in India’s independence

P.K. Chakravorty
Maj-Gen. (Retd.), (former) Additional Director General Artillery

Bose in South East Asia and his Negotiations with Japan: His Assessment of the way operations would result in Freedom for India

Abhijit Choudhury
Professor, History, St. Edmunds College, Shillong, Meghalaya (former)

The “Springing Tiger” on the Eastern Frontier: Two Narratives

Kingshuk Nag
Former Resident Editor, The Times of India, Hyderabad

INA forced the British out of India

DAY-3
Lecture Room II
India International Centre (Annexe)
10th February
40 Max Mueller Marg, New Delhi
Session IV: 9.30-11.45 AM

Chair: Professor Purabi Roy, Member, ICHR

Gautama Das
Col.(Retd.), History Division, Ministry of Defence

Japanese Invasions in Asia 1902-1942

Nirmala Joshi
Professor, Head, Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies, SIS, Jawaharlal Nehru University (former) and Director, India-Central Asia Foundation, New Delhi

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s Perception of the Soviet Union; Ideology and Role in International Affairs

Sumit Mukerji
Professor, Dept. of Political Science, Kalyani University

Rashbehari Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose, Life, Action and Thought in comparative perspective

Session V: 12-1.30 PM

Chair: Tapan Chattopadhyay, DGP (Retd.), Member, West Bengal Public Service Commission

Roshan Khanijo
Senior Research Fellow & Research Coordinator,
United Services Institution (USI), New Delhi

*Rani Jhansi Regiment*

**Iqbal Malhotra**
Chairman & Producer AIM Television.Pvt.Ltd; Documentary Filmmaker

*Did Subhas Bose die in the Taihoku plane crash?*

**Lunch: 1.30-2.30 PM**

**Session VIII**

**2.30- 3.30 PM**

**Chair:** V.K. Vashishtha, Former Professor & HOD, Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati University, Ajmer, Former Fellow, IIAS, Shimla

**Md Naushad Ali**
Research Consultant, ICHR

*The Indian Independence League, Indian Legion and Azad Hind Radio under Subhas Chandra Bose*

**Raj Kumar Sharma**
Associate Research Fellow, United Services Institution

*Subhas Chandra Bose’s Views on Foreign Policy: Dominance of Realism*

**TEA: 3-30 to 4-00 PM**
Valedictory Session [4.00 - 5.00 PM]

Welcome: Dr. Noopur Singh, ICHR, New Delhi

Chair: Professor Purabi Roy, Convener of the Seminar & Member of ICHR

Guests of Honour: Professor V. K. Vashishtha, Former Fellow of IIAS, Shimla
Dr. Saradindu Mukerji, Member of ICHR

Vote of Thanks: Sri Ramesh Yernagula, Dy. Director, ICHR

National Anthem
Three Day National Seminar
on
Indian National Army & Its Contribution to India’s Independence
Programme

DAY-1

Venue:

8th February Auditorium

National Museum
Janpath Road, New Delhi

Inaugural Session: 10:30AM - 1:00PM

Welcome Dr. Jyotsna Arora, Dy. Director (Library)

Lighting Lamp by the Guests

Presidential & Opening Remarks Professor Y. Sudershan Rao, Chairman ICHR

Introducing the theme of the seminar Professor Purabi Roy, Convener of the Seminar

Inaugural Video Message Shri Prakash Javadekar

Hon’ble Minister

Human Resource Development, Govt. of India

Felicitations to Heroes of INA
Col. Aman Bahadur Singh
Former Member of Indian National Army

Mrs. Momota Mehta
Former Member of the
Rani Jhansi Regiment of Indian National Army

Message
Major General G. D. Bakshi, Special Invitee

Message from Guest of Honour
Dr. B. R. Mani
Director General, National Museum, New Delhi

Key-Note Address
Professor Chitra Ghosh, Former Professor of Political Science, Lady Brabourne College, Kolkata.

Concluding Remarks
Professor Y. Sudershan Rao, Chairman ICHR

Vote of Thanks
Dr. S. K. Aruni Member Secretary

8th February
Venue:
Auditorium
National Museum
Janpath Road, New Delhi

Session I 2 to 5 PM
Chair: Professor Purabi Roy, Member, ICHR

G.D. Bakshi
Maj. General (Retd.)

Military Evaluation of the Structure, Motivation and Combat performance of the INA

Er. Vekho Swuro
Independent Scholar, Nagaland, Author: Delhi Chalo Last Camp

INA’s first administered village in Nagaland

Sandhya Jain
Freelance Journalist

Indian Media Netaji S.C. Bose and INA: A case study

DAY-2

Venue:
Lecture Room II

9th February

India International Centre (Annexe)
40 Max Mueller Marg, New Delhi

Session II 9:30 - 1:00 PM

Chair: Dr. Saradindu Mukherji, Member, ICHR
Kaushik Roy,
Professor, Dept. of History, Jadavpur University, Kolkata and
Global Fellow, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Norway

*Japan and INA in South-East Asia: Origins and Organization of the INA*

M. Jugindro Singh
Associate Professor and Head of Department, History, Moirang College, Manipur

*The First and the Last INA Headquarter of Free India*

Abhijit Bhattacharyya
Advocate, Supreme Court

*Bose: the eternal legend of Jai Hind*

Tapan Chattopadhyay
DGP (Retd.), Member, West Bengal Public Service Commission

*The Nature and Extent of INA’s Freedom Offensive: British Intelligence Assessment*

V.K. Vashishtha
Former Professor & HOD, Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati University, Ajmer,
Former Fellow, IIAS, Shimla

*Subhash Chandra Bose, Indian National Army and Rajputana States*

Lunch: 1.00-2.00 PM
Session-III: 2.00-5.00 PM

Chair: Professor Nikhilesh Guha, Member, ICHR

Monmayee Basu,
Associate Professor, Hansraj College, Delhi University

*Netaji and Empowerment of Indian Women: Role of Rani Jhansi Regiment of INA in India’s independence*

P.K. Chakravorty
Maj-Gen. (Retd.), (former) Additional Director General Artillery

*Bose in South East Asia and his Negotiations with Japan: His Assessment of the way operations would result in Freedom for India*

Abhijit Choudhury
Professor, History, St. Edmunds College, Shillong, Meghalaya (former)

*The “Springing Tiger” on the Eastern Frontier: Two Narratives*

Kingshuk Nag
Former Resident Editor, *The Times of India*, Hyderabad

*INA forced the British out of India*

---

DAY-3

Lecture Room II

*India International Centre (Annexe)*
Session-IV: 9.30-11.45 AM

Chair: Professor Purabi Roy, Member, ICHR

Gautama Das
Col.(Retd.), History Division, Ministry of Defence

*Japanese Invasions in Asia 1902-1942*

Nirmala Joshi
Professor, Head, Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies, SIS, Jawaharlal Nehru University (former) and Director, India-Central Asia Foundation, New Delhi

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s Perception of the Soviet Union; Ideology and Role in International Affairs*

Sumit Mukerji
Professor, Dept. of Political Science, Kalyani University

*Rashbehari Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose, Life, Action and Thought in comparative perspective*

Session V: 12 -1.30 PM
Chair: Tapan Chattopadhyay, DGP (Retd.), Member, West Bengal Public Service Commission

**Roshan Khanijo**
Senior Research Fellow & Research Coordinator,
United Services Institution (USI), New Delhi

*Rani Jhansi Regiment*

**Iqbal Malhotra**
Chairman & Producer AIM Television Pvt Ltd; Documentary Filmmaker

*Did Subhas Bose die in the Taihoku plane crash?*

Lunch: 1.30-2.30 PM

**Session VIII**

2.30- 3.30 PM

Chair: V.K. Vashishtha, Former Professor & HOD, Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati University, Ajmer, Former Fellow, IIAS, Shimla
Md Naushad Ali  
Research Consultant, ICHR

