

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the Provisional Government of
Azad Hind — An analytical construction*

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by

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(Akbar Ali Khan)

PREFACE

In the cherished saga of India's struggle for freedom, the I.N.A. movement under Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose played the most important role. After the failure of the Quit India Movement, India's freedom struggle confronted a great crisis and the prospects of the struggle were grim and dismal, and but for the emergence of the new factor of the I.N.A., the whole movement under Gandhiji might have collapsed and the dream of India's independence might have been far-fetched. But thanks to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, under whose relentless, selfless and tireless efforts, the I.N.A. movement reached a high water mark even after the surrender of Japan. When the information reached the Indian people during the I.N.A. trial about the exploits of the I.N.A. heroes, the whole country was ablaze with the fire of revolutionary zeal, there was mutiny even in the British navy and the revolutionary spirit of the freedom struggle received a new dimension. This countrywide commotion forced the British, even as Churchill admitted it, to leave India and transferring power to her.

This dissertation deals with Netaji's I.N.A. movement, but it does not deal with its political or military aspects. It rather, for the first time, deals with the administration of the I.N.A., of the provisional government of Azad Hind – both military and civil – conceived implemented and executed by Netaji. This aspect of I.N.A. history forms the subject-matter of this dissertation — an entirely original and novel one. It should also be pointed out in this connection that this work has largely been based on some very important and yet unexplored archival materials particularly the recently released I.N.A. records by the

government of India lying in custody of the National Archives of India. On the basis of these primary sources supplemented by some authentic published secondary sources, an attempt has been made here to make an analytical construction of the structural set up of the Azad Hind government under Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose – its concept and character, its objective and activities, not yet undertaken in any research work.

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Introduction

At the very outset, it should be pointed out that the major portion of this dissertation is based on primary sources (mainly recently released I.N.A. files), which explains the technical nature of this work in many respects in the form of compilation and citation of records, documents, diary reports, ledger book keeping etc. Side by side this data based and informative technical treatment, there is also a narrative and analytical treatment of the subject-matter in some respects with reference to the primary sources as well as published secondary source materials. The subject matter of this dissertation is an entirely novel, original and innovative approach to study an hitherto untouched aspect of the administrative history of the I.N.A. movement. So far there has been studies only on the political and military aspects of the history of the I.N.A. and none on administrative history, barring a very few scattered and fragmentary writings on the latter. This entitles the work to its claim for the Ph.D. degree in the discipline of social sciences. In fact the paradigm adopted by this project is related to the multi-disciplinary analytical construction covering historical, administrative, military and legal aspects. It should also be noted that the title of this dissertation is highly suggestive. The focus of the subject-matter is on the administration of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind but at the same time it throws light on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the architect of this government, in fact, of the I.N.A. movement leading to the establishment of the Azad Hind Government. It is he who conceived, planned and executed the whole set up of the Azad Hind government both civil and military administration. It is on this foundation, that Netaji launched and carried out the unforgettable saga of the second I.N.A. movement or the second National War of Independence for his country's liberation from foreign rule. He played the main role in this unique military experiment related to civil and military administration of an insurgent government. It is he who as the Head of this government fortified the basis and structure of

the government by fulfilling all the prerequisites for the formation of a full-fledged lawful government under international law. He left no stone unturned to overcome the multiple problems and challenges financial, military and diplomatic, related both to the home affairs and foreign policy of the Azad Hind Government to maintain peace within the ambit of the I.N.A. government, as well as to wage war – the I.N.A. war against the Anglo-American Allies to free India from British bondage. Thus the pivot of this history of the Azad Hind government is the crucial role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, without whom, without whose ideas and activities, the whole scheme of such a unique form of government would not have materialized. Hence before proceeding to discuss the various aspects of the I.N.A. administration, it is necessary to study the basic ideas of Bose as well as his political and military background, and this has been discussed as the background in the opening chapter of this work.

Against this background, the character, objectives and locus standii of the Azad Hind Government have been analysed, with a detailed account of its civil and military administration with reference to the recently released I.N.A. files, in the subsequent chapters. A separate chapter has also been devoted to make a comparative study between, on the one hand Netaji's liberation struggle in Europe : the Free India Centre and the Indian Legion in Germany – how they were formed by Bose and their character, objectives and activities – and the I.N.A. movement in East Asia under his leadership on the other – since there were some common features between the two. The similarities as well as the dissimilarities between the two have been highlighted, and it has been clearly established that the one was complementary to the other on the ultimate road to India's freedom. This is for the first time that such a comparative study between the two movements has been done.

It should be remembered in this connection, that although Netaji was the architect and Head of the Azad Hind Government and the supreme commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, the life and soul of the I.N.A. movement which was under his absolute control, he

had yet no personal motivation behind it, no power lust or vested interest. His only objective and consuming passion was his country's independence. He was out and out a nationalist and the whole I.N.A. movement under his leadership was determined and guided by nationalist objectives, and this national liberation movement was a straight fight between his patriotism and British imperialism.

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*Chapter Headings***Title : Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the Provisional Government of Azad Hind — An Analytical Construction.**

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Abbreviations

F I C	Free India Centre
R J R	Rani of Jhansi Regiment
Rgt	Regiment
COMDR	Commander
AHQ	Army Head Quarters
MP	Military Police
Grla	Guerilla
Pl	Platoon
Coy	Company
N.C.O.	Non-Commissioned Officer
PS of war(PWO)	Prisoners of War
Bn.	Battalion
BYTC	Bharat Youth Training Centre
IIL	Indian Independence League.

B508, B579, L3602, L3603 etc. Secret Code Nos used in the British Confidential Reports for I.N.A. soldiers/officers. for example Lakshmi Swaminathan (L3719)

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Chapter I

THE BACKGROUND

Section I

The Ideological Background : Subhas Chandra Bose believed in the fundamentals of modernism. Highly educated and intellectually alert, Subhas Chandra realised the importance of science and in his thought system scientism or application of science to all round development played an important part. And his concept of scientism was inter-related with the ideals and ideas of nationalism, secularism, humanism, democracy and socialism as an integrated process. The whole mental make-up of Subhas Chandra was thoroughly modern as being scientifically planned, free from any preconceived bias, bigotry or superstition and open to retrospection and introspection for proper study and evaluation of the forces of change and progress taking place not only in India but also in the outside world.

As an essential requisite of this modern mind, Subhas Chandra made an indepth study of the history of different countries – history of the revolutionary movements in those countries which led to their independence on the one hand, and history of their post-freedom national reconstruction on the other. He studied in minute details and with scientific precision the techniques and tactics, the modes and methods of their freedom struggle and post-freedom reconstruction programmes. He wanted to take lessons from these plannings. Thus for example he studied the revolutionary freedom movements of different countries like the carbonieri movement of Italy, Sinn Fein movement of Ireland, Young Turk movement of Turkey, Sokol youth movement of Czechoslovakia etc.

Against this background we find him, drawing up plans and preparations for his valiant struggle for freedom of his beloved motherland. In this connection Lothar Frank wrote, “Bose studied objectively how Lenin and Stalin, deValera and Kamal Ataturk, Hitler and Mussolini succeeded in awakening the slumbering desires of the masses in realising their aims. Simultaneously he researched into the causes of the apathy of the Indian masses who had become so indifferent to their misery. He studied ways of awakening and

organising them by modern techniques and preparing them for the grim fight for the liberation of their Country".¹

The example of the Irish national movement with its spectacular success under deValera was particularly an inspiration to Bose - "The Irish struggle for liberty had been followed with profound sympathy by millions of Indians who were also struggling for national freedom at the same time, and the success of Ireland had given new heart to India".²

He had a pragmatic and utilitarian policy in foreign affairs, modern in conception and was prepared for taking foreign help for liberation of their country on ground of expediency and not ideological affinity. He discarded anti-Axis sentimentalism of the Congress as unrealistic and suicidal, and informed Nehru of his disapproval of a sentimentalist foreign policy.³ Thus he took help of the Axis Powers like Germany, Italy and Japan against Britain for the liberation of India.

It did not indicate any ideological commitment on his part towards the Fascism or Nazism. The sole objective in Subhas Chandra's life and thinking was his country's independence – national independence. One of the greatest patriots of the world of all times, he was stooped to wrest India's freedom from the British and restore her national sovereignty from her present abject condition of colonial subjection by means of an uncompromising militant struggle against the British.

According to Subhas Chandra, the making of a nation depends on the basic structure of national consciousness. And in his eyes national consciousness or national unity involves not only political unity but also cultural unity – the two are inseparable. He separated culture from the religious linkage and raised it to a scientific plain by making it free from the invidious distinction of caste, sect, creed, class race, religion, sex, age and privilege. It should also be free from parochialism, provincialism, fanaticism and communalism. In this light, he hoped that cultural unity would create a political and socio-economic consciousness, a spirit of scientific liberalism and an ardour of nationalism. The fundamental basis of rapprochement between different communities, according to him, lies

in cultural exchange and approachment, and education played a vital role in fostering cultural unity.

There should be, according to him, a system of national secular education, modern and scientific in nature. The new system of education should be determined in consideration of India's national history, national heritage, national aim and national characteristics. There should be no role of missionaries in this education. Emphasis should be on vocational education and scientific and technological education; cultural autonomy will have to be ensured not for different linguistic areas but for national welfare, and love for the country and the people should be the basis as a whole. The concept of Pan-Indianism or national unity should be the sole criterion of syllabi. This was the basic objective in his educational policy whether as the Principal of the National school, Calcutta or as the Municipal Administrator. Even in his educational policy of the Provisional Government he followed the same policy as we shall find the Chapter III of this work.

Bose's ideal of secularism was indispensably connected with his concept of nationalism. As he saw that the psychological basis of Indian nationalism and Swaraj was national unity or communal unity, the communal problem was to him the greatest obstacle on the way. Hence he preached the gospel of Pan-Indian brotherhood and fought relentlessly for Hindu-Muslim unity and held that without Hindu-Muslim unity all attempts to gain our ends would be frustrated. He strongly condemned the idea of separate electorates as a deliberate and artificial creation of the British 'Divide and Rule Policy' to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims in order to break the backbone of the national movement.

Bose's faith in Pan-Indianism was also a matter of ideological conviction. He believed in the equality of all religions and his creed was religious catholicity and toleration.

He strongly espoused, as we have seen above, a secular and scientific national education as an effective means to achieve religious harmony and fraternity. This could also be achieved through cultural synthesis. In Bose's eyes, the Hindus and the Muslims did not

cherish any separate identity at the cultural level. Despite religious differences there was no obstacle to cultural synthesis and unity between them. In fact, according to him the factor of religion has never been any determining factor in Indian history.

In this philosophy of history, we find the basic cosmopolitan and secular outlook of Subhas who found both in Hindu and ~~the~~ Islamic culture a contributory factor to Indian civilisation.

The same secular mentality and policy were surely reflected in Netaji's ideals and activities during the FIC/INA phases which has been discussed in Chapter V.

It did not, however, mean that Netaji had no faith in God or he was irreligious. He had deep faith in God and he prayed to him everyday for his blessings but that was entirely a private matter. He instructed his countrymen whether his fellow workers at home or abroad – even in the INA battle field that India is a land where all people should live together with their respective religions, if any, in private life without the least demonstration in public. He also warned that “religious difference should not bring social difference in the Indian society. Religion must not get entry in schools and colleges, in state affairs of administration, legislation, judician system.”⁴

Thus in the context Netaji's ideas of nationalism and secularism, we find that the pivot of his philosophy was his faith in mankind. He believed in the equality of all religions because he stood for equality, justice and fairplay for mankind. Thus element of humanism formed the basis of his ideal of secularism.

Subhas Chandra's basic faith was in democracy, but his ideas of democracy were not conventional. New India, immediately after her freedom, would, according to Subhas Chandra, face multifarious problems. Anti-national and disruptive elements which were bound to raise their heads on the morrow of freedom, were to be suppressed. Last vestiges of British imperialism were to be completely wiped out and their recrudescence was to be prevented. National unity was to be preserved. And finally the government was to solve gigantic problems like national defence, poverty, unemployment, education, agricultural and industrial development etc.

As these Herculean tasks were too challenging to be solved by a nascent democratic government, Subhas Chandra did not want to start with democracy at the beginning. Moreover, for efficient and successful functioning of democracy, he thought that the people must have adequate training. Until this intellectual and political training of the people was completed, Subhas Chandra wanted to leave the charge of affairs in the hands of a strong centralised government. He used different expressions to describe this iron rule to consolidate India's national unity and security – sometimes as a military autocracy, sometimes as an authoritarian government, sometimes as a dictatorship.

For using these terms he was described by his critics like Hugh Toye, Gwynne or K.P.Menon, as a dictator. “He certainly was inclined towards dictatorship and would have established one – in India given a half chance.”

But this allegation is quite unjust, unfair and in fact unfounded. Netaji did not want to establish a military dictatorship in India permanently. It was only to be a stop-gap arrangement for India's law and order, security, peace and stability in the period of transition. As soon as law and order were restored, the political condition was favourable and the people's training completed, it was voluntarily to step down and hand over power to the people. Thus it was not an end by itself but only a means to an end - “... the only means of holding India together and preventing chaos when the Indians are free and are thrown entirely on their own resources A strong central government with dictatorial powers for some years to come in order to put India on her feet.”⁵

“He saw it clearly”, aptly observes Lothian Frank, “that the Indian nation which was composed of different racial and religious groups holding different ethical and moral values could only be integrated fully and assured of a happy future when all these elements could be brought within a free society under a certain authority.”⁶

Even Bose's critic Hugh Toye said that “Bose saw a strong Central Government settling down to the accomplishment of a great social and industrial revolution in India and then handing over after perhaps twenty years to the processes of democracy.”⁷

Thus his ultimate goal was democracy. "Free India", he declared "will be a social and political democracy."⁸ Accordingly, he envisaged that after the transfer of power to the people a Constituent Assembly should be summoned, a national or popular constitution be framed and a government should be formed on the basis of adult suffrage, with proper amount of decentralisation of power and enough responsibility for provincial governments with the ultimate goal of an Independent Federal Republic. The Constitution, he said "will be prefaced by a Declaration of Rights guaranteeing the fundamental rights of the people and will establish a full national sovereignty."⁹

We find the same image of a strong, efficient and democratic administrator in his I.N.A. administration. For this we have to depend mainly on his colleagues' writings and Netaji's statements besides the evidence of historical actuality. This matter will be discussed in Chapter II in details and it will suffice to note that Netaji always took particular care to put his Cabinet colleagues at ease by avoiding all signs of impatience, intolerance or resentment on question of even divergent approaches. In all essential matters he carried his government and his I.N.A. associates with him – for example (i) movement of the I.N.A. from Singapore to Burma, (ii) renaming of Andaman and Nicobar, (iii) appointment of a Cabinet Committee to report on the method of national unification in dress, food, greetings, ceremonies etc. (iv) shifting of the Headquarters of the government from Malaya to Burma, (v) creation of more ministries to intensify the total mobilisation programme, (vi) the granting of awards to those who sacrificed their all for the same of their country, (vii) establishment of the Azad Hind Government's sovereignty in the areas liberated from the British occupation in India.

According to Ayer, Netaji never believed in confronting his colleagues with a fait accompli and then wrangling their unwilling approval."¹⁰

This view is shared by Netaji's other colleagues like Col. A.C.Chatterjee and Mrs. Lakshmi Sehgal. According to Chatterjee "Netaji always stressed upon the practical development of love and respect between the men and officers of all denominations."¹¹

Mrs. Sehgal observed that "we do not have a one-man dictatorship. We are all fellow fighters in the same field."¹²

This clearly proves that Netaji was absolutely a democrat in his I.N.A. administration. Hence it is simply ridiculous to find the unfounded allegations of dictatorship in this matter against him – as for example, Toye's opinion that Netaji converted his I.N.A. government into a dictatorship, the Cabinet being subordinated to it. In fact, the I.N.A. government under him was based on the joint responsibility of Netaji and the Cabinet. The Provisional Government was, in its very inception, envisaged by Netaji to be a national and democratic agency of the Indian people, meant only for ushering in the country's independence. Thus, in his proclamation on the formation of the Provisional Government, Netaji said, "until a permanent National government of Azad Hind is set up on the Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian People." It will make room for a permanent government to be set up in India, in accordance with the will of the Indian people."¹³

Section II

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

When Subhas Chandra joined the Indian national movement in 1921, Gandhi was at the helm of affairs. But Subhas Chandra was so unimpressed by his first interview with Gandhi that he accepted C.R.Das as his political guru, instead of Gandhi.

Subhas Chandra was strongly opposed to passive resistance, and he advocated active resistance. "Satyagraha, as I understand it, is not merely passive resistance, but active resistance as well."¹⁴ Passive resistance, according to him, would be completely ineffective. In fact, he pointed out, that it had already been proved. "The peaceful meetings, processions, and demonstrations that had been held in the last few years, in spite of the official ban, showed a spirit of defiance no doubt, and also caused some annoyance to the

Government. In spite of all our demonstrations and in spite of seventy thousand persons having gone to prison.... The Government can still claim :

- (1) that their army is quite loyal;
- (2) that their police forces are quite loyal;
- (3) that the civil administration (collection of revenue and taxes, administration of law courts and prisons etc.) is still unimpaired;
- (4) that the life and property of Government officials and their supporters are still quite safe; and the Government can still boast that they do not care if the general population in India are passively hostile today.¹⁵

It is out of this faith in active resistance that Subhas Chandra joined the Swarajya Party founded by C.R.Das and Motilal Nehru in 1923 after Gandhi suspended his Non-co-operation movement in 1922 as a protest against mob violence at Chauri Chaura. The essence of the Swarajist Policy was the new plan of non-co-operation - constitutional obstruction from within the legislatures.

Subhas Chandra had his political initiation under Deshbandhu, and his work from 1921 to 1925 may be regarded as a period of political apprenticeship under his guru. After the latter's death in 1925, Subhas Chandra emerged as an independent, mature and vocal radical politician.

He now openly and vociferously demanded complete independence. He hailed the Madras Congress resolution for complete independence (1927) and decried the Calcutta Congress compromise resolution of 1928 for Dominion Status. "Even if Dominion Status is conceded today" he declared "We cannot accept it as a fulfilment of our national demand. We stand for independence as our immediate objective.... We are not prepared to lower the flag of independence even for one single day." Just as he strongly opposed the Dominion Status formula of the Congress, similarly in an equally emphatic manner he opposed the Congress policy of compromise, which according to him, was the greatest obstacle in India's struggle for freedom. He said that theoretically a compromise between the Congress and the

British Government was possible but it would mean gain for the British and loss for India, because any such compromise involved co-operation with Britain. From the practical point of view a compromise was almost impossible, because Britain would not voluntarily hand over power to the Indian people.

He said "A nationalist movement can succeed in paralysing a foreign government only when either or all of the following steps are taken :

- (1) Prevention of tax and revenue collection.
- (2) Adoption of measures whereby help from other quarters – whether financial or military – may not reach the Government in times of distress.
- (3) Winning over the sympathy and support of the present supporters of the British Government in India – that is of the Army, the Police and the Civil Servants – so that orders given by the Government for crushing the movement will not be carried out.
- (4) Actual attempt to seize power by force of arms. The last step is to be ruled out, because the Congress is pledged to non-violence. But it is nevertheless possible to paralyse the present administration and compel it to submit to our demands if we can adopt the following measures :
 - (a) prevent collection of tax and revenue
 - (b) through labour and peasant organisations prevent all kinds of help from reaching the Governments when they are in difficulty
 - (c) win the sympathy and support of the Government's own supporters by means of our superior propaganda.

If these three measures are adopted, the governmental machinery can be thrown out of gear. In the first place, they will have no money to meet the cost of administration. In the second place, the orders they may issue will not be carried out by their own officers. And lastly, help sent to the government from other quarters will not reach them. There is no royal road to success in winning political freedom. The above three measures have to be

adopted in part or in whole if victory is to be achieved. The Congress has failed simply because it has not succeeded in giving effect satisfactorily to any of the above three measures."¹⁶

This was Subhas Chandra's revolutionary radicalism. "It expounds in some details the new militant policy for which Subhas Bose and V.J. Patel appealed in their recent pronouncement from Vienna".¹⁷ There was the need, he felt, for a countrywide propaganda, and the creation of a new literature for explaining and propagating this new cult and programme. And he urged upon the Congress to resume the struggle on the basis of such a radical and militant line of action to paralyse the British administration, sever the British connection and thereby force the British to accede to their national demand of Swaraj.

He observed "We are clearly of opinion that as a political leader Mahatma Gandhi has failed. The time had therefore come for a radical reorganisation of the Congress on a new principle and with a new method. For bringing about this reorganisation, a change of leadership is necessary If the Congress as a whole can undergo this transformation it would be the best course. Failing that, a new party will have to be formed within the Congress composed of radical elements. Non-cooperation cannot be given up, but the form of non-cooperation will have to be changed into a more militant one to fight for freedom waged on all fronts."¹⁸

The image of such a new party, to be prepared to give an alternative leadership to that of the Congress, we find in the Samyavadi Sangha, 'Mr. Bose's New deal'¹⁹ a party envisaged by him to be an indispensable necessity for India, for her emancipation and post-freedom reconstruction, as projected by him in his Friars Hall address (10.6.33, London).

The Forward Bloc was a child of this process of transformation. The establishment of the Forward Bloc in May, 1939, by Subhas Chandra came as the practical version of the Samyavadi Sangha mentioned above, inasmuch as it was conceived and its movement conducted largely on the lines of his plan of Samyavadi Sangha. "The immediate objective of the Forward Bloc was an uncompromising struggle with British Imperialism for winning

India's freedom."²⁰ It stood for "Swaraj as our birthright.... Complete Independence, not a whit less than that."²¹

The method of the Bloc to reach this end was a two-fold one-national and international. It stood for a relentless and uncompromising national struggle against the British – a revolutionary struggle of non-violent character – by employing all possible means to this end, and thereby force the British to transfer power to the Indian people. "It is for the Indian people to make an immediate demand for the transference of power."²²

The Bloc also stood for an intelligent utilisation of the international situation – exploitation of the international crisis of Britain to the advantage of India, to hasten her march towards freedom and thus submit India's National Demand of Swaraj in the form of an ultimatum to the British. "How can we save our country from this political rut, utilise the international crisis to India's advantage and win freedom for ourselves – this is the supreme problem of the hour."²³ Nay, if it was necessary, the Bloc was even prepared to join hands with the Axis Powers – the enemies of Britain fighting her in the war against Britain. The Indian people "should not be hampered by any philosophical notions like Gandhian nonviolence or any sentimentalism like Nehru's anti-Axis foreign policy. The Bloc stands for a realistic foreign policy."²⁴ In fact, with this end in view, the Forward Bloc had made a contact, as Milan Hauner points out, with Rashbehari Bose and the I.N.A. in Japan²⁵ although it did not yield any fruit.

The foundation of the Forward Bloc would not have been necessary, Subhas Chandra points out, had the Congress itself followed this method. But the latter, bereft of all dynamism and eager for compromise, had neither the intention nor the ability for doing so.

The rosy path of constitutionalism had completely sapped the spirit of resistance of the Congress, superseding the original revolutionary spirit of Gandhism. That is why "the Right wing had definitely told us that they would not work in co-operation with the Leftists in future And that a national struggle in near future was out of the question."²⁶ Rather they would avoid a struggle which, they held, would pose a threat to their power, and they

would impeach the Leftists, whom they feared to be the pioneers of such a struggle. And it was all to preserve their peaceful parliamentary life.

Subhas Chandra strongly criticised this policy of constitutionalism. "Congress ministries in the provinces were formed in 1937 and neo-constitutionalism reared its head in a menacing form within the Congress in 1938. "Ever since then the main task of Leftism has been to fight this 'Frankenstein' created by the Congress itself. How to stem this drift towards constitutionalism, how to create afresh a revolutionary mentality.... How to bring the Congress back to the path of uncompromising national struggle These have been the main problems for the Leftists since 1938."²⁷ And it was to give shape to these plans that the Forward Bloc was born. For "according to the Forward Bloc.... A fighting mentality is necessary instead of a constitutionalist mentality."²⁸

The bias of these constitutionalists for creating an Indian Federation under the Government of India Act of 1935 was condemned by Subhas Chandra with equal force and the Forward Bloc "stood (for an) unrelenting opposition to the federal scheme"²⁹ insisting upon the Congress to give an uncompromising opposition to the plan of Federation.

Thus in this phase we find a new dimension in Bose's militant struggle for freedom – his conflict with the Rightists, or, the Rightist Vs. Leftist encounter in the Congress, the Rightists being headed by Gandhi and the Leftists by Bose. As a result, Bose had to fight on two fronts : the Congress front and the British front, and his fight against the British was largely hindered because of the Rightist opposition, harassment and persecution. Hence, he was convinced that it was not possible to wage an all-out militant, uncompromising national struggle against the British from within India; this explains his daring escape from India with the sole purpose of organizing the national liberation movement on foreign soils – in an enemy country of Britain after the outbreak of the second world war.

Section III

Part I

THE MILITARY BACKGROUND

Bose's original plan was to go to Russia, but since that was not possible, he went first to Germany and later from Germany to Japan. He organized the Indian national liberation movement in these countries, which reached its culmination in the I.N.A., movement against the Anglo-American bloc under his leadership. It must be made clear at the beginning that he did not by any means contemplate to raise any anti-Congress alternative front of national struggle from abroad. Rather, he waged it as a complement to the Congress movement at home. He had two objectives. He wanted to promote a revolution in India, and for that made frequent broadcasts from Radio Berlin and Radio Tokyo for the Indian people, in which he provided something like a plan of revolution in India.

Subhas Chandra's plan was to foment a revolutionary movement within India on the basis of Civil Disobedience on the widest scale possible, and, by way of supplementing it, to raise a Free India Army in Europe or East Asia out of the Indian POWs, to launch an offensive war against Britain in collaboration with the Axis Powers. And this army would form the basis of India's future national army.

He believed that sandwiched between this two-front fight from within India and from abroad by the Indian revolutionaries, the British would be forced to quit India.³⁰ Accordingly; Subhas Chandra raised an Indian national liberation movement in Germany and East Asia with the help of the Indian prisoners of war who had surrendered to the Axis powers. He established the Azad Hind Center in Berlin for organizing the movement and formed an Indian Legion or Free India Army for waging the liberation struggle. It did not materialise because of the negative attitude of Hitler, and Bose left for Japan in response to the invitation of Rashbehari Bose, who was at that time the President of the Indian Independence League in Japan and there he took charge of the I.N.A. movement.

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Chapter II

CHARACTER AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The character of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind under Netaji was absolutely national. It was composed exclusively of the Indians. There was no non-Indian element in the army. The British government also corroborated this Indian character of the I.N.A. They were all Indians first and last, irrespective of class, caste, race, creed or religion. "All Indians in East Asia", Netaji declared in a broadcast from Tokyo on 15.8.43 "are united regardless of religion or caste and they are determined to fight for the freedom of their common motherland." This was corroborated by Shah Nawaz Khan a Muslim and a trusted compatriot of Bose, "for him there was no religious or provincial difference. He refused to recognise this. He looked at everyone, Hindu, Muslim or Sikhs, without distinction and his spirit animated his men. In the I.N.A. there was no communal feeling of any sort inspite of the fact that everyman had full liberty to practise his religion in any way he liked. He made his soldiers realise that they were the sons of the same motherland, and as such there could be no difference between them. We were all completely united and it was realised by us that communal differences in our country were the creation of an alien power. The success of this can be gauged from the fact that the most ardent supporters and admirers of Netaji respected everyman for what he was worth and not for his religion or the province he came from."¹

It is amazing to see that when Netaji selected one officer from Germany to accompany him during his most hazardous journey to Tokyo by submarine, it was Abid Hasan, a Muslim. Again when his troops were sent to the fighting line both the divisional commanders were muslims – Major M.Z.Kiani and Shah Nawaz Khan. When he went on his last trip to Tokyo by plane in August 1945, it was Col.Habibur Rahaman who was selected to accompany him. This feeling was not confined only to members of the army. Among the civilians, some of the great supporters of Netaji were Muslims. The national anthem of the I.N.A. – Kadam kadam Baraye Ja was composed by Abid Hussan, while Stracey, an Anglo-Indian was entrusted to raise a martyr's memorial at Singapore. To cite

another instance, when the trustees of a temple invited Netaji to visit the shrine, he agreed to go only if he could take his colleagues with him, irrespective of their religion. Such instances, according to Jog, could be multiplied.

The members of the Cabinet of the provisional Government belonged to different provinces as is found from the Ministers' list. S.A. Ayer, a Minister of the Azad Hind Government aptly observed that, "there was not the slightest trace of provincialism in Netaji's mind at any stage He chose his colleagues and co-workers in the Government, the I.N.A. and the Indian Independence League with the utmost freedom from all bias and with an inborn national outlook."² Ayer is supported by Gunpuley "There was no group of regiment on the basis of provincial or religious division in the Indian Legion and the I.N.A."³ Netaji's another trusted lieutenant Mr. Lakshmi Swaminathan also admitted that Netaji was thoroughly a secular man.⁴ Thus Netaji's main objective was to promote national unity and integration among military and administrative personnel of the I.N.A. "The I.N.A." in the words of Stephen Cohen, "was the first cross communal united nationalist movement."⁵ Leonard Gordon also subscribed to the same view : "Bose made every effort to build a unified Indian entity which would eclipse any local or community ones. They were to work together, eat together, talk together and fight together."⁶

In the enrolment form even of civil volunteers there was no column to mention religion of the candidate belonged, and in the event of being recruited, everyone had to take an oath "I will regard all Indians as my brothers and sisters without distinction of religion, language or territory." For the secularisation of administration and even of the civilian life, a National Planning Sub-committee was formed by Netaji which undertook the task of secularisation. Secular education was imparted to the students at the Azad Hind Schools in South East Asia. Hindusthani was used as the official language of the Azad Hind government. Commands in the I.N.A. were instructed and maintained in Hindusthani. All were asked to wear uniform dress - men and women whether military personnel or civilians. They were also to follow uniform food habits. The Provisional Government of Free India also recommended Jana gana mana and Kadam Kadam Baraye Ja. as the national anthem.



the tricolour with 'springing tiger' as the national flag and also introduced the common greeting and salutation code 'Jai Hind'. The national war cry was 'Delhi Chalo', and the national slogans were 'Azad Hind Zindabad', 'Inquilab Zindabad'. All this created a secular culture in the I.N.A. The Azad Hind Government issued its own newspapers in different languages for the local Indian Communities, also established a National Bank and printed postal stamps which were, however not put to use. Netaji made radio broadcast both in English and different Indian languages. In this way Netaji's I.N.A. became a national institution. Even Mahatma Gandhi paid a glowing tribute to this remarkable achievement of Netaji and his I.N.A. "... to gather together, under one banner, men from all religions and races of India, and to infuse into them the spirit of solidarity and oneness" observes Gandhi, "to the exclusion of all communal or parochial sentiment ... is an example which we should all emulate."

Again, the main objective of the I.N.A. movement of Netaji was to supplement the national struggle for freedom going on in India as its external front – as an extension of that struggle "Subhas always regarded the I.N.A. movement", observed Girija Mukherjee, "as a projection, albeit active, of the movement for independence carried on by the Congress at home".⁷ This view has been supported by K.K.Ghosh.⁸ Thus the basis of Netaji's I.N.A. movement was national unity and its prime objective was attainment of Indian national independence and establishment of her national sovereignty.

All this clearly establishes the nationalist character of the I.N.A. movement under Netaji. As a complement to this spirit of nationalism, Netaji's I.N.A. was also based on a democratic foundation. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind stood to be a government of the people, for the people and by the people - In the words of Netaji, "it was the only lawful government of the Indian people. After the attainment of freedom it will make room for a permanent government to be set up inside India in accordance with the will of the Indian people."⁹ And "until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on the Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people."¹⁰ In the Greater East Asia Conference Tojo said that after India

became free, Netaji would be all-in-all there. But Netaji rose to correct him by saying that it was not for the Prime Minister of Japan or anyone else to say who would be all-in-all in free India. It was for the people of India to make that choice. This clearly proved Netaji's abiding faith in the people. According to Netaji's military Secretary and one of the I.N.A. Commanders P.K.Sabgal, Netaji preferred a Presidential form of government, and his idea of presidential form of government was not a dictatorship but an elected government.

The Azad Hind government was pledged to liberty, equality, justice, fraternity and religious catholicity. The Provisional Government, in the words of Netaji, "guarantees religious liberty as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past."¹¹ Thus the Azad Hind government recognised no distinction with regard to caste, class, race, religion, sect or sex, as we have found above. One of the factors for his creation of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment was this consideration of him to treat man and woman on an equal footing and provide women equal facilities in their life and career. Gordon points out that several ex-Rani of Jhansi women later on admitted that Netaji was very fatherly to them always concerned with their welfare. Netaji did not recognise any claim other than ability or aptitude, for preferment or advancement in the I.N.A.. His principle was independent of birth or former grade and based on absolute equality "Through the I.N.A. and the Provisional Government of Free India", observed Shri Ram Sharma, "Netaji has practically demonstrated for all times that different races and different religions can unite together, work together, live together and die together, if necessary, under one flag as brothers."¹²

The procedure of administration in the Provisional Government, as adopted by Netaji was also highly democratic.

S.A. Ayer, Minister of Publicity and Propaganda in the Azad Hind Government, makes the point clear. Subhas Chandra, observes Ayer; was “a democrat in heart and dictator in effect.” This was certainly one way of describing him as a dictator. What Ayer meant by this reference was that any dictatorial bias was “an intangible, elusive and inescapable part of him”, but the democratic bias was so strong in him that he could never be really a dictator.

Ayer proceeds to elucidate his statement in the following manner : Subhas Chandra was a dictator in the sense that he did high-powered thinking, planning and working out of the minutest details with regard to every important matter, civil or military, occasionally sounding his inner ‘cabinet’ on broad policy and details. He convinced himself first of the wisdom of his move, the foolproof character of his planning and the practicability of its execution. Then he would take his own time to look at his plans and details from every possible angle, removed any defects that he discovered during the scrutiny and make the plan as near perfect as humanly possible. And then he would go to his cabinet to explain his ideas. “The sheer boldness and majestic sweep of his planning admitted of little or no room for ordinary minds to suggest practical alternatives or worthwhile improvement. His planning was such that it deserved acceptance in toto His dictatorship was no bitter pill, for only in the most acceptable and happiest sense was he a dictator.”

Thus he ordered his men that ‘you shall lay down your lives on the road to Delhi’, ‘you shall keep up this struggle until India is free’, ‘you shall wipe out from your minds all thoughts of caste, creed or community’. “This was his dictate”, Ayer points out, “But. . . no. . . fiat from a dictator, but inspiration from an Avatar. . .”

Nay, on the other hand, transcending this intangible part of dictatorship, there was his dominating bias for democracy. He strictly adhered to a democratic procedure, Ayer points out. He would come to the Cabinet meeting or meeting of the Military High Command, prepared to explain the why and wherefore of his main ideas, listen attentively to the differing viewpoints of his colleagues, answer anyone of the objections, then, elucidate

and elaborate every point of detail, and close by a convincing picture of the ultimate fruition of his plan.

He insisted on calling a meeting of the Cabinet every time policy was to be decided, and once the decision was officially taken by the Cabinet, then and then alone he would use discretion to speak in the name of the government in explaining the implications of such a decision, and the possibilities of success or failure of certain moves in pursuance of the decision. He always took particular care to put his Cabinet colleagues absolutely at ease by avoiding all signs of impatience, intolerance or resentment on questions of even entirely divergent views. He carefully listened to all the arguments marshalled in favour of the opposing view. "This was a real education in democracy to his colleagues. He never believed in confronting his colleagues with a *fait accompli* and then wrangling their unwilling approval."¹³

Capt. Lakshmi Swaminathan, of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment said that Netaji "was not at all arrogant in trying to force his opinion on others. He acted all the time in a very level-headed, persuasive and rational manner, and step by step, tried to explain when he was doing certain things and what his reasons were, and what he believed would be the outcome. His utter, absolute sincerity struck me most and I felt that this man would never take a wrong step and that one could trust him completely and have the utmost confidence in him. . . We do not have a one-man dictatorship, we are fellow-fingers in the same field."¹⁴

In this connection, we should mention that there were some allegations of dictatorship against Netaji. For example according to Hugh Toye, "under Axis Patronage Netaji more and more acted like a dictator",¹⁵ and he converted the I.N.A. Cabinet into an engine of his autocracy. But this allegation was totally baseless. The I.N.A. Government was based on the joint responsibility of Netaji and the Cabinet, and his procedure of administration, was never dictatorial, it was rather democratic, as pointed out above by some of his colleagues who, therefore, had strong objections to this label of dictator or fascist on Netaji.

A.M.Nair and K.P.K.Menon criticised Netaji as a fascist dictator particularly because Netaji made the Japanese arrest of Menon who was one of his most severe critics. According to H.N.Pandit Netaji had no hand in this arrest¹⁶ while according to Gordon, even if Netaji had any hand in it, it did not prove that he was a fascist. He may have believed that Menon might have endangered the solidarity of the movement¹⁷ which was in fact the case. Again Captain Durrani of the Penang spy school against whom Netaji had to take steps for his indiscipline criticised him as a fascist dictator. All these allegations are to be rejected as biased and baseless.

Thus from the above discussion it is clear that Netaji created a new tradition in the I.N.A. - a nationalist, democratic, secular and cosmopolitan tradition both in the military and civil administration of the Azad Hind Government. To understand comprehensively the character and objectives of the Azad Hind Government under Netaji we should also examine the Administrative Policy and Programme of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. It should be seen under three heads :

- (a) Financial Policy
- (b) Military Policy
- (c) General Administration.

We should first of all discuss the financial side. Immediately after Netaji assumed charge of the I.N.A. movement, he located the sources of his supply of men and then of materials which were interconnected. According to Hugh Toye he had decided that Burma and Malaya would be his main source of supply of men and Thailand of materials and he sent his personal representatives to these two countries. As Malaya was close at hand, he opened recruitment and training centres all over Malaya for this purpose. With regard to his canvassing for funds, it is necessary to refer to the final paragraph of the note exchanged between Colonel Tamura and Pritam Singh in 1941. It read

- (f) The Japanese Army will make available whatever materials and funds are needed to

carry on I.I.L. activities at the request of Pritam Singh. I.I.L. will be at liberty to receive donations offered voluntarily by those Indians residing in the areas of Japanese military operations.

In his meeting with Netaji in Singapore, Tojo endorsed the old note and gave Netaji a free hand in collecting funds from Indian residents of South East Asia.

On the basis of this agreement, Netaji was drawn in two directions for raising money for financing the national liberation movement – contributions from the Indian communities, and financial help from the Japanese government. Netaji personally made a hectic tour from one place to another in East Asia and appealed to the resident Indian communities to donate liberally for their country's cause. With the increasing recruitment of soldiers, there increased the expenses more and more for which there was the need of more and more money. He called for 'a total mobilisation for a total war' – total mobilisation of all the resources of the three million Indians in East Asia. His aim was three hundred thousand soldiers and thirty million dollars. At first there was liberal donations from all sections of the Indian communities – both rich and poor, although the middle class and the poor's contributions were more than that of the rich, indicating their greater enthusiasm than the latter in the national cause. Response from Rangoon was the most encouraging. On May 29th in a single day Bose collected some five million rupees worth of cash and valuables at public meetings. One merchant was so moved that he gave his entire property. From many others Netaji received humble donations of a necklace, gold earrings or a few rupees. The Zeyawaddy Sugar Estate, owned by an Indian firm, was handed over to him by its manager. Netaji regarded it thereafter as part of Free India and its profits as Provisional Government's revenue. On 23rd January, 1945 Netaji observed 48th birthday. Worshipful trust of the Indian community of Rangoon in their leader did not wane despite war adversities. In spite of their untold hardship they donated gold and jewels weighing in total one and half times his weight – amounting to around 100 kilograms.

But this type of response was not found elsewhere where gradually liberal, even

handful contributions, were not forthcoming. Hence, Netaji was compelled to take recourse to pressure, exaction and threat to force donations from them. Punitive action was also taken in the case of defaulters including arrest and confinement to the concentration camp by the Board of Management which was established particularly for this purpose with Major General A.C.Chatterjee in its charge. The Board also under the instruction of Netaji, imposed a systematic levy on Indian property.

Regarding the second source of fund, he realised that he could not do without Japanese finance, and often said that all help offered must be accepted for India's sake, but he knew the strong feeling among his followers that Japanese money must not imply Japanese dictation. Some Japanese assistance was indeed his due. The Japanese must naturally continue to maintain the prisoners of war whether they were in the I.N.A. or not. He aimed however, to pay for all the civilian activities of the League, including the recruitment and training of civilians for the I.N.A. By October 1943, these expenses amounted to about a million local dollars (Rs.116,700) a month, and the bill was to increase five-fold when the new recruitment and training projects developed. Incomes had not approached this rate, less than two million dollars in all having been subscribed upto to July, 1943.

One of the achievements of Netaji in this matter was the Indo-Japanese Loan Agreement of 1944. Throughout the negotiations Netaji insisted on obtaining loans without any strings and assuring repayment. He insisted that India was not Japan's client, but temporarily weak co-equal government and army. Japan implemented this agreement with Free India, with a loan of 100 million yen. About 90 million Yen remained unused when Japan surrendered to the allies in August 1945. Netaji spent all the remaining funds as discharge allowance to the military and civil personnel of the I.N.A. – to all members and employees of the I.N.A. and the Provisional Government. Japan waived claims to its repayment.

We should now deal with the military side and we find that under Netaji the I.N.A.

Government maintained its independence vis-à-vis the Japanese, with regard to the I.N.A., and that there was personal influence of Netaji, as Joyee Lebra points out, on the formulation of Japanese policy and strategy toward the I.N.A. There were several instances, where it is demonstrable that without Netaji and his powerful charismatic impact, Japan would have followed other courses in dealing with the I.N.A. or with the question of policy towards India in general.¹⁸

At first, we should refer to Japan's reluctance to accept Netaji as the leader of the I.N.A. The reasons, as already stated above, was that Japan wanted to control the I.N.A. which they feared would not be possible in the event of assumption of its charge by such a strong personality and independent minded man like Netaji whose political credentials in the light of his activities in India, were well-known to them. This explains their moves to prevent Netaji's arrival in Japan, and to keep him inactive even after his arrival. But Netaji's hypnotic personality and independent and sincere approach, won over the heart of Tojo and many other top ranking Japanese military officials. As a result they found themselves compelled to accept Netaji's viewpoints and demands as far as possible. They accepted Netaji's proposal of formation of the Provisional government of Azad Hind and recognised it; under Netaji's pressure they ceded Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Azad Hind Government, accepted Netaji's demand for more arms for expansion of the I.N.A. and established full and formal relations with the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by sending an ambassador – Mr. Hachiya – in spite of their initial reluctance. Again, of the two factors which determined the strategic planning of Japan for the Imphal campaign – one being Japan's domestic consideration, the other was Netaji's influence, and the power the Japanese judged he had with the Indian public opinion. This influence of Bose was mentioned in the strategic planning session before the Imphal campaign, in Tokyo. In fact, it is the reluctance to disappoint him that influenced the Japanese decision to undertake the Imphal campaign and delay the retreat later, since Netaji saw it as the last opportunity to advance into India. The Japanese Government at first did not want to deploy the I.N.A. in this campaign. Deemed as unfit for such arduous campaign, the Indian soldiers were sought

to be kept away from the actual battle. The Japanese soldiers would perform that duty. But it is under Netaji's pressure and persuasion, that the Japanese reversed their decision and agreed to engage the I.N.A. troops in this campaign. To prevent any treachery by the Japanese troops, Netaji adopted a stern independent attitude during this warfare. He clearly instructed his troops, that in case the Japanese did anything harmful to India, after crossing India's border, they were to turn their guns against the Japanese without the least hesitation. This clearly bears out the patriotic and independent attitude of Netaji in the whole affair. To avoid disputes at a later stage in case Britain was defeated, Netaji wanted clear agreement with the Japanese beforehand about the administration of Indian territories occupied by the Japanese army. From the records of Kawabe's diary, a summary of which has been presented by Dr. Lebra, we come to know that Japan yielded to Bose's demand and as a result it remained responsible only for the operation and the I.N.A. was empowered to collect the arms available on the battlefield. It was also agreed that the only flag which was to fly in the liberated areas would be the Indian tricolour. Indian territory to be occupied by the army was to be administered by the Indians and for this Netaji prepared in advance the machinery by recruiting men. Major General A.C.Chatterjee was appointed Chief Administrator of the liberated areas. Regarding the newly acquired Andaman and Nicobar islands, Netaji named them as Sahid and Swaraj and placed them under A.D.Loganadhan as the Chief Commissioner.

Thus we find that Netaji's presence, and his role in the Independence movement in South-east Asia produced a re-evaluation of the Japanese policy towards India and the I.N.A.¹⁹

Now we should turn to some administrative measures which were related to civil administration (about which a reference has already been made above.) Netaji envisaged two phases of civil administration. Firstly, in the liberated areas, a section of volunteers of his Azad Hind Dal (Free India Party), close on the heels of the military advance and occupation of the territories by the I.N.A., were to perform urgent tasks of reconstruction such as repair

of damaged houses and construction of new houses, road repair, arrangement of water supply and electric supply, handling of refugees, maintenance of law and order and reconciliation of the Indian population. Then as soon as an area ceased to be operational, a provisional administration would take over and this would last until the future government of Free India was settled. This trained band of volunteers or labourers included farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, postmen, telegraphists, civil, mechanical and electrical engineers, wireless operators, truck drivers, road builders and other craftsmen. It is with this end in view of the Civil administration in the liberated areas that postal stamps of the Azad Hind Government were printed, and arrangements made for printing paper currency of the said Government. Major General A.C. Chatterjee was made, as we have seen above, the Chief Administrator of the liberated or occupied areas.

Netaji's administration – military and civil – marked a unique combination of strong discipline on the one hand, and benevolence and clemency on the other. But there was no personal factor involved – no personal bias, no religious or racial rancour. Everything was decided on the merit and demerit of the case. Thus as the Supreme Commander of the Armed forces he saw to the enforcement of strict discipline among the soldiers. He warned them particularly against rape or plunder after crossing into the Indian border. As there were women's regiments he kept close vigilance over the moral disposition of the soldier's throughout. He was a stern enemy of the deserters. Desertion was made a capital crime by him for which he authorised death penalty by Court Martial; and had ordered the I.N.A. Police to list undesirable officers who might still have escaped suspicion. He also announced the observance of a 'Traitors' Day' on which I.N.A. Units would compete in doing public dishonour to the deserters. He brought in a measure that "Every member of the I.N.A. Officers, N.C.O. of Sepoy – will in future be entitled to arrest any other member of the I.N.A. no matter what his rank may be, if he behaves in a cowardly manner, or to shoot him if he acts in a treacherous manner."

He gave offer for anyone unwilling to work or fight properly, to leave the I.N.A. and

ordered a thorough purge of all against whom there was suspicion. Several officers were relieved of their command in the process and many suspects were put to lock up.

In civil administration also similar strong line of action was taken by Netaji. He found it necessary to tighten up League discipline – he suspended all elections for the duration of the war, and ordered expulsion of any one not wholeheartedly co-operating or making counter-propaganda. For this he strengthened the League's internal security system.

In this way Netaji introduced and upheld a strong sense of discipline in his system of administration. His actions against K.P.K. Menon and Durrani mentioned above are to be seen in this light, and any malicious allegation should be summarily dismissed.

Side by side, this strong line of action, there was also a soft line of action marked by humanitarian feeling and recognition of merit. Thus he always appreciated the plight of the soldiers and tried his best to provide them facilities as far as possible. Thus he introduced family pension for the soldiers killed in action, and ensured proper care for the wounded and reward for the brave. Lt. Hari Singh was awarded Sardar-e-Hind – the highest award of the Azad Hind Government for an action in which he killed seven British soldiers singlehanded. Again, Bose promoted a member of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, Sm. Bela Datta from the post of Naik to Havildar for her highly satisfactory services as a nurse in a hospital. He also increased the I.N.A.'s pay and improved its rations. In this way Netaji established a strong and benevolent administration marked by order, method, discipline, merit, efficiency, sincerity, punctuality, honesty and integrity.

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Chapter III

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND

INTRODUCTION :

It is true that in the very early days of the I.N.A. Government – the First I.N.A. Government under Rashbehari Bose and Mohan Singh – there was a nebulous infrastructure of the military administration, but it was not final – it lacked cohesion, order, uniformity, discipline or efficient organisation and planning. Moreover, “mistakes were made,” as Thivy noted it, “in matters pertaining to the formation and leadership in a desire to achieve things quickly : the overenthusiasm of the Army as a whole on the one hand and on the other, sensitiveness to control on the part of the then General Officer commanding of the Indian army.”¹ When Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took over its command, these mistakes were rectified and with final touches the army was placed on a proper footing. Moreover, a well-organised and well-planned military administration was introduced in details under his leadership, a picture of which may be seen mainly from the recently released I.N.A. records preserved in the National Archives of India, as well as from some well informative and well documented secondary works.

This detailed picture of the military administration of the I.N.A. under Netaji’s leadership may be seen under the following heads.

Section I

MILITARY SECRETARIAT

The Supreme Commander had his Chief-of-Staff, Deputy and Assistant Chiefs-of-Staff. The Supreme Headquarters was divided into several Departments, such as the General Department, the Adjutant and Quartermaster, the Judicial and Advocate General, the Director of Medical Services with Assistant Director, the Accounts Branch, Military Police, Intelligence and Special Service Group, the Enlightenment, Culture and Propaganda Department.

The Supreme Headquarters had its Forward Headquarters and Rear Headquarters. Each Division had its own Headquarters, with all such departments as were necessary for its efficient and smooth operations.

Besides these, there were various services, such as Supplies, Motor Transport, Workshops, Base Ordnance Depots, Military Engineering Services, Field Park Services. There were also Engineering companies which had to do work behind the War zones, to attend to the work of repairs of roads, bridges, etc. The Army had also its Guerrilla Regiments, besides the Divisions and their component parts, with Tanks, Armoured Cars and so forth.

Section II

REGIMENTS AND SQUADS

Part I

RANI OF JHANSI REGIMENT

After taking over the charge of the I.N.A. Netaji's plan for military preparation and reorganisation of the I.N.A. included the project of a women's regiment to be part of the Azad Hind Fauj. "The regiment, Lakshmi believes, was entirely Bose's notion. He was a great student of revolutionary history. Joan of Arc was one of his heroes, Rani Lakshmbai of Jhansi another — this amazing young woman who during the Sepoy Rebellion led her men against the British at Jhansi, at Kalpi, at Gwalior, and was killed at last fighting in male dress as an ordinary sowar or cavalry soldier. Indian women, Bose had always felt, should take their rightful place in public life."² According to Lakshmi Sehgal the creation of this women's regiment was a "a unique contribution of Netaji."³ Abid Hasan says that Subhas talked about it during the two submarine voyages. "One day he was working on a favourite subject, the formation of the Rani Jhansi Regiment. He asked me to bring forth all arguments

I could why our women would not respond to his call to go with him to Burma in trousers and bush-shirts rifle in hand.”⁴

Certainly he had made up his mind before he reached Singapore, for he broached the business at the mass rally on the padang July 9, when he had been in the city only a week. At that rally he called for the total mobilisation of all Indians in Burma, Malaya and beyond. A freedom force made up only of ex-Indian Army men would not do. The British would sneer, saying that the men had joined only to escape the POW cage. He must have a truly national army; every able-bodied civilian must volunteer. And there must be a place in that army for women. He meant to have a regiment of death-defying women. It would be called, after the heroine of 1857, the Rani of Jhansi Regiment “How ~~much~~ of a general impression this announcement made it is hard to say. For Lakshmi, however, it was absolutely a bombshell.”⁵

The idea of a women’s unit being part of the regular combatant forces had been launched by Netaji at his public meeting in Singapore on 9 July where he gave his call for total mobilisation. He had said : “I expect at least three hundred thousand soldiers and thirty million dollars. I also want a unit of brave women to form a death-defying regiment, who will wield the sword as the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India’s First War of Independence in 1857.”⁶

Young Indian women of South-East Asia who were witness to the menfolk giving all they possessed and enrolling themselves for the Azad Hind Fauj, felt it was an opportunity thrown open to them to do or die for the freedom of India. At first, a few among them, under the leadership of a young practising lady doctor of Singapore named Lakshmi Swaminathan came forward to volunteer, and under their initiative, enrolment of volunteers in Singapore progressed quite rapidly.

In September, for the first time, the recruits, still wearing saris, presented a guard of honour to Netaji with rifles in their hands. Netaji wanted them to be in uniform and all necessary requisites for this, as also arrangements for training the volunteers, were provided

for. Gradually, the number of recruits rose to 500 in Singapore to which were added about 300 more from other areas in the region.

At last, on 22 October, 1943, a day after the Provisional Government of Free India came into existence, Netaji opened a regular training camp with barracks near the local office of the Indian Independence League and opened a camp of Rani of Jhansi Regiment with Lakshmi as Commandant. Addressing the women of the regiment on the occasion, Netaji said :

“Is there anyone here or elsewhere who thinks that it is an unwomanly act to shoulder a rifle ? I would ask her to turn to the pages of our history. What had our brave women done in the past ? What did the brave Rani of Jhansi do in the Revolution of 1857, India’s First War of Independence? We want not one Rani of Jhansi, but thousands and thousands of Ranis of Jhansi. It is not the number of rifles you may carry or the number of shots you may fire which is important. Equally important is the moral effect of your brave example.”

“Herein lay a hint of the role which Netaji visualised for the Ranis. Few actually understood it when the project was launched. The Japanese shook their heads in disbelief; they also feared laxity in the army’s discipline because of the presence of women. Others described the regiment as having been devised for propaganda effect.”⁷

“The Japanese were at first dismayed at the sight of Indian girls wanting to bear arms and go to the front, side by side with the men of the I.N.A. . . . The Japanese were extremely sceptical of the whole idea, and doubted whether the Rani of Jhansi Regiment could ever take real shape. However, their whole attitude underwent a transformation when they saw with their own eyes a striking parade of the Ranis with rifles on their shoulders, marching in high spirits.”⁸

But gradually it became crystal clear to all that Netaji’s aim was rather to boost up the morale of men soldiers as well as for the moral effect of the girls’ brave example. Among them there were also girl suicide squads whose sacrifice of life on the soil of India,

with the forward march of the I.N.A. as envisaged by Netaji, would have shaken the British ~~military officers and to their bones~~ and would lead to a widespread mutiny. At the moment, however, it was this long calculation of Netaji which led to the formation of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment by him. We have some idea of what he had in mind when he organised the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. In time of success, he had hinted, if he were to enter India, the force, at the vanguard of his army entering cities like Calcutta would be the soldiers of the women's regiment. What would happen in time of reverses was seen later after the Azad Hind Fauj and the Japanese army had been obliged to retreat from Imphal. In the days of the early weeks of 1945, when Netaji went to the front with a plan to take a last determined stand against the advancing British mechanised forces, he had with him, along with other soldiers, a select band of 80 women of the Rani's Regiment. Among them were the girls of his suicide squads. Had Netaji's plan to perish to a man near Mount Popa not been opposed by all his army commanders, in that final encounter, the girls too would have fallen one by one under the eyes of the Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army. That sight would have shaken the British Officers commanding the sepoy to their bones, and a widespread mutiny would have come long before it threatened British power in India in the year 1946.

The girls were from the best Indian families in South-East Asia. Those who had joined the suicide squad of the army had a steady mind and complete fearlessness in facing death. They were told that they must never allow themselves to be captured alive, and that if they were actually captured, they would be subjected to cruel torture and ultimately killed. Would they be able to stand it? Yes, they were prepared, they said. For what other reasons had they left their homes to choose this life?

Indian women from all strata of society flocked to the camp, wanting to be trained as combatant soldiers, or as nurses or in any other useful capacity as women volunteers attached to the regiment. Girls from affluent families with convent education left their sheltered existence under their parental roof and flocked to the camp in their hundreds. They were eager to undergo the rigours of military training including rifle shooting and bayonet practice. They vied with young men in their enthusiasm for absorption in the

fighting section of the liberation army. "The Rani of Jhansi Regiment was to be the women's counterpart of the Indian National Army."⁹

Gradually the list of recruits lengthened. By the following Monday they numbered fifty, and training began on a piece of vacant ground. Borrowed instructors drilled the women for a few hours each afternoon, in groups of fifteen, their commander drilling with them when she could. It was a makeshift arrangement, however, workable only while numbers were small and each girl went to her own home for the night. What Lakshmi needed was a proper camp, and this it was not easy to find. For her undertaking did not sit well with the Japanese military. It offended their sense of what women should be – submissive, walking modestly behind their men. They were clearly not going to hand Lakshmi a building unless Bose pushed them, and in late July Bose was away. When he returned he sent Lakshmi to the mainland to recruit, and went recruiting there himself – to great effect, as Janaki Davar discovered.

On the 22nd the regimental camp formally opened. There was a picture of Subhas Chandra inspecting the guard of honour on this occasion, each recruit at attention with her rifle, its bayonet fixed, vertical at her side. Lakshmi walked at the Supreme Commander's right. Her face was serious. A mass of black hair pushed defiantly from beneath the regulation I.N.A. forage cap. The Cathay Building was visible in the background, perhaps a quarter of a mile away. At the time there were, she believes, a little over 100 on her roster, though in his address that afternoon Bose used the figure 156.

Serious training started behind high plank fencing, for Lakshmi did not want her women laughed at or ogled – as they sometimes were, Janaki remembers a little bitterly. Lakshmi did, however, let Japanese journalists inside to watch. Unlike the military they were interested, even sympathetic. Before long Japanese magazines were carrying articles about the "Indian Women's Regiment", and photographs too. A time would come when one of these would save Lakshmi's life.

The day began at six with P.T. In the morning there was infantry drill, in the

afternoon classes. Illiterate recruits got reading lessons. Potential officers (from the beginning Janaki was one) listened to lectures on tactics and how to read maps. Later they would be sent to the army's regular officers' Training School. A nursing detachment was organised. It consisted partly of volunteers, partly of women who were physically not fully fit. The nursing trainees worked in the hospital at Bidadari, but did their foot drill too. For the regulars there were periodic visits to the rifle range. And once a week the entire regiment set off in the cool of dusk for a route march that lasted three or four hours, and that accustomed large parts of Singapore to the sight of young Indian women preparing with evident seriousness for work, no one who knew them in their ordinary sheltered state, would have thought them capable of.

Some of the women were given training in nursing in the Azad Hind Fauj hospitals. The earnestness with which these women learnt and did their work in the hospitals later during the war, was sometimes beyond all praise. Shah Nawaz Khan has written about the inspired service rendered by a sixteen year-old Bengali girl in one of the army hospitals. When Netaji came to inspect the hospital, the patients told him what the young girl had been doing. "Our mothers or sisters at home", the men said, "could not have looked after us with greater care", yet this Rani – the members of the brigade were called Ranis by the men – was looking after 85 dysentery patients, washing all their clothes, sponging their bodies besides doing all other chores. She remembered all the details of the case history of each individual patient. The men spoke about her services with such ardour that it brought tears to Netaji's eyes. He promoted Bela Dutta from the rank of Naik to Havildar. This was all that the provisional Government of Free India could do to show its appreciation in the midst of the battle for India's freedom."¹⁰

Here we cite some extracts from confidential reports of the British government on the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and suicide party of the I.N.A. The Raj tried to play down their importance as an outward gesture, but in reality it reflected the undercurrent of their anxiety and alarm.

“As has been the practice with other medical members of the I.N.A. interrogated here, in considering the case of L 3719, I shall deal only with that period of time when her activities were other than medical, for during the last year she has undoubtedly saved the lives of many men who, whatever their recent activities have been, were and are still members of the Indian Army. I have talked to her at some length and am convinced of two points which have governed her conduct. One is that she is a nationalist though not a politician, and the second that she was under the spell of BOSE’s undoubtedly magnetic personality. Had she not fallen prey to her NETAJI’s political persuasions, she might still have been running her Women and Children’s clinic in S’PORE. She has no liking for politics and is not a leader. Given a leader, however, she is a trustworthy and efficient lieutenant and a formidable antagonist.

To argue that L 3719 caused any material harm to our cause by her organisation is to ignore facts. Never once have we heard that the example of the Rani of Jhansi Regt. had inspired a soldier at the front to deeds of daring. Though to fight – after a fashion – they never, providentially, were near the fighting line, and whatever their nursing achieved is to be applauded. We have seen, however, that poisonous propaganda has stuck in the minds of her flapper followers and in this there is cause for blame.

Were L 3719 released, she would probably be contacted by Congress and given a job to do. This bidding she would consider it her duty to execute to the fullest extent of her ability, but I do not consider that she would thrust herself on the public as a saviour of India. “It all depends on the situation” – politically. If India appears to her to be making strides towards Independence, then she could be of the greatest value both to India and to ourselves, if not, then the opposite might will be the case.’’

REF NO : 985 on Rani of Jhansi Rgt.¹¹

SUICIDE PARTY

During Jan 45 B 1052 VISITED Supreme HQ, where he met Capt (Col) S.A. Malik (B 1069). In the course of a conversation with Malik B1052 learnt that Bose had entrusted Malik with the task of raising a suicide squad. Their work would be to infiltrate into British positions in disguise and to attack senior Allied officers at opportune moments; to carry mines on the body, and to jump in front of oncoming tanks.

Malik approached various I.N.A. formations and civilians in his effort to raise the party, and eventually brought it into existence. B 1052 heard, that this squad moved towards Mandalay under the command of Malik but as he (B 1052) was under arrest at the time, he does not know the full details, B 1052 knows the following to have been members of this squad :

- (1) Hav (2/Lt) Hari Singh 13 FF Rif (B 993)
- (2) Hav/Clerk Rama Chandra Rao "I" Gp
- (3) Sep (Hav) Din Dyial Singh "I" Gp

B1052 also believes that Swami, Bose's private secretary, procured a number of men for this squad, and Capt (Lt Col) Jiwan Singh (B983) sent a number of his recruits to join the squad. Bose, Swami, and S.A.Malik were in sole control, and Supreme HQ had nothing to do with it.