*The Indian Independence League, Indian Legion and Azad Hind Radio under Subhas Chandra Bose*

Raj Kumar Sharma  
Associate Research Fellow, United Services Institution

*Subhas Chandra Bose’s Views on Foreign Policy: Dominance of Realism*

TEA: 3-30 to 4-00 PM

**Valedictory Session** [4.00 - 5.00 PM]

Welcome : Dr. Noopur Singh, *ICHR, New Delhi*

Chair : Professor Purabi Roy, *Convener of the Seminar & Member of ICHR*

Guests of Honour : Professor V. K. Vashishtha, *Former Fellow of IIAS, Shimla*

Dr. Saradindu Mukerji, *Member of ICHR*

Vote of Thanks : Sri Ramesh Yernagula, *Dy. Director, ICHR.*

*National Anthem*
# List

1. **Theme of the Seminar**

2. **KEY NOTE ADDRESS**  
   **Professor Chitra Joshi**  
   *The Indian National Army (INA) and its contribution to India’s Independence*

3. **G.D. Bakshi**  
   Military Evaluation of the Structure, Motivation and Combat performance of the INA

4. **Monmayee Basu**  
   Netaji and Empowerment of Indian Women: Role of Rani Jhansi Regiment of INA in India’s independence

5. **Abhijit Bhattacharyya**  
   Bose: the eternal legend of Jai Hind
6. P.K. Chakravorty  Bose in South East Asia and his Negotiations with Japan: His Assessment of the way operations would result in Freedom for India

7. Tapan Chattopadhyay  The Nature and Extent of INA's Freedom Offensive: British Intelligence Assessment

8. Diptanshu Chaudhury  Why let INA fade in history? Why not Bengal Regiment in Independent India?


10. Gautama Das  Japanese Invasions in Asia 1902-1942

11. Sandhya Jain  Indian Media Netaji S.C. Bose and INA: A case study

12. Nirmala Joshi  NetajiSubhas Chandra Bose’s Perception of the Soviet Union; Ideology and Role in International Affairs

13. Roshan Khanijo  Rani Jhansi Regiment

14. Iqbal Malhotra  Did Subhas Bose die in the Taihoku plane crash?

15. Sumit Mukerji  Rashbehari Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose, Life, Action and Thought in comparative perspective

16. Kingshuk Nag  INA forced the British out of India


18. Kaushik Roy  Japan and INA in South-East Asia: Origins and Organization of the INA

19. Raj Kumar Sharma  Subhas Chandra Bose’s Views on Foreign Policy: Dominance of Realism

20. M. Jugindro Singh  The First and the Last INA Headquarter of Free India
THEME OF THE SEMINAR

At low ebb of national will, when the Quit India movement had been brutally suppressed and almost all nationalistic activities driven underground, the appearance of Subhas Bose’s Indian National Army (INA) on the borders of Assam for a few months, delivered a vital psychological encouragement to the national movement for Indian independence. Notwithstanding judgements on INA’s political and military intentions, in popular perception their activities were inspired by the noblest motives, and their impact on the patriotic imagination was revealed by the massive demonstrations all over India when the British sought to put them on trial.

Keeping in view the recent declassification of documents on various aspects on the life of Bose (1897-1945) by the Government of India, the present seminar aims to bring out aspects of the formation, constitution, and contribution of INA towards Indian independence. It will discuss the global developments and conditions within India which led to its formation. One of the chief objectives of this seminar will be to examine how this massive army comprising of captured soldiers and nationalists in South-East Asia was organised, structured and assimilated. What were the motifs and terms on which intricate negotiations between different constituents of the INA and the imperial government of Japan, which provided material aid and logistical support, conducted? The seminar will also look at the motivations and interests behind Japanese encouragement and the response of Britain and its ally the United States towards these proceedings.

The seminar particularly proposes to examine how INA envisioned, planned and carried out its audacious military operations in Eastern India which thrilled the population of India and wrought panic into the reigning British administration. The towering figure of Subhas Bose will be re-examined in the context of his role as chief negotiator and strategist for the INA. The concept and significance of a ‘Provisional Government of Free India’ will be another aspect vigorously discussed.
in this seminar. Prosecution of captured INA personnel was deemed to be so crucial for the colonial state that court-martial trials were held publically even before the ongoing Second World War (1939-1945) ended but were later forced to be conducted behind closed doors for fear of violent public protests. What different forms did this public response take and how were defence committees for INA soldiers organised, will be another significant aspect to be looked at in this seminar. A bold but nevertheless failed experiment in the struggle to achieve India’s independence, this seminar will engage in assessing the impact and legacy of INA in light of these questions.

Themes for presentation:

**Theme 1: Prelude to formation**

i. Indians in South-East Asia and the rise of Japan in the global world order
ii. Movements for India’s independence in South-East Asia and the role of Rashbehari Bose (1886-1945)
iii. Indian Independence League and its activities
iv. The birth, crisis and reorganisation of INA
v. INA and the Tokyo Cadets

**Theme 2: Global conditions for growth: The Second World War (1939–45) and its Pacific theatre**

i. Poise before war: Relations between Japan–Germany and Britain–USA
ii. Japan and the Allies in the Pacific, 1941–45
iii. Japanese invasions in Asia
iv. Closing stages of Pacific war

**Theme 3: Transferring base: Arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose to South-East Asia**

i. Bose in South-East Asia and his negotiations with Japan
ii. Concept and significance of a Provisional Government of Free India (Ārzī Hukūmat-e-Āzād Hind)

**Theme 4: INA: Composition and military operations**

i. Rani Jhansi regiment
ii. Military intelligence services
iii. Military operations in Arakan–Kohima sector
   1. Imphal
   2. East of the Irrawaddy
   3. Last phase

**Theme 5: Aftermath and Legacy**
KEY NOTE ADDRESS

*The Indian National Army (INA) and its contribution to India’s Independence*

by Prof. Chitra Ghosh
Opening a Seminal debate on Indian Independence from British rule on 15th August 1947; particularly on the role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose & the INA: where does one begin? A pacifist historian would probably put it at the date of the return of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi from South Africa. Gandhi was without any hesitation, the leader who evoked nationalist feeling in India. He was referred by Netaji as the “Father of the Indian Nation”. In South Africa, Gandhi had learnt for without extreme pain, that the colour of the skin would create differences in attitude, thought and action, as he was thrown from the train at Petermartizbag by an Englishman. Gandhi’s leadership created a variety of political views & actions in India. At the Ramgarh Conference of the newly formed Forward Bloc in 1939, Subhas Chandra Bose had opined that an ultimatum should be given to Britain to leave India, as India should take advantage of the II World war, when Britain was facing a difficult situation, having lost Singapore, Malaysia, Burma and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. At the same time subjugated India had fielded a record of an All Volunteer Army of some 2.5 million men in occupied India to fight the Germans and the Italians in the western theatre of the war. They were being preferred by the English Military Commanders, as they proved both tenacious and steadfast in their occupation. On the other hand, the British forces were showing signs of war weariness. After the war, 11 of the 16 Divisions of the British Indian Army were disbanded. The 2.5 million Indian Army was rapidly downsized to 350,000 and the Jawans were further divided between India & Pakistan during partition of the country. Further, no money was allocated to equip or modernize the army, which resulted in a humiliating defeat of the Indian Army in the Indo-Chinese War in India’s eastern frontier.

When the World war began in 1939 India had contributed to England, the largest All-Volunteer Army of 2.5 million men. They had been raised with conscription. These people, wanting to have an employment, were village people, wanting to have an employment, were village people, uneducated and unsophisticated. They were easily made to realize that the Japanese and their allies were their national enemies. Bose was completely marginalized in the Congress and no one listened to what he had to say. So Subhas had to think and provide of another way to achieve his dream.