In Mar 45, while B1052 was under arrest at Cushing Camp, he noticed Capt (Col) Gulzara Singh selecting men from various I.N.A. units for the suicide-squad. B1052 does not know the number of people in the squad, but there were approximately 100 men assembled at Cushing High School. B1052 did not recognise anyone.¹²

BOSE'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION AND "BLOOD SEALING" CEREMONY OF SUICIDE SQUAD

On return from Tokyo in the middle of Jan 45, Bose had appealed to the Indian civilians that the best contribution they could make on his birthday was to come forward and offer themselves as volunteers for the suicide squad. 71 names of volunteers were received by B1021, which included 30 civilians, 19 women from Rani of Jhansi Regt. and 22 boys from the Bal Sena. On 23 Jan 45, on the occasion of Bose's birthday celebration, B1021 presented him with a list of these names. A "blood sealing" ceremony was then held. The volunteers marched past Bose. Capt. Patnaik, who stood near Bose, pricked the right thumb of each volunteer with a needle and took the thumb impression on a paper. B1021 states none of the volunteers were ever employed on any task. He cannot recall any name of the volunteers. (Note : Compare this with para 26 of CSDIC (I) 2 Sec Rep 985).¹³

Report No.956 on B 956

On the occasion of Bose's Birthday celebrations on 23 Jan 45 in Rangoon, about 40 Janbaz (suicide) squad, including some girls of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, signed a pledge with their blood, offering to sacrifice their lives in the cause of India's freedom. They marched in front of Bose before signing the pledge.¹⁴

Report No.985 on B 985

JANBAZ BN (SUICIDE SQUAD)

B 985 knows very little about this. It was organised by Capt. (Lt.Col.) Gulzara Singh, Addl.Chief of Staff. B985 was given a short and perfunctory training with some lecture at Mirgaladom, by Gulzara Singh himself and 'Capt.' Suraj Mal. Very few Indian Army personnel volunteered. The volunteers were mostly the Tamil recruits of whom there

were about 400 to 500. There was no time for proper organisation and training, and therefore only one Coy comdr. Jan (Capt.) Suraj Mal was sent to Pegu. B 985 can give no means of the Coy's subsequent movements or intentions. ¹⁵

Report No.985 on B 985

24. RANI OF JHANSI REGT.

The Rani of Jhansi Regt. Contingent of about 100/120 girls was evacuated from Rangoon with S.C.Bose's party on 24 Apr 45. Jem (Lt.) Khushpal Singh Rawat, 2/18 R.G.R. (previously Adjnt. to 1 Inf. Regt.) had been posted as chief Instructor to the R.J.R. and he accompanied the Amazons out of Burma to Thailand. The R.J.R. camp was about 10 miles outside Bangkok, and it was planned that the girls of R.J.R. should go there to rest. There were about 300 girls of R.J.R. in Singapore. Most of the Burma-born girls of the R.J.R. discarded their uniform, were paid six months salary and were sent home. ¹⁶

Extract from Rep.No.897 on 5 INA Staff Officers

52. RANI OF JHANSI REGT.

The strength of this unit is about 600, of which 200 are in Rangoon, under 'Maj.' Lakshmi. It is composed mostly of Tamils. Its main object is to increase the morale of the I.N.A. The women are employed for the most part as nurses in base hospitals at Rangoon and Singapore. A certain amount of purely propoganda military training is also carried out. The general reputation of these women in Burma and Malaya is bad. 'Maj.' Lakshmi is said to be on more than friendly terms with :

(1) Capt. (Lt.Col.) SAIGHAL

(2) P.L. (Maj) GUPTA

(3) I/Lt. (Maj) A.B.SINGH

(4) Capt. (Lt.Col.) BISHEN SINGH

Capt. (Lt.Col.) DARA and some others have girl friends in this Regiment :¹⁷

[This is a clear stand of the British to defame the Rani of Jhansi Rgt. Women without any valid ground and with the intention to tarnish the image of the I.N.A. movement under Netaji].

Extract from Rep.956 on B956, para 43.

Bose was very much worried, from the beginning of Mar 45, about the safety of the girls of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, as he said that he was morally responsible to their parents for their return to their homes. He used to say that he would be very happy if those girls died fighting in the cause of the country, but he would have no face to show if anything else happened to them. He made arrangements for their evacuation, and the first party of about 90 girls left Rangoon by train about the beginning of Apr. 45.

Para 44 : (Evacuation of Rangoon – Bose and his party – 24 Apr 45)

A contingent of about 40 bodyguards, *about 50 girls of the Rani of Jhansi Regt.* And some domestic servants also left at the same time.¹⁸

Appendix

OATH (of the I.N.A./Rani of Jhansi Rgt.)

ENGLISH TRANSLATION FROM HINDUSTANI

I solemnly take an oath to remain faithful to Azad Hind Fauj and its Supreme Comdr. Subhas Chandra Bose. I swear to carry out its orders and to fight for the Independence of India to the last moment of my life without minding the troubles and hardships I have to undergo in so doing...

How long the fight for freedom may take; how many difficulties I have to suffer, I promise to fight to the end – till I get back the freedom of my country or I shall sacrifice my life for this noble cause. We must fix and fly our tri-coloured Flag on the Red Fort, Delhi.¹⁹

Section III

POWERS, FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF MILITARY OFFICERS AND COMMANDERS OF THE I.N.A.

A comprehensive discussion of the system of military administration of the Azad Hind Government under Netaji, needs an elaborate discussion of the powers and functions of the military officers and commanders of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. This explains the utility of the present chapter as a separate unit of discussion on this aspect of the military administration of the Azad Hind Government under Netaji. Set against the legal background of the I.N.A. Act, and covering all aspects of military administration and operation, this may be examined as follows.

It may be noted in this connection, that this discussion in this section is exclusively based on archival materials — the I.N.A. files recently released by the Govt. of India.

POWERS OF VARIOUS COMMANDERS

Officers shall have the following powers of Summary Punishment :

- (1) Any Officer not below the rank of a 2/Lieut.
Sepoys upto 7 days' R.I.
- (2) Commanding Officer below the rank of a field Officer :
Sepoys upto 21 days' R.I.
N.C.O.s Reduction to next lower rank.
- (3) Field Officer, Sepoys upto 60 days' R.I.
N.C.Os Reduction to next lower rank.
- (4) Regiment or Group Commander
Sepoys upto 90 days R.I.
N.C.Os Reduction to any rank with or without R.I. upto 28 days. In addition he may order forfeiture of one month's salary, in case of all ranks excluding officers.
- (5) Division Commander
Sepoys R.I. upto 180 days (6 months)
N.C.Os Reduction to any rank with or without R.I. upto 60 days.

Officers upto the rank of Major

Reduction to next lower rank or severe reprimand or reprimand only if the accused Officer elects to be tried by him summarily rather than by a Court Martial.

Solitary confinement upto 15 days to Officers excluding field officers, subject to the scale laid down in section 54 of the Act.

In addition he may order forfeiture of pay of all ranks for a period not exceeding 60 days.

Corporal Punishment

In serious cases of indiscipline amongst sepoys and N.C.Os, he may also order flogging not exceeding 6 strokes per week upto 4 weeks, subject to the provisions laid down in section 55 of I.N.A. Act.

(6) *Chief of Staff (Director of Military Bureau)*

Sepoys, R.I. upto 9 monthss

N.C.Os, Reduction to any rank with or without R.I. upto 90 days

Officer including field Officers

Reduction to next lower rank or severe reprimand or reprimand. Solitary Confinement upto one month subject to the scale laid down in Sec.54 of the I.N.A. act.

In addition, he may order forfeiture of pay of all ranks for a period not exceeding 60 days.

(7) *Detachment Commanders*

(a) Officer Commanding
500 strong or more

Powers of a Regiment or Group Commander as in Sub-section (4) of this section.

(b) Officer commanding 200 or more but less than 500 strong.

Powers of Field Officer as in Sub-section(3) of This Section.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (c) Officer Commanding 500 or more but less than 200 strong. | Powers of commanding Officers as in Sub-Section(2) of this Section. |
| (d) Officer commanding Less than 50 strong | Powers of an Officer as in Sub-Section(1) of this Sec. |
| (e) N.C.O.commanding a detachment. | Confinement to lines upto 7 Days or in case of guards, picquets or fatigues an extra upto 7. |

When a higher punishment is called for, he will send the accused to the nearest unit or detachment commanded by an officer.

Where a detachment commander considers that a lower punishment that he is empowered to award, is sufficient to meet the end of justice, he may use his discretion in awarding a lower punishment in any particular case, under Sec. 50 of the Act.

PUNISHMENT

- (a) The object of awarding punishment is the maintenance of discipline. The proper amount of punishment to be inflicted is the least amount by which discipline can efficiently be maintained. It must be the object of all concerned to aim at that high state of discipline which springs from a Military system administered with justice and impartiality and to induce in all ranks a feeling of confidence that when no offence will be passed over, no offender will be in any circumstances suffer injustice.
- (b) Due regard should be paid to previous convictions. A habitual offender deserves far more severe punishment than an infrequent offender, and a first offender, should always, if possible, be treated leniently.
- (c) Military officers must sometimes be considered in reference to circumstances other than those connected with the individual offender. When there is general prevalence of offence or offences of some particular kind, an example must be necessary and on that account a severe punishment may be properly awarded in respect of an offence which would otherwise receive a more lenient punishment.

Duties of Various Commanders :

- (a) *Regiment Commander* is responsible for
1. Training, Administration, Discipline and general welfare of the Regiment.
 2. Training of Officers and N.C.Os.
- (b) *Batalion Commander* : Same as above.
- (c) *2nd in Command* is responsible to the C.O. for
1. Training
 2. General discipline and administration
 3. To command in the absence of C.O. (Commanding Officer)
- (d) *Adjutant* is responsible to the C.O. for :
1. Routine work of the Regiment.
 2. Postings, Transfers and Promotions.
 3. Records of strength of the Regiment,
 4. Propoganda.
 5. Interior economy.
 6. Health and Sanitation.
 7. Ceremonials.
 8. Discipline.
 9. To prepare plans and issue orders on behalf of the C.O.
- (e) *Quarter Master* is responsible to the C.O. for
1. Quartering and Supplies.
 2. Maintenance of the reserve stock.
 3. Fire protection and salvage.
 4. All movements such as by rail, road, air and ship.
 5. Health and Sanitation.
 6. Administration of followers and workmen.
 7. Responsible for M.T., on Regiment charge.

- (f) *Regimental Medical Officer* is responsible to the C.O. for
1. To advise the C.O. on all matters in relation to the preservation of health of the troops.
 2. To train the Medical staff.
 3. To train specialists in methods of purification.
 4. To train personnel to act as Sanitary police e.g. disposal of excreta, construction of latrines, soak pits and urinal etc.
 5. To train the personnel and officers of the Regt. in First Aid.
- (g) *Intelligence Officer* is responsible
1. to train the intelligence personnel in Bn. Personnel in Battalion & Regiment Hqr.
 2. In war will be responsible for collection of all information from Ps. Of War.(POWS)
 3. In war he will be responsible for troops and depicting Intelligence diary and situation map.
- (a) *Accounts Officer* : is responsible for
1. Provision of Funds.
 2. Issue of pay and allowances.
 3. Securing punctual collection and accounting for cash receipts
 4. Keeping all the books of Regt. Funds upto date.
- (i) *Sapper Officer* is responsible for the maintenance of the following :
1. Water supply system
 2. Huts and barracks
 3. Drainage system
 4. Training of Sapper personnel
 5. He will be responsible for all demolitions and construction of light bridges etc.
- (j) *Liaison Officer* will make himself fully conversant with Nippon-Go, Burmese, English and Hindustani
3. He should be able to liaise with the Allied Forces.

- (k) *Head Clerk* is responsible
1. to keep office records and office routing work
 2. to keep confidential and secret documents under safe custody
 3. to keep the Regiment Records upto date
 4. to see that all reports and returns are furnished at the proper time
 5. to keep a list of files and to see that all letters are filed properly
 6. to keep the seniority roll and other rolls upto date
 7. to check the correctness of the regiment orders
 8. to keep discipline in the office, distribute work among the other clerks and is responsible for their discipline
 9. he will work according to the instructions of the Adjutant, and will keep him informed about everything concerning office.
- (l) *Company Commander* is responsible for
1. efficiency and training of the Coy (company)
 2. administration and discipline
 3. spiritual training and welfare
 4. health, sanitation and Education
 5. assisting the O.C. in making promotions
- (m) *Platoon Commander & Section Commander*
(as Coy Commander in a Coy)
- (n) *Sepoys* : His duties is to keep himself fit and efficient for war.
1. He will strictly obey all the orders, regarding health
 2. Sanitation and discipline
 3. He will strictly obey his superior officers and N.C.Os.

DUTIES OF REGIMENT DUTY OFFICER

1. Regiment Duty officer will be a Coy Commander and will be appointed weekly.
2. He will keep good discipline and see that the others obey all the regulations (e.g. Quiet during rest hours, Light Out and Sanitation etc.) and control everything in the camp and also protect and take care about fire and robbery.
3. He controls the Bn. Duty Officers and has the jurisdiction of all guards, Quarter Guard and fire fighting service party.
4. He will go round the camp, visit canteen stores etc. and can check people coming in and going out of the camp. The Bn. Duty Officer will go along with him to look round the camp in their respective areas.
5. On a holiday, there will be many cases of men going out of the camp and if he thinks necessary will give proper orders to Bn. Duty Officer to go along with him to look round the camp in their respective areas.
6. He will go to ALOR STAR once a week on a holiday – to check the behaviour and discipline of men and officers there and once a week on a working day. To check if anybody goes out without a proper permit. He will also visit the patients in the Civil Hospital there.
7. He will come daily for one hour to the Regiment H.Qrs. – his central place to deal with any matters concerning him and put forward suggestions or alternations, if any.
8. During the week, he will turn out guards at least 3 times by day and 3 times by night and give time to the Bn. duty Officers when to turn out guards.
9. The Staff Parade will be held daily in front of Regt. Office at 22.30 hrs. The Bn. Duty Officers will give report to him of their areas. The regt. Adjutant will also attend this parade at least twice a week.

10. He will ask about the time from the Regt. Commander for any fire alarm, or Air Raid alarm, practices to be carried out during the week.
11. He will not leave the camp unless he gets the permission of the Regt. Commander.
12. If he wants to go out on public duty, he must inform the Regt. Adjutant who will detail a relief from the Bn. Duty Officers.
13. He will be always in uniform when out of his room and wear the sash all the time.
14. He will be saluted by all the officers of the Regiment except the Field Officers, Bn. Commanders and the Regt. Adjutant. His turn-out should be exceptionally good.

DUTIES OF THE DUTY OFFICER :

He will give the following words of command :

1. BANDUQ niche la : Then inspect the Guard come back to his place and give the Command SANGIN UTARO. Then BANDUQ MULAHZE KE LIT SAMNE LA : will inspect the rifles, come back to his place and give the command SANGIN CHARAO. Then he will close the ranks and give the command GUARD COMDR. JAGAH PAKRO.

The Sub-Officer and Duty Officer will then come to the Saluting Base and the Duty Officer will give the command GUARD CHATAK SE LOOCH.

On reaching the Quarter Guard :

Both the Guards will fall-in facing each other on their places. Present Arms to each other and will stand easy. The old Guard Commander will tell the new Guard Commander.

Din Rat ke Do sentry... the new Guard Commander will come 4 paces forward, turn left, take 2 paces forward, turn left again, bring the Guard to attention, detail Sentries and give the Command Relief Jaman.

The first sentry will take 4 paces forward. The remainder will fall-in on his right. Meanwhile, the old Guard 2nd-in-Command will come and fall in on their left. The new Guard 2nd-in-Command will give the command Relief Baien Mur, and

march the Relief. After change over, the relief will come back to place it marched from and will be dismissed. While the relief is being changed, both the Guard Commanders will go in the Guard Room and do handling and taking over. In their absence, the seniormost in the new Guard will command both the Guards.

Then both the N.C.Os will come back and bring their Guards to attention. The old Guard Commander will bring his Guard to shoulder Arms and give the Command, DAHINE MUR chatak se kooch and then BAIN DEKH.

At the same time, the new Guard will present Arms. Then he will bring the Guard to its place and explain the Quarter Guard orders and give the command GUARD BARKFAST.

(B) DUTIES OF GUARD COMMANDER :

1. To see that all the sentries of his Guard know their duties and are always alert.
2. To read out the duties of the Guard to his men.
3. To see that no one enters the Guard premises except on official business.
4. To see that the Guard area is kept neat and tidy.
5. To keep prisoner's Register upto date, and to ensure that they are under safe custody.
6. To arrange relief of the sentries.
7. To daily synchronize the time of the Quarter guard clock with the Regiment Adjutant.
8. To take the Quarter Guard clock to the Regiment Office on Every Wednesday for the purpose of Winding.
9. To turn out the Guard on the following occasions :
 - (a) For the Regt. Commander, once in a day; when he is in uniform and comes for the inspection of the Guard.
 - (b) For the duty Officers, whenever they come to inspect the Guard.
 - (c) For the National Flag; whenever it passes in front of the Quarter Guard.
 - (d) For an armed party of stronger strength than the Guard.

(e) For the Divisional Commanders.

(f) For the Supreme Commander

Indian Independence League EAST ASIA.

(At night, the Guard will not be turned out for anyone except Regt.. Duty Officer or on order by an Officer).

10. To report to the Regiment Duty Officer about any uncommon happening.

11. To search the person and clothing of prisoners before handing or taking over.

12. The National Flag will be flown from Reveille to Retreat. It will be removed in the rain.

13. On no account, more than 2 men will be absent from the Guard at a time.

14. The Guard will always Stand-to in an emergency by day or by night.

(f) SALUTATIONS

Guard will pay respects as follows :

(a) By presenting arms :

(as in Sub-para 9 above (a to f))

(b) By coming to attention and shouting JAI HIND.

(only the Guard Commander will salute)

(i) For all Officers when they pass the Guard.

(ii) For an unarmed party stronger than the Guard.

(c) the sentry will present Arms to the following :

(i) All INA, Japanese and Thai Officers.

(ii) All unarmed parties stronger than the Guard

(iii) All armed parties.

(d) the sentry will come to attention :

(i) when he is saluted by anyone

(ii) for all NCO's when they pass in front of him.

(iii) For all ranks after the Retreat.

Appendix 1
OFFICE WORK IN THE FIELD
(GENERAL RULES)²⁰

1. Office work in the field is to be restricted to what is absolutely indispensable; no office work will be transacted with a unit on service in the field that can possibly be dealt with at a stationary office.
2. Equipment accounts will not be kept by units.
3. Routine work connected with the provision, pay and records of personnel, will, as far as possible be dealt with by the Officer i.e. 2nd Echelon and the Field Controller of Military Accounts of the Force.
4. Documents which contain anything of a nature likely to prove useful when the history of the campaign is written, such as commendations for rewards, for rewards for bravery, of reports of abnormal sickness, will, then no longer be required to be sent to the Officers i.e. 2nd Echelon.
5. A state is a report whereby a commander is kept informed of the fighting condition of his command, punctuality in rendering it is more important than extreme accuracy
 A daily strength state on expenditures incurred, reinforcements received, total strength and names of officer battle casualties as at 0600 hr will be rendered daily by all fighting units to brigade headquarters (a copy being telegraphed to Officer i/c 2nd Echelon). After noting at brigade headquarters these states are passed to divisional headquarters for consolidation into corps fighting strength. thence to army headquarters for respective consolidation.

This procedure will result in supplying automatically all commanders and the A.H.Q. with the daily approximate fighting strength, giving the base an idea of probable reinforcement and supplying the 2nd Echelon with names of officer battle casualties for telegraphic transmission to the A.H.Q., for notification to next of kin.

The letters prefixed in the text of the message indicate :

A. Losses since the last state was rendered (figures for officers and others to be given separately under the sub-heads)

AX. Battle casualties, e.g. 6,1,15,3 and

AY. Sick (evacuated beyond R.A.), e.g. Nil, two one & one.

AZ. Other causes (transfers, etc.) e.g. nil, five, seven & nil.

B. Reinforcements (officers and others) received since the last state rendered. e.g. four, nil seventeen, eighteen and nil.

C. Total strength (officers and others) now with unit, e.g. five, nil, four, hundred and Thirtyone, fortyone and thirtyfour.

D. Names of officer battle casualties listed as :-

6. A return is a document for statistical purpose, or to show the condition of the forces more accurately than is possible in a state. Accuracy in their compilation is essential.

Returns will be forwarded by commanders of all units and formations to the Officer i.e. 2nds Echelon; as follows :

Field Return, Officers (A.F.W. 3008)

Field return, other ranks (A.F.W. 3007 series)

Casualty return, Officers (A.F.W. 3010)

Casualty return, Officers (A.F.W. 3018)

Casualty return of attached personnel (A.F.W. 3018) As necessary.

7. The senior staff officer of each branch is responsible for the safe custody of secret or confidential book, etc. he will take necessary precautions to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy,
8. Letters in the field should be drawn up in minute form

APPENDIX 2

ORDERS AND INTERCOMMUNICATION²¹

1. Types of Orders and Instructions

1. Command in the field is exercised by means of :
 - (i) Standing orders and routine orders, which regulate the general daily life of a force in the field, in the field, in accordance with the conditions of the campaign;
 - (ii) Operation orders, which deal with a particular strategical or tactical move or operation, they are supplemented, when necessary, by operation instructions and administrative orders.
2. The object of standing orders is to adapt existing regulations to local conditions to avoid repetitions in routine and operation orders. Routine orders are used to supplement standing orders, to facilitate the working of the administrative services, and to reduce correspondence and routines. Standing orders and routine orders are printed or typewritten, and are given a wide distribution.
3. The object of operation orders is to bring about a course of action in accordance with the intentions of the commander and with full co-operation between all services.
4. Operation functions are used instead of , or to supplement, operation orders when it is necessary to place a subordinate commander in a position in which he must act on his own judgement. These instruction will give the subordinate commander all available information likely to affect the performance of his task, and will state clearly the object to be attained, but will leave the methods to his discretion. They should include a brief statement of the courses open to the enemy, and of his probable action, as well as a forecast of the action of the commander issuing the instruction.

Orders to reconnoitering elements will always be in the form of instructions rather than orders, otherwise operation instructions should be sparingly used. They

will usually be couched in less formal terms than orders. When special considerations of secrecy demand it, such instruction may be addressed to a commander personally. If it is essential that a commander should be informed of the scope of an operation instruction issued to another commander, a copy of the instruction may be issued to him for information.

5. The matters on which administrative orders may be necessary are given below. The staff is responsible that heads of services and their representatives are kept informed of so much of the intentions of the commander as it may be necessary for them to know in order that they may carry out their work efficiently.

2. ORDERS – GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. An order must contain only what the recipient requires to know in order to carry out his task. Any attempt to prescribe to a subordinate commander at a distance anything that he, with a fuller knowledge of local condition, would be able to decide on the spot will be avoided.
2. In framing orders for operations, the general principles is that the object to be attained, with such information as affects its attainment, will be briefly but clearly stated : the actual method of attaining the object will be given in sufficient detail to ensure coordination of effort, but so as not to interfere with the initiative of subordinate commanders, who should be left freedom of action in all matters which they can or should arrange for themselves.
3. So that all parts of a force may understand clearly the task allotted to each part and thus be able to co-operate fully, the whole of the orders for any particular operation by the force should, whenever possible, be embodied in one operation order and not in a series of separate orders to different parts of the force.
4. When a detailment is made, its commander will be specified of the order. If a detailment is composed of different units, a rendezvous must be arranged

at which representatives of units will meet the appointed commander, or his representative.

5. Notwithstanding the greatest skill and care in framing orders, unexpected circumstances may render the precise execution of an order unsuitable or impracticable. In such circumstances the following principles will guide the recipient of an order in deciding his course of action :

- (a) A formal order will never be departed from either in letter or spirit so long as the officer who issued it is present or there is time to report to him and await a reply without losing an opportunity or endangering the force concerned.
 - (ii) If the above conditions cannot be fulfilled, a departure from either the spirit or the letter of an order is justified if the subordinate who assumes the responsibility bases his decision on some fact which could not be known to the officer who issued the order, and if he is satisfied that he is acting as his superior officer would order him to act were he present.
 - (iii) If a subordinate neglects to depart from the letter of his orders when such departure, in the circumstances of sub-para (ii) above, is clearly demanded, he will be held responsible for any failure that may ensue.
 - (iv) Should a subordinate find it necessary to depart from an order he will immediately inform the issuer of it, and the commanders of any neighbouring units likely to be affected.
6. In instances of urgency, an officer may be given to subordinate commander without having been passed through the usual official channel. The commander who issues such order will inform the intermediate authorities concerned and neighbouring formations likely to be affected. The recipient of the order will inform his immediate superior of its receipt and of the action which he is taking on it.

3. OPERATION ORDER

1. Orders, instruction, reports and messages will, whenever possible, be issued or confirmed, in writing. If sent by telephone, they will be written down by the recipient, and repeated back to the sender with the direction that messages as by radio-telephone will not be repeated back. If written, they must be easily legible, must be timed, and must be signed by the sender, who will give his rank, appointment and formation or unit. If sent in message form, appointment and formation or unit will not be given. Paragraphs should be numbered to facilitate reference.
2. No matter how complete, how appropriate and how correctly drawn up an order may be. It fails of its purpose if does not arrive in time. The commander, who issues an order, is responsible that it reaches his subordinates in time to enable them to make all the necessary preparations, including the framing and issue of their own orders before troops are committed to action in execution of the order. When detailed operation orders cannot be issued in sufficient time to enable the troops to make the necessary preparation, a "warning order" should be issued : this order should give sufficient information to enable all to make necessary preparation.
3. Since the success of any operation depends largely on the time factor, orders in the field will often be issued verbally. A commander can impress his will and inspire confidence in the success of an operation far more easily through verbal orders, if well issued, than by pages of written orders. A commander will therefore often find it desirable to assemble his subordinate commanders before an operation, to explain his plan and to issue his orders.

When the orders for an operation are issued verbally, written confirming orders will subsequently be issued whenever practicable. However, if it is impossible for the complete confirming order to reach recipients in time to affect the

action ordered, such an order may be confined to a brief message confirming essential points, such as objectives starting lines, boundaries, routes and times. Whether a confirmed order is to be issued or not, the staff of the commander issuing the verbal orders will ensure, before subordinate commanders rejoin their units, that their written notes embody the essential points which may often most conveniently be marked on maps.

Verbal orders will follow the same sequence and form as written orders. Indefinite or badly delivered verbal orders may do much to destroy confidence in success.

MOVE AND DISTRIBUTION

- 4. The form of an operation order may vary according to the formation or unit which issues it, the nature of the operation, the time available and the methods of distribution at hand. Collaboration and formalism in the limiting of orders must be avoided; orders should be confined to essentials and should be brief, in subject matter, in headlines and in appendixes, as consistent with cleanness. But a recognized form and sequence should always follow as nearly as practicable, since this makes important omissions less likely and assists subordinates, who can more easily grasp the meaning of an order issued in a form with which they are familiar.

The form is as follows :

.....(Formation or Unit)	Operation Order No.....
Ref. Map.....	Copy No.....
	Date

INFORMATION :

Regarding the enemy – A summary of the information on which the plan is based, so far as the recipients require to know it.

Regarding the I.N.A. troops – A summary of the situation and intention of any neighbouring troops, whose action affect the action of the recipient of the order, a higher commander's intention will be repeated in the orders of subordinates only when, and so far as, it is essential to do so. In the interests of secrecy, it will often be advisable to include it in the order in outline only; the intention may then be amplified separately, either verbally or in writing.

INTENTION :

A CLEAR, CONCISE AND DECISIVE STATEMENT OF WHAT THE COMMANDER INTENDS TO ACHIEVE. The intention stated should not exceed what is to be effected by the plan embodied in the order, and should normally be drafted by the commander himself; it should be compressed in the future imperative tense, i.e. "will". Alternative intentions depending on developments should not be given in operation orders.

Method :

A statement of the tasks allotted to the formations or units, in sufficient detail to ensure cooperation.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS : (ADM)

A statement of the general administrative arrangements so far as all recipients of the order required to know them.

It may be convenient to issue details of administrative arrangements separately, either as an appendix or in administrative orders.

Note : An operation order sent by telegraph or wireless should be in the form cited above.

INTERCOMMUNICATION :

Such paragraphs as are necessary regarding intercommunication, e.g.

Location of headquarters.

Routes to be followed by headquarters of subordinate formations.

Liaison duties.

Orders for wireless silence or other restriction on the use of wireless.

Allotment of R.A.F. wireless tenders.

~~Allotment of R.A.F. wireless tenders.~~

Allotment of wire trans frequencies and call signs for tactical reconnaissance purpose and also squadron letters.

Any pre-arranged light signals.

: (ACK)

(Signature, rank and appointment of officer signing order)

METHOD OF ISSUE :

TIME OF SIGNATURE :

DISTRIBUTION :

The list of addresses to whom copies of the order are signed will be included in all copies. The number of copies should be kept as low as possible, both in the interests of secrecy and because of the difficulties of reproduction in the field.

The distribution list should be in suitable order, e.g. :

Own subordinate for nations or units

Attached troops

Formations and unit's co-operation

Own Commander.

Own staff.

Own services.

File and war diary.

Operation orders, operation instructions and administrative orders must be immediately acknowledged by all recipients as a matter of routine.

5. In principle, a commander's orders are issued only to those under his immediate command who are required to take action on them. Copies to flank formations or units may, however, be issued for information, if effective cooperation cannot otherwise be secured. A copy will not be sent to the next higher formation, unless ordered or as the most convenient means of keeping a superior in touch with the situation.

The issue of a sufficient number of copies of a commander's operation order to his immediate subordinate commanders for distribution to the formations or units under their command should be very exceptional : but it may on occasion be convenient to distribute appendixes (see para 6 below) containing long or complicated arrangements which would otherwise have to be repeated in the orders of lower formations.

A subordinate commander who issues copies of his superior's orders without receiving permission to do so will be responsible for having known any information contained in them.

6. In order to avoid long and complicated orders, it will often be advisable to place in appendixes such matter as details of the fire plan or of the order of march. Repetition between the main order and appendixes must be avoided. Sometimes the order may be simplified by the issue of a sketch map or tracing as an appendix. It is not necessary for every recipient of an order to be provided with all the appendixes; on the other and, it may be desirable to issue appendixes to subordinates to whom copies of the order have not been issued (see para 5 above).

APPENDIX 3
ADMINISTRATION MATTERS WHICH MAY REQUIRE
CONSIDERATION IN THE PREPARATION OF OPERATION
ORDERS OR ADMINISTRATIVE ORDERS²²

The matters in the following table may have to be considered in the preparation of the administrative paragraphs of operation orders, or in separate administrative orders when such are issued. Several of them concern the orders of higher formations only (armies, Corps or Division). Administrative orders, like other orders should be as concise as possible and should include only such matter as is essential for the purpose in view.

Accommodation : Administrative areas; billeting arrangements, enclosures for prisoners of war.

Ammunition : Railheads, refilling points; ammunition points, special arrangements for advance or withdrawal; location and stocks of temporary depots, responsibility and labour for working reports; accountancy instructions.

Note : If an allotment of rounds for each gun is made or a limit set to expenditure, instructions for this are issued by the general staff after consultation with the administrative branches of the staff.

Baggage : Meeting points, arrangements for distribution and collection.

Captured areas : Administration of area; control of civilians; examination of water supplies; sanitary precautions, disposal of captured documents.

Engineer services : Provision of water facilities; special allotment of tools and engineering materials; location and stocks of reserves of engineer stores; provision and erection of sign boards.

Medical services : Location of regimental aid posts, advanced and main dressing stations, casualty clearing stations and ambulance railhead; location of collecting posts and car posts; arrangements for

- walking of the wounded; provision of additional stretchers; special sanitary precautions.
- Ordinary services : Railheads, location of ordinance field parks, position and allotment of mobile workshops, light aid detachments on line of control Recovery sections, issue of any special stores or anti-gas appliances; arrangements regarding army and corps ammunition reserves.
- Provost and traffic : Traffic control, restrictions as to use of lights at night, collection and disposal of battle stragglers and prisoners of war, arrangements for dealing with refugees.
- Supplies : Location and times for railheads, refilling points, meeting points, special issues, reserves, special arrangements for petrol; location of depots or temporary dumps.
- Veterinary services : Railheads, location of mobile veterinary sections and veterinary evacuation stations.

Section IV

Discipline and Security

Netaji evolved a comprehensive system of iron discipline in the military administration of the I.N.A., He was a votary of discipline throughout his life as a matter of principle practised dogmatically in his political and military career, for which he was convinced of the indispensable necessity of maintaining strict and rigorous discipline in the I.N.A. for the successful attainment of its mission. Hence he introduced a code of discipline in the I.N.A. on the basis of which the life and activities of the military personnel at different

levels were to be stringently regulated. It would cover even their food, dress materials, and all aspects of personal life besides their professional life.

This system of strong military discipline was also a sure safeguard and guarantee of the security system and in this way ensured a system of full-proof security in the I.N.A. To further strengthen this bond of security and discipline, he also introduced a code of censorship to prevent the outlet of unfavourable, hostile or subversive ideas and activities which might adversely affect the I.N.A. movement.