In July 2\(^{nd} \), 1940, Bose staged a protest at the memorial of the Black Hole in Calcutta. The Black Hole was a ruse created by the English against the last Nawab of Bengal, Sirajudaula. It was said that a large number of English men and women with children were pushed together inside a very small space, hardly enough for even the people to stand against each other and breathe, so that most of them died of suffocation.

At the same time, Bose was planning his escape as he was convinced that no purpose will be served to remain in custody for the entire War period. So he gave to his nephew Amiya Nath a letter to be dispatched to Moscow, asking for help, but the Communist Party of India did not send the letter. On the other hand the Kirti Kisan Party of NW Frontier Province (NWFP) helped him to escape. Persons like Bhagat Ram Talwar who later turned into a double spy both for the British and the Indians, Harminder Singh, Sodhi Achar Singh Cheema and Taja Singh Sutankar came forward to help.
In the early hours of 16-17 January 1941, nephew Sisir drove Subhas from his Elgin Road residence & without a break arrived at Bararee, where his eldest nephew Asokenath, who was working as a Chemist with Jardine Handerson, had a bungalow, Subhas posed as Mohammed Ziauddin, an Insurance agent. Arriving at Kabul, he was restricted as the future plan was not in hand. Bose hid in the house of the Uttam Chand in Peshawar, till the Italians gave him a passport in the name of Orlando Mazzotta and he could ultimately reach Berlin through Moscow. But no help was given to him by the Russian authorities and even no one wanted to see him.

Bose arrived in Berlin on April 2, 1941. His German contact was Admiral Von Trott. During this time the main activities of Subhas Chandra in Germany were threefold.

1. To secure a joint Axis Declaration on Indian Independence from Germany & Italy. He did not have success in this effort.
2. To set up a Free India Center for the cause of liberation of India and set up a Think Tank.
3. To start Radio broadcasts, which however he could only start as late as 1942.

Bose was able to meet the Foreign Minister Ribbentrop, who was friendly. But more than that there was no concrete help came from the Germans.

So Bose had to fight his own battle and this he did by organizing the INA.

Comparatively, how did the Indian National Army under Subhas Chandra Bose fare in combat? They had neither sophisticated arms and ammunitions; the training was hasty, they did not have enough food to eat to sustain themselves and often had to eat grass. Asked by the Maj. Gen. Gray, GOC of the 20th Indian Division, of Prem Sahgal, whether or not it was madness on the part of INA to continue to fight under such circumstances; Prem replied that a revolutionary army lives on its spirit of madness, even though they may lack the wherewithal of a regular army. Let us see how far this madness took them to attain their goal and what was the spirit & nature of the leader who instilled this madness into them.

To instill the national feeling in the Jawans of the Indian National Army who were very ordinary soldiers Subhas Chandra introduced the following:

1. As the soldiers came from different religious background, a common solution had to thought upon. So “Jai Hind”was accepted as the slogan, Bose used rituals, customs and usages, which could build an united nation.
2. Rabindranath Tagore’s patriotic song “Jana Gana Mana” was accepted as the National song. It was translated with Hindustani and a marching tune was created. The Militarization of the song was done by Netaji himself, so that a military band could play the tune.
3. Hindustani in Roman Script was accepted as the lingua franca.
4. Subhas Chandra Bose would henceforth be known as “Netaji”, which was equivalent to “The Leader”.

Thus Netaji created a unity among these Indians who in the past had never had such experience. They had served only as foot soldiers under German command.

One has to start with the basic question. Was India ever a “Nation”? The answer will be an emphatic “No; for India is a country of many castes, communities, religions, languages, scripts and spoken languages. A resident of Kashmir has very little common with a Tamilian; a Keralite would be totally different from an Assamese. It was the first task of the leader to weave them into an organic whole. How could he do it? He had to imbibe into them the spirit of nationalism, so that they could feel as comrades in arm and flight together for the independence of the Motherland.

Netaji insisted that the Indian League, which was organized in Germany, primarily from POWS, should get equal facility regarding pay, clothing, food, leave etc, as those enjoyed by the German units. The strength of the legion grew in numbers steadily and the largest was the Annaberg Camp. Two original recruits showing promise were Abid Hasan, who travelled with Netaji in the Submarine, when he went to East Asia and N G Swamy, who headed the intelligence branch of the INA. The Indians were placed under the command of Hauptman Harbig, who instructed them in morality and discipline.

In August 1942, the legion was moved to Koenigsbruck, and they paraded in front of Netaji. They took oath to fight for India’s freedom, with Bose giving them their standard, in tricolor of Saffron, White and Green, with a springing tiger in the middle. But there was a sad episode, Netaji did not have enough money & so he had to accept money from the Germans which made him unhappy. He tried to pay back the money after reaching Asia, where he got a lot of money and gold from the Indian Diaspora.

Because of lack of funds, initially Netaji used to work only with his wife & Secretary Madame Emilie Schankl, but by January 1942 he had 25 Indian assistants & set up the Free India Office. He was given a Villa to stay and money for his daily use. In Germany, Netaji suffered hardship because of the paucity of funds. So the Indian Legion had to the dictates of the Germans; while in Asia, the INA was a full-fledged Army.

As per the official recorded history of the INA, there were 1500 officers, of different ranks, and 60,000 soldiers, of whom 26,000 were killed in combat. This makes the casualty figure of about 44% which is awe-inspiring. The INA lost the war in Kohima and the Arakans, as they suffered from lack of modern arms and ammunitions, a total lack of airpower bringing cover to the soldiers and they even had to go without food and sustain themselves by eating grass. They lost the war. Did Netji come Asia too late? Was he stuck in Germany for a long time? But was it not because of INA & Subhas Chandra Bose that India became free in 1947.
The British authorities also made the big mistake. They put on trial at the Red Fort, which again was signified by Netaji as the ultimate destination to which the INA was to proceed, the three INA officers—Shah Nawaz Khan, a Muslim, Prem Kumar Sahgal, a Hindu and Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon, a Sikh. They signify the unity which INA, had created. The trial had to be abandoned and could not be continued as the country rose in revolt. Even Jawaharlal Nehru, who had never been to a court, though he was qualified as a Barrister in England, donned the Barrister’s Gown and went with Tej Bahadur Sapru to defend the INA officers! Protests broke loose all over the country. The trial had to be abandoned and could not be continued as the country rose in revolt. Even Jawaharlal Nehru, who had never been to a court, though he was qualified as a Barrister in England, donned the Barrister’s Gown and went with Tej Bahadur Sapru to defend the INA officers! Protests broke loose all over the country. The Naval officers all of the RIN mutinied. It was followed by similar revolts in the Air Force and last but not the least, the army units at Jabalpur rose in rebellion. 40,000 British officers posted all over India, were eager to go back home. When the Earl of Mountbatten was sent to India as Governor General, he could foresee what was coming & advised his home Government accordingly. But Mountbatten, adequately helped and advised by his wife Edwina, who entirely got control over Nehru, made the Congress agree to his proposal of partitioning the country.

I would here like to mention a vivid incident at which I personally have been present. My Father, Sarat Chandra Bose was perhaps the only person who tried to prevent the partition of the country, realizing fully the pangs of sorrow that Bengal & Punjab will have to go through. He went from door to door to everyone, beginning with Mahatmaji, to all Congress & League Leaders. To his appeal, Gandhi’s reply was - “Jawahar does not see me these days, Patel says no to whatever I say, Rajen Babu has kicked the ladder”. Sarat Bose went to Jinnah, who said “get your Congress agree to your appeal, I shall not stand in the way to overrule it”. As our car drove in, Fatima Jinnah opened the door & escorted us in. The Congress did not agree to Father’s appeal. We came back home and the Bengalees threw stones at Woodburn Park. It was a lonely dismal house. Riots had begun with ferocity in Noakhali and Father accompanied Gandhiji to be disturbed area. But I have strayed from the original question and let us return to the INA.