However, his system of discipline was not oppressive. There was side by side the stern regulations, a human element to promote sincerity, discipline, hard work and sacrifice. Thus he introduced a veritable system of reward and award and the recipients were highly honoured with them. A list of the merit awards and their recipients is enclosed at the end of this chapter. This chapter is based almost exclusively on archival materials - the I.N.A. files recently released by the Govt. of India.

AZAD HIND FAUJ ORDERS
BY
SJT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
SUPREME COMMANDER²³

Syonan.

26.3.44

Discipline

395. DISCHARGES-CADETS

The undermentioned Cadets have been discharged from the Officers' Training School for the reasons mentioned against each :

	NAME	Date of Discharge	Reasons
1.	S.Ram Singh	21.1.44	Medical Ground
2.	C.V.K.Raman	29.1.44	"
3.	Sale Mohd.	17.2.44	Contacted V.D.

Syonan.

26.3.44

Discipline

-
- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|---------|---|
| 4. | V.Varatharajan | 25.2.44 | On his own request in view of certain unavoidable circumstances at his home |
| 5. | S.D. Samual Anthony | 1.3.44 | Inefficiency |
-

ADMINISTRATION**398. DISCIPLINE-SELLING OF GOVERNMENT CLOTHING**

Many cases are being reported of ~~Other Ranks of the I.N.A.~~ selling or doing away with Govt. Clothing.

This fact is deplorable, to say the least. It shows very bad discipline and also is injurious to the I.N.A. Clothing sold, lost by neglect, or done away with, will never be replaced.

All Commanders will take special pains to lecture to the men under their command that selling or doing away with Govt. Clothing is highly against discipline, is an act which lowers the I.N.A. in the eyes of everyone, and is injurious to the efficiency of the INA and the Cause for which we are fighting.

All ranks must be warned that such acts, when caught, will be most severely dealt with, and they must cease forthwith.

The seriousness of this matter cannot be over-emphasized and every officer and man must do his level best to stop this bad practice and try incessantly to catch offenders. who should always be very severely punished.

It is hoped that on receipt of this instruction, the selling and doing away with Govt. clothing will stop forever.

400. **DISCIPLINE**

When INA vehicles pass the sentries and M.P. at the causeway the following procedure will be adopted :

- (a) Cars and M/cycles will slow down to enable the sentry and M.P. to recognise the occupant of the car or the rider
- (b) Lorries and trucks will stop on the left of the road for any recognition and investigation that may be necessary ... Instances have occurred when the lorries have been stopped by the sentry or M.P. and they have been offended by this.

It must clearly be understood that sentries and M.P. have to do their duty and carry out their orders, and INA Personnel will not show resentment. if for some reasons, their vehicle is stopped, but will help the M.P. or sentry to carry out their duties.

401. **CLOTHING**

In order to ensure that all the men actually have the clothing and equipment issued to them and to ascertain the condition of kit, the following rules will be observed :

(a) KIT INSPECTION :

Kit Inspection will be carried out as follows :

1. Weekly inspection by Section Commander.
- 2.. Fortnightly inspection by Platoon Commander.
2. Monthly inspection by Company Commander.

3. Periodical inspection by the Unit Commander. Whenever kit inspections are carried out by Unit Commander, the kits of all the Coys(companys) will be laid out for inspection at the same time, otherwise the men of the coy may borrow articles of clothing and equipment from the men of other Coys.

4. QUARTERLY CONDEMNATION BOARD

Unit Commanders when holding their quarterly condemnation boards must survey all articles of clothing and equipment carefully and all those articles which are not likely to last for three months will be earmarked for exchange, and necessary indents etc. made out.

(b) MAINTENANCE OF KIT INVENTORY

Kit inventory will invariably be maintained in respect of every individual of the Azad Hind Fauj. Commanders will take special care to ensure that the Kit Inventory is at all times correct and upto date.

NOTE : This new Kit Inventory form will be taken into use forthwith.
The old one is hereby cancelled.

AZAD HIND FAUJ ORDERS
BY
SJT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE²⁴

SYONAN

11th MARCH 1944

GENERAL STAFF

ADMINISTRATION

376. LEGAL AND JUDICIAL (Preliminary Investigation & Court of Inquiry)

Cases have come to the notice of these Hqrs. in which neither any investigation nor Court of Inquiry was instituted before a month or so had elapsed since the date of the commission of the offence or the detection of loss or damage to Govt. property due to accidents or other causes.

2. It is not only against the procedure laid down in the INA Act. But is also prejudicial to proper justice. In the interest of justice, it is imperative that whenever a person is put under arrest for committing an offence, or loss or damage of Government property is caused, investigation should be started without the least delay and the case.
3. Formation and Independent unit Comds (commanders) will ensure that the officers under their command are conversant with the procedure concerning investigation and court of Inquiry.

378. DISCIPLINE-GAMBLING

It has been brought to the notice of these Hqrs. that certain personnel of the A.H.F. indulge in gambling in public places, thereby losing money which they try to replenish by selling Government property or resorting to other lawful means.

Gambling either in public or private places is strictly prohibited. Infringement of this order will be severely dealt with.

379. LECTURES & PRESS INTERVIEWS

Without the prior sanction of the Supreme commander, no officer or other rank of the A.H.F. is permitted to write to the press, deliver a lecture, broadcast a speech or give a press interview on controversial religious or political matters.

All ranks may however speak or write on Nationalistic or cultural subjects for the moral training of the troops or whipping up the enthusiasm of the civilian population or with a view to induct the officers and men of British Indian Army to come over to our side.

In this connection every one must be careful not to refer to any matters which may cause a controversy among our troops or other Indians who have joined our Movement or hurt the religious feelings of any Indian whether in India or abroad.

Comds are also permitted to give press interviews or speak about the high morale of the troops under their command or the achievements of their troops in the field. Great care must be exercised not to give away any information which may be useful to the enemy, either directly or indirectly.

LECTURE & PRESS INTERVIEWS

Whenever any officer or other rank of the A.H.F. is approached by a representative of the press or any other to express his views on a subject which may become the cause of a controversy or may hurt the feelings of any section of Indians or may involve leakage of information useful to the enemy, he shall immediately refer the matter to his immediate superior. In case of doubt, Hqrs. Supreme command or Rear Hqrs. Supreme Command shall invariably be consulted.

PUNISHMENTS : The following punishment has been awarded :

PLACE & DATE	OFFENCE	PUNISHMENT	BY WHOM AWARDED
JAHORE BAHRU 27.2.44	1. <u>I.N.A. Act sec.45(g)</u> NEGLECT TO OBEY ORDER, In that. He on 27.2.44 checked the guard at 07.15hrs. in contravention of the order of the weekly duty officer by which the guard was to be checked 02.00 hrs.	Reduced to the rank Of S.O.Class I.	Comd.No.2 Div.
	2. <u>I.N.A. Act sec 41 (d).</u> WILFULLY MAKING A FALSE ENTRY IN OFFICIAL RECORD. In that he on 27.2.44 made a false entry of his checking the guard at 00.30 hrs whereas he actually checked it at 07.15 hrs.		

GENERAL DISCIPLINE

It is observed that men coming from the front line are trying to sell clothing, arms and such other state property to civilians outside. Hence all ranks are forbidden to leave their camp area. Anybody found guilty of such attempts at selling state property or attempting to make business of buying and selling will be severely punished.

MILK SUPPLY

As a result of individual purchases of milk by incoming troops of I.N.A. at abnormally high rates from the few Indian milk suppliers, the supply of milk for patients has reduced since a few days. Hence all ranks are forbidden to purchase

milk individually from the Indian milk suppliers. Anybody violating these order will be severely dealt with.

Major
Station Commander, Ye-u area.

Copy to : O.C. hospital Ye-u.

In this connection, we may refer to the objectives of awarding punishment for maintenance of discipline, under the I.N.A. Act. These are as follows :

PUNISHMENT

- (a) The object of awarding punishment is the maintenance of discipline. The proper amount of punishment to be inflicted is the least amount by which discipline can efficiently be maintained. It must be the object of all concerned to aim at that high state of discipline which springs from a Military system administered with justice and impartiality and to induce in all ranks a feeling of confidence that when no offence will be passed over, no offender will be in any circumstances suffer injustice.
- (b) Due regard should be paid to previous convictions. A habitual offender deserves far more severe punishment than an infrequent offender, and a first offender, should always, if possible, be treated leniently.
- (c) Military officers must sometimes be considered in reference to circumstances other than those connected with the individual offender. When there is general prevalence of offence or offences of some particular kind, an example must be necessary and on that account a severe punishment may be properly awarded in respect of an offence which would otherwise receive a more lenient punishment.

*Appendix I*CONFIDENTIAL²⁵IMMEDIATE

No. A/225/1/30

Rear H.Qrs., Supreme Comd. A.H.W.

Syonan - TO 10.2.1944.

To

All Headquarters, formations & Units.

Subjects: DISCIPLINE - CONTRACTION OF VENEREAL DISEASE

Many cases have occurred of troops contracting Venereal Disease during their journey by land from Malaya to Rangoon. This is due to the fact that most of the women en-route are highly infected.

All troops moving to Burma by land are warned that they must avoid being enticed by women, who, it is reported hang round various camps. It is highly a disgraceful thing for a soldier to contract venereal disease which may render him unfit for active service. Moreover to cure V.D. now-a-days is practically impossible owing to the acute shortage of medicines.

The Supreme Commander takes a very serious view of this matter. In future any member of the I.N.A. contracting Venereal Disease, will be severely punished.

Commanders will take every precaution to stop this in future.

Lieut.Col.
"A/Q"

Copy to :

All Branches of Rear H.Qrs. Sup.Comd.

*Appendix 2*Special Intelligence and Security Services Department

“In the case of the Indian Independence Movement, the Intelligence Officers were its eyes and ears. They moved about, among the masses, in an unostentatious manner and gave the League authorities a true picture of the feelings, wishes, or grievances of the public, and were a check on subversive activities against the Movement.”⁵

The Director of the Department guided and controlled the work, which was conducted through sections and their sub-sections. The sections were (1) The External, (2) The Internal, and (3) the Execution.

The External Section had its divisions into National Service Section, Security Section, and Intelligence Section. The National Service Section worked on the principle that all Indians were inherently good and patriotic. If Indians acted in a contrary way, it was mainly due to ignorance of the true politics of India of her aspirations, her strength and unity and her ability to fight for, attain and retain her independence. It was also because they had not fully grasped the necessity for such a Movement which promised only suffering and sacrifice, for the time being; it was therefore the duty of the Officers of this Section to get in touch with such people against whom reports had been received from the Intelligence Section, and win them over, by enlightening them with the facts. This they had to do without officiousness, and with patience and tact, without disclosing that they were Officers of the Movement. They should be known only as ordinary members of the public. It was only when such attempts also failed, and the subjects gave indication that they would continue to be a menace to the Movement and could be categorised as enemy agents, that they were passed on to the Execution Section, for necessary action.

The Security Section had a very important job of work to do with regard to some persons who think in terms of present financial and social security. There were two such classes to contend with (1) those who were enemy agents (2) those Indians who, as servants in the Nipponese or Burmese or Thai Military Administrations, indirectly retarded the process of the Independence Movement towards its attainment of Total Mobilisation in Men, Money and Materials and safeguard the interests of such Local Governments in this regard, by the nature of their work.

The Security Section discovered the existence of some Indians, whose activities among our nationals, were directed towards the advancement of the Local Governments, and therefore, to the detriment of the I.N.A. forces. The tussles thereby created, could not, obviously, be conducted in the open, lest the otherwise good relationships between Government and the others concerned should become strained.

The Security Section obtained the data and compiled reports on the activities of such Indians. It did counter-propaganda, by conducting whispering campaigns against their activities, so as to neutralise their ill effects. Efforts were also directed to win such Indians over to the I.N.A. cause. Of course, when any of such activities threatened larger issues, they were taken up with the Government Authorities concerned, with proofs of their commission.

The Internal Section, as the name indicates, kept a watch on the Officials and workers of the Movement, including those of the Headquarters, the Territorial Branches, the State Branches and sub-branches, and also the I.N.A.

The Execution Section of the Department, sub-divided into the Report Section and Checking Section, prepared the final reports out of these received from the Intelligence Branch, and on these, action was taken. It sometimes happened that League Officials showed annoyance at the delay of the Higher Authorities in taking action on their reports, which alleged specific offences committed against the Movement by individuals or outside

bodies. These officials little realised that the delay was only due to the fact that, the Special Servicemen were put on the job to check up on the allegations, and submit further reports. Such reports were collected and collated, and responsible officers of the Departmentn would scrutinise them carefully to see if there was a prima facie case established, and if so, an enquiry would be held by a separate officer who after giving a proper hearing and recording evidence, would send his findings in the form of a recommendation, to be dealt with by competent authority.

The Indian Independence Movement was no respecter of persons. The individual charged may be a welknown member of the public, or a highly placed official of the Movement. Yet the several steps of the inquiry and the subsequent meeting, justice and impartiality would be maintained.

RAGG RA XX

SECURITY

AZAD HIND FAUJ ORDERS
 BY
 COLONEL J.K. BHONSLE
 CHIEF OF STAFF, R.H. Qrs. NO. 127

Syonan To

Dated 6th May 44

GENERAL STAFF

No.443 DISCHARGES

The undermentioned cadets have been discharged from OTS for the reasons mentioned against their names :

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of Discharge</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
1.	M.P.Sreedharen	1.5.44	Suffering from Gonorrhoea
2.	H.Venu	1.5.44	Absent without leave

SALUTATION

“JAI HIND” Will be the only verbal salutation used by the members of the Azad Hind Fauj.

SECURITY
COPY NO.6SECURITY INSTRUCTION NO.1 29
CIVILIANS

1. With ever increasing chances of coming in contact with the civilian population of SYNAN-TO, it is of extreme importance that greatest care must be ensured against discussing any matters connected with the military activities of the Indian National Army, directly or indirectly.
2. Due to mixed nature of the population of SYONAN-TO composed of various races, it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish between friend and foe. Therefore, it must be taken as a rule that any discussion of the military activities of the Indian National Army, outside the military circle will be prejudicial to the interests of India. Bearing this rule in mind, no individual will ever disclose any information voluntarily or involuntarily.
3. No member of the Indian National Army will discuss any matters concerning the military aspects of the Indian National Army in hotels, restaurants and other places of entertainment. Always remember "Walls have ears".
4. Any civilian, of any nationality, attempting to obtain information concerning the military aspects of the Indian national Army will be directed to Headquarters, Indian National Army.
5. Steps will be taken to stop civilian traffic inside the camps of the Indian National Army. Civilians with passes only will be permitted to visit camps. Trespassers will be prosecuted.

Sd/- MAJOR
"G"(O)HQ.,I.N.A.

APPENDIX IV TO REAR HQRS NO 2 S.C. A.B.F. LETTER NO.
102/2/65/G DATED 7.8.44

SECURITY INSTRUCTION NO.1

Subject : ALLOTMENT OF DISTINCTIVE SIGNS AND CODE NUMBER ETC TO
UNITS AND FORMATION OF AZAD HIND FAUJ

1. In order to maintain secrecy a system of codes as given in appx "A" will be adopted in the A.H.F.H.Q. formation and unit comdt will ensure that this system is thoroughly understood and properly used by those under their command.

2. Distinctive colours and code signs. These will be used :

(a) On uniform shirts and jackets : A piece of cloth of the allotted colour. dimension approx one inch (Rectangular sign 1 "x1/4") and shape as given in appx "A" to be worn by all ranks on the left arm, top of the sign being three inches directly below the middle of the shoulder strap. Unit and formation comds will provide these signs for their commands and forward the bills to their respective Div. Hqrs. for payment.

NOTE : Medical personnel will continue wearing Red Cross sign in addition to the above distinctive colour.

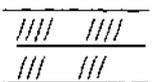
(b) On Vehicles : (i) Cars, lorries, armoured cars, carriers etc. painted sign approx 3 "X3". one on the off front mudguard and the other at the back of the vehicle approx in the centre.

(iii) Motor Cycles : On the rear mudguard size 3 "X3" approx.

2. Code Number : The allotted code number will be used for :

(a) All correspondence in the field and on exercises and manoeuvres.

(b) HQ. of units and formations when on field service on outdoor collective training exercises and manoeuvres. A wooden board 1 "X1" with a 6" peg. Painted black will have the unit or formation distinctive colour sign painted on it in white and the code number painted on the white surface in black, thus :

White		Black
	Black	

(c) For verbal use outside the camp or barrack area

For instance when a man belonging to 2 Bn., 3 Grla Regt is questioned by anybody including officers in uniform about his unit, will respond : INA”

To INA personnel, he may show the code sign, worn on his left shoulder and in addition may disclose the code number, if required to do so, e.g. Unit 23. 2 Bn.

This will be very strictly enforced and formations and unit comds. Will make arrangements to ensure that their officers and men when questioned about their unit give the correct answer.

To enable every individual in the A.H.F. to memorize the number of his unit, this clause of Security Instruction will come into force by 1 March 44.

(d) While referring to Commanders of units and formations allotted code numbers will be used. For example when the officer Commanding a formation is referred to, he will be referred to as Lt. Col.X., Comdg. 23 Unit.

(e) For painting on unit bundles and stores etc. :

NOTE : 1. For normal official correspondence within the A.B.F. and for returns to Hikari Kikan present designations will be used.

2. Under no circumstances will present designations of units and formations and the code numbers allotted now will be used at the same time either in conversation or in correspondence.

3. Call signs for signal messages are being issued separately.

4. THIS SUPERSEDES ALL PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED BY THESE HQRS. AND HQRS. NO I DIV.

Please acknowledge.

NO. 120/1/24/G
SYONAN, 11 Feb 44.

Sd/- S.U.GUPTA, Major
G-1, Rear Hqrs., Sup Comd ASF.

SECURITY INSTRUCTION NO. 2
CORRESPONDENCE³⁰

SECURITY
COPY No.6

1. Necessary precaution will always be taken to protect important correspondence from falling into enemy hands in war, or enemy agents in peace.
2. The importance or otherwise of all correspondence shall be determined by the originator.
3. According to the degree of importance, all correspondence shall be marked :
 - “MOST SECRET”
 - “SECRET”
 - “CONFIDENTIAL”
 - “SECURITY”,
 Or left unmarked, if it is ordinary routine matter.
4. “SECRET”“CONFIDENTIAL” and “security” correspondence shall be kept under lock. The key will always be kept in possession of an officer who will be personally responsible for accounting of such documents. When relieved, proper handing and taking over will take place and a certificate will be rendered to Hqrs. I.N.A., with a list of such documents.
5. All such documents will be properly registered and a list maintained.
6. If necessary, guards will be employed to vouchsafe the custody of such important documents.
7. Responsible officers or confidential clerks only shall have access to such an important correspondence.
8. Responsible officers or confidential clerk only shall type write such an important correspondence.
9. Such important correspondence shall NOT be typed in the presence of unauthorized persons.
10. Draft copies and printed carbons shall always be destroyed by burning in the presence of the originator.
11. All “SECRET”“CONFIDENTIAL” and “SECURITY” correspondence shall be despatched under sealed cover.
12. When any such important documents are in the circulation for information etc. these shall always be passed by hands, personally by one officer to another, and not by via media of orderlies.
13. When required for destruction, such documents shall be returned to Hqrs. I.N.A. However, on order from Hqrs. I.N.A., destruction of such documents may take place at the date and time notified by Hqrs. I.N.A. and a certificate to that effect shall always be furnished.
14. Surprise inspection of such documents shall be carried out by an officer from Hqrs.I.N.A.,from time to time.

Sd/- MAJOR
“G”(O)H.Q.,I.N.A.

CENSORSHIP

ACTIONS FOR THE CONTENTS OF CORRESPONDENCE³¹

The object of censorship can only be attained by the rigorous suppression of certain classes of subject-matter in correspondence.

Allusions to any of the following matters are forbidden at all times in private correspondence during the war whether relating to naval, military or air forces or operations :

- (i) Strength, moral or physical state, organization of our forces. including any comment on the absence or presence in the theatre of war, of a unit or formation, or disclosure regarding the information to which any unit is attached or belongs.
 - (ii) Location or movement of antinaval military or Air force units or detachments, arrival or lack of reinforcements.
 - (iii) Armament or equipment of any kind.
 - (iv) Distinguishing signs used for the identification of formations, units and their transport.
 - (v) Plans and forecasts or orders for future operations, whether known or merely rumoured or surmised.
 - (vi) Communications – such as the use, condition or probable extension of roads, railways or other transportation facilities, bridging, operations etc.
 - (vii) Position or description of billets, bivouacs or camp.
 - (viii) State of maintenance services including any reference to reserves.
 - (ix) Casualties before official publication.
 - (x) Effect to action by the enemy. Any remark which might tend, if published, to encourage the enemy, to cause despondency in I.N.A. own forces or people, or to incite a feeling of hostility among the people in the theatre of war or in neutral countries.
 - (xi) Criticisms and statements calculated to bring into disrepute the forces or those of the allies of I.N.A. Govt.
2. Private correspondence in the field will be in plain language. Codes, ciphers and shorthand will not be permitted. Picture post cards will be suppressed by ranking officers if they may in any way disclose the writers' present or past location or the route by which movements of the writers' unit have taken place. It is not permitted either in the address or text of correspondence to connect the name of a place with that of a unit, or the name of a unit with the designation of an army post office.
- 3.(i) It is forbidden to send or attempt to send to unauthorised person official documents including intelligence, summaries, orders, reports, maps, etc. or to disclose their contents except in the course of duty.
- (ii) Any document captured from the enemy or found in place occupied by the enemy, and any document containing information about the enemy.

- (iii) Any official document belonging to the civil authorities in allied or enemy territory.
- 4.(i) Photographs or pictorial matters of any kind, from whatever source they may have been obtained.
- 5. It is forbidden to communicate to the press except through the duly authorised channel.
- 6. It is forbidden to send through the post, photographs or films except those taken under proper authority.
- 7. It is forbidden to insert any advertisement or letters in any publication inviting correspondence with any strangers or to enter into correspondence with any stranger in response to such advertisement or invitations.

The greatest caution and reserve are necessary in acknowledging presents from unknown donors, or replying to unknown merchants and dealers. especially in neutral countries.

- 8. It is forbidden to make use of civil postal service in a theatre of operations, or to transmit correspondence by the hand of an officer, soldier or civilian proceeding outside the theatre of operations, except by a recognised messenger service.

Appendix B

DECORATIONS FOPR AZAD HIND FAUJ

Undisclosed base in Burma.

It is disclosed in a communique issued today that the Provisional Govt. of Azad Hind has decided to award decorations to the Azad Hind Fauj for participation in India's war of liberation and for acts of gallantry.

(1) TAMGA-E-AZAD

Every member of the Azad Hind Fauj who participates in India's war of liberation shall be awarded the Tamga-e-Azad at the end of the war.

(2) VIR-E-HIND

The senior award for individual bravery and devotion to duty.

(3) TAMGA-E-BAHADURI

The junior award for individual bravery and devotion to duty.

(4) SARDAR-E-JANG

This medal shall be awarded to those officers of the Azad Hind Fauj who exhibit a high standard of individual bravery and devotion to duty and outstanding leadership in the field.

(5) SHER-E-HIND

This is the highest award for individual bravery, as well as for bravery and (initiative) in the Azad Hind Fauj. Outstanding leadership in the field will be an additional ground for winning the Sher-e-Hind decoration. For those who qualify for the Tamga-e-Bahaduri or the Vir-e-Hind or the Sardar-e-Jang, it will be open to earn the Sher-e-Hind as a still higher award.

(6) SHAHEED-E-BHARAT

To all those members of the Azad Hind Fauj who give their lives in fighting for the liberation of India shall be awarded the medal of Shaheed-e-Bharat posthumously.

NOTE : All awards will be made by the head of the State of the Provisional Govt. of Azad Hind or by a representative nominated by him. The decorations mentioned

in the (2) (3) (4) and (5) classifications may also be awarded posthumously.

In case of non-commissioned officers and sepoy, the following decorations shall carry an annual monetary grant mentioned against their names :

Sher-e-Hind	-	Rs.300/- yearly
Vir-e-Hind	-	Rs.200/- “
Tamga-e-Bahaduri	-	Rs.150/- “

Recommendations for any award shall be forwarded to the Headquarters of the Provisional Govt. of Azad Hind through the proper channels.

Other decorations are as follows :

- (1) TAMGA-E-SHATRU NASH (Class I)
For killing allied soldiers.
- (2) TAMGA-E-SHATRU (Class II)
For wounding allied soldiers or taking them.
- (3) SEWAK-E-HIND.
- (4) SANAD-E-BAHADURI
- (5) CERTIFICATE FOR MERITORIOUS SERVICE.

List of awards for gallantry

<u>Name of the Receiptent</u>	<u>Name of the award</u>
1. Naik Molar Singh	- Shaheed-e-Bharat (Posthumous)
2. Naik Kehar Singh	- Sher-e-Hind
3. Havildar Ranjit Singh	- Shaheed-e-Bharat and Tamga-e-Satru Nash, Class I (Posthumous)
4. Lt. Kundan Singh	- Shaheed-e-Bharat (Posthumous)
5. Hav. Ramlu Naidu	- Tamga-e-Bahaduri
6. Sub-officer Gurbachan Singh	- Vir-e-Hind and Tamga-e-Shatru-Nash Class I.
7. Sepoy Udai Singh	- Sanad-e-Bahaduri
8. Hav. N.L.Bose	- Tamga-e-Shatru-Nash Class II
9. Sepoy Ghulam Rasool-	Do
10. Hav. Dindayal Singh	- Tamga-e-Bahaduri and Tamga-e-Shatru Nash Class I
11. Hav. N.A. Choudhury	- Sanad-e-Bahaduri
12. Naik Sultan Singh	- Tamga-e-Bahaduri
13. 2 nd Lt. Durga Bahadur	- Sanad-e-Bahaduri
14. Hav. Aahmed Din	- Tamga-e-Bahaduri
15. Naik Tara Singh	- Do
16. Sub-Officer Hari Singh	- Sher-e-Hind.
17. Lt. Col. S.A. Mallick	- Sardar-e-Jung
18. Capt. Sadhu Singh	- Tamga-e-Bahaduri
19. 2 nd Lt. Roshan Lal	- Do
20. Sub-officer Uda Ram	Do
21. Lt. J.F. Lewis	- Tamga-e-Shatru Wash Class II
22. Hav. Nasib Singh	Do
23. Naik Roshan Lal	do
24. Lt. Pratap Singh	Do
25. Hav. Pir Mohd.	Do
26. Hav. Hakim Ali	Do

<u>Name of the Receipient</u>	<u>Name of the award</u>
27 Hav. Julab Saha	Sanad-e-Bahaduri
28 Naik Indar Singh	Do
29. Sepoy Dewan Singh	Do
30. Major Pritam Singh	Sardar-e-Jung
31. Ind Lt. Ajib Singh	Do
32. Lt. Lal Singh	Vir-e-Hind and Tamga-e-Shatru Class I (Posthumous)
33. Lt. Kapur Singh	Do
34. Naik Dewan Singh	Tamga-e-Bahaduri
35. Major L.S.Misra	Sardar-e-Jung
36. Capt. Meher Das	Do
37. Lt. Piara Singh	Vir-e-Hind
38. 2 nd Lt. Ashrafi Mondal	Do
39. Sepoy Bhim Singh	Tumga-e-Bahaduri
40. Lt. Dilman Singh	Do

Section V

I.N.A. Educational System

In order to derive a comprehensive picture of the educational infrastructure of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, we need to have a fullfledged and threadbare discussion of the I.N.A. educational system built up by Netaji. It has two sides, while the civilian aspect of education and culture will be discussed in the next chapter in connection with the civil administration, this chapter on military administration, highlights valuable and vital information about the military side of the I.N.A. educational system.

As it has been indicated in the introduction, this research project is mainly based on primary sources and therefore, a considerable portion of this work has tended to be technical in their approach, the contents largely being data-oriented. Information sheets in the shape of reports, documentary evidence or other records provide valuable materials for an analytical construction of the administrative framework and mode of functioning of the provisional government of Azad Hind.

This chapter writing is largely dependent on this methodology and it is developed on the basis of these source materials accompanied by independent observations of the writer. By application of this method, this chapter throws light on the administrative structure and organisation of the military training schools and centres – the OTS (Officers' Training School) and the training schools for the soldiers and other military personnel. In this light it discusses (I) the amenities and facilities of the trainees (II) Rules and regulations regarding their dresses, food, pay structure, curriculum, sanitary arrangements, daily routine etc. They highlight on the aspects of both military and academic training connecting the military personnel with the civilians when necessary, and, above all, on the high sense of discipline inculcated by the Azad Hind Government under the guidance and leadership Netaji, and focussed throughout the manifold rules and regulations, activities and functions of this Government.

Recruitment and Training :

To put into practical effect the call for and response to Total Mobilisation in men, the Recruitment and Training Departments set to the task with a will, and soon Training Camps for men as well as for women were opened. Commands, orders and instructions were in Hindustani. Commandants, Officers and Instructors for these camps were picked Officers and N.C.O.s of the Azad Hind Fauj. After about six months of intensive training the recruits were absorbed into the I.N.A. There, they received further training and were then despatched to the fighting fronts.

Besides this work, the Recruitment and Training Departments of the Branches and Sub-Branched gave part-time training in their respective areas to the youth. "This was done, not only from the general viewpoint of imparting instructions on order and discipline and giving spiritual training, but also as a sort of safety valve, in that temporary satisfaction was given to those who had to be refused admission into the Training Campus straightaway, solely because there was no immediate accommodation available."³³

It was a heartening sight to see of evenings, in the playing fields of towns and villages, not only those who were by age and physique, fit in the due course to enter the training camps, but also the office-bearers, merchants, shopkeepers, Indian officials and clerical staff of the local Government service, parading about; thereby deriving spiritual, physical and moral benefits for themselves and for the eternal benefit of Free India. As the call on the trained officers and men of the I.N.A. had to be curtailed, special training institutions, known as the Azad Schools, were opened to train inspectors for part-time trainees.

Allied to these activities of the Department were the Reconstruction Institutions, later to be called the Azad Hind Dal. In these Institutions, instructions were imparted to those desirous of taking up duties other than purely military in the Territories of India, to be taken by Armed Forces. According to the categories they were given instructions on duties pertaining to Executive, Administrative, Judicial, Police, Public Works, Medical, Sanitation,

Relief and such others as are necessary for good Government. They had also to undergo some military training. This was necessary, because batches of them had to go to the fighting fronts with the I.N.A. so that they would be on the spot, ready to take over duties. It was not the idea that they should settle down in such places. Their job was to get in touch with local Indian talent and after peace and order have been restored, and satisfaction has been accorded to the populace, the members of the Azad Hind Dal had to hand over their duties to local men and press forward on to new territories. Their watchword was, Service to the People.

To organise the liberated areas, restore peace and order, and eventually set up the permanent Government of Azad Hind, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind had organised the Azad Hind Dal. Its work was to help bring cosmos out chaos, in the liberated areas. More men were needed for this work. From Indians of liberated areas, the Azad Hind Dal expected co-operation from the masses. It also expected local administrators to take up their duties under the Provisional Government and help reconstruct a permanent Government of Free India.

Another small, but no whit less important school was the interpreters' school. No Japanese knowing interpreters were an absolute necessity, for purposes of liaison with the local Government and Military Authorities. "The Japanese of course had their interpreters, who could have served our purposes. But it was our desire to have as interpreters, our own men, who would of the same time, have a knowledge of the policy, working and requirements of our Movement." ³⁴ Intelligent boys of undoubted patriotic feelings, were carefully selected for this purpose. They had also to undergo a period of military, physical and spiritual training before they were posted either in the Army or in the League. From this school, students were selected and sent to Japan for post-graduate courses in the Military Academies there.

When it was seen that an ever flowing stream of young men and women would be entering the Azad Hind Fauj Training Camps, the need was felt for more Officers and non-

Commissioned Officers. So Officers' Training Schools and N.C.O.'s Training School were opened. Applications were open to (1) Civilians (2) Recruits in Training Camps (3) Men already of the Azad Hind Fauj. Selection Boards interviewed every candidate and the best were selected. Civilians demanded and obtained a fair proportion in the number finally selected for the respective courses. This demand was made by the civilians, because they felt, and naturally too, that those who had already received military training, would have an advantage before the Selection Boards.

Having become supreme commander of Azad Hind Fauj (INA), Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was anxious that he may get selected young men for manning the future Army of Free India. Therefore he personally selected and sent forty-six youngsters away from their homes to Nippon, a far off land across enemy infested seas for training in character, martial and spiritual enlightenment to fight for India's freedom and to serve the motherland. However, the affection that he bore for them is evident from his letter addressed to them from Fukuoka on 29 November, 1944, which reads as under : ³⁵

"My dear boys,

On the eve of my taking off from the soil of Nippon, I want to send you my love and all good wishes for the success of your work. I have no son of my own – but you are to me more than my own son – because you have dedicated your life to the cause, which is the one and only goal of my life – the freedom of "BHARAT MATA". I am confident that you will remain true to the cause, and to "BHARAT MATA".

I am sorry that I would not see you again before leaving – but you know that I am always with you in spirit.

God bless you, Jai Hind.

Subhas Chandra Bose

Arzi Kukumat Azad Hind

The Provisional Government of Free India.

The first batch was selected in October 1943, out of the promising young men who had either joined the Hind Swaraj Institute, Penang, or volunteered to join the Officers' Training Corps at Singapur.

“Soon after his assumption of the office of the President of the Indian Independence League, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose started reorganizing it. The work was divided into various departments and the Department of Recruitment was entrusted with the task of recruitment for the Azad Hind Fauj in a systematic way. There was to be a Department of Training; the existing Youth Department was to be absorbed in that. It was to provide some kind of training for all recruits throughout East Asia until the Army was in a position to take over these recruits and put them into military barracks. The Head of the Youth Department became the Head of the Department of Training.”³⁶

“It was clearly laid down that the training of the recruits was to be done in three stages : in the first stage, recruits were not to leave either their homes or their professional work and they were to do only morning or evening drills. In the second stage, they were to be brought into camps for whole-time training, when these camps were started in different parts of East Asia. In the third stage, they were to be brought into Military Barracks”³⁷ when they would become full-fledged members of the Azad Hind Fauz. In view of the total mobilization scheme, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose required not only the youth, but all able-bodied men to serve irrespective of age. Therefore the Youth Department was absorbed in the Training Department. The training being imparted to the youth section by the ISI and the Azad School Graduates at the local centres in Malaya were continued under the direction of the “Member in-Charge, Training” of each branch or sub-branch. Local training in the nature of part-time instructions for two hours in the morning or evening, every day as far as possible was the responsibility of the territorial branch and its sub-branches. There was also an Officers' Training Course in the O.T.S. of the Indian National Army for six months.

The first ordinary Central Camp was opened in Malaya on or about August 15, 1943.

The total quota was allotted to Malaya. Besides this, there were special camps for which the highest educational qualifications were needed. Three such camps, the Azad School, Synon (Singapore), the B.Y.T.C., Kuala Lumpur, and the Swaraj Youth Training Institute, Rangoon, were already in existence. Another camp, the Azad School, Penang, for 100 volunteers was opened in the first week of August, 1943. The Hind Swaraj Institute, Penang which had been run by N.Raghavan as Director had to be closed down for various reasons. It was converted later on into a volunteer training camp. Its command was handed over by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to Major Swami; thereafter the Japanese had very little to do with regard to the training for espionage. In Burma also, a Youngman's Swaraj Institute had been established.

Besides the above mentioned institutions they had :

- (i) Cushing High School, Rangoon, which had been converted into an Intelligence Training School;
- (ii) Kanbe Institute at Rangoon, also functioned as Intelligence Training School;
- (iii) Boundary Road W/S Institute, Rangoon;
- (iv) Young Man's Training Institute, Maymyo; and
- (v) Rani Jhansi Regiment Camps, at Rangoon, Singapore and Maymyo.
- (vi) Hongkong Azad School.

Amongst other specialised training institutions, were Sandy Craft School, Penang and Usman Khaus camps in Penang, where training for wireless operators was imparted by R.L.Awasthi. There was also a Propaganda School at Thinganyum, and Parachute Training Schools in Sumatra and in Murgalon, Burma. In the latter instructions were given in map reading and Indian History at I.N.A. Headquarters, 1942. One 2nd Lieut. Mahor Dass of 3rd L.T.A.A. Regiment, underwent such training at the Institute. He was later put in charge of JIF's operating on Arakan front in 1944. He was captured in Burma with the rank of Major in I.N.A. Similarly Shaukat Ali Malik, formerly Captain 1st Bahawalpur Infantry was

having the rank of Lt. Col. O.C. Intelligence Group in the I.N.A. and was operating on Assam front, during operations in the spring of 1944. Here we should refer to some details regarding these training schools as available in the recently released I.N.A. files.

FILES

1. B.Y.T.C., KUALALAMPUR

(a) *Name of the Centre*

The training camp was called "The Bharat Youth Training Centre".

(b) *Location*

The training centre was situated on the Batu Road, with the main office in the old Malay School building.

(c) *Object*

The aim of this centre (as well as other similar centres) was to train civilians in the art of war, and thus win the independence of India.

(d) *Recruitment*

Recruitment for this centre (and other centres) was done among the civilians in enemy-occupied territory by means of lectures by leaders, notices in the "Swatantra Hindusthan" the "Azad Hind" and the English daily "Greater Asia", and through the I.I.L. branches.

As a result of this propoganda, civilians from Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and from areas in Malaya such as Johore, Seremban, Muar and Penang, came forward as volunteers.

All classes of Indians in occupied-territory were taken for training. B508 had seen Sikhs, Muslims, Bengalis and others both in the batch preceeding him and the advance arrivals of the batch succeeding him. But B508's particular batch was composed of Madrassis.

(e) *Duration of Course :*

B508 attached a course for three months, commencing from the middle of July 1943 and finishing in the middle of October 1943.

As B508 had seen trainees moving out from a prior batch when he moved in and from the fact that his course was called the third course, B508 presumes that there had been two courses prior to July 1943 and that they were also of three months' duration. B508 saw the advance arrivals of a fresh batch moving in as he and his batch were moving out, and thus knows that a fourth course was commencing.

Besides seeing additional staff arriving B508 also heard that the intake of trainees for the fourth course was to be doubled. B508 states that these fresh recruits came from the Andamans and Sumatra.

(f) *Other Centres*

B508 heard that similar centres were started at Seremban, Singapore and Ipoh.

(g) *Buildings*

The old Malay School was utilised for the main camp office. Twelve new wooden sheds with cement-flooring were built to accommodate the trainees.

Two barracks which existed in British times were also used.

(h) *Rations*

The rations supplied were of good quality and under the supervision of the S.Y.M.T.I. personnel. The practice was for rich civilians, like members of the chettiar community, to supply the requirements of the centre in turn on a daily basis, as their contribution to the independence of India and as members of the I.I.L. There were company cook-houses, and platoons detailed their members on a roster basis for cooking. The trainees were given tea and bread in the morning. Their mid-day meal consisted of rice, dhal, vegetables and two eggs. Their night meal included either fish or meat in addition to their lunch menu.

(i) *Dress*

A trainee was issued with the following items :

Shirts K.D.	2
Shorts K.D.(with turn ups)	2
Hose tops	2

Putties (full)	1 Pair
“ (half)	1 “
Boots(ankle)	1 “
Canvas Shoes	1 “
Banyans(P.T.)	2 Pairs
Service side cap	1 pair
I.N.A.Metal cap badge (with Map of India)	1
I.N.A. tricoloured metal Breast badge	1
Housewife	

B508 mentions that on completion of training for his batch, the above items were withdrawn.

(j) *Pay*

Though a regular monthly pay of \$ 45 was promised for an I.N.A. sepoy when the I.N.A. reached India, pocket money was paid at the centre on the following monthly scale :

Recruit	-\$ 8
L/NK	- ⁹⁹ 14
Nk	- ⁹⁹ 18
Hav.	- ⁹⁹ 27

(k) *Hygiene and Medical facilities*

There was a camp hospital with male nurses and an adequate supply of medicines and bandages. There was a daily sick parade in the morning, after flag parade, which however did not debar men going on urgent sick reports.

Preventive injections and inoculations were given and B508 had five of these during his stay at the centre. Sanitary arrangements consisted of latrines of the dry type and urinals cleaned twice daily by a separate sanitary staff. Each trainee had wooden cot with wooden planks fitted in. Mosquito nets were provided on a section basis and were drawn over the cots of a section at night like a curtain, running on rings and parallel wires.

(l) *Training curriculum*

The raw recruits were gradually taken in during the first ten days. Then for a month the trainees did P.T. and elementary foot drill and had propaganda lectures on ancient history. In the final period of about one month and a half trainees were introduced to the rifle, and also did arms drill, elementary patrol war and bayonet fighting. The propaganda lectures during this period lay emphasis upon themes like the Jallianwalabag and the Rani of Jhansi, though there were no route marches, B508 had been three times on a march with the battalion, through the city. P.T., though a regular part of the training consisted of exercise selected both from the recruits and trained soldiers' tables.

Weapon training consisted of the naming of the parts of the rifle and their functions. Bayonet fighting was practised. B508 states that no one actually fired the rifle at this centre. No instruction, even theoretical, was given in other weapons, or supporting arms.

Though theoretical instruction was given on the various kinds of patrols, all that was actually done was that scouts were thrown out whenever companies went out for field work.

Instruction in Jungle warfare was not given on a regular basis, but B508 had gone five times by day into the jungle with his Company to track and attack another company who had previously taken their positions and who were treated as "enemies" for such exercises. All commands were in Urdu. Roman Urdu was taught and encouraged.

(m) *Organisation*

(i) *Strength* : The 300 recruits who went with B508 joined 700 others at the centre, thus making a total of 1000 trainees. The centre was divided into five companies, each company into four platoons and each platoon into three sections. Each section contained approximately 15 men.

(ii) *Coy.Comd.* : Each company had a Coy.Comd., a Havildar Major, four Platoon Havildars, four Naiks and 12 Lance Naiks (as section commanders).

B508 remembers the following coy.Comd. :

Azad Company -	Lieut. Ram Singh	(Sikh)	O.C.
Gandhi Company -	Lieut. Sandar Bhan	(Garh)	O.C.
Bose Company -	Lieut. Surat Bhan	(Jat)	O.C.
Ghaffar Company -	Lieut. Muthiar	(Tamil)	O.C.
Nehru Company -	Lieut. Ramshi Lall	(Jat)	O.C.

B508 was in no 2 sec., 4 Pl., Nehru coy., and gives the following list of N.C.O.s in his company.

Hav. Maj	Chandar Bhan	(Jat)
Hav.	Hanuman Singh	(Mys)
“	Muthiah	(Tamil)
“	Ramaswamy	(“)
“	Pritam Singh	(Sikh)
NK.	Kundan Lall	(Jat)
L/NK	Ghandar Singh	(Sikh)
“	Gurbaksh Singh	(“)
“	Kumaran	(Madrassi)
“	Mathiah	(“)
“	Ramchandran	(“)
“	Baghavati	(“)
“	Sundaram	(“)
“	Mohamed	(P.M.)
“	Abdullah	(Madrassi-Muslim)
“	Jeevaratham than	(Madrassi-Christian)
“	Vedamuthu	(“ “)
“	Arulanandan	(“ “)

(iii) Staff

B508 mentions the following :

Maj.	Somasundaram	(Muslim)	O.C. centre
Capt.	Purnasing	(Gurkha)	2-in-command.
Lieut.	Atma Singh	(Sikh)	Adjt.
Sub.Offr.	Abdul Khan	(Pathan)	i/c discipline

The following civilians delivered special anti-British propoganda lectures at the centre :

Swaminathan

Ramanathan

Gopal.

(n) Daily Programme

07.30 hrs.	Reveille (ringing of a bell)
08.30-08.40 hrs.	Flag parade and singing of 'Bande Mataram' (compulsory for all)
08.45-08.55 hrs.	Running on a Pl. basis under sec. Comds.
08.55 hrs.	Tea and Bread.
09.00 hrs.	P.T.(on coy. Basis)
09.30-09.55 hrs.	Leisure
10.00 hrs.	Drawing of rifles from the kote(each recruit had a rifle and a bayonet)
10.15-12.00 hrs.	Parade in Coy. Parade-grounds with rifles on a PL.basis.
12.00 hrs	Return of rifles.
12.00-13.00hrs	Mid day meal
13.00-14.00 hrs	Leisure
14.00-15.30hrs	School(Roman-Urdu on a sec.Basis)
15.30-16.00hrs	Leisure
16.00-17.00 hrs.	Bayonet fighting and field exercises.
18.30 hrs.	Night meal
19.00-20.0	Leisure
20.00 hrs	Flag parade

21.00-23.00 hrs. Lectures(ancient history, propaganda)

23.30hrs "Lights out"

(Watch period was roughly of 50 minutes duration with 10 minutes rest between periods).

(o) *Discipline*

Trainees were not taken before the Coy.Commander. The platoon Havildars meted out summary punishment by caning on the spot.

Visiting brothels was considered a serious offence, and was punished by public caning on a battalion parade, ranging from a dozens, delivered by s/o Abdul Khan.

Leave and permission to visit the city had to be obtained through the normal channel, namely, from the coy. Commander, via the section Commander, the platoon Commander and the Havildar Major.

(p) *Morale*

The Officers and staff were not cruel or exacting. The trainees having come voluntarily, appeared cheerful and willingly co-operated in the training and discipline.

B508 does not know of any case of desertion or even of absence without leave, cases occasionally occurred of a trainee being caught by the Military police in a brothel, and such cases were dealt with by sub-officer Abdul Khan. There were no sentries over the training camp, and yet the trainees did not run away.

Friday was a Holiday in the centre. Personnel saluted each other and also used "Jai Hind" as a greeting.

(q) *S.C.Bose*

In September 1943, S.C.Bose came and delivered a lecture which Alagappan translated into Tamil.

(r) *Drafts*

In October 1943, the 1,000 trained recruits of Kuala Lumpur were divided into drafts for the Azad and Nehru Regts. At Singapore and for the Gandhi Regt. at Jitra.

The Original staff of the Kuala Lumpur B.Y.T.C. was :

Comd. Major Somasundram. 4/19 Hybad. Asst. adjit. 1 Hindustan Fd.

Fome H.Q.

Adjit. Lt. Shamsheer Singh Comd. Sig. Coy. 1 Hindustan Fd.

Fome H.Q.

Senior Weapon Instructor, Lt. Kishan Singh 5/11 Sikh.

Instructor 2/Lt. Chanchal Singh, Signals.

2/Lt. Kishan Singh I.E.

No 2 section Rep. No. 897 d/11 May 45, Para 51 (c).³⁶

2. PARACHUTE SCHOOLS

(a) *Sumatra* :

In January/February 1944 approximately one hundred and eighty men from various I.N.A. units were recruited for parachute training at a centre of centres established in SUMATRA. Of these trainees, sources³⁷ can provide only the name of 2/Lt. HABIB ULLAH, who was later returned as unfit, and is now working as an M.T.O. in SINGAPORE. The party went to Sumatra under the Command of Jem. (Capt.) MOHD. AMIN, and it is believed that those men who has received Sumatra training were Stationed, as a unit at BEDONG, about thirty miles north of PENANG. Here we cite some confidential reports of the British Government on the formation of Parachute School in Sumatra.

(NOTE)

(B810 heard about June 1944 that attempts were being made to start an Azad Hind Fauj Training Camp in Sumatra. It is not known whether this is in addition to the Parachute Training Camp or not.)

Extracts from Confidential Government records

(Ref. 2 F.I.U. Ref. No. L/3602 d/11 Jul 45.)⁴⁰

SUMATRA

Sent with a party of 7 men to Sumatra (SELASAI – near BINDJAI) in Jan 44. At Singapore another ten also from Penang joined them. 150 I.N.A. personnel also accompanied them from Singapore under Lt. MOHD AMIN. Underwent parachute training. Jap Lt. MIZUND was the Chief Instructor. L/3602 with L/3603, L/3607 and L/3608 were allotted to officers Gp as they had been taken as cadets and after termination of training were to be granted officer ranks according to the marks they obtained in the examination. In Mar 44, the parachute training was completed.

The parachute training was on orthodox lines – ordinary jumps and rolling practice upto a height of 12ft. from the party proceeded straight to an actual air jump. This jump was from 600-700 metres. L/3602 and Companions only did one jump.

When they left, the I.N.A. trainees were still in the preliminary stages. They saw no tactical training or dropping of arms or stores by parachutes.

Each man had two parachutes, one of which was attached by an automatic release to a bar on the inside of the plane.

In Apr. 44, L/3602 with a party of 16 were sent to RGN. The remaining I.N.A. personnel remained in SUMATRA for further advanced parachuts training.

OFFICERS OF THE I.N.A. PARACHUTE PARTY⁴¹

(1) Lt. MOHD. AMIN, O.C. (ex-I.A.)

- (2) Civ.(Lt.)NAIR, Adj. (from O.T.S. S'PORE)
- (3) Lt. SHER SINGH - (ex. I.A.)
- (4) Lt. SUNDAR SINGH - (ex- I.A.)
- (5) 2/Lt. SURAJ BHAVAN (In hospital) ex-I.A. -
In Sumatra Apr 44 - Parachute accident.
- (6) 2/Lh. RAHMAN, ex-I.A.

SEAC & India Comd. W.S.I.S. No. 196 d/3 Aug 45.⁴⁴

OPERATIONAL SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

THE PARACHUTE - W/T PARTY, SUMATRA/RANGOON 1944-45

1. Interrogations in Rangoon have disclosed details of the activities and intensive training of a parachute party of Indian agents which left Penang in Jan. 44. Numbering 17 in all and drawn from the "Bengali Spy School", "Chopra's School" and "Sangha's School", they were billeted for about a fortnight in Bidadari Camp near Singapore. where they were taught W/T by a Japanese Lieutenant. It was here that they learnt they were to be given parachute training (a point of interest, for it is questionable whether the average civilian would appreciate being impressed for such a task without being given an opportunity to decide for himself).
2. The party was moved to Sumatra, with about 130 I.N.A. under the command of (Lt.) Mohd Amin. (The latter would appear to be the nucleus of what is now known as the Special Task Force, whose later activities have already been reported in W.S.I.S. No.191 dated 29Jun 45). At Selesai, the I.N.A. were formed into Squads of 20 men, each under a Japanese sergeant, with the 17 civilians forming a separate party;

General direction and management was by Japanese officers, the Commandant of the school being Lt. Kida of the Hikari Kikan. They were trained intensively in P.T., in W/T (for the civilians and 5 I.N.A. personnel only), and later in the folding and unfolding of parachutes, but they were informed on one occasion that shortage of aircraft would delay their training.

3. In the middle of Mar 44, the entire party was taken to Santar to see a Japanese demonstration of paratroops landing and fighting a battle. A day or so later they were given a flight and then all performed their first and last jump, a thing which one Bengali civilian has confessed he never wants to do again. After another month's training in W/T, the 17 civilians were flown in two aircraft to Rangoon where they were billeted in 42 Prome Road and given to understand that they would soon be sent to India on a mission.
4. Once again, however, much to their annoyance – for they were by now anxious to see some adventure – training was resumed. The hand and direction of the Hikari Kikan became evident though (Major) Swami, Bose's wireless aide, took a personal interest and gave them spiritual lectures. The party still had their parachutes which, however, were put to no use. Fairly advanced instruction was given in W/T. They did P.T., were taught propaganda methods, the use of disguises and covers, secret writing and "boating"; the latter despite the retention of the parachutes, as it was no secret that they were to be landed from submarines by rubber dinghies. For various reasons, the party had dwindled to 10 men by Dec. 44 but there is no doubt about the intensive and expert training which was given and their potential danger to our security if they had landed in India. No detailed plans were ever made known to them but the rough idea was apparently to dispatch to India two parties of five, each comprising one W/T operator and four agents to collect intelligence.
5. One Nazar Singh, who seems to have been the leader of the unit and who is now in our hands, was removed from 42 Prome Road on 20 Jan 45 and ordered to report at

6. Ywadow, 7 miles south of Mandalay. He took with him one of the Bengalis attached to his unit and six others from a "Tele-communication Training Unit" in Rangoon, run by one G.S.Pardesi, a former cable and Wireless operator in Hong Kong. Why Nazar Singh's unit was not chosen in toto and why outsiders were introduced is not clear but the selection was obviously made by Hikari Kikan and he was not consulted. Beyond the fact that a Capt. Tsukamoto was responsible in the Mandalay area for giving instructions and explaining the party's role, it has not yet been possible to establish from preliminary and divergent statements the exact mission of this party, though it would appear that they were to send back operational intelligence to Rangoon from the forward areas and possibly to infiltrate through our lines. It is however, difficult to understand why the actual dispatch of information (if these men were not to have become stay-behind agents) could not have been carried out more efficiently by Japanese personnel.
7. Detailed interrogation may produce more definite information but so far as is known this party achieved nothing, being unable to establish W/T contact either with the men said to have infiltrated behind the British lines or with Rangoon. Nazar Singh returned to Rangoon early in April to report to Swami that his mission had failed. Six agents of the party are believed to be still in the Mandalay area where they are likely to be a considerable danger, particularly to operational security. Details of these men, so far as they are known, are being forwarded to the authorities concerned.
8. When Nazar Singh informed Swami of his failure he was told, surprisingly, that he was not to mind. With the British advance on Rangoon, events move quickly; Nazar Singh's original unit handed Swami their W/T sets and burnt their parachutes; they were well paid and informed that they could disperse. In fact, Swami deserted them to their fate. Of the entire party, five Bengalis and four Punjabis have been arrested.
9. The attitude of the agents now in our hands is of interest. It is reported that the five Bengalis have been reasonably amenable to interrogation, that they remain open to

conviction that their political ideas are incorrect, at least to some extent and that they have given useful details of their training and of the whereabouts of the missing members of the party. The shaven Punjabi Sikhs, however, have not hesitated to show their virulently anti-British feelings and have proved extremely difficult and evasive during interrogation.

10. Although no post-occupational task is claimed, there can be no doubt that the remaining members of this party form a considerable danger. That this party was never used effectively may be due to the Hikari Kikan and Bose being caught unprepared by the speed of the Allied operations. Shortage of aircraft and surface craft undoubtedly added to apparent indecision regarding the dispatch of agents to India or behind our lines. The only evidence of Indians still at large in Rangoon and still working for the Japanese comes from one uncorroborated source. A report that two agents were in W/T contact with the Japanese is being investigated. The evidence available so far does not indicate an organised attempt on the part of the Japanese to conduct post-occupational activities.

(3) KANBE SCHOOL :

A. 1st KANBE O.T.S.

In September 1943 the 1st Kanbe O.T.S. was started. It was given out that the students selected would be trained as Administrators, the course would last 2 months, examination would be held and candidates would given regular I.N.A. commissions. None of these promises were fulfilled. No training in administration was given, the course lasted until December, 1943 when half of the students were recruited for the S.S.S. Gp. But no examination was ever held, and no commission was awarded. B 579 considers that the O.T.S. was started as a propaganda stunt to attract Bengalis and other civilians to Kanbe. There were about 60/70 "cadets" on the 1st O.T.S. mostly men from Middle School to High/School education, with one or two graduates (I.D. Hhattia.B.A. and D.K.Chaudhury).

The syllabus of the Course included weapon training (rifle and Vickers Berthier

gun), jungle warfare (on the blackboard), camouflage (a few bits of sticks and grass brought into the school parade – ground), field signals, map reading (for one day only, and on the blackboard), sentry duties, how to give words of command, organisation of Indian and Japanese armies, marching and foot drill, and lecture on military subjects such as defence, attack, withdrawal and patrolling.

A feature of the syllabus was that all subjects were taught theoretically, and the students never once left the school compound on schemes or practical work. The tactics of “withdrawal” were taught, they were not customarily taught at all for training as air pilots.

Only one man volunteered, a Bengali named U.P. Dey, and his name was registered, as far as B579 knows, the scheme bore no fruit, U.P.Dey finally joined the S.S.S. Gp., was selected for the A.H.D. party and accompanied it to March/April, 1944.

U.P.Dey – aged 17, height 5'4^{1/2}” thick lips. Mother was a Shan/Burman. Had reputation to astrology.

B. KANBE SCHOOL

THE I.N.A. TAKES OVER KANBE SCHOOL :

Towards the end of February 1944 the provisional Govt. of India took over control of Kanbe School, (including the O.T.S. and the S.S.S. Group) from the Hikari Kikan. The Bauktaw and Gaosjhala Schools were similarly taken over. B579 cannot say why the Kikari Kikan relinquished control of these establishments. But he heard that S.C.Bose had communicated with premier Tojo direct to obtain that concession. B579 adds that the Hikari Kikan H.Q. submitted to the re-organisation with an ill-grace, and that strained relations persisted between S.C.Bose and the Hikari Kikan for sometime after.

The S.Y.M.T.I., Kanbe, at this time, known as the “SWARAJ NAVA JUBAK TILIM SANGHA” was renamed Swaraj Youths Training Association. B579 is not sure when this change of name was introduced but thinks in about December 1943.

2ND KANBE O.T.S.

In February 1944 the O.T.S. was re-organised as it was realised that the previous course had been a failure owing to the mediocre abilities of the cadets, the lack of qualified instructors, and the general apathy of the cadets. The 2nd O.T.S. was one of the first things resulting from the change of control at Kanbe, when the I.N.A. took the school over from the Hikari Kikan. When Awata left the school, Major Thimaya assumed command and Capt. Latif (I.F.A.) was brought in as 2nd i/c. It was scheduled to be of 21 weeks' duration.

The O.T.S. accommodation at Mayangon was very cramped, and as it was desired to utilise the rooms as annexe to the Base hospital, the venue of the 2nd O.T.S. course was changed to the Kanbe school, where accommodation was ample. It is thought that the administrative and instructor staff from the Mayangon O.T.S. accompanied the move to Kanbe. The Kanbe 2nd course began in September 1944 and still in progress when 2 Bhdr. Gp. Left Rangoon. The number of cadets is not known, but it is thought that about the same number of cadets as attended the 1st Mayangon course were selected for the Kanbe course. The proportion of civilians is not known. A small number of men from 2 Bhdr. Gp. Were selected for training.

2nd Kanbe O.T.S. Programmes :

(a) PRACTICAL TRAINING OF THE S.S.S. GROUP :

About the middle of January, Kami announced that the Practical training was finished, and that students would not be called to practice the spy training which they had been given. Students were divided into groups from 2 to 5 and were told to go to Rangoon, select any individual at random and report in detail on his movements etc. Every group of students was responsible for making its own arrangements regarding rondoovous etc., and

for the detailed work, to details of where he lived and description of that person. Kemi would then send out a different group to find the man and shadow his movements, etc. and find out who visited him. On the return of such a group the whole expenditure would be explained, discussed and thrashed out with the rest of the students.

(b) The curriculum of the O.T.S. was follows :

8.00	Hoisting the Flag (Attended by all students in Kanbe).
8.15 – 8.45	P.T.
9.00 – 10.00	Breakfast
10.00– 12.30	Foot-drill and marching.
12.30 – 13.30	Meal.
13.30 –14.30	Lecture period.
	There was only one lecture period a day, and the only lecture was Lt. Hsanumapajji Gowd, who prepared type-script notes everyday from his 1940 edition of "Manual Infantry Training." Students were encouraged to transcribe the main points from his lecture.
14.30 – 15.30	Sword fighting (with bamboo) Instruction by Nakamura.
15.30 - 17.30	Marching and foot-drill.
18.0	Flag striking ceremony (attended by all students in Kanbe). National Songs. Recital of the 7 Oaths (see below).

The drill instructors (note 1:4^{1/2} Hours a day were devoted to drill and marching) were Jem. Dilbahadur (referred to previously under serial 2, para 4 above) and Hav. Umrao Singh (Sikh). Umrao Singh later was sent to the I.N.A., O.T.S. at Mayangon. Lt. H. Gowd. later joined the Maghar Butai.

No examination were ever held, but towards the end of the O.T.S. training all students were tested in their powers of command and in their ability to handle a squad of

men. In December 1943 a parade was held to select men for Bose's bodyguard, and those men were to form the S.S.S. Gp.

Note : The 1st O.T.S. was organised by the Hikari Kikan, but owing to the unsatisfactory results, it was decided to start a 2nd O.T.S. when the I.N.A. took over Kanbe from the Hikari Kikan in early March 1944.

(c) Oath of Allegiance :

Seven Oaths of allegiance were recited every day by all Kanbe students at both the Flag Hoisting and Lowering parades. The oaths were administered by Mahabirsing and repeated in unison by all students. The Roman-Urdu text of the oaths is given below :

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Oath No. 1 | Ham sab sache dil se Hindustani hain aur matri bhumi se prem karte hain. |
| Oath No.2 | Mam bharat ki azadi ke lia larengi aru iski khatir apna sab kuchh balidan KARENGE. |
| Oath No.3 | Angrezon ke zor sulm ka hadd bagi nahin raha. ham sab iske nest karenge. |
| Oath No.4 | Ham Hindustani ki azadi wapas lenge aur asiya ilam pher se qayam karenge. |
| Oath No.5 | Bharat ki Shandar azadi ke lie ham apni jati aur mazbhi jagre ke bhulka ek ho jaenge. |
| Oath No.6 | Ham apna desh ki izat aur bhalai ke lie larahe hain aur un desh bhakton ki yad hamesha karte hain. Jo desh ke lie jan dijie takih unki atma ki shakti hamare khun mer milkar hamen bhi us laiq banaiye. |

Here we enclose a press report on the occasion of passing out of the first batch of O.T.S.

(d) Domei News Service : ⁴³

In the presence of Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the East Asia Indian Independence League and high Indian officers, the first batch of Indian cadets passed out from the Officers' Training School of the I.N.A. at a graduation ceremony held in Shonan yesterday evening. It is understood that the graduates received high appointments in the I.N.A. Addressing the graduates, Subhas Bose exhorted them to enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the cause to which the I.N.A. is pledged to give their all into their fight to liberate their motherland. After congratulating the graduates, Bose declared, "Our countrymen at home who have been bravely carrying on the campaign for so long are demanding a second front. Their task is to set up their front as soon as possible, thereby to ensure the speedy emancipation of our motherland."

Thus we find that Netaji completely overhauled the undeveloped and defective Kanbe O.T.S. system and organised it as an efficient and useful unit of military training system of the I.N.A.

4. Azad School, Hongkong

CONFIDENTIAL

ST/12/82
S SEC CSDIC(1)
SOUTH EAST ASIA COMD.
2 February 1946.

Comdt CSDIC(1)
Red Fort, DELHI.

NOTE ON THE AZAD SCHOOL, HONGKONG

The following note on the Azad School HONGKONG is based on the interrogation of the following :

- (1) Jam JAGAT SINGH 5/7 RAJPUT (H/1182)
- (2) Hav JARNALL SINGH 2/14 PUNJAB(H/1196)

(3) Hav/Maj SHER SINGH 2/14 Punjab(H/1348)

It is forwarded ref para 1 of your 1300/1/SE dated 23 Jan 46.⁴⁴

From I.N.A. files⁴⁵

INTRODUCTION

1. Lt. Col. (Maj Gen) LOGANADAN (b953) Visited HONGKONG in Sep 43, to inspect the League branches. He addressed a mass meeting and called for volunteers. Many civilian youths and 100 POWS came forward. The transport problem presenting difficulties it was decided to open a School in HONGKONG itself where the local recruits could be trained before being sent to various training camps. The Azad School was accordingly opened in WHITFIELD barracks near KOWLOON on 1 Jan 44. This School closed down on 31 Dec.,44, after functioning only for 12 months.

OBJECT

2. The object of the above school was to import elementary military training to local recruits before passing them on to various training centres in MALAYA for advance training and eventual absorption in the I.N.A.

SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT

3. The candidates were recruited locally by the league branch. After a medical examination by Capt. SUNDARAM, they were sent to the WHITFIELD barracks. Instructors were selected from among the POW volunteers, preference being given to men who had been instructors in the I.N.A. There was no test for instructors, previous service bearing alone governing the selection.

ORGANIZATION

4. 100 recruits were trained at a time. Each party of 100 was divided into 4 platoons, which in turn were sub-divided into 3 sections. The school staff provided the platoon comds, and the section comds were selected from among the recruits.
5. Selection of section comds was done by a regular test in which the candidates were examined in the following subjects :
 - (a) Geography
 - (b) History of India
 - (c) War situation
 - (d) Biography of Congress leaders
 - (e) Indian politics
 - (f) General Knowledge.

The papers were corrected and assessed by the Comd. Of the School and the first 12 candidates were selected and posted as Sec.Comds.

RATES OF PAY, RATIONS, CLOTHING

The rates of pay as under :

Comd.	120	Yen	P.M.
Instructor	70	“	“
Recruit	15	“	“

For rations and pay the school was attached to the local league branch. No clothing was issued and recruits had to find their own.

STATE

6. Staff for the first six months was :

(1) Sub/Maj KARNAIL SINGH HKSRA	C.O.
(2) Jem DHANIRAM 2/14 Punjab	C.O.(School)
(3) Hav/Maj DHARSHAN SINGH HKSRA	Hav/Maj School
(4) Hav ONKAR SINGH 5/7 Rajpur	Instructor
(5) Hav BALWANT SINGH 2/14 Punjab	“
(6) Hav MOHD ANWAR HKSRA	“
(7) Hav JARNAIL SINGH 2/14 Punjab	“

From Jan-Dec 44 changes took place as follows :

(1) Sub SULTAN AHMED HKSRA	C.O.
(2) Jem JAGAT SINGH 5/7 Rajput	C.O. School(H1182)
(3) Hav/Maj SHER SINGH 2/14 Punjab	Hav/Maj(school)(H/1348)
(4) Hav BALWANT SINGH “	Instructor
(5) “ JARNAIL SINGH “	“ (H/1196)
(6) “ GULWANT SINGH HKSRA	“
(7) “ MOHD ANWAR “	“
(8) FAZAL HASSAN “	“

(Note : These changes were made necessary by the departure of serials 1.2 and 3 para 7 to SINGAPORE with the first batch of students).

9. Sub/Maj KULWANT SINGH HKSRA, was working as a liaison officer between the I.N.A. and the local League, and was in charge of all the I.N.A. activities.in

HONGKONG.

10. SUBJECTS TAUGHT

- (a) P.T. & Drill.
- (b) Rifle range practice (IA method).
- (c) Bayonet practice (IA and Japanese method)
- (d) Military discipline
- (e) Health and Hygiene
- (f) Spiritual lectures
- (g) Route marches
- (h) Swimming and boating
- (i) First Air

No sabotage fifth column method or guerilla activities were ever taught at the school.

TIME TABLE

11. The School used to function from 08.00 hrs. to 11.30 hrs and from 15.00 hrs. On Saturday the School closed at 11.00 hrs. The programme of work was drawn up week by week and the duration of various periods was :

P.T.	30 minutes
Bayonet training	30 "
Aiming and firing	45 "
Drill	45 "
Rifle exercise	45 "
Spiritual lectures	60 "
Lectures on discipline	30 "
First Aid	30 "
Games	60 "
Swimming and boating	every Saturday morning.
Route march	Thrice a week, Mondays, Thursday and Saturday. From 08.30 hrs. to 11.30 hrs.

SPIRITUAL LECTURES

12. These consisted of :
- (a) History of the Congress
 - (b) Biography of national leaders

(c) Importance of Independence

(d) British mis-rule in India. A Special stress was laid on S.C.Bose's life and his Achievements generally.

DURATION OF THE COURSE

13. There was no fixed duration for the course. The recruits were despatched to SINGAPORE as and when available.

PROGRESS MADE

14. Within the first 6 months one batch had been trained and sent to SINGAPORE, under the Comd. Of Sub KARNAIL SINGH, HKSRA. Jem DHANI RAM, 2/14 Punjab, and Hav/Maj DHARSHAN SINGH, HKSRA also accompanied it. In Aug 44, all the rifles were withdrawn by the Japanese and the last two batches did P.T. and Drill instead of rifle drill.

NEED FOR HIGHER TRAINING :

When Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had assumed direct command of the I.N.A. he felt the need of getting the young lads the highest training in defence services. This was possible only in Tokyo and fortunately the Japanese military authorities agreed to such a suggestion. The training was to be of two year's duration at the Imperial Japanese Military Academy; but that was to be preceded by about six month's academic studies, as the cadets had to be conversant in Japanese language and culture. According to K.S.Giani Netaji Subhas Chandra wanted young men to be trained specially in Navy and Air Force and I.N.A. had no infra-structure to arrange that.

Accordingly, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose decided to recruit 46 such Cadets for the highest Military Training in Tokyo, on the pattern of Sandhurst. Selection was to be rigorous and the process started in October 1943. There was unprecedented enthusiasm in the young men to join the first batch consisting of 35 cadets. The youngest cadet to join was R.K.Sekhar, who was only 13 in 1942 and receiving training at the Hind Swaraj Institute at Penang.

On July 4, 1944, i.e., on the anniversary of the assumption of the high office of Presidentship of the Indian Independence League in South and East Asia, Netaji S.C. Bose wrote to the Cadets under training in Tokyo -

“My dear Boys, you are always in my thought, I am proud of you, I have faith in you.”⁴⁶

“The feeling letters written by Netaji to the Cadets had lasting effect on them.”⁴⁷ They always looked to him not only as their Netaji but as their doting guardian. In their daily prayers they repeated as under :

I shall always remain faithful to Azad Hind;

I shall always remain faithful to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose;

I shall always remain pure in thought and in deed;

I shall always regard every Indian as my brother;

I shall always remember that I am Indian first and Indian last;

I shall always remember that I am a representative of India.

I shall always remember that my nation will be judged by my character and conduct;

I shall always conduct myself in a manner worthy of the fair name of AZAD HIND;

I shall always uphold the honour and dignity of my country;

I shall always be ready to sacrifice everything, even my life, in the cause of my country;

May God Almighty, in his infinite mercy, grant me the courage, strength and spirit of sacrifice to make myself a worthy follower of Netaji and a true and faithful servant of Azad Hind.

Inquilab zindabad ;

Azad Hind Zindabad;

Netaji Zindabad;

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had also given general instructions to all office of the Indian Independence League to be in touch with the Cadets and look after their welfare.

According to John Thivy, Secretary-General, Rear-Headquarters of the I.I.League, Headquarters must be posted of all the news concerning the affairs of the Tokyo Cadets and there should be at least one letter from each of them. Thus they urged each one of the cadets to write at least once a month. In such letters, the Cadets were to state about their health, progress, daily routine besides their requirements or grievances if any. The letter should also include their individual interests in all or any particular subjects, in local surroundings, in people, in their culture and their impression about the same --- in short of everything that they felt and experienced which Netaji would have liked to know. In all 45 Cadets were selected for the officers' courses and sent to Tokyo in two batches. The first batch consisted of 35 cadets and the second one of ten.

Before being admitted to the Imperial Military Academy, Tokyo, the Cadets were inducted into the Japanese University, School of Languages for foreign students and underwent academic studies for six months. In this way they became proficient in Japanese language and were conversant with Japanese culture. They could thus receive training at par with other Cadets. The training in Japan was pretty tough and at times became unbearable, but being a dedicated lot, the Cadets underwent all the sufferings. During the training period when Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose came to Tokyo and visited them in the end of 1944, he was satisfied with their progress. Captain Umeda, the Chief Instructor in the Imperial Defence Academy was very much impressed by the performance of these Cadets.²⁸ Unfortunately the training came to a sudden halt by the surrender of Japan.

Thus under Netaji's leadership and guidance the I.N.A. Educational system was established on a sound footing as an organised, efficient, disciplined administrative and educational system based on the lofty ideal of national integration.

Thus we find that Netaji introduced a code of conduct for the military personnel in the I.N.A. administration which served as the guiding norms and principles of the functioning of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Thus unambiguous and unconditional emphasis was laid on the virtues of discipline, sincerity, integrity, honesty and morality of the administrative personnel of the I.N.A. It was meant to increase the morale of the military officers and other administrative staff as well as their potentiality and efficiency, ~~ensures~~, check corruption and establish a clean administration, and a full-proof security system a special mention of which has been made in the security instructions in Appendixes 2 to 9).

This strong sense of discipline was reflected in the minutest details of his military administration. Thus, for example, in clauses no. 398 and 401 of Section IV of this chapter we find enforcement of strong discipline in the selling of Government clothing; clause no.400 of this section is related to use of vehicles followed by regulations on milk supply and strict enforcement of general discipline. Even in the matter of infectious diseases like V.D., strong medical and hygienic measures were enforced (Appendix 1). The main purpose of such disciplinary measures was to prevent corruption and increase efficiency in the military, administration, including office work, field training or parachute training. To prevent and preempt any violation of the disciplinary rules and regulations, provisions were made for strong punishments as we have seen above in this chapter.

But all this did not mean that the military administration of Netaji's Azad Hind Government was oppressive. The authoritarian character and the element of regimentation of the military administration did not indicate any oppressive tendency, their sole purpose was to strengthen the administration in order to make it foolproof and invulnerable, sufficient to fulfil the challenging tasks before it. Hence side by side the rigorous character of the military administration meticulous care was taken by Netaji to establish a democratic, secular, nationalist and humanist framework to ensure justice impartially, fairplay and equality, and avoid discrimination and partiality, by way of just and equal treatment of

the different grades of employees as we find in the security instructions in Appendix 2. This clearly highlights democratic character of functioning of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. There was also a human element in the functional norms of the military administrator. Hence Netaji's unfailing and uniform implementation of a system of awards in recognition of meritorious services to provide incentives to the military personnel (Appendix 3). There was no factor of favouritism, partiality or nepotism in this matter — the sole criterions being merit and efficiency.

At the same time Netaji was very careful, as we have noted above, to guarantee that religious sentiments were not hurt in any way and no religious discrimination was made in the military administration of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

Moreover, it is interesting to study, in this context, that even in the office work or field work of military administration special arrangements were made for cultural entertainments; the main focus of which was on nationalism and patriotism. Further, a comprehensive educational system was built up by Netaji covering regular, special and propaganda lectures to train up the officers and the soldiers alike in martial art. Thus we find above the opening up of different military schools for this purpose. Besides the military purpose, its objective was also to highlight the nationalist and patriotic character of the Azad Hind government, the curriculum and programmes being planned with this objective. The programme of Higher military education and training for the I.N.A. cadets was determined by similar objectives and plannings.

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Chapter IV

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND

Introduction :

Side by side the military administration, which was discussed in the last chapter, Netaji, as a unique feature, built up a comprehensive civil administration also, in the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. It co-existed with military wing within the I.N.A. government as a complement to it. Thus a comprehensive civil infrastructure was organised by Netaji in the civil administration under different departments like finance, publicity and propaganda, Reconstruction, Planning and Recruitment and so on, which may be studied in details as follows :

By 6th July Netaji had gone through the steps essential for beginning his work. He had taken over charge of the Indian Independence League as its President and thoroughly reorganised the I.N.A., thereby becoming the father of the second I.N.A. as Ayer puts it¹ - to save the situation. He had reached an understanding with the Japanese Government on all the pre-requisites to a mass movement and revitalisation of the army. Within the next few days he completed the work of the reorganisation of the League. The old IIL was overhauled and its functions were distributed among 13 departments created by him instead of the early five. The departments were (1) General Affairs, (2) Publicity and Propaganda, (3) Finance (4) Education (5) Social Welfare, (6) Housing and Transport, (7) Women's Department, (8) Supplies, (9) Recruitment, (10) Training (of soldiers), (11) Intelligence (12) Reconstruction, (13) One Department especially for Ceylon to organise Ceylonese citizens in the East who wanted to join in the common fight against the imperialist power. The number of the departments was further raised later on from 13 to 24. The new additions were as follows - Audit, Netaji Fund Committee, Purchase, Revenue, National Planning, Information, Production, Technical, Telecommunication, Agriculture and Industries.

overseas and labour, and Territorial Branches Department. Moreover, the department of Social Welfare was combined with a new department of Health. In the Headquarters, fulltime secretaries were placed in charge of departments, and were assisted by assistant secretaries, office superintendents and clerical staff.

Similar departments were created in the hundreds of State Branches and Sub-Branched, with Members-in-Charge and staff for each department. The State Branches guided and controlled the Sub-Branched within the respective States. Territorial Branch Departments, such as the Malaya Branch Department, the Burma Branch Department, the Java Branch Department, etc., guided and controlled their respective State Branches, and through them, the Sub-Branched. The Territorial Branches Department was the liaison department between the Headquarters and the units.

Orders and instructions were issued from time to time in the form of circulars. The Branches and Sub-Branched, in turn, sent monthly reports on their departmental activities. Monthly bulletins were published by the Branches and Sub-Branched and also giving extracts of reports from other Overseas Territories. By this means the different centres were kept informed of the activities of the others, thus engendering a healthy spirit of rivalry and competition. The Overseas Department of the Headquarters, kept contact with the far-flung Territorial Branches, regularly keeping them informed of the needs and behests of the Movement, and receiving reports thereon.

But this was not enough. Netaji clearly saw that the main factor for the decay of the First I.N.A. was the absence of an Indian administrative agency to guide, control and co-ordinate the I.N.A. activities as a result of which it fell under Japanese Control²: Hence his next step was to create a Provisional Government of Azad Hind to bring under its control and co-ordination the entire I.N.A. movement. As soon as he came to know the Japanese approval of his plan to establish the Provisional Government of Free India, he sent out invitation to Indians in all the East Asian countries to assemble at Singapore on 21st October 1943. About one thousand delegates attended this representative conference to lay the

foundation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by Netaji and approve its formation. Japanese Government Publication emphasises that the idea of the Provisional Government was Netaji's own from the stage of its conception down to its actual accomplishment.³

"The Provisional Government of Azad Hind will not be like a normal peace-time government. Its functions and its composition will be of a unique kind. It will be a fighting organisation, the main object of which will be to launch and to conduct the last war against the British and their allies in India,"⁴ said Netaji.

After this formal declaration of the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, Netaji announced the names of the Cabinet members as follows :

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. Subhas Chandra Bose | - Head of State, Prime Minister
Minister of War and Foreign Affairs. | |
| 2. Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi Swaminathan | - Women's affairs. | |
| 3. S.A.Ayer | - Publicity and Propaganda and Finance
(Later on the Finance Portfolio was given to N.Raghavan). | |
| 4. Lt. Col. A.C.Chatterjee | Representatives of the Armed Forces. But Chatterjee later became the Foreign Minister. | |
| 5. Lt. Col. Aziz Ahmed | | |
| 6. Lt. Col.N.S.Bhagat | | |
| 7. Lt. J.K.Bhonsle | | |
| 8.Lt. Col. Guljara Singh | | |
| 9. Lt. Col. M.Z.Kiani | | |
| 10.Lt.Col.A.D.Loganadhan | | |
| 11.Lt.Col.Ehsan Qudir | | |
| 12.Lt.Col.Shah Nawaz Khan | | |
| 13.A.M.Sahay | | - Secretary with Ministerial rank. |
| 14.Rashbehari Bose | | - Supreme Adviser |
| 15.Karimgani | | - Advisers |
| 16.Debnath Das | | |
| 17.D.M.Khan | | |
| 18.A.Yellappa | | |

19. J.Thivy		Advisers
20. Sardar Ishar Singh		
21. A.N.Sarkar		

Later on, some changes were effected, a new Ministry of Manpower was created to co-ordinate recruitment and training arrangements for which a Reconstruction College was set up at Singapore to train administrators in Civil affairs and relief work. At a further later addition to the Cabinet the Indian Legion in Europe was declared by Netaji to be a part of the I.N.A. and Nambiar who was put in charge of the Legion by Netaji at the time of leaving Germany, was made a Minister in the provisional Government of Azad Hind. Again three cabinet Committees were later set up, one for each of the three different spheres of influence – East Asia base, liberated areas and British-occupied India.

Details of the activities of different departments :

1. General Secretariat :

With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Movement gathered momentum. Other than the Foreign Minister and the Ministers from the Military side, who had their assigned duties, the Ministers of the Government with portfolios such as Propaganda, Manpower, Supplies, Finance, Revenue, Women's Affairs, took over control of the respective Departments of the Headquarters, Indian Independence League. Thereafter, the Secretaries of Departments became the Secretaries to the respective Ministries. For example, Secretary, Finance Department, Indian Independence League Headquarters, was concurrently, the Secretary Finance Ministry. The Ministers with portfolios prepared and put into execution programmes within the scope of the policies settled by the Government at its Cabinet Meetings. They controlled their spheres of activities, and were responsible for their progress. The Secretary to the Government with Ministerial Rank, co-ordinated the work of the different Ministries on the one hand, and between the Government and the

League Headquarters on the other. He circularised Cabinet Orders and Regulations that were promulgated from time to time, and called for the meetings of the Council of Ministers and Advisers, recorded and kept the Minutes. He prepared and caused the publication of the Government Gazettes.

One of the first concerns of the Council of Ministers and Advisers was to take up the question of planning for the future administration of Indian territories, coming under the Flag of Free India, until such time as the permanent Government was established. When dealing with this important subject, consideration was also given to matters social, educational, economic and even those pertaining to food, clothing, customs and habits, in order to place them on a National footing. The purpose was to eradicate all such existing elements that may obstruct in any way, the unification of India and its people. Sub-committees of the Council were formed, and their labours received the attention of final approval of the Cabinet. Subsequently, such matters were taken up by the Bureau of National Planning.

The Provisional Government functioned through the Indian Independence League Headquarters, the Branches and Sub-Branchees, which, thus became the working centres of the Government, and the Officials and Staff thereof, the servants of the Government. The Indian Independence League, however, continued to retain that name.

When, subsequently, the President, as Head of State and Supreme Commander, became more and more immersed in his duties attached to these latter office, and with the shifting of the Headquarters of Provisional Government and of the Indian Independence League to Burma, it was found necessary to appoint Vice-Presidents who became Officers-in-Charge of the Headquarters, Indian Independence League and Rear Headquarters, I.I.L., respectively. The Vice-Presidents were, as far as possible, relieved of normal routine work, which was attended to by the General Secretaries. Thus they were afforded the time to maintain constant commune with the Branch Organisations, the public and outside bodies. "In this way, a better, a fuller and an ever improving administration was assured."⁵

The General Secretary of the H.O., I.I.L., would co-ordinate the work with the Rear Headquarters, by maintaining communications with the General Secretary there. The General Secretaries attended to all routine work, such as incoming and outgoing correspondence, the coordination of work between the several departments and generally, all such matter that would ensure the smooth and efficient running of the Organisation.

Then, the Ministers and Advisers, one by one stepped upto the Head of State, and took their oath to serve faithfully the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, under the Leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. In the days that followed the Office-bearers and the staff of the Indian Independence League took their Oath of Allegiance. In the case of the Office-bearers mass meetings were called for, in the several centres and in the presence of all, they took their oath. Thereafter, the members of the Staff and of the public, took theirs, at the times and in the places specially arranged for the purpose. Each person received a card, in which was printed the words of the oath, and it bore the signature of the recipient and that of the official of the League who administered it.

The possessor of this card enjoyed the same privileges, and was required to perform the same duties, that the former membership card entitled him to, with the added right to be known as a free citizen of India.

Propaganda

The Propaganda Department stepped into its assigned duty which the Department admirably fulfilled with the aid of the platform, the press and the radio.

The pre-war Indian newspaper establishments became the mouthpiece of the Indian Independence Movement. In each territory, there was the central office which, besides editing and publishing its own papers, chalked out policy and gave advice to the other privately owned newspapers. The central office published its newspapers, periodicals, bulletins, etc., in Romanised Hindustani, Tamil and English. These found their way to every town and village through its agents. They also printed and published pictorial and national slogan posters, for distribution. This specialist's work was performed by the Artist Section of the Propaganda Department.

Besides the Radio stations in Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Indo-China and Japan, which had their special staff of announcers, writers, commentators, etc., there were the local broadcasting stations, where the Leagues of those localities had their special 'hour'. Programmes consisted of news and news commentaries, talks by prominent leaders from military as well as the civil side, dialogues, Indian music and song-hits, important announcements, statements, communiques and declarations, and the receiving and transmitting of personal messages from and to the people of India.

To every unit of the I.N.A. was attached a propaganda squad. These squads consisted of announcers in different languages, scripts, writers and radio operators and mechanics. They underwent a course in military training and discipline. Touring propaganda officers of each Territory, and the members-in-charge of the propaganda departments of the League Branches, received a course of instructions on their work. Through them, unity of policy and programme was maintained and the masses kept up to date with information.

Finance :

In the sphere of total mobilisation of money and materials, Indian Independence League Fund Committees were set up in the Branches and Sub-Branchees, with a Central Board of Management to control and direct them, and to issue final receipts to contributors. As in Manpower, so also in Money and Materials, contributions were voluntary. In order to maintain a sense of equity, a form of assessment was adopted, which was a sliding scale of percentage on total wealth. The Board of Management as also the Committees in the districts, were comprised of leading citizens of the propertied and monied classes and office-bearers of the League. At the Board meetings, rules and regulations were passed, in accordance with the policy of the movement and the representations that were made from time to time. The basis of valuation of properties, both moveable and immoveable, were fixed by the Board.

However, there were people who contributed much more than their share, and still

others who gave up all that they possessed. A few cases there were, of people who evaded payments. It was only in those rare cases, where not only the individual evaded payment, but also indulged in adverse propaganda, that stern warnings were given. "This, coupled with public resentment against such individuals, were usually sufficient to bring them round to a proper sense of their duty."⁶

The cash thus received was passed on to the Finance Department of the Headquarters or, if convenient, to the Branches and Sub-Branches, and deposited in the nearest Banks, to the account of the Headquarters. On budgets previously scrutinised and passed by competent authority, the Finance Department disbursed funds to the I.N.A. and respective departments of the League. In the case of donations in kind, the materials were passed on to the Supply Department and the valuation thereof was recorded by the Finance Department. The officials of the Audit Department were regularly on tours, performing their duties. The Army Finance Regulations were as follows :

ARMY FINANCE REGULATION⁷

CHAPTER I. GENERAL REGULATION.

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1 st clause | Financial affairs with regard to accounts, provisions, clothing, camp utensils, consumable articles, special equipments etc. of the Army will be handled according to these regulations. |
| 2 nd clause | The Regiment Commander and the Regiment mentioned in this Clause will also be applicable to the Independent Company Commander and Independent Company respectively. |
| 3 rd clause | The Regiment Commander will handle financial matters of the said Regiment and will be responsible for the Management and the improvement of the matters concerned. |
| 4 th clause | The Highest Commander will supervise the Financial Affairs of the Corps under his Command and will be responsible for their management and improvements. |

- 5th Clause The Highest Commander will inspect financial affairs of the Corps under his Command in accordance with the Head Quarters Rules.
- 6th Clause The Commander of the Finance dept. will inspect Accounts and Finance Matters of all army Corps under the highest Commander in accordance with the Headquarters Rules.
- 7th Clause Pay Master. When a contract is made by any Company for selling or buying of articles, lending or borrowing or some undertaking, paymaster Officer will arrange for the quantity, quality, prices, supplies and the provisions of inspection of the articles and make final arrangements according to the order of the Regiment commander.
- 8th Clause The maintenance and disposal of articles will be handled by the Officer-in.charge of the Stores.
- 9th Clause The papers and the documents of monetary receipts and disbursements concerning different matters will be inspected by the respective Officer-in-charge and be sent, afterwards, to the paymaster Officer.
- 10th Clause Each Officer-in-charge should prepare the list of books as mentioned in the list attached No.I.
- 11th Clause The Accounts Officer of each regiment should submit every day the report of personnel alteration, to the Commander of Financial Department.

CHAPTER 2. MONETARY MATTERS.

- 12th Clause Monetary matters of Regiments will be handled by the paymaster Officer of the said Regiment.
- 13th Clause The Estimates of Receipts, Expenditures, Disbursements etc. should be made according to subject and classification list.
- 14th Clause At the time of transfer of the Paymaster Officer. Vouchers and the safe will be checked in presence of the predecessor, successor and the Regimental Commander and the documents certifying the former's transfer will be made and signed by the three concerned.

15th Clause With regards to the salaries, etc., when a man is transferred from one place to another and the paying Officer is different, 'A' Office will inform the 'B' office where the man is transferred stating, "Rank, Name and amount paid on such and such date to the man concerned."

CHAPTER 3 FOOD MATTERS

16th Clause Food supplies and fixed scale and quantity required by the Regiment, will be given by the Headquarters of I.N.A.

17th Clause The Officer-in-charge should estimate the quantity of food supplies required by the Regiment as mentioned above and demand from the Headquarters.

18th Clause The Food Supplies to the Regiment, which will be delivered direct from the suppliers will be accepted according to the following rules :

- i) Delivering date and the quantity will be decided by the Officer-in-charge of contracts within the designated sphere and the supplier will be notified accordingly.
- ii) The goods will be delivered according to the clause as mentioned in the contract and referred to the samples and will be examined according to the decision made by the Officer-in-charge of Contract.

19th Clause The Officer-in-charge should make the 'Settled Account Report' of food supplies as per a list prepared every month and submitted to the Headquarters.

20th Clause The surplus food found after the result of monthly settlement from the previous estimate will be transferred and included in the estimated delivery of the following month. When the estimated food supplies are used for other than the particular purpose, the cost of the food thus used calculated according to the fixed market price will be refunded to the Particular Account.

CHAPTER 3 CLOTHING MATTERS

21st Clause The Officer-in-charge of Clothing will take into consideration 'the prevailing clothing condition' of the Regiment as well as preparation 'for the war time' and establish the clothing plan accordingly.

- 22nd Clause Clothing and the repairing materials to be loaned to the Officers and subordinates of the Regiment should be delivered in kind and even the articles other than the above (clothing and repairing material) should be delivered in kind as much as possible.
- 23rd Clause Maintenance and the caring of the clothes kept in the regiment should be made by the soldiers themselves as much as possible.
- 24th Clause The handling of the clothes belonging to the Officers or subordinates who are to be transferred to another Company will be made according to the following rules :

Let him attire a set of the clothing of the season when he is moved to another Company and on reaching the new Company, he must return the set to the previous Company.

- 25th Clause It is the custom to have the man mend his own clothing but when it is found impossible to do so, he may let the artisan do it or have the makers undertake it after getting the approval of the regimental Commander.
- 26th Clause Have the soldiers mend defective points of the clothes belonging to the Regiment but only when it is found impossible to do so, it may be permitted to have the artisan do it, after getting the approval of the Regimental Commander.
- 27th Clause Clothing to be loaned should be marked with the mark selected by the Regimental Commander.

CHAPTER 4 ARTICLES MATTERS

- 28th Clause Decide the quantity of Camp Utensils and Training equipments which will be prepared in the Regiment and the procedure of requisitioning the same should be made.
- 29th Clause Remodelling and repairing of the Camp utensils, Training Equipments etc. must be done by the soldiers themselves as much as possible. but only when it is found impossible to do so, these will be undertaken by the makers concerned after getting the approval of the Regimental commander.
- 30th Clause As regards consumable goods, only the necessary quantity for the following month should be estimated and the demand be submitted by the 5th of each month.

- 31st Clause Requirements of the daily necessities of the Officers and subordinates for the following month should be estimated within the fixed quota and the demand for the same should be submitted by the 5th of each month.

CHAPTER 5 BUILDING AND REPAIRING MATTERS

- 32nd Clause The grounds and buildings used by the Regiment should be maintained and taken care of as much as possible by the soldiers.
- 33rd Clause When it has become necessary to have the grounds or buildings newly built or repaired greatly, application should be submitted with full particulars, reason and desire attached.

Report should be made to the Senior Officer immediately when any change occurs or when it is necessary to dig grounds, plant or cut trees, etc., or when something happened due to a calamity or by some accident.

ADDITIONAL RULE

The above Regulation will also be applicable to the Headquarters.

Appendix 1

FINANCE REGULATION

LIST NO.1

Books to be prepared for the handling of Financial Matters

<u>Name of the Book</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Book for receipt and disbursement of Cash	Book and list to be prepared by the staff-in-charge of Receipts and disbursements.
“ “ Estimates	
“ “ Receipts	
“ “ settlements	
List of rough Calculation	-do-
Book for Receipt and Payments of articles	This can be abolished in the unit where the number of supply source is small
“ “ Delivery of Articles	
Various (Order, Repairing Orders, Receipt Bills)	
Books for Receipt and Disbursement of Camp Equipments	Book to be prepared by the Officer-in-charge
Book for Receipt and disbursement of Consumable Articles	If the Books are not in the Charge of Officers they must be prepared by the staff.
Book for Receipt and disbursement of Food supplies	
Daily note of Food and disbursements	
Book for Receipts and disbursements of Clothing	
Book for Receipts and Disbursements Equipment of Leather articles	
Diary for Leather Articles factory	
Book for Receipts and Disbursements of Cash!	Prepare in the Unit
Ledger for Receipts and Disbursements of cash!	Prepare in the Unit
Ledger for Cash Payments	Prepare in the Unit
Bills for Receipts, Repair and Return	Prepare in the Regiment. Battalion and Company.
Bills for Food Supply	
Book for application for repairing	Prepare in the Regiment

Name of Book	Remarks
Between Clothing, Camp Equipment, Training Equipments and Repairing Goods	Battalion and Company
Book for Camp Equipments	Prepare in the Regiment Battalion and Company. Preparation list can substitute this book.
Book for preparation of materials for Equipments and Training Equipments	Prepare in the Regiment. Battalion and company.

1. BOOK FOR RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF CASH

- (a) When the Cash is deposited, the same will be included in the paying account and at the same time the procedure of depositing the same will be taken.
- (b) It may be alright if the staff only in charge of Cash and deposit will abbreviate the division of the total of cash deposits and keep the accounts as just the balance of receipts and disbursements.

2. BOOK FOR SETTLEMENTS

- (a) Serial numbers should be put for each item in keeping books. A fresh number will be given each month but in the units where the accounts of receipts and disbursement are small, serial numbers will be for the whole year and temporary staff in charge of receipts and disbursements can use the serial numbers continually within the period he is in charge.
- (b) When Items should be put in 'remarks', it can be done in as short words as possible which must be understandable.

EXPLANATION OF ITEMS

SALARY	SALARIES of Officers
ARTICLES ACCOUNTS	Camp Equipments, Consumable goods Training Equipments and commodities.
FOOD ACCOUNT	Accounts concerning food for sub-office sub-Ordinates and Civilian Officers.
CLOTHING ACCOUNTS	Accounts concerning clothing and bedding.
PATIENTS ACCOUNT	Accounts concerning curing of patients.
TRANSPORTATION ACCOUNT	Accounts concerning transportation of Ammunition Arms and soldiers.
MISCELLANEOUS ACCOUNTS	Salaries for sub-ordinates and accounts not included In the above items .

These Finance Regulations clearly establish the competent, comprehensive, thorough and full-fledged nature of the financial administration of the Provisional Govt. of Azad founded and organised by Netaji.

Supplies :

The Supply Department had a rather difficult task to perform considering such facts as that (1) a titanic war was on (2) the scattered nature of territories to be administered, (3) no single territory in East Asia was really self-sufficient in food, raw materials and manufactures (4) large standing and moving armies were in need of supplies, (5) demand was invariably greater than supplies.