Netaji created a unified army, by taking momentary decisions. He mixed the people from different areas in India to stay in one camp; introduced one kitchen to give same food to everyone; Both disbanded army jawans incorporated in the INA and civilians who were drafted, were given some training, stayed in the camps together and observed strict discipline.

Meanwhile Gandhi and under his leadership, the Congress was not sitting quietly. In 1942 Gandhi declared the Quit India Movement with the watchword “Do or Die” “Karo or Maro”. The whole country responded unequivocally; particularly under the leadership of leaders like Jay Prakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Sarojini Naidu & others. Police thanas were burnt, and atrocities committed on British Supporters. But at the same time, the Congress was averse to Japanese invasion. Viceroy Linlithgow reported to Churchill-“this was the most serious revolt since 1857. The gravity of which we have concealed from the world due to reasons by military strategy.Netaji from East Asia sent gold & ornaments, which however went to people like Bhagat Ram Talwar, who handed them over to the British, so that none of it came to be any use.
There was another terrible tragedy. Rice was procured for the British army & the village people had nothing to eat. Bengal faced a disastrous famine with hungry people flocking to Kolkata & dying for a more of food on the streets of the metropolis. Netaji offered to send rice, but it was not accepted.

Perhaps, the most outstanding and unique creation of Bose was the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. Netaji always had immense prestige and reliance on women. At the Calcutta Congress, held in 1928, under the Presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Bose had organized a Women’s Volunteer Corps, under the leadership of Latika Ghosh, niece of Sri Aurobindo. The lady volunteers had marched along with men, wearing red-bordered saries and later on helped to seat the delegates, give them water and supervise the kitchen, as needed. In Singapore, Netaji organized a group of women under Capt Laxmi Swaminathan, who was also given a seat in his Government. These girls were in their teens, left home & stayed in camps & were given military training. They did not want to be only the nursing unit of the army. Writing a petition in blood, they asked Netaji to send them to the front. They were sent. But as the INA faced defeat, the Rani were also withdrawn from the front. They marched through jungles & swamps in utter hardship by foot & Netaji walked with them, leaving his car behind. Janaki Thevar writes “As Netaji pulled out his shoes, I could see his feet, red & full of blisters. But he had walked with us without a single word coming out his mouth. Such was our leader”.

The Ranis were disbanded and sent home. Unlike the INA soldiers, who were, when captured were brought as prisoners, were made to stand in a straight line and shot ….. treatment was not allowed by the Geneva Convention on Treatment of Enemy Soldiers in war. The same happened at Jhikargacha in West Bengal, to more that 16000 INA soldiers.

That was not the end, Netaji had laid the foundation stone for martyrs at Singapore. When Nehru went to Singapore, at the residence of Mountbatten, Indians wanted him to go & place a wreath at the memorial. But Nehru refused to go. At the order of Mountbatten the memorial was dynamited, so that no sign of it remained there. Nehru had even said - “when Subhas comes leading the army I shall fight him with the sword”. Such was the enmity and hate for Subhas in the ranks of the Congress workers.

The INA soldiers who were able to come back to India, were denied entry into the Indian army. They did not receive pension, gratuity or any compensation from the Indian Government. But those who opted for Pakistan, had been incorporated in the army and given adequate pay and provisions.

In 1941, the Japanese were flooded by requests from Indians in East Asia to bring Bose. Pritam Singh of Indian Independence League was the first, then there were many others. When the Axis Powers did not vouch for a safe air journey for Bose, Bose asked the Submarine Venture. Faced with a raging sea-storm, the German Submarine Captain advised him to go back”; to which Subhas Chandra replied “I haven’t come all this way to go back. The Submarine voyage took three months & was a test of endurance with a staunch diesel
smell and no proper food. No one but no less than a person than Subhas Chandra Bose could have endured this privation.

In June 12, 1943, the Japanese Radio announced the arrival of Bose in Japan. On June 19, Bose held his first Pressconference. On June 27, Bose arrived in Singapore, and Rashbehari Bose, who was till then been the leader of Indians handed power over to Bose on October 1943. Subhas announced the formation of the Provincial Government of Azad Hind on 21 October 1943 and declared war on England & America.

The INA was thus organised:

1. First Field Force Regiment commended by Lt. Col Hussain
   3 Infantry Battalion; Machine Gun Company; Heavy Guns battalion with 12 Bren Gun Carriers.
4. The Special Service Group to operate behind the advanced lines.
5. The Intelligence Group commanded by Lt. Col. Shankar Mallik.

The INA were soldiers to capture Indian troops & re-educate them to fight for India’s Independence.

Of the six formations of the INA 5 were commanded by Muslims. Bose re-organized all the divisions and handpicked a few to form the “Subhas Brigade”.

The Jawans of INA did not get any pay, but a small amount as pocket money to buy toiletries, cigarettes etc. When they advanced through the jungles, they suffered from lack of food; flies &leaches, even snakes were in plenty, but there was only but one direction to go. Such was the charisma of the leader. To keep their morale, there was Bravery awards. With the motto Ittefaq Itmad Qurbani (Unity, Faith, Sacrifice), the INA moved on & fought the war.

Netaji felt that necessity of having land under the Provincial Government, so after the conquest of Andaman & Nicobar Islands by the Japanese, he made them hand the 2 Islands to his Govt. & appointed Gen. Loganathan as the High Commissioner to govern the areas, renaming the Islands “Shahid” and “Swaraj’ Islands.

There were the few bright sides of the dismal fight for it was a war between two very uneven sides.

To sum up, the contribution of INA to Indian independence; what is better than to recuperate the words of Clement Attlee. When asked by Mr. P N Chakrabarti, then acting Governor of West Bengal why England left India, which was to England the “Crown Jewel” of the Empire, Mr. Clement Attlee
the former British Prime Minister had replied, because of Subhas Bose & his INA. What is more impressive than these few words to evaluate the contribution of the INA to Indian Independence. Asked what was the contribution of Gandhis “Quit India” movement. Attlee replied “minimal”!

**Major General (Dr.) GD Bakshi, SM, VSM (retired)** is a combat veteran of many skirmishes. He is a prolific writer on matters military and non-military and has published 25 books and over 130 papers in many prestigious research journals. Dr. Bakshi holds a Masters degree in Defense Science and an M.Phil in Strategic Studies from the University of Madras. He completed his PhD on ‘Limited Wars in South Asia’. Dr. Bakshi is an Associate member of I.D.S.A. and a distinguished fellow at Centre for Air Power Studies. He is editor of *Defence and Security Alert*. His important publications are, *Afghanistan-the First Fault line War, War in the 21st Century, The Indian Art Of War, The Paradox of Pakistan, The Rise of Indian Military Power: Evolution of an Indian Strategic Culture* and most recently *Bose: The Indian Samurai - Netaji and the INA, a Military Assessment.*

‘**Military Evaluation of the Structure, Motivation and Combat performance of the INA**’
Abstract

The INA had peak strength of 60,000 men under arms. Of these some 26,000 laid down their lives in the jungles of Imphal, Kohima and Myanmar to free their country. Yet their stellar contribution has been deliberately effaced from public memory. They may have lost the battles of Imphal-Kohima but they won the War for Indian independence. The INA was one of the best secrets of the War. After the war the British in a foolish triumphalist gesture decided to try three INA officers in the historic Red Fort which was supposed to be the final objective of the INA. It was a deliberate humiliation. The British made these trials public and the entire story of the INA now tumbled out of the closet of military censorship. The country was enraged. Riots broke out in Kolkata, Delhi and other countries in support of the INA veterans. In February 1946 revolts broke out in the Royal Indian Navy (with over 20,000 sailors on 89 ships joining). Revolts broke out in quick succession in the RIAF (Royal Indian Air force) and finally Indian Army units in Jabalpur revolted. This was the last straw. The British had drawn up Intelligence estimates that Indian Troops could no longer be relied upon. In case of a widespread mutiny they had drawn up plans to evacuate British Soldiers and citizens to Pakistan’s territory first and then out of India. Lord Clement Attlee, in his interaction with Justice P.B. Chakraborty clearly spelt out that it was Bose and his INA who were clearly instrumental in shaking the loyalty of the Indian troops towards the Raj and hence the key catalysts of the British decision to leave.