Demands from Army Camps, Training Camps, Hospitals, Relief Centres, and above all moving troops, were constant and varied. Destruction by enemy action had to be taken into consideration. To cope with these and many more demands and contingencies, a

network of supply centres and depots were maintained. "In this task," observes Thivy "Indian merchants co-operated very well by giving the Supply Department preferential rates and accommodation; buying from the open market commodities that we would need and offering us the first opportunities to buy, or every donating them outright to the Movement."⁸

Communications between the various centres and the Headquarters were maintained by couriers, besides the normal methods of post, telegraph and telephone. Transportation of goods from different territories to places where they were needed was a problem which needed great ingenuity, initiative and perseverance, to solve. And they were solved according to the time, place, opportunity and resources. "In this, as in every other activity, our guiding principle was to achieve things by our own efforts."⁹

Women's Department :

The work of the Women's Department deserves special mention and unqualified praise. The Independence Movement brought Indian women out of their seclusion to brave all difficulties, trials and dangers of an open fight for Indian Independence, on an equal footing and to an equal measure, with their menfolk. They began to realise that the peace and security of their homes could never be guaranteed, until their larger home, India, was swept clean of all foreign control and influence and garnished by those of their own. Once having decided upon their course of action, there was no question of half measures with them. They infiltrated into every possible activity of the Movement be it Recruitment and Training; they had their camps, and Women Volunteers came in regularity for the combatant services and for medical and nursing services, Finance, Revenue, and Supplies. At mass rallies where their beloved Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose gave addresses, they marched up to the dias and after garlanding him, showered upon him, for the benefit of the cause, their jewels and trinkets, removed at the spot from their person. Cloth was necessary for clothes

and bandages for patients in the I.N.A. hospitals as well as the Relief homes. ~~Beautiful flowing sarees were stripped into~~ ~~Relief Homes.~~ Beautiful flowing sarees were stripped into bandages, and old clothes were collected, washed and mended and then despatched to the Hospitals and Relief Homes. Even pots and pans were spared from household kitchens to find their way to fighting fronts, - be it propaganda, education or culture. Women addressed meetings and spoke to the world over the radio, wrote articles in papers and composed songs and popularised national songs. Some took courses in instruction in Indian National Teachers' Training Schools and took up posts as teachers in Indian National Schools. Regarding Health and Social Welfare, Women ministered to the sick and needy, in the Hospitals and Relief Homes. They visited neighbouring estates and labour lines and showed the way to better health, cleanliness and sanitation. They organised musical parties, concerts, variety entertainments, national dramas, for the free entertainment of wounded soldiers, and relief homes. They also staged them for the public benefit and gave the money thus collected for Health and Social Welfare work and other worthy causes.

Their enthusiasm was a constant inspiration to the League workers and supporters, and a source of embarrassment to the slackers.

Education and Culture :

The I.N.A. Educational System has two aspects : In the previous Chapter we have discussed the system of military training and instruction. Here we discuss the other side – the civilian side.

A sphere of activities, which needed a good deal of thoughtful planning, was that of the proper education of Indian children. The Movement decided to popularise Hindustani as the lingua franca of India. The question of script was a thorny one to settle. The Roman script was adopted. In order to popularise this, our newspapers and other publications in the Hindustani language, used the Roman script, as also the books for the use of students.

There were difficulties that needed careful and tactful handling. On the one side, was the desire of some parents, that their children should imbibe such knowledge that would secure for them jobs in the new Military Administration, and so add to the family funds, to meet the increasing cost of living. Again, there were some parents who were averse to their children neglecting their provincial language. "Therefore", they asked, "how many languages can our children learn at a time?"

On the other side were the Local Government's Educational Authorities, who expected the children to attend their schools. According to Thivy this was another obstacle to overcome. Furthermore, in some territories, there was a dearth of Hindustani teachers, or Hindustani-knowing people, who could take up posts as teachers.

The objections of parents were combatted observes Thivy, by openly telling them that the Movement held out no promise of immediate gain for them. The Movement promised only suffering and sacrifice. It was up to them to brave all hardships, with faith and confidence in the final outcome of our present struggle. They were asked to realise that one of the ways towards unity and strength, was the knowledge of a common language.

As against the Local Governments, we insisted, Thivy points out, upon the point that the Indian struggle would fail, if we did not prepare the youth for the future, and that this necessitated the training and education of the youth on national lines.

But the Education and Culture Department did not wait for an assurance of support from the one side, according to Thivy, or for a full recognition of our viewpoint, from the other. Schools were opened with and without popular support, with and without Local Government's consent. Netaji's first and foremost objective was to introduce a system of national secular education in the I.N.A. set up. In due course, with persistent propaganda and achievement, the scheme of National Education became an accomplished fact, receiving the support of the populace and full recognition of Local Government authorities.

A happy balance in studies, drills and games, made the system popular with the

youngsters. They learnt to be proud of their schools. They enjoyed the periodical outings, demonstrations and rallies. They learnt national songs and sang them in their homes, vibrating and revibrating the walls with their lusty voices, to eventually find an answering echo in the mature but faltering voices of their parents and elders.

To maintain uniformity in the method of imparting education and training on ~~in~~ national lines, Teachers' Training Schools were instituted. Men and women entered these schools for a course of instructions. At the end of the course they were tested on their knowledge and efficiency, after which they were given certificates and appointed as teachers in the National Schools.

The medium of instruction was Tamil or Bengali or Hindustani, according to the mother-tongue of the students. The Department also conducted part-time evening classes for those members of the public who could not for obvious reasons, attend the day-classes.

After the Balak Sena (Boy Scouts) was founded, all the students in the National Schools, within the age of fourteen, became members of this body. Balak Sena leaders received special training and took up posts as such, in the various centres, to teach their young compatriots discipline, drills, physical culture, patriotic songs and the like. The same applied to little girls. These were known as Balika Sena. The Senas had their special badges and uniform. They took part in all public meetings, demonstrations and rallies. They took part in variety entertainments and staged patriotic dramas. Great credit goes to the teachers who took up their work in all seriousness, with the sole idea of developing in their charges, pride of nationality. Different brochures were published conveying Bose's ideas of secularizing education to the people. A broucher entitled 'Religious Instruction by the Department of Education and culture of the Provisional Government contains the view that Bose rejects the learning of religion from the national schools. His call to the students is ---" Be man" and truly national in mind. He interprets the aim of national education not only as the reading of some books but building of national character to the achievement of humanity and national unity. For national integration through education he says, "No

scheme of national education could be considered complete which does not have the active teaching of patriotism and nationalism as one of the subjects in its regular course of study. It is an absolute necessity that the little Indian mind from its very infancy be taught to be an Indian first, last and all the time in all political and economic matters and its relation with non-Indian.”¹⁰

Ceylon Department :

The Ceylonese, particularly in Malaya, expressed their desire to take up their share of the work, on the struggle for Independence. After Ceylonese leaders had discussed with Netaji on the above lines, it was decided to introduce the Ceylon Department at the Headquarters. Similar Departments were then opened in the branches and sub-branches of those localities where there were Ceylonese. The members-in-charge and assistants obtained details of all information as were required by the other departments of the League centres and co-operated with the latter in such a manner as to be part and parcel of a single organisation. They submitted monthly reports, which the Secretary, Ceylon Department of the Headquarters, received in due course, and he in turn sent instructions, orders and regulations in keeping with the general policy of the Movement.

A Lanka Unit was formed and it received training that would fit the personnel for posts as Non-Commissioned Officers in the I.N.A. as instructors for part-time trainees and for infiltration purpose. They were a set of smart young men who took to their training with remarkable keenness. There were some who became officers in I.N.A. Ceylonese girls joined the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and they were among the smartest in the Unit.

The Ceylonese completely identified themselves with the Indian Independence Movement, by becoming members of the League. When the Provisional Government was formed, they took the Oath of Allegiance along with the Indians fully convinced that the salvation of Ceylon would come through India.

Health and Social Welfare :

There was a large contingent of Health and Social Welfare workers attached to this Department and thousands of them had worked in the malarious jungles between Thailand and Burma, to open up roadways and railways. They saw Indian soldiers use the very ways that they had built, to go and fight for their country and for them. In the early months of real pioneering work they suffered very great hardships and many lost their lives. After sometime, they saw a Commission of Indian welfare workers inspect the conditions under which they toiled and lived. Soon after that, they were pleasantly surprised to note that doctors moved about them, that medicines were available, and food, clothing and housing conditions improved. Again, "they came to know that it was this great Indian Movement, that had helped to better their conditions."¹¹

All this and much more, comprised the humanitarian work performed by the Health and Social Workers of the Movement.

A few words are still necessary to finalise the proceedings of this chapter on civil administration of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

The main objectives which determined the plans and programmes of the civil administration of the I.N.A. organised by Netaji, were threefold

- (1) Optimum utilisation of the enthusiastic response of the Indian civil population in East Asia to associate and involve themselves in the I.N.A. movement. Mere military participation as soldiers was not considered enough by Netaji. He wanted to effectively absorb and utilise the Indian civilians in the general administration of the I.N.A. The civil administration was to play an equally important part like the military administration. Hence Netaji's grandiose plans and programmes to build up the centralised structure of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind composed of two indispensable parts — the military and the civil, as complementary to one another.

- (2) The existing Indian Independence League and the First I.N.A. were fit in together to co-ordinate in the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Thus we have found above that the old Indian Independence League was overhauled and decentralised, its functions being distributed among 13 departments (afterwards to 24) instead of the early 5. All these departments were assigned their particular duties and responsibilities. On the basis of co-ordination of these departments, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind functioned through the IIL Headquarters in Japan and its branches and sub-branches in different parts of East Asia.
- (3) As in the case of the military administration, the guiding lines of the civil administration were also the lofty principles of discipline, sincerity, integrity, honesty and morality to promote credibility and efficiency and heighten the sense of morality and dedication of the personnel of the civil administration. In fact, as in the case of the military administration, to ensure a clean administration and eliminate corruption, a detailed Finance Regulation was introduced, as we have seen above in this chapter. Again, while on the military side a women's regiment – the Rani of Jhansi Regiment was created, on the civil side a separate women's department was created to deal with the women's affairs.
- (4) Finally there were two wings of the I.N.A. educational system

While chapter III dealt with the system of military training and instruction, as we have seen above, chapter IV deals with the subject of education and cultivation of the civilians by means of co-ordination between the military and the civil departments.

Thus the military and civil administration were two interdependent and mutually indispensable organs of the Provisional Government of Azad, acting according to uniform principles and practices. These characteristics of the I.N.A. administration of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, made the Provisional Government of Azad Hind partly centralised in the I.I.L. and partly decentralised in the different departments, partly centrepetal and partly centrefeugal, although it was not a normal peacetime government but an exigent wartime government. This was, undoubtedly, a unique experiment.

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Chapter V

THE FREE INDIA CENTRE ADMINISTRATION VIS-À-VIS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND'S ADMINISTRATION – A COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE

A. The Background.

The most dreaded Indian revolutionary to the British Raj was Subhas Chandra Bose. His uncompromising militant struggle for freedom unnerved the British, and they marked him out as their 'arch enemy'.¹ To restrict his movements, repeatedly the Government put him to prison – seven times in course of his twenty years' struggle at home (1921-1941) – "on trumped up charge of his active complicity with the terrorists."² The impact of prolonged incarceration told heavily on his health and the British government was forced to send him to Europe for medical treatment. His stay in Europe covered a period of four years (1933-36), and after a quick recovery he travelled extensively in different parts of Europe to familiarise the European countries with the Indian problem as well as to get a first hand, and direct impression and knowledge of the revolutionary or national liberal movements in those countries of which he made a detailed study. In the light of this experience he wanted to determine the future course of Indian independence movement, although frankly speaking, he did not yet foresee his future programme of the national liberation movement from European soil in 1941-43. However, his preliminary contacts with Germany and particularly Mussolini of Italy served as the background of his 1941-43 exploits in these countries. Particularly during this period Subhas Chandra came into close contact, as Lothar Frank points out,³ with a dissident group in the National Socialist Party of Germany who formed a secret organisation against the diehards of the party itself. This factor of his association with this secret organization turned out to be important in his second visit to Germany in 1941 with the purpose of organising national liberation movement in Germany for India's independence with German and Italian collaboration. In this project he was most helped by Adam Von Trot, an active leader of the Kreisau group in Germany working for a

coup-d'etat and Hitler's assassination, Trot used his influence as Head of the India Section of the Foreign Office in Berlin for transforming this section into the special India Division Working for Subhas. It was mainly through his recommendation that later Free India Centre, which Bose wanted, was established with facilities accorded to him for raising the Indian Legion from among the Indian prisoners of war. According to Leonard Gordon "Trott became the key link for Bose to the German Foreign Office."⁴ Alexander Werth, who also played an important role, side by side Trot, to help Subhas Chandra, openly acknowledged the invaluable and indispensable assistance of Trot to Subhas, since the arrival of Bose in Germany, highlighting the intricacies and complexities of the job elaborately. He pointed out that Netaji's flight to Germany from the very beginning was a 'top secret matter' as well as a 'top level matter'. "It opened a psychological warfare against Great Britain," he observed.⁵ An effective organisation was gradually built up from within the government, starting from May, 1941, in accordance with the requirements of Netaji's fight for a free India. This apparatus had to be organised and constructed in such a way that could function perfectly independently under Netaji's or his co-workers' leadership. A fundamental decision had to be taken, if possible by the highest political circles, regarding an extensive program between a defined number of authorities, organisations and persons with the purpose of winning a maximum number of well-qualified Indian comrades from all over Germany, the neighbouring countries and from the frontiers of war, and to train them in order to form a consolidated and independent Indian organisation that could do full justice to the plans and programmes, Netaji had in mind. "It was a great luck for Netaji and his cause that ... Trot ... happened to be the head of the office in charge of all matters concerning Netaji's activities in Germany", observes Werth "a man who had the power to act politically in accordance with Netaji's way of thinking and who had the personality to be able to tie Netaji to Berlin at least for a certain time, despite Netaji's criticism of the political structure and the political leaders of Germany. ... I feel ... that without Trot, his circle of friends and his devoted working team, Netaji probably would not have remained in Berlin."⁶ Trot, with his particular talent for organising and also for camouflaging, if necessary, was able to

influence by means of the vast power extended to him, in the spring of 1941, all political authorities concerned, specially the Foreign Minister and State Secretary Kepler, and other competent authorities in such a manner that they collaborated with Netaji, and, more important, did not disturb him. The "Special India Division" was considered absolutely trustworthy. Netaji could afford to dispense with direct contacts with prominent members of the National Socialist Party.

From the report of Pietro Quaroni, dt. 2.4.41, we get an idea of Bose's programme of achieving independence with the help of Axis Powers. As the first step, he thought it would be convenient to constitute in Europe a "Government of Free India" with a name to be decided upon, and the Axis Powers should promise, recognise and guarantee the independence and integrity of India to the said government. With such promise in hand, the Government of Free India would begin a special radio Campaign of its own on two basic subjects :

- (1) The Victory of Axis is sure
- (2) There is nothing to hope for from England; in this moment of extreme danger for her, she still denies us an assurance for the status of 'Dominion' while the Axis Powers guarantee us complete freedom and independence.

At the same time along with this propaganda campaign, the Government of Free India would actively promote revolution in India as its contribution to the common fight against England; for this naturally it would require help which should be given by the Axis Powers in the form of a loan which India, once free, would pay back. "Bose is of the opinion that the main obstacle to the possibilities of a revolution in India is the great fear of England, and more than the fear the belief that England with her strength and her luck will eventually overcome even this crisis. ... The basic problem, is, therefore, according to Bose, to convince the Indians with facts and with the propaganda that England can be beaten and shall be beaten.

To Subhas Chandra the most crucial matter was the Axis Powers' Declaration of Indian independence among their war aims, which "would give a locus standi to his struggle from abroad, a struggle in the name of a Free India State."⁸ Thus before such declaration he was approached by Germany to broadcast from Berlin, but he refused because, as H.N. Pandit aptly points out, "he would not agree to be a tool for use in the German propaganda machine."⁹ This declaration, Bose felt was most urgent, since "the nearer the German armies move towards India", as Hauner observes, "the more hostile will the Indian people become towards Germany, the march of the German troops towards the East will be regarded as the approach not of a friend but of an enemy."¹⁰

Pending such declaration, Bose, to prepare the ground of his future activities in Europe, submitted three memorandums to the German Foreign Office. The first Memorandum dt. 9.4.41 outlines a plan for collaboration between the Axis Powers and India, with reference to the proposal of establishment of a Free India Centre in Europe and to the request for financial and military support.

The supplementary or second memorandum dt. 3.5.41 suggests the necessity for the declaration of policy by the Axis Powers towards India and the Arab countries, indicating Bose's attempt to interlink India's struggle for freedom with that of the Arab countries against the British Raj. In this light Subhas makes the following requests to the German Government.

1. An early pronouncement be made regarding the freedom of India and the Arab countries.
2. The work of organising revolts against Great Britain in these countries be commenced as soon as possible, so that the present favourable situation in these countries may be properly utilised.
3. The Axis Powers are now to concentrate on attacking the heart of the British Empire, i.e. British rule in India.

4. To facilitate the attack on British rule in India, steps be taken to upset the present pro-British Government in Afghanistan.
5. Steps be taken to render military aid to Iraq against Great Britain, should that become necessary in future.

The third memorandum provided a detailed plan of work which is found in the Appendix. But no forthcoming or positive results followed the submission of the memorandums, the main reason being the total indifference of Hitler to the Indian cause. His attitude towards India is clearly reflected in his famous book *Mein Kampf* as well as in his second book *Hitler's Table Talk* (found in 1958 and published in 1961), both of which highlight his strong racialist bias and anti-colonial contemptuous attitude in general. He admired the way in which the British dominated and administered India and said that he "as a man of Germanic blood, would in spite of everything, rather see India under British rule. ..."¹¹ He ridiculed the "fighters for Indian freedom" as "Asiatic jugglers" and he strongly carried his conviction that India should remain under the whiteman's domination. In spite of his repeated requests Bose was not granted any interview by Hitler for long. In a secret telegram (No.458 dt. 27.5.41) Woermann was informed that a reception of Bose by Hitler was not under consideration for the time being.¹² It is very natural that, when the Head of the Government nurtured such anti-Indian attitude, the German Foreign Office would be quite cold and reluctant in their response to the demands and proposals of Subhas Chandra. Thus Woermann's memorandum dt. 12.4.41 does not favour establishment of a Free Indian Government by Bose in Berlin while Rintelen's notes with reference to this memorandum,¹³ dt. 10.9.41, stated that a declaration regarding free India should be postponed until German operations in the East have a greater impact.¹⁴

Woermann, however, did not rule out any such declaration in future. "I told Mr. Bose", he told Subhas Chandra in their recorded conversation, in July 1941, "that we remain firm in our intention regarding a proclamation for a free India: We have, of course, to

choose a suitable time for it. Here Mr. Bose became very emphatic and asked that the Reich Foreign Minister be requested to issue this proclamation as speedily as possible.”¹⁵

Thus Subhas Chandra did not give up. He did not yield to the negative attitude of the German Government, and with the support of Trot gave continued pressure on the German Foreign Office for active help in the formation of a Free India Centre and an Indian Legion out of the Indian Prisoners of war, apart from the central point of the Axis Declaration of a Free India.

Hitler had ordered the OKW Operation Staff on 17th February 1941, to prepare a study for advance from Afghanistan into India after the completion of BARBAROSSA.¹⁶ But since the German army seemed nowhere near achieving the destruction of the Soviet army by autumn, the project of a massive parade of strength near Afghanistan and India was whittled down to a program of hostile propaganda and disruptive acts of sabotage to make Britain aware of the danger to her empire. Here the assistance of Subhas Bose and his men in India, was considered to be useful by Hitler by October, though a declaration on Indian independence as demanded by Bose was rejected by the Dictator. Accordingly, instructions were issued by foreign Secretary Ribbentrop for examination of the propaganda values of the Indian prisoners of war.¹⁷ Thus began, the German Government's desire for the first time in six months to associate Bose with its own actions, and a German emissary was sent to Badgastein, Bose's health resort, where he was staying at the time, with the German Government's request for co-operation. Bose thanked the German Government for the proposal and added that the collaboration would have to be based on a very well-defined agreement.¹⁸ His terms were as follows :

(1) For all purposes of negotiation, India should be regarded as a completely sovereign state of which he would be the representative until such time as the Indian people could finally constitute their own government on their own soil.

(2) While India was in subjugation, he (Netaji) should have facilities for a separate free establishment of his own with the status of a diplomatic representative attached to the Head of a sovereign state.

(3) For finances of such a set-up, the German Government would advance an interest free loan which would be repayable by free India, after termination of hostilities. In fact, as Alexander Werth points out, in 1944 5000,000 yen were handed over by the Japanese Government to the German Ambassador in Tokyo, in the house of Netaji to serve as the first partial repayment of the loan paid by Germany, to the Free India Centre. This amount was made up of voluntary contributions made by Indians living in East Asia.

(4) The loan so granted must be without any condition, and expenditure for the same must be subject to diplomatic immunity.

(5) Any broadcast, any publication, or any publicity to be carried on by the establishment, so contemplated, must not be subject to any German censorship, even though the same may have to be carried on from Germany or territories under her occupation.

(6) Recruitment to any Indian National Army to be raised would be made solely by Indians or representatives duly approved by the head of the State (Netaji).

(7) The Oath of allegiance by the members of the army would be to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who as the Head of the sovereign state of India, would also be the commander-in-chief of all Indian armed forces.

(8) Though apparent from the above, still it must be specifically agreed that the Indian forces, while operating in any joint sub-command, must not be deployed on any front other than against the British or other troops under British command subject to any unforeseen military entanglements.

(9) While the free India establishment and its forces would support all anti-British actions, it would not ipso facto consider itself at war with other allies of Great Britain.

“The Nazis were flabbergasted to see the terms. Were these the conditions of a powerless one-man state for co-operation with the Reich? The man, they decided, must be cut to size.”¹⁹

Shortly afterwards, an official communication reached Netaji to inform him that Fuehrer had approved the civil parts of his terms (points 1-5) and that decisions on the points involving military help would come in due course. Ultimately they were also approved with minor modifications to bring the terms in line with those accepted by other allies of Germany, e.g. the name of the projected Indian National Army would be called the Indian Legion of Spanish Legion. Vyas informs us that although there was tough bargaining at the beginning, once the agreement was signed Germany honoured it in letter and spirit. Loans, technical aid, military officers to give necessary training to the soldiers of the Indian Legion came regularly.

After his meeting with the German Foreign Minister and later on with the Fuehrer on 29.5.42, Netaji was granted, as desired, absolute independence in financial matters and working procedures. In the words of Werth "absolute independence of Netaji's activities in Germany were absolutely guaranteed in principle."²⁰ However, Netaji's demand for a joint declaration for a Freed India by the Axis Powers was ignored by the Chancellor. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that with the help of Trot and his circle who influenced the German Foreign Office, Netaji, barring the Declaration, was able to fulfil all his demands, and keeping his efforts open for the Declaration, now he set down to consolidate his gains and organise the administration of the Free India Centre which was ceremonially inaugurated on 2nd November 1941. Six decisions were taken at the first meeting of the Centre :

- (1) The name of the movement was to be Azad Hind or Free India.
- (2) The name of the organisation in Europe – Azad Hind Centre.
- (3) National anthem – Jana Gana Mana.
- (4) Emblem of the movement : Tricolour with a springing Tiger.
- (5) Prescribed greeting among Indians; Jai Hind.
- (6) A title for Subhas Chandra Bose – Netaji.

Gunpuley adds that in this meeting it was also declared to adopt Hindusthani with the Roman script as the national language of India.²¹ From the account of Hugh Toye, we come to know that "By May 1942 the Azad Hind Centre had attained an acknowledged status in Germany." It was treated as a foreign mission, which implied for its members a higher scale of rations and exemption from some of the Aliens' Regulations. Bose himself was not stinted : the German gave him a good house, a car and special rations for entertainment purposes. His personal allowance amounted to about 800 per month, and there was a monthly grant for the Free India Centre, which rose from 1,200 in 1941, to 3,200 in 1944. All this Bose regarded as a loan, to be repaid to Germany, when India was free..."²²

Detailed plan of work of Netaji regarding the Azad Hind Centre has already been referred to by us above, from which we find that the main functions of the Centre were to organise and help the cause and serve as the brain of the Indian Revolution in Germany and revolution in India and independent Tribal territory between India and Afghanistan. Thus the following plan of revolution was recommended by him for the Indian people in general as well as for the Indian National Congress.

1. Boycott of British goods.
2. Boycott of Britishers and pro-Britishers.
3. Holding of public meetings and demonstrations inspite of prohibition.
4. Secret bulletins and secret radio stations.
5. March to government office houses and demand their departure from India
6. Organise processions to occupy government offices to hamper administration.
7. Police and prison officials oppressing the people to be punished.
8. Street barricades against police attack.
9. Burn down government offices and factories working for war ends.
10. Interrupt postal, telegraphic and telephonic communications.
11. Interrupt rail, tran and bus services.
12. Destroy police stations, railway stations and jails in isolated places.

For the Congress he prescribed the following plan of action.

1. Non-payment of taxes to obstruct revenue.
2. Stay-in-strike or go-slow among workers to impede production.
3. Organise Secret guerilla bands by students to destroy British relics, monuments etc.
4. Underground work by women, especially girls.
5. Government officers, instead of resigning, should sabotage by eliciting secret information or by inefficient working.
6. Servants should create troubles for their masters by demanding higher salary and better conditions etc.²³

Another important function of the Centre was to guide the branches of the Free India Centre proposed to be set up in different countries of the world. Although this plan of expansion of overseas branch outside Europe did not materialise; the centre had established its branches in Rome, Paris, Brussels, Vienna and Prague. This helped to sustain and strengthen the Azad Hind movement in Europe, and "this lent a European character to this F.I.A. plan in Germany."²⁴

After the establishment of the Azad Hind Centre, Netaji set a quick pace to his work of organising the services on the civilian side of the government. The work allotted to this wing comprised radio services, publications including bringing out a journal, public relation and economic planning. In fact, Netaji, in his detailed plan of work submitted to the German government dated 20.5.41, mentioned above, already emphasised on some of these aspects viz. "to direct world propaganda (including radio, press etc. against British imperialism from the Indian standpoint, to conduct an official organ of the Free Indian Centre (at first a weekly journal) ... for distribution in different countries of the world."²⁵

The Azad Hind Radio began its programme of broadcasting to the Indian people from February 1942 when Netaji in his first address to his countrymen asked them to carry on the fight against British imperialism and assured them of Axis help in this mission.²⁶

From Gunpuley, we come to know that Netaji was in tears of joy as he made this maiden speech towards his countrymen.²⁷ In another address from the Azad Hind Radio on 17.6.42 Netaji justified foreign help for achieving India's independence. "We can expect help or assistance only from those who are our friends and allies. In the present case those who are trying to overthrow the British empire are working for our liberation and are our friend and allies ... apart from the theoretical position, personal experience as well as the interview with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini have convinced me that in the struggle against British imperialism, the Tripartite powers are our best friends and allies, outside India."

It is true, that here Netaji exaggerated the hopeful picture, since Hitler's attitude did not inspire in him much confidence, although Mussolini was sincerely sympathetic to the Indian cause, but he was projecting this image for two-fold purposes – to impress upon the German Government about his faith in them and more important, to rouse and inspire from abroad the Indian people to launch an uncompromising, national militant struggle for freedom against the British Raj from within. Thus in another broadcast on 31.8.42 he invoked his countrymen "to muster all your strength and courage in this fateful hour, sisters and brothers, be brave and continue the struggle, for freedom is at hand. Let your slogans be 'Now or Never' – 'Victory or Death'."

Thus the Azad Hind Radio played a vital role in Netaji's struggle for freedom in Europe. According to Nambiar the main task of the Free India Centre was to make radio transmissions.²⁸ The prospect of Azad Hind Radio becoming a valuable aid to India's freedom struggle caught the imagination of the German Government and its transmission time was raised to three hours. Alexander Werth informs us that the programmes were transmitted in several languages ---- English, Hindusthani, Bengali, Persian, Tamil, Telegu and Pushutu and the texts of the transmissions were not even censored.

Another significant development was that the Azad Hind Centre brought out in March, 1942, a monthly journal under the name of Azad Hind in Hindusthani language and in Roman script. Soon it had a circulation of 5000 copies in Germany. The Free India

centre was the executive centre for editing all radio broadcasts, caring for all Indian communities in Germany, including Austria, supervision of Indian National centres in France and Italy, organising cultural and educational training courses for its staff and maintenance of planning committee to study the social and economical problems of free India. It also arranged social and political meetings and served as co-ordinator and forum for the manifold relations with other diplomatic missions. Thus the Centre performed multifarious functions.

The military administration also began taking decisive steps for the organisation of the Indian Legion. This was delayed apparently for thrashing out the question of naming this army. While Netaji wanted it to be named Indian National Army, the German Government did not allow the status of an entirely independent army, and this military unit was called the Indian Legion. There were at that time about 10,000 Indian prisoners of war in the nearby Annaberg camp and other centres. After permission was duly obtained from the foreign office and the military authorities, Netaji paid a number of visits to these camps to talk to the POWs. While at the outset, there was hesitation among many of them in joining the Legion, Netaji's unremitting efforts and persuasion, as Girija Mukherjee who accompanied Netaji sometimes in these visits, observed, resulted in large numbers among them joining the Legion.

Capt. Walter Harbich together with his two civilian assistants, N.G.Swami and Abid Hassan, as well as numerous platoons consisting of well-trained Indian soldiers holding different ranks, constituted the framework for a future Indian Legion. All former Indian POWs received an exceptionally good training. They were specialised in intelligence services, radio transmission and sabotage services; separate courses were held for mountain troops and parachute troops. According to Werth "the morale, discipline of the troops as well as the personal relationship between officers and soldiers were excellent". Netaji himself visited the training camps to convince himself of the progress his men were making. The Legion soon reached the strength of one regiment.

Walter Harbich while enunciating the principles for acceptance of Indian army volunteers, points out that recruitment of the Indian volunteers took place through the Free India Centre in Berlin directed by Netaji on the principle of voluntary application from among the Indian intellectuals living at that time in different European states and from among the Indian POWs, and the recruitment was to be made in such a way that these units represented a picture of the multi-national Indian state. "His Excellency's (Netaji) goal was to paralyse the century-old antagonisms rooted in the Indian nationalities, religions and castes and to unite the members of both these units in one great common aim – that of liberating and making India an independent state in the family of nations", observes Harbich, "It is surprising how it was possible to lead Indian soldiers far on this way of thinking in a comparatively short space of time."²⁹ This national character of the Legion was echoed by the voice of its soldiers — 'Everything is Jai Hind here.' Leonard Gordon, while writing a biography of Netaji was impressed by this secular character of the Legion.³⁰

Side by side the vigorous military training, Netaji arranged for entertainments for the soldiers by organising fellowship evenings where they took part in different performances like music, songs, theatre, sketches etc. Whenever possible Netaji attended the functions along with some of his colleagues.

Although Germany did not agree to have the Legion as an Indian National Army, to Netaji it was nothing less than that in its objective, character, spirit and ideals. Its main objective was to arouse the Indians to launch an uncompromising militant national freedom struggle at home to be supplemented by this national liberation force under Netaji's leadership from abroad. According to Gunpuley, "these were the men who embodied the great national idea of an armed struggle for India's freedom."³¹ The nationalist and patriotic character of the Legion was focussed in a note sent to the German Government by Netaji regarding the position and the role of Indian Legion in Europe.³² In the following extract from this note we thus find that to Netaji "the aim of the Indian Legion should be to reach India by land or by sea. It will be most appreciable, if the Legion from the West could come

to India. It is to be synchronised with the Japanese offensive in East India." According to Netaji this joint offensive from abroad against the British would galvanize the Indian people to launch a militant revolt against the Raj from within. In the abovementioned note Netaji also enjoined that with the furtherance of training and the promotion of Indians to higher ranks, corresponding number of German training staff should be withdrawn, so that as far as possible, the Legion is comprised of Indians and is led by Indians. The military command of the Legion should remain in constant close touch with Free India Centre. It will be appreciated, if changes in the task of the Legion are effected with prior consultation with Free India Centre.

This projected Netaji's objective of giving the Legion an exclusively Indian and independent character, and it was further confirmed by the Oath of loyalty taken by the Legion soldiers, as Harbich points out, to be taken in the name of Netaji in his capacity as the representative of Free India of the future whereby he became the highest authority for Indian soldiers in Germany; an addition merely mentioned the necessary influence of the German High command whose name was mentioned in the Oath side by side that of Netaji.³³ Harbich paid a great homage to Netaji as a great Indian patriot who, deserved the main credit for the Indian Freedom movement in Germany in his time.³⁴

Thus Netaji, at this stage, had implemented his preliminary goal in Germany, namely the establishment of the Free India Centre, the Azad Hind Radio and the Indian Legion. There was still left to be attained the most vital point – an official joint declaration by the Axis Powers for India and a guarantee of India's independence after the war. Mussolini was the first to give his consent to such a guarantee. Ciano informs us that "Mussolini allowed himself to be persuaded by arguments produced by Bose to obtain a tripartite declaration in favour of Indian Independence."³⁵ There followed immediately the Japanese proposal for a tripartite declaration on India "The only one who delayed the formulation of such a guarantee", observes Werth,³⁶ "was the German Chancellor who revealed a reserve on the plea that such a declaration would be of small practical significance until the situation would

justify such a decision, and Gobbel recorded such German reaction on 11.5.43.³⁷ Netaji had now exhausted every opportunity to accomplish his mission in Europe, but it is only for the opposition of Hitler that he failed to succeed in attaining the culmination of his work in Germany. He was now convinced that the scope for the continuation of his work now lay in Asia rather than in Europe, so he left the charge of the Free India Centre and the Indian Legion to Nambiar and with the help of Trot he left Germany for Japan in a submarine risking his precious life for the sake of freedom of his beloved motherland.

Netaji's departure from Europe did not mean the closure of this Chapter of the national liberation movement in Europe under his leadership. Simply the European front was extended to East Asia -- to the I.N.A. movement under his leadership. Leaving Nambiar in charge of the European front, Netaji arranged to have a close link between these two fronts and Nambiar was instructed accordingly. In fact, in the Azad Hind Government established by him in East Asia, Nambiar was made a Minister in charge of the Free India Centre and the Indian Legion in Berlin, and the Indian Legion was declared by Netaji to be a part and parcel of the I.N.A.

The breakthrough and beginning of his work in Japan did not take so long time as it took in Germany, although the Japanese delayed his arrival in Japan as far as possible and tried to keep him inactive for sometime even after his arrival in Japan in May 1943. The First I.N.A. of Mohan Singh and Rashbehari Bose, was used by the Japanese only as a propaganda unit of the Japanese army for which a weak leader was essential. But Netaji's credentials were all known to the Japanese and they fully know him as a strong and independent minded man, who would upset their plans and calculations, if he took the command of the I.N.A. Hence their policy of evasion which was maintained even in avoiding an early interview with Prime Minister Tojo. The first meeting with Tojo, held within about a month of his arrival, did not produce any result, but the second meeting following shortly, produced a miracle releasing the most important result of enlisting the Prime Minister's wholehearted support for Netaji's programme, as he was very much

impressed with Netaji. "He is a great Indian, fully qualified to command the I.N.A.". Tojo told Shigemitsu.³⁸ This changed attitude of Tojo towards Netaji was also confirmed by Gaimensho.³⁹ Both Saito and Hayashida described Netaji as a "great personality with magnetic and almost hypnotic charm"⁴⁰, which won over Tojo's support to him.

Tojo was so fascinated with this magnetic personality that he not only fully accepted Netaji as the undisputed leader of the I.N.A. movement, but also gave him absolutely free hand in all matters administrative, financial, even military, as we have seen above in Chapter 2. Thus we find that Tojo gave Netaji a free hand in collecting funds from the Indian residents of South East Asia and utilising it for the cause of the I.N.A. movement exclusively. Tojo also unhesitatingly endorsed Netaji's proposal of an Indo-Japanese Loan Agreement in 1944. Throughout the negotiations of the latter Netaji insisted on obtaining loans without any strings attached and assuring repayment. Netaji maintained that India was not Japan's client but only a temporarily weak co-equal government and army. This independent assertive stand was accepted by Tojo and Japan implemented this agreement by providing a loan of one hundred million yen to the provisional Government of Azad Hind. In military policy matters also Tojo accepted the independent stand of Netaji and there was, as Joyce Lebra notes it, the personal influence of Netaji on the formulation of Japanese policy and strategy towards the I.N.A. There were several instances where it is demonstrable that without Netaji and his powerful charismatic impact, Japan would have followed other courses in dealing with the I.N.A. or with the question of policy towards India in general.⁴¹

Thus we find that the very nature of Netaji's contact with Germany was totally different from that with Japan -- Hitler's indifference in sharp contrast with Tojo's willing co-operation. This accounts for the failure of his plan of revolution in Germany and the success of the I.N.A. movement in East Asia.

It is in the same light that we may explain the limitations of his administrative and military programmes in his national liberation movement in Europe. Thus there were

restraints on the operation of his Free India Centre and Indian Legion in Europe since he did not enjoy absolute control over them depending for everything on the all German Government and particularly Hitler because of whose unsympathetic attitude he could not go far. In fact, but for the invaluable assistance of Trot and co-operation of Alexander Werth, it would not have been possible for him to attain even whatever measure of progress he made in Berlin.

In sharp contrast with this picture, with the whole hearted co-operation of Prime Minister Tojo, Netaji worked independently and effectively as the Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Commander of the I.N.A. to proceed step by step to the successful consummation of his I.N.A. mission. The very titles of the administrative and military units of his revolutionary movement in Germany on the one hand and Japan on the other clearly bring out the difference in the nature of his control and operation. Thus in Germany he had to be satisfied with a makeshift arrangement of an administrative centre, the India Centre of merely a local character – no fullfledged government, in contrast with the fullfledged Provisional Government of Azad Hind in Japan of international character sanctioned by recognition of eight states. Again, regarding the Indian army, in Germany it was simply a Legion and it could not be called an Indian National Army because of the prohibition of the German Government, while in Japan we find the memorable exploits of the Indian National Army. Regarding the Indian Legion Netaji had no absolute control over it demanding no absolute obedience from the Indian POWs as it is clear from the Oath of the soldiers who professed loyalty first to Herr Hitler and then to Netaji – “I swear by God this holy Oath, that I will obey the leader of the German State and people, Adolf, Hitler as the commander of the German Armed Forces, in the fight for freedom for India, in which fight our leader is Subhas Chandra Bose” Moreover, we find an abortive attempt by Netaji to extend the Indian Revolution in Germany to different parts of Europe, but except Italy it did not mature effectively. In contrast with this we find the successful extension of the I.N.A. movement by Netaji to large parts of East Asia from Japan, covering most of the South East Asian countries particularly Burma, Singapur and Malaya on whose invaluable co-operation

the success of the I.N.A. movement was largely determined. Against this background, Netaji's movement in Germany failed but his I.N.A. movement ultimately succeeded since the impact of the I.N.A. trial compelled the British to leave India and transfer power to her.

In conclusion, some common features may be noted – in fact they have already been highlighted above in different preceding chapters – regarding the objectives, concept and character of these two : the German experiment and the East Asiatic experiment – success or failure does not count here.

Thus, we have seen that the objective and character of both the movements abroad were intensely and exclusively patriotic and nationalist : the two-fold aims being India's independence and independence of the movement : no compromise on these main issues. Both of them were in letter and spirit an extension of the Indian freedom struggle at home : a complement and supplement from abroad. No rival or alternative movements but parts and parcel of the Indian national movement. Administrative and military experiments in both these cases: and their projections – the Free India Centre, the Indian Legion, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army were all inspired and characterised by the lofty ideals of patriotism, nationalism, religious toleration and democracy. They were nationalistic, democratic and secular in character. The only reason for this is that the fountain of all ideas and ideals of these movements was one man – Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the greatest patriots of the world.

Appendix

Detailed plan of work submitted by Bose to the German Foreign Office. Outlines the formation of the Free India Centre in Berlin; suggests the Programme of creating revolts against Britain in India and other countries.¹

20 May, 1941

I. Declaration regarding Indian Independence

This will be an historic event in world-politics. It will be appreciated most of all in Oriental countries. As a challenge to British Imperialism, it will be morally invincible.

II. Opening of a Free India Centre in Berlin

The idea of forming an Indian committee in Berlin does not appeal to me because such a Committee will be a democratic body and from the practical point of view it will be unworkable.

The functions of the Free Indian Centre will be as follows :

- (1) To serve as the brain of the Indian revolution.
- (2) To guide the branches of the Free Indian Centre in different countries.
- (3) To direct world-propaganda (including radio, press, etc.) against British Imperialism from the Indian standpoint.
- (4) To conduct an official organ of the Free Indian Centre (at first a weekly journal) in German, Italian, French and Spanish for distribution in different countries of the world.
- (5) To organise and send practical help to India for the revolution (details given below).

(6) To organise Free Indian Legion (composed of Indians who volunteer) for fighting against England on the side of the Axis Powers.

(7) To conduct propaganda amongst the Indian troops fighting for England in the different war fronts.

III. Branches of the Free Indian Centre

Branches of the Free Indian Centre will be started in about 20 countries in Shanghai : Tokyo, Kobe (or Osaka), China, Saigon, Bangkok, Nepal, Kabul, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, French, Africa, Rome, Paris, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Brazil, Argentine, Mexico, North America etc.

Some of these centres may have to be secret for the present.

The functions of these branches will be :

- (1) Open propaganda on behalf of Free India.
- (2) Open propaganda against British Imperialism.
- (3) Intelligent and careful propaganda against American support to British Imperialism.
- (4) Special propaganda in the entire Orient against British Imperialism.
- (5) Subtle propaganda in favour of the Axis Powers.
- (6) Actively helping the Indian revolution wherever and whenever possible.

IV. Organising a big campaign in the independent Tribal Territory (between Afghanistan and India)

V. **Organising the revolution in India.**

For IV and V the following detailed work will be necessary :

- (1) Sending military advisers to the Tribal Territory.
- (2) Building an aerodrome in the Tribal Territory.
- (3) Sending portable radio-transmitters for the Tribal Territory and for India.
- (4) Sending small printing machinery for the Tribal Territory and for India.
- (5) Sending materials for the sabotage work in India.
- (6) Sending necessary arms (and later on aeroplanes) for the Tribal Territory and for India.
- (7) Establishing a military training centre in the Tribal Territory for training Indian Officers.
- (8) Sending necessary literature for the propaganda in the Tribal Territory and in India.
- (9) Propaganda among the Indian war-prisoners — orally and with printed matter.
- (10) Organising a Free Indian Legion to fight against Britain. At a later stage, this legion may be sent to fight in India.
- (11) Preparing from now to send a military force to India in future.

VI. **Organising revolts against Britain in other oriental countries**

This work can of course be undertaken directly by the German Government and the Army high Command. But the Free India Centre in Berlin and its branches outside Germany can also help in this work.

VII. Some important items

(1) *Special Officers*

The Foreign Office should depute some special officers to collaborate with the Free Indian Centre in the above work. It will be a whole-time job for them.

(2) *Radio propaganda*

The radio propaganda from Berlin will be in several languages and will be in the name of the Free India Radio Station. A special station may have to be set apart for this purpose. The radio propaganda will have four distinct aims.

- (a) For India, the object will be to work up a revolution.
- (b) For other oriental countries, the object will be to inspire revolts against Britain in Egypt, Palestine, other Arab countries etc.
- (c) For America, the object will be to attack the argument that Britain and America are really fighting for democracy.
- (d) For other countries the object will be to explain what a curse British Imperialism has been to other countries.

(3) *Finance*

The question of how to send financial help to different countries and in which form will have to be carefully considered and arranged for. In the case of India, the question of printing rupeenotes should be considered in this connection.

(4) *Afghanistan*

The German Government will have to carefully consider their attitude towards the present Afghan Government. The present Afghan Government can give much secret and indirect help to us in our work. But if they refuse to help and try to obstruct, then what should be done ?

(5) *Russia*

The attitude of Soviet Russia is very important for the above work for India's independence. A German-Soviet agreement on the question of India would be exceedingly desirable. If such an agreement take place, then we may be able to send men and materials through Russia to Afghanistan and India.

(6) *Iran*

If Russian help is not available, then we must think of proceeding to India via Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. In that event we must think of Iran and how we can secure indirect help from her.

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Chapter VI

THE LOCUS STANDI AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND

The I.N.A. Government established by Netaji was a separate independent Government of a separate and independent state – the Provisional Government of Free India.

According to A.C.Chatterjee¹ there were some positive considerations for which Netaji formed the Provisional Government of Free India. They are as follows :

- (a) Attainment of Statehood and waging of the I.N.A. war as the war of a state against a State and not of an individual or a group against a state, or of a colonial dependency against an empire.
- (b) Provisional Government of Azad Hind would be a member of the international community of Nations and would thus acquire an international status.
- (c) As a true national war it would evoke greater public spirit and confidence, support and enthusiasm which was not expected in the case of an insurgency.
- (d) Territorial expansion in course of military operations and opening of new fronts accordingly. Expansion here did not mean annexation of territories of other countries. It meant to bring the emancipated Indian territories under the I.N.A. Government.
- (e) A Provisional Government was an absolute necessity as an organ through which the revolutionary organisation could secure manpower, money and material and also create a feeling of solidarity among the revolutionary forces.

- (f) It also provided one central authority for coordinating the forces of the revolutionaries. This was one thing which was lacking in India's First War of Independence in 1857.
- (g) Besides, through alliance with other Governments it could secure special assistance from friendly countries.
- (h) Again, it was only a Provisional Government which could help its armed forces and their leaders to withdraw into friendly countries in case of reverses on the battlefield. Hence for all these considerations Netaji formed the Provisional Government. ~~But~~

~~But~~, for the attainment of statehood under international law, there are three basic pre-requisites – recognition of this Provisional Government by other states or Governments, habitual obedience of the people to the state and possession of territories. All these conditions were fulfilled by the Azad Hind Government. It was recognised by Japan, Germany, Croatia, China (Nanking), Manchukuo, Phillipines, Burma, Italy and Siam. This factor of recognition became an important point for the Defence Counsel in the I.N.A. trial who argued that the I.N.A. was the military force of a properly constituted and widely recognised Government."²

Regarding the second test, the entire resident Indian community in East Asia of about three millions, hailed the Azad Hind Government and spontaneously rendered their obedience to it. The stand of the British Government that the Azad Hind Government was not a legitimate Government because it did not constitute a large portion of the people, can not, therefore, be accepted. Netaji was specific in his claims in this regard, "The Provisional Government is entitled to and hereby claims the allegiance of every Indian."³ He also claimed to have "full jurisdiction over you." It was confirmed by an Oath of Allegiance by the Indian community (of Malaya) to the Provisional Government and Netaji. "I, a member of the Azad Hind Sangh do hereby solemnly promise in the name of God and take this holy oath that I will be absolutely loyal and faithful to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind."

Regarding the third test Andaman and Nicobar Islands which were captured by Japan from the British were handed over by Japan to the Azad Hind Government and were renamed by Netaji as Sahid and Swaraj. Besides, Ziwadia Sugar Estate was handed over to Netaji's I.N.A. Government by its owner. This vast estate of 50 lakh square miles was included within the I.N.A. state. The economic profits of this estate were also fixed as the source of revenue of the I.N.A. Government. Again, during the battle of Kohima, Manipur and Bishnupur were placed under the authority of the I.N.A. Government for six months. All these territories now constituted the territorial possessions of the new I.N.A. state and Government and A.D. Loganadhan was appointed the Chief Commissioner to assume administrative charge of the islands.

Besides these three essential conditions to form an independent state and Government – which were fulfilled by the I.N.A. – three other indispensable prerequisites for this purpose should also be considered.

Thus the fourth condition for formation of a new state or Government is that there should be enough resources under this state or Government without which they can not function. This condition was also fulfilled by the Azad Hind State or Government. Bhulabhai Desai, during the Red Fort trial conclusively proved with the help of documents that the Azad Hind Government had enough resources and revenues of its own. There was a huge amount of twenty crores of rupees in the Government treasury contributed by the resident Indians in East Asia at that time. Besides there was the vast revenue of the Ziawadia, mentioned above. The Azad Hind Government as a Free Government concluded a financial agreement with the Japanese Government by which the I.N.A. State obtained a substantial financial loan. Even after the necessary military and civil expenditures a large amount of money was left as balance in the treasury. Thus about 90% of the Japanese loan of 1 crore yen was left unspent and deposited to the Azad Hind Bank. The manager of the Bank, Dina Nath, submitted this deposition during the Red Fort trial. However, according to Tatsuo Hayashida, a Japanese military officer who escorted the treasure box mentioned

below it was the intention of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to depend as little as possible on his Japanese allies, and to finance the Indian National Army from resources collected from Indian residents in South-east Asia.⁴ For this purpose, regular collection drives were made by Netaji and his lieutenants, and large funds were collected. A special committee called "Netaji Fund Committee" was established under the Minister of Revenue. Gold and other valuables were generously donated by the Indians in Southeast Asia. On the occasion of his birthday in January 1945, Netaji was weighed against gold. Not only cash and valuables but immovable properties also used to be donated. Habib Sahib of Rangoon gave away, at a time, all his estate in landed property and cash jewellery valued at rupees one crore and three lakhs. The funds of the Azad Hind Government were handled by the Azad Hind Bank. How much of the liquid assets were carried by Netaji at the time of his retreat from Rangoon onwards, is not precisely known.

This solvent condition of the Azad Hind Government was further proved by the fact that two leather suitcases fully packed and containing large amount of gold and other valuables – a part of the Azad Hind Government's property – were being carried by Netaji in the plane which is supposed to have crashed at Taipeh on 18 August 1945. They were meant to be the reserve fund for the next phase of India's liberation movement under Netaji's leadership somewhere abroad – the 'unknown destination-most probably Russia.

After the plane crash an amount of gold jewelleryes and precious stones were salvaged from the debris weighing about eleven kilograms. They were collected under the supervision of Japanese officers and handed over by the Japanese Government in a sealed box to Col. Habibur Rahaman who is said to have accompanied Netaji in the same plane. Rahaman left the box in charge of Mr. Murti, the President of the Indian Independence League. It was taken over by the Indian Mission in Japan in September 1951. In addition to this treasure box Mr. S.A.Ayer, Finance Minister of the Azad Hind Government left 300 grains of gold and 20,000 Yens as the property of the Azad Hind Government in charge of Mr. Murti who handed it over to the Indian Mission. All these valuables amounting to about

one lakh of rupees was brought to India and is now kept in the National Museum at Rastrapati Bhavan, New Delhi.

This surplus position of the Azad Hind Government funds clearly proves its financial potentiality to form an organised, valid and legal Government, and a sovereign national independent state.

In this context we refer to a report published in the Statesman. It is as follows :

The Statesman 5.9.93.

NO AZAD HIND ASSETS DUE FROM ABROAD

“The Government said today that there was no evidence to show that assets and cash amounting to Rs.114 crores belonging to the Azad Hind Government set up by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, were due from the Government of Japan and other foreign countries, reports PTI.

In a written reply to Mr. Chitta Basu, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, said that after World War II some assets consisting of various types of currencies, some gold bullion and miscellaneous valuables, including ornaments belonging to Indian National Army and the India Independence League were confiscated by the custodian of property in Singapore.

It was agreed by the Government that these assets would be divided between India and Pakistan in the ratio of 2:1 with the Indian share working out to roughly Rs.1,52,681. With the consent of the then Prime Minister, India's share of money, derived from the I.N.A. and I.I.L., assets, was deposited in the Indian Scholarship Fund credited in Malaya and was meant for students of Indian origin there.

According to Mr. Faleiro, a box said to contain articles that were retrieved from the aircraft in which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was reported to have met his death, was

brought to Delhi from Tokyo by an official of the Government of India under instructions from the then Prime Minister in November 1952. He said the box was entrusted to the National Museum, New Delhi for safe custody on September 30, 1953 and has since remained with the museum.

The box contained medals, rings, chains, wrist watches, earrings, pendants, ear studs, brooches, bangles, fragments of stones, shirt buttons, signet rings, nose-ring stones, iron nails and other miscellaneous trinkets, almost all of which were in damaged and charred condition. The net weight of the box, without wrappers, was found to be 1,3491.25 gm, he said.”

There is another – the fifth – essential condition that the new Government should be an organised Government so that it can properly function, Bhulabhai Desai again proved with the help of documents during the Red Fort trial that the Azad Hind Government was absolutely organised. At the end of the war, when the British occupied Burma and Malaya, it was found that every State paper was intact and secure. This clearly proves the organised nature of the I.N.A. Government. The foundation of this organised Government was also strong and fullproof. It fulfilled all the administrative formalities and responsibilities. There was a Cabinet form of Government which was organised and integrated, divided into different departments with their respective functions and jurisdictions. Netaji as the Head of the Provisional Government was the Head of the State. He was the Prime Minister with the Cabinet as the Centre of power of this Government. He had thus a title and an office. The state had an army and a police force both well organised and governed by well defined laws. There were civil and military gazettes. There were schools, banks and post office. The administrative procedure was absolutely secular, democratic and nationalistic. Side by side this domestic policy there was also a well defined and well organised foreign policy. It was the policy of the I.N.A. Government to maintain friendly relations with the other countries – except the enemy countries. It was also a motto of the I.N.A. foreign policy that enemy’s enemies were friends, in accordance with which Netaji’s Government formed an alliance

with Japan, Britain's enemy. There was full diplomatic relationship between the I.N.A. Government and Japan who accredited an ambassador to the Azad Hind Government. It is on the basis of a national, sovereign and independent state that the I.N.A. Government declared war against the Allied Powers, concluded the Indo-Japanese loan agreement, and even itself gave a huge donation to the Thai Government in repayment for the accommodation of the I.N.A. troops which passed through Thailand during the military operations. It is as the head of an independent sovereign Government that, as Joyce Lebra points out, Netaji was successful in persuading Japan to accept most of his proposals.⁵ Netaji, in fact, perfectly observed the diplomatic niceties of a sovereign state or Government, and in all these matters he discharged the responsibilities of the Head of an independent Government, and looked well after all its citizens.

Finally, the last essential condition for formation of an independent sovereign state and Government is that the Government must have a code of laws or a set of rules and regulations for the proper functioning of the State machinery. This condition was also fulfilled by the I.N.A. Government as it has formulated a code of laws, rules and regulations to run the Government and maintain law and order. This I.N.A. Act has been discussed in the context of the powers, functions and duties of the military officers and commanders of the I.N.A. in Chapter III Section III.

As a mark of a sovereign national state, the I.N.A. had also a political party – the Azad Hind Dal, which played, according to Captain Dusan, an I.N.A. associate of Netaji, a very important role in the I.N.A. affairs.⁶ The existence of the Dal refutes the British stand that the I.N.A. had no political party.⁷

Thus we find that Netaji's I.N.A. absolutely fulfilled all the essential conditions and criterions of an Independent, sovereign national state and Government, and it is as the citizens and soldiers of an Independent State that the I.N.A. waged a war against the Allied Powers – war of a state against a state for its own independence. According to Oppenheim we find that in the case of independent nationhood or in the case of anticipation of independent nationhood, any legally constituted and organised State has the right to declare

and prosecute war against the alien enemies.⁸ Hence the war of the I.N.A. against Britain can not be, in this light called a war of aggression, it was a war of national independence. It did not want to annex any territory of British India, it only wanted to bring the territories freed from British rule under the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Hence the question of aggression does not arise.

Moreover, in this light the British allegation of waging war against the King-Emperor does not also hold water. The I.N.A. soldiers were not citizens of British India. They were citizens of the I.N.A. state which was, as we have seen, an Independent, National Sovereign State. Therefore, their allegiance was towards the I.N.A. Government and not to the British Government. If they were ordered by this legally constituted, organised and valid Government, even if provisional, to fight against a foreign country, they were bound to obey it, and in that case no question of revolt or war against their former state or against the King-Emperor of Great Britain arises at all. Under International Law it is clearly stipulated that the fact that a soldier had acted pursuant to the orders of his Government or of a superior can be considered in mitigation of his punishment. Particularly there could not be any doubt as to the legality or validity of this order in the case of the I.N.A. war, because (1)The Government was legally constituted and organised (2) The I.N.A. soldiers were regulated and governed by a code of laws – the Indian National Army Act. Hence as a legal army of a legal Government, it was bound to obey the order, and act as it did. (3) Moreover, the I.N.A. was guided by patriotic motivations to free their country from foreign rule, which as in the case of the Azad Hind State or Azad Hind Government, justified the war launched by the Azad Hind Army, and as a liberating army it was entitled to immunity. (4) Again, the I.N.A. war was conducted in accordance with the international laws of warfare. It was a regular, properly declared and properly prosecuted war.

In this light Bhulabhai Desai by quoting from Blackstone's commentaries, Oppenheim, Wheaton, Hyde, Hershey and British Year Book of International Law, proved in the I.N.A. trial that there was no compulsion of obedience to the British Raj on the part of

the I.N.A. He also cited case after case from the British Privy Council and the U.S. Federal Court of U.S.A. Supreme Court to support his plea. The Defence Counsel aptly observed that “the acts with which the accused were charged before the court were justified by law i.e. International law. Hence there could be no question of a personal or individual liability.”⁹

Thus by no means can the I.N.A. war be called just an insurgency or a war of aggression of the ruled against the ruler – it was a national war for national independence. Hence for Netaji and the I.N.A. soldiers the allegation of war crime is absolutely untenable. They cannot be called war criminals and therefore, question of any punishment does not also arise. The precedents of the Nuremberg Trial and the Mac Arther Tribunal Trial and the followup punishments on the ground of war crime, do not also apply in the case of the I.N.A., because while the latter was motivated not by aggression but by self-defence and independence. in the case of Germany and Japan, the motivation was territorial aggression on other countries. In fact, by using the term ‘War Crime’ or ‘War Criminals’ in the case of such dedicated patriots like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his I.N.A. men, a great dishonour has been done to them by the British. As Bhulabhai Desai puts it nicely and aptly, “The case before the court is not a personal case of any kind or sort. The honour and the law of the Indian National Army are on trial. What is now on trial before the court is the right to wage war with impunity on the part of a subject race for their liberation.”¹⁰

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- 6 Captain Dasan, *Viswabhrarti Quarterly*, Netaji No. 1997.
- 7 Statement of S.A. Lal (Legislative Deptt.) 1.9.45. On the policy as to the publicity about the I.N.A. (Confidential Government papers, NAI, New Delhi).
- 8 Oppenheim, *op.cit*.
- 9 Bhulabhai Desai, *op.cit*.
- 10 *Item*.

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CONCLUSION/RESUME

The formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind constitutes an important chapter in the history of freedom struggle of India. As has been projected in this dissertation, this government was basically and obviously a wartime military government but at the same time it also functioned as a civilian government to look after the civil population and co-ordinate the civil administration with the military administration within the single network of the I.N.A. movement under Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Hence at the very outset it is necessary to critically examine the fundamental ideas of Subhas Chandra Bose, and it has been done in Chapter I on the ideological background with reference to Bose's concept of nationalism, democracy, secularism and socialism. The main purpose here is to link up the basic ideas of Bose as the main guideline in the formulation and functioning of the Azad Hind Government and moulding and shaping its character and objectives. Thus, for example, his faith in nationalism, secularism and democracy influenced the character of this government as an intensely nationalistic and truly secular and democratic one. The Azad Hind movement under him was an embodiment of his uncompromising anti-imperialistic militant ideology, while simultaneously it served to protect human values, national cultural values through his administration. It was indeed a unique experiment in the history of Modern India and Modern Indian political thought. It is followed by a brief discussion of the political and military background highlighting the different aspects and phases in Bose's political and military career culminating in the I.N.A. movement under his leadership and formation of the Provisional government of Azad Hind by him in 1943.

The following chapter (Chapter II) is devoted to a critical estimate and lucid exposition of the character and objectives of the Provisional government of Azad Hind which has vividly portrayed the national, secular and democratic character of the Azad Hind government. Netaji's ideal of functional realism led him to join hands with the Axis Powers for his country's freedom, but he was ever vigilant to safeguard the national independence of

India and never sacrificed his independent stand to realise it without any tendency of compromise, in these respects. His end was Indian freedom, and the Axis help was merely the means to this end, there being never any ideological proximity or affinity with the Fascism or Nazism.

This patriotic ideal has been all along preserved by the Azad Hind Government reflected in its different administrative programmes and activities sought to be realised by Netaji's abiding faith in and commitment to honesty, sincerity, integrity, discipline and efficiency. On the basis of these virtues and qualities he built up the military and civil administration of his I.N.A. Government as a strong, organised and efficient administrative and military machinery.

As a confirmed democrat, he believed in gender equality and justice and so he sought to protect and promote the rights of women and break through the conventional model of Indian women's life confined to the domestic chores. Hence the formation of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment – the first ever Indian women's army. All these aspects of the I.N.A. movement under Netaji's Azad Hind Government have been discussed in Chapters III and IV. In Chapter V an elaborate comparative estimate has been made between the two military experiments of Netaji – one in Europe and the other in East Asia – the European front of national liberal movement raised by him with the establishment of a Free India Centre and creation of the Indian Legion – and the I.N.A. movement : the Indian Independence League, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army.

On the one hand, the difference and on the other the similarities between these two movements in their different dimensions, has been clearly depicted. At the outset it should be pointed out that while in Europe, particularly in Germany Netaji could not work with full freedom because of the inhibitions and indifference of Hitler, in the case of the I.N.A. movement in East Asia, the Centre of which was Japan, Netaji could work independently and to his satisfaction because of the co-operation of Prime Minister Tojo. The picture of a

limited movement in Germany was attested by the very titles of the administrative and military wings – the Free India Centre and the Indian Legion, while in the case of the I.N.A., movement suggestive titles of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind internationally recognised by ~~nine~~^{nine} states, and the Indian National Army pointed to the fullfledged character of the movement. Again, in the case of the Indian Legion in Germany, Netaji had no absolute control over it as it was the Fuehrer and not Netaji, who was the head of this army, while in the case of the I.N.A., it was Netaji, as the Supreme Commander, had absolute control over it. Furthermore, while in the case of Germany, Netaji failed to achieve a satisfactory extension of the movement in different parts of Europe, with regard to the I.N.A. liberation movement, it was extended by Netaji to different parts of East Asia. This explains the failure of the German experiment of Netaji; and the success of the I.N.A. independence movement ultimately leading to India's freedom.

The basic common features of these two phases of national liberation movement under Netaji have also been pointed out – (i) the fundamental patriotic or nationalistic character and objectives of these two movements for expulsion of the British from India and attain India's freedom with the help of national revolutionary armies formed out of the Indian POWS. (ii) The two-fold aims of ensuring the independence of the movement and independence of India were all along preserved in both of these movements – no compromise was ever permitted by him. (iii) Both these movements were an extension or the second front of the national movement going on in India : a complement or a supplement to it : no alternative movements or no rival challenge dictated by any personal hankering for power or leadership on his part. They were part and parcel of the Indian national movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. (iv) Administrative and military measures adopted and enforced in both these cases were alike inspired and influenced by the lofty ideals of patriotism or nationalism, secularism, religious toleration or national integration, democracy or humanism for which both these movements were national, liberal, secular and democratic

in character – This is because the fountain of the ideas and ideals of these two movements was the same and one individual – Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Finally, in the last Chapter we have raised the question of the locus standi of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. It has been proved with logical and factual evidence and justified on the basis of international law that it constituted a legitimate government accredited with national sovereignty and recognised by other countries. All the essential conditions or pre-requisites for the formation of a government were fulfilled by this government – territory, international recognition, habitual obedience of the people, financial resources, organised government, existence of a state machinery and a code of law etc. This is why the I.N.A. movement, as Bhulabhai Desai, the Defence Counsel in the I.N.A. trial, pointed out, with reference to facts and figures, was not an insurgency, and constituted no war crime against the British Government. It was a national war of independence for India under a national Sovereign State or Government, against the British Raj. This was the true significance of the I.N.A. movement and the exact relevance and importance of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

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