- Major General (Dr.) G.D. Bakshi (Retd.)

Monmayee Basu has been carrying out research on different aspects of empowerment of women in India for more than 30 years. Her focus has been primarily on the changing status of Indian women through successive legislative changes, and the history of gradual empowerment through the efforts of social reformers, revolutionaries as well as legislators. Her book Hindu Women and Marriage Law is a prescribed reference for first year syllabus of the Delhi University’s English Department. She has also worked on the conditions of Hindu Bengalee women during Partition of India, and her article on this subject has been published as Pangs of Partition. A gold medalist from Calcutta University she started her research in Calcutta University and teaching at A.N. College, Patna in the 1980s. She currently serves as an Associate Professor in the History Department of Hansraj College, Delhi University.
Abstract

Much has been discussed on Gandhiji’s role in bringing Indian women into Indian independence movement, but little has been discussed on Netaji’s contribution to the empowerment of Indian women and involving them into India’s struggle for freedom. However, Netaji had an extremely reverent attitude towards Indian women and a profound faith in their sincerity, determination as well as strong capabilities. Moreover, his ideas of equality of women with men were unique. This paper endeavours to highlight Netaji’s contribution to the empowerment of the women of India especially through his organisation in the Indian National Army of the Rani Jhansi regiment which in those days was the first of its kind in the entire world. An all-women regiment was an unimaginable, unparalleled concept. It is a glowing example of his belief in the immense potentials of Indian womanhood. His ideas of women empowerment emerged from the deep influence on Netaji of his mother Prabhavati Devi, Basanti Devi (the wife of Deshbandhu C. R. Das), Sister Nivedita, Rani of Jhansi etc. His vision of the role of women in general, and the Regiment in particular, expressed through his several letters, speeches, essays, interviews etc. is clearly analysed in this paper. The paper deals at length with the activities of Rani Jhansi Regiment in India’s independence movement primarily on the basis of the reminiscences of the Ranis of his Rani Jhansi Regiment.

- Dr. Monmayee Basu

Abhijit Bhattacharyya is a practising Advocate in the Supreme Court, he previously taught at many colleges of Delhi University. He writes on 12 Subjects, till date has 630 published articles, and is a visiting speaker to several defence/security establishments. He is a lifelong student of, among 12 other subjects, History.

‘Bose: the eternal legend of Jai Hind’
Abstract

Bose! What does it denote to a common Indian or a lifelong student of world history? Simply put; the very utterance of surname ‘Bose’ triggers envy. It is a potential existential threat to peers; incurring jealousy of contemporary political colleagues; target of orchestrated canard and calumny by the white British (mis)rulers of India; and visceral hatred (of Bose) by the neo-liberal ruling class of independent India. Ban him or banish him; the name Bose (alive or dead) comes back to haunt all who loved to hate, or hated to love Bose. Forever, it seems. To eternity. Bose simply could not be banned or banished by any edict, fatwah or firman. Strange! Bose survived; nay thrived; and flourished without fanfare, without the name being mentioned in history syllabus of Indian school, college and universities. Bose flame refuses to be extinguished by small mortals. It’s defying extinction.

Why? Because of destiny of the man; the destiny’s child had to be there; placing himself gloriously into Bhagvad Gita’s Chapter 3, Karma Yoga, thereby emerging as the eternal karma yogi; the epitome of ethical, metaphysical, moral, spiritual and ethereal warrior. Bose carried the Bhagvad Gita in his pocket at all times; in the thick of battle field to "twenty thousand leagues under the sea" or twenty thousand feet above the earth, in air. Which political competitor would tolerate such versatile warrior whose presence cannot be anticipated, whose movement cannot be detected and yet, who continues to remain a magnet to, and for, the people of India? It is time to relook at Bose from an Indian’s perspective and assess his place in history of the geography of South Asia.

~Abhijit Bhattacharyya

P.K. Chakravorty is an alumnus of National Defence Academy, the officer retired in 2010. He has served as the Defence Attaché to Vietnam and is a prolific writer on strategic subjects. Post retirement he was appointed as an advisor to Brahmos Aerospace and is currently pursuing a Ph.D from Hindustan Institute of Technology and Science. He has written several books, articles and projects for IDSA, USI, CLAWS, and VIF. His areas of interest are Strategy, Firepower, Defence Procurement, Net Assessment, South and South East Asia, Indo Pacific and Left Wing Extremism. He has also organised and participated in numerous seminars at national and international level.
‘Bose in South East Asia and his Negotiations with Japan: His Assessment of the way operations would result in Freedom for India’

Abstract

Subhas Chandra Bose was a leader who had extremely good knowledge of the British having lived in England, married a German and finally spent time with Adolf Hitler while the Second World War was being fought. His interactions with these people led him to believe that the British were not keen on giving independence to India. They would leave India only when they are compelled as a result of revolt by the military. Keeping this concept Bose worked for a military plan to shake the British in their thought that they could continue to govern India and deny her its independence. The same has been aptly summarised in the conversation that occurred post Independence in the Governor House of Kolkata between the British Prime Minister Clement Atlee and the Governor of West Bengal Justice Chakraborty. Accordingly Bose worked out a strategy that would threaten the British stay in India militarily. He was successful in persuading the Japanese to launch operations in Imphal and Kohima ably assisted by the Indian National Army to ensure that the British were convinced that the Indian soldier had greater loyalty for his motherland than the British monarchy. This possibly led to India’s independence.
‘The Nature and Extent of INA’s Freedom Offensive: British Intelligence Assessment’

Abstract

The struggle for India’s independence combined two very distinct and ostensible sets of ideology and activity, often hostile to each other, to achieve the goal. On one hand, a section of Indian politicians known as ‘moderates’ used political gradualism and escalation of efforts through petitions, protests and finally non-cooperation and disobedience movements; on the other hand, terrorists as well as non-terrorist political elements and leftwing activists assailed British governance and imperialist infrastructure believing *mutatis mutandis* in the creed of violence to shake off British yoke. The latter belief found fruition most ostensibly and spectacularly in the offensive of the Indian National Army (INA) against the British in Southeast Asia. The INA was different from other partisan armies of Europe and Southeast Asia in ideology, preparations and status. It was a big military force of over four division strength which was manned by Indian POWs of the British Indian army. With their help Bose built, among other things, an effective intelligence apparatus headed by Maj. N. G. Swami, a former technology student in Germany who had been trained earlier at his behest by the German intelligence organization, Abwehr. British Intelligence assessment of the INA is based on hard, actionable facts and shorn of peripheral judgments and embellishments and is, therefore, an important tool in assessing its efficacy and role in India’s freedom.

- Dr. Tapan Chattopadhyay
Col. Diptanshu Chaudhury (Retd.) is a Kargil veteran and Founder Chairman of Swadhikar Bangla Foundation.

‘Why let INA fade in history? Why not Bengal Regiment in Independent India?’

Abstract

The Indian National Army was the manifestation of Subhash Chandra Bose’s transformation from a Gandhian freedom fighter to an armed revolutionary challenging the might of the British Empire. Originally the brainchild of expatriate nationalist leader Rashbehari Bose, the INA saw Subhash Chandra assuming the leadership of the outfit as its supreme commander in 1943. The INA revealed Subhash Bose’s greatness as a military leader and an organizer too. The role of INA had far reaching influences on the Indian political scene. Gandhiji admired the courage and resourcefulness displayed by Subhash in making his escape from India. Inspite of his principle of violence Subhash Chandra Bose’s grand scheme of India’s liberation and the high idealism through INA movement inspired the people of India in an unprecedented manner. The organisation of the Azad Hind forces and their exploits are a milestone in the history of the Indian struggle for freedom. However, with times the INA faded into history and especially after India gained independence. Despite India having a huge standing army of 13 lakh we forget to either raise a regiment in name of Netaji or even a Bengal regiment which represents the profile of that community and military history.
Professor Abhijit Choudhury taught History at St. Edmund’s College, Shillong, Meghalaya, for thirty years (1981-2011), retiring as Head of Department. He has participated in local, state, regional, national and international seminars/symposiums. He has contributed three entries on prominent historians—Marc Bloch, E.P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm to the Axomiya Biswakosh, vols.8 & 9 (Assamese Encyclopaedia), published by the Axom Xahitya Xabha (2005). He has also co-edited a book titled The Making of the Union (2007), on the merger of the princely states and excluded areas in the Indian Union. His areas of special interests are Prehistory and Palaeo-anthropology, Tribal Studies, Khasi and Jaintia Folklore, History of China and Political theory. He has published articles and research papers on Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose in Bengali and English.

‘The “Springing Tiger” on the Eastern Frontier: Two Narratives’

Abstract

This paper is based on two brief narratives about Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army (INA) on the eastern frontier of colonial India during the Second World War. One is an unpublished memoir of a late Indian military officer of the British Indian army. It was written in Bengali in the late nineteen seventies. The other is an account of encounters of Naga villagers with Bose, the INA and the Japanese, written by a young Naga engineer. The first narrates the late officer’s experiences in the War till his repatriation to India from South East Asia after it was over. These include what he learnt about Bose and the INA and observed their influence on the Indian soldiers of the army fighting them and the Japanese. His memoir goes beyond the War and to the decades after 1947, when India was granted transfer of power. The second records the experiences of the Nagas from a village located in the Kohima sector, which was the last headquarters of Bose in that sector. It is primarily based on the writer’s interviews with the villagers concerned. Presently the writer is engaged in preserving the collective memories about Bose and the INA. Incidentally the title of this paper has borrowed the words within quote from the banner of the INA and from a book subtitled with these words, written by Hugh Toye (1959). The paper is prepared
on the basis of content analysis of the aforementioned works. The relevant portions would also be corroborated and compared with other related works as well as the interviews taken by this writer of a few persons including freedom fighters, who were influenced by the exploits of Bose and the INA. It is a humble attempt at highlighting historical role of Bose and the INA in context of North eastern India.

-Professor Abhijit Choudhury

Colonel Gautam Das (retired) did his M.A. in Defence Studies. He has been writing on military history as well as politico-military subjects. Six books have been written by him and a new book is under publication. He is presently working with the History Division, Ministry of Defence, Government of India, for an official publication on the ‘Indian Armed Forces in the First World War’. The INA is one of his military history and political science interests.

‘Japanese Invasions in Asia 1902-1942’

Abstract

Japan began its expansion into the Asian mainland towards the end of the 19th Century, under the combined effects of modernization and the gradual militarization of Japanese society. The First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, over the control of Korea, ended with a Japanese victory in February 1895. The Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904/05) brought Inner Manchuria under Japanese control. Korea was annexed in 1910. Taiwan was brought under its rule as part of its ‘Southern Expansion Doctrine’. Japan thereafter began a further period of military expansionism under the pretext of creating a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Japan attacked China in 1937, and began to expand southwards into south-East Asia. Indo-China was attacked in September 1940, and the French force defending their colony was defeated. To expand into Malaya and Burma, Japan had to subdue Thailand which was in the way. Thailand and British-ruled Malaya were attacked on the same day, 08 December 1941.
Breaking through the Allied defences on the Thai-Malaya border, the Japanese advanced and captured Singapore on 15 February 1942.

The Japanese attack on Burma had started from 20th January 1942, and by 20th May 1942 conquered Burma, reaching the maximum expansion of Japanese military conquest in Asia.

- Colonel Gautam Das(Retd.)

Sandhya Jain is an author and independent researcher, and writes a fortnightly column on political and contemporary affairs for The Pioneer, New Delhi. Jain is a post graduate in Political Science from Delhi University, Delhi, and has had over three decades of experience as a professional journalist in leading newspapers such as The Hindustan Times, The Telegraph, and Sunday Mail (weekly). She also edits an online opinions forum, www.vijayaani.com, and has contributed articles to web portals such as www.Niticentral.com (retired), www.pgurus.com and www.abplive.in. She briefly worked with the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC), New Delhi.

Jain is a student of the myriad facets of Indian civilisation. Her published works include
- The Hindi edition of Adi Deo Arya Devata. A Panoramic View of Tribal-Hindu Cultural Interface, is under publication by Ocean Books Pvt Ltd.

As an independent researcher, Jain has presented papers at international conferences and has contributed articles on contemporary affairs in several prestigious journals.
Abstract

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s disappearance on 18 August 1945 is one of the most enduring mysteries of the post-Second World War era. It was only in 2005 that the M.K. Mukherjee Commission was told by the Taiwan authorities that Bose could not have died in a plane crash in their country as there was no plane crash at the old Matsuyama Airport, Taipei between 14 August and 20 September 1945, a span of five weeks. This officially debunked the official story about Netaji’s death.

The little that has come to light in the intervening years has discredited the officials and historians who collaborated to cover up the fate of this unconventional thinking warrior. Bose’s dramatic escape from house arrest and appearance in Peshawar, Kabul and finally Berlin, make a riveting saga.

His personal daring came to the fore once again when he made a dangerous submarine-to-submarine journey from Germany to Japanese-held Sumatra. Then, with Japanese backing, Bose established the Provisional Government of Free India and declared war on the United Kingdom and the United States. His clarion cry to his countrymen, “Give me blood, and I shall give you freedom!” resonates in the nation to this day.

Netaji was a perceptive student of international affairs; he could sense that Germany’s star was on the decline, he could similarly sense when Japan was on the back-foot. He had the prescience to see that the Anglo-Americans would fallout with the Soviet Union after the War, and quickly pinned his hopes on Soviet help in winning freedom by force of arms. He gambled on reaching Soviet-held Manchuria, and disappeared from the radar of history en route.

In the mid-1990s, Russia’s glasnost and perestroika opened the possibility of learning the truth about Bose’s exit from public life. But it does not seem possible without top level government-to-government interaction.

Professor Nirmala Joshi is a former Professor at the Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She is currently Director of think tank India-Central Asia Foundation. She was also Research Advisor at the United Service Institution of India from September 2012 to October 2014. She was also the Director of the University Grants Commission’s Programme on Russia and Central Asia, and a Member of the Indian Council for Social Science Research’s Indo Russian Joint Commission for Cooperation in Social Sciences. She was a Member of the University Grants Commission Standing Committee on Area Studies in 2002, and a Nominated Member of the
Executive Council of the Indian Council in 2001. In 2014 she was awarded the Magtymguly Pyragy Medal by the Government of Turkmenistan. Professor Nirmala Joshi has travelled extensively abroad and within the country to participate in international conferences on the Eurasian region. She has contributed several chapters to books and published articles in international and national research journals.

‘Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s Perception of the Soviet Union; Ideology and Role in International Affairs’

Abstract

By the second decade of the twentieth century Indian national movement was gathering a new momentum a new phase in its history by becoming widespread slowly engulfing the entire nation. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose being a true nationalist could not insulate himself from the on-going national ferment. He joined the Indian national Congress (INC). The ideals of the October Revolution of 1917, which ended the Tsarist empire fired the imagination of liberation movements in Asia as several countries were reeling under colonial rule. Similarly many leaders of the Indian national movement were inspired by the developments in Russia and Subhas Chandra Bose was no exception. He began to closely follow the fascinating socialist experiment underway in the Soviet Union. His intellectual mind began to explore and understand the Marxist ideology. In his understanding of the underpinnings of the Soviet experiment he was impressed with certain aspects of the Marxist ideals, while rejecting other points in the theoretical application. At the same time the prevailing international environment also came in for close scrutiny by Subhas Chandra Bose. He paid special attention to Soviet foreign policy and its diplomatic moves. The paper proposes to assess the ideological precepts of Marxist theory as applied in the Soviet Union and its role in international affairs.

- Professor Nirmala Joshi

Dr. Roshan Khanijo is a Senior Research Fellow and Research Co-coordinator at the Centre for Strategic Studies and Simulation, United Service Institution of India (USI), New Delhi. She specializes in Nuclear issues, and her other principal areas of interest are China and Pakistan. She writes on Nuclear Energy, Nuclear Disarmament and Arms Control and Nuclear Weapons Programme of China and Pakistan. She has written a book titled Complexities and Challenges of Nuclear India and a Monograph on “Iran: Nuclear Conundrum”.

‘Rani Jhansi Regiment’

Abstract

The formation of Rani Jhansi Regiment, the all-female combat regiment of the India National Army (INA), during the Second World War was a progressive movement by a leader who had a clear vision about the strength, the rights, and the status which the women deserved in the society. The formation of this regiment holds special merit because that was an era where women were discriminated and their functions was limited to managing the household chores. In such an atmosphere the Rani Jhansi Regiment shone as a jewel, which unfortunately, has not been given the due which it deserves. This paper tries to throw light on the ideas behind this regiment, the organizational challenges, and the trajectory which it followed during the Second World War.

- Dr.Roshan Khanijo
Iqbal Malhotra has a degree of M.A. by the Cambridge University and has been an adviser to News Corporation in its acquisitions of Star TV, Asia Today, and UTV in 1993-1994. Since 2000 he has been chairman and producer at AIM Television and has produced and directed over 500 hours of TV programming broadcast worldwide. His latest directorial venture was ‘Subhash Chandra Bose: The Mystery’ produced for the Discovery Channel.

‘Did Subhas Bose die in the Taihoku plane crash?’

Abstract

The subject of Subhas Chandra Bose’s death and its nature has been a subject of much contentious and continued debate. In a documentary on the subject, and making extensive use of files in the archives of India, Japan, Russia and Germany, the author presents his interpretation of the succession of events clouding this incident. He argues for Bose, using intricate deception to escape British scrutiny, leaving India for Germany through Kabul and Moscow. In the Soviet capital, it is argued, Bose made wide networks of patronage and power which could aid him in times of need. According to the filmmaker, Bose could not have left Saigon to fly to Tokyo via Taihoku in Taiwan as the powerful US Navy would have shot down any Japanese aircraft. He puts forth his theory that Bose took an alternate route through Manchuria to eventually escape to the Soviet Union and, stressed that no plane crash took place on August 18, 1945.

- Iqbal Malhotra
Professor Sumit Mukerji is presently Director, Centre for Studies on Bengali Diaspora, University of Kalyani. He was awarded his Ph.D. degree from Jadavpur University for his thesis entitled *Political Thought and Principles of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, 1921-41* which was subsequently published as a book named *Subhas Chandra Bose, The Making of a Warrior Philosopher 1921-41*. Apart from this, other books authored by him include *Gorkhaland, the Dormant Volcano, The Rebels of Kamrup, A Search for identity among Aboms and Rajbanshis* and *Subhas Chandrer Jibane Rabindranathb Probhob*. He has attended 113 international, national and state level seminars, more than 100 papers in books, reputed journals and periodicals. He has written a number of research papers on the life and thought of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. His major areas of interest include Netaji Studies, Indian Freedom Movement, Political Thought, Terrorism, and Ethnic and Sub national movements.

‘*Rashbehari Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose, Life, Action and Thought in comparative Perspective*’

Abstract

The INA phenomenon represents the most spectacular phase in the political life of NetajiSubhas Chandra Bose. However though it was Rashbehari Bose who induced Subhas to come over to East Asia from Germany and take charge of the INA, no comparative study of the life, action and thought of the two prominent revolutionaries has been undertaken with a critical focus. This happens to be a significant research gap in Netaji studies despite the enormous proliferation of literature on Netaji’s political career both as a leader of the Congress and later as the commander of the Azad Hind Fouz. While Subhas was predominantly an activist but there was also the orientation of a thinker in him. Rashbehari in contrast, was more of an activist rather than a thinker, yet he had a reflective mind and many of his thoughts on varied aspects of India’s future development were strikingly akin to those of Subhas. No comparative study of the same has been produced till date and the present paper is a modest attempt to fill this gap.

- Professor Sumit Mukerji
Kingshuk Nag retired recently from *The Times of India* after serving for 24 years. His last position was Resident Editor of the newspaper’s Hyderabad edition. Now he writes for the *Economic & Political Weekly* and *The Wire*, besides running a widely read blog *Masala Noodles*. An M.A. in Economics from the Delhi School of Economics, Nag started his career with The Tata Economic Consultancy Services but after a few years shifted to journalism. He is the author of six best-selling books of which the latest is *Netaji: Living Dangerously*.

‘INA forced the British out of India’

Abstract

Although the Congress party is credited for India’s freedom, it was Netaji and the INA who gave the last shove to the British raj. After World War II the British government could never be sure of the loyalty of the Indian soldier in protecting the Raj that was perpetuated on the strength of Indian soldiers. Netaji motivated Indian soldiers captured by the Japanese in WW II and weld them together into the Indian National Army (INA) to fight for India’s freedom from outside. Although the exploits of the INA had been kept hidden largely in India, after the War this could never be kept secret. The trial of INA officers led to a spontaneous outpouring of nationalism among Indians who were aroused on hearing of their exploits. The Indian soldiers of British Indian Army showed signs of discontent. A mutiny among ratings of the Royal Indian Navy made the British realize that if they did not quit India quickly they would be kicked out by force. Leaving nothing to chance, the colonialists hastened their exit, albeit after partitioning the country. Without the INA that prompted the Indian soldier to rethink his loyalty, the Raj would have continued till other factors came into play to dislodge them.
Dr. Md. Naushad Ali, currently working as Consultant (Research) in the ICHR. Completed Doctorate in Modern Indian History on the topic, ‘Changes in Indian Agriculture in the Late Colonial Era, c. 1888-1947’. Worked as Research Assistant on the project “Minerals, Mining and Metal Working Crafts in Medieval India c. 1600-1750” funded by INSA, New Delhi in 2009 and 2010. As Research and Editorial Assistant in Indian Council of Historical Research, contributed in the publications of the Martyrs Project Volumes.

‘The Indian Independence League, Indian Legion and Azad Hind Radio under Subhas Chandra Bose’

Abstract

This paper aims to delve into Subhas Chandra Bose’s foremost role in the Indian Independence League’s activities after his arrival in Germany in April 1941 and subsequently, the creation of Indian Legion and the foundation of Azad Hind Radio under his fervent leadership. The study will also focus to analyse the role of the Indian revolutionaries and the civilians living abroad who went hand in hand with Bose in his efforts of uniting the Indian soldiers (captured by the German army on European fronts) and establishing the Indian Legions to fight the British forces and also the setting up Azad Hind Radio to propagate the cause of Indian liberation. The role of Nazi Government’s leaders and officials, who welcome Subhas Bose warmly and facilitated him in his endeavour, will also be critically
acknowledged. Unfortunately, the modern historians of India have paid little attention on highlighting Netaji’s radical efforts in Europe, perhaps due to his alliance with the fascist forces, although, the decision of joining these forces was entirely a strategic and political move. Hence, we do not find much literature on the combined study of the IIL, Indian Legion and Azad Hind Radio. Nevertheless, an attempt is being made to analyse Bose’s passionate efforts as one of the front-runner leader of Indian liberation, especially in the light of these three organizations by consulting the Private Papers on INA available in National Archives of India, contemporary writings, individual papers and oral testimonies of the revolutionaries, available at NMML and other sources.

- Dr. Md. Naushad Ali

Dr. Kaushik Roy is Guru Nanak Chair Professor, Department of History, Jadavpur University, Kolkata, and Global Fellow, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Norway.

‘Japan and INA in South-East Asia: Origins and Organization of the INA’

Abstract

Disaffection among the Indian community in South-East Asia and service grievances among the Indian officers corps allowed the Japanese an opportunity to stir anti-British feelings in the colonial Indian Army. The Japanese Blitzkrieg in South-East Asia (1941-42) undermined British prestige and this finally resulted in the disintegration of loyalty mechanism of the colonial Indian Army. The first INA which came into existence under Captain Mohan Singh was a mirror image of the colonial Indian Army. But, it was soon dissolved due to inadequate liaison between the Japanese authorities and Mohan Singh. The Second INA under Subhas Chandra Bose had greater impact on the global politico-military landscape. This was because of deft handling of the situation by the Fujiwara Kikan and massive political stature of Bose. Bose initiated an organizational overhaul which made the Second INA quite different from the First INA. In the spheres of recruitment, logistics and
combat motivation, Bose initiated sea changes. This essay utilizing the archival sources available in UK and India and memoir materials charts these changes.

- Professor Kaushik Roy

Dr. Raj Kumar Sharma holds a doctorate from School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. He is a Research Fellow at the United Service Institution of India (USI), New Delhi. He has contributed to different projects on Indian security and foreign policy for the Ministry of Defence. He is a contributing writer for the Nikkei Asian Review (Japan) and has taught Political Science at the University of Delhi.

‘Subhas Chandra Bose’s Views on Foreign Policy: Dominance of Realism’

Abstract

The ‘realism-idealism’ debate dominated the international affairs during the interwar period (1919-1939). The realists argued in favour of power while conducting a state’s
foreign policy. In contrast, the idealists stood for moral principles and international institutions negating importance of power in international relations. This debate was pursued in India as well during the late 1930s and 1940s. Subhas Chandra Bose’s views on foreign policy during this time were closer to realists as he stood for using force against the British and took help from the Japanese and Germans to raise the Indian National Army (INA). Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had an idealist position in this regard as they preferred non-violence and moral principles to oust the British from India. Ironically, after Nehru became the Prime Minister of India, his foreign policy could not stick to the idealist credentials ultimately bowing to dominant realpolitik of power politics in international affairs.

- Dr. Raj Kumar Sharma
M. Jugindro Singh is a columnist, writer, counsellor, active member of INA Memorial complex in Manipur, a dedicated member of youth and women employment, social worker and reformer, academician and educationist.

‘The First and the Last INA Headquarter of Free India’

Abstract

Sole objective of INA is to liberate, fight and win freedom of India. The historic march from Singapore to Red Fort was thus started. But it came to abrupt end, short cut and short live but their contribution into the solid form of historical piece written by their own blood is unique, full of death fearing deeds but priceless and symbol of sacrifices and eternal. The mission and ultimate destination to Red Fort was a little beyond their reached. They were stopped by Providence but succeed to plant Tri Colour Flag at Moirang Kangla, Manipur, the coronation place of Phang Phang Ponglenhanba, the first coronated king of Moirang Salai lineage on 52 B.C. With the divine intervention and association with Netaji and INA heroes, Moirang, the birth place of Thangjing Culture and cradle of civilisation came into the limelight of the freedom struggle of India. From 14 April to 14 July, 1944 Moirang served as the First and the Last headquarter of INA heroes and Indo-Japanese forces. But more research work, examination is required to explore the missing page of freedom struggle.

- M. Jugindro Singh
Dr. Er. Vekho Swuro is a civil engineer by profession who is an ambassador of Peace and Unity and a strong proponent of “dignity of Labour” especially for the youths. He is a recipient of Governor’s award for his contribution towards society. To his credit he also has invented a Naga smokeless dryer helping thousands of rural people. He also published several books which are widely used as practical books by the youths in Nagaland. He has been awarded an Honorary Doctorate for Historical research and Youth Development specialising on the life of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

‘INA’s first administered village in Nagaland’

Abstract

Travelling and listening to the stories from the eye witnesses; one could not, but share those unheard stories. In 1944, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and INA along with Japanese troops came to the Naga Hills (Nagaland) through the shortest route from Myanmar. After winning the battle of Jesami, Netaji came through Phek-Khuza-Mutsale and camped at Ruzazho village for a week. Eye witnesses accounts that, before World War II, many Nagas became closely associated with the British. However, when Netaji came and addressed the villagers, he won the hearts of the people to fight the British and alias as Indian freedom fighters. Here, he appointed one Doba Shi (D.B), one Translator and Nine Gaon Buras (GB) under his government. They spread the news to surrounding areas and won many more people to help the INA and also brought their contributions of rations for them as their rations were almost over by then. The villagers helped the INA as informants, spies, potters, scouting to proceed toward the battle of Kohima making it the toughest battle in the British History.

- Dr. Er. Vekho Swuro
Dr. Vijay Kumar Vashishtha retired as Professor and Head of History Department in Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati University, Ajmer (1990-2000). He has worked as UGC Award post of Research Scientist B, been Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla and Senior Fellow of Indian Council of Historical Research. Prof. Vashishtha has chosen Rajasthan as part of his wider studies on Modern Indian History. He has to his credit several books, edited works and research articles. His major publications are, *Rajputana Agency 1832-1858; Bhagat Movement: Study of Cultural Transformation of the Bhils of the Southern Rajasthan; 1857 Revolt in the Princely State of Jaipur; and Role of Gandhi’s Ideas in Mobilization of Adivasis of Southern Rajputana Princely States* (1921-1948). The Maharana Mewar Foundation, Udaipur bestowed on him the prestigious Maharana Kumbha Award (1993) for his contribution to the history and culture of Rajasthan.

‘Subhash Chandra Bose, Indian National Army and Rajputana States’

Abstract

Subhash Chandra Bose (1897-1945), a socialist and an ardent revolutionary emerged parallel to Mahatma Gandhi, as a leader of the protagonists of armed struggle with foreign aid for the liberation of India from British imperialism. His diagonally opposite views to Gandhi’s non-violent struggle for the independence of India, mobilized him to reorganize the Indian National Army (INA) after the assurance of support from the Imperial Government of Japan at the opportune time of breaking of the Second World War for the struggle of India’s freedom. Even after the surrender of the INA men on the Indo-Burma border and
subsequently, the news of the death of Subhash Chandra Bose, almost all the political parties and people across India came to the rescue of INA prisoners. At last, the sustained political pressure of the Congress since the passing of Quit India Resolution coupled with the escalation of disaffection in the ranks and files of British Indian Army under the spell of INA, triggered the British Government to grant expeditiously independence to India on 15 August, 1947. In the light of growing popularity of INA all over India, the present paper attempts to study the impact of Subhash Chandra Bose and INA in furtherance of the process of political awakening among the students and Prajamandal leaders of nineteen Princely States of Rajputana. It elucidates the sacrifices of INA recruits of these States in the battles of Arakan and Imphal. The paper is based on archival records of Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner; published INA papers and poems.

- Professor Vijay Kumar Vashishtha