

19.32 hrs.

MOTION RE: REPORT OF COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE:

श्री बरबारा सिंह (होशियारपुर) :
चेयरमैन सहाय मेरा कहना है कि इन को
अन्ना प्रस्ताव मूव करने के बाद अगरे मूना-
सिब हो तो, ऐडजुन कर दें ताकि दूसरे सेशन
में इन प्रस्ताव को ले जायें । जो रह गए हैं
उन को रह जाने दें । क्यों आप ने हम
को इतनी देर तक बैठाया हुआ है ।

सभापति महोदय : अभी बोलने तो
दोजिए ।

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी (कानपुर) :
चेयरमैन साहब, एक मिनट में मूव कर के
स्प्यिन कर दिया जाय । नहीं तो गारे देश
में अम होगा कि माननीय ममर गुह जानते
हैं कि नेता जी कहाँ हैं । या तो इस पर डिस्क-
शन न हो, और अगरे डिस्कशन हो तो
सरकार की तरफ से जवाब भी आये और
बताया जाय कि नेता जी कहाँ हैं । मैं खुद
बिश्वास करता हूँ कि नेता जी जिन्दा हैं ।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Mr.
Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House do consider the
Report (1974) of the Commission of
Inquiry into the disappearance of
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, laid on
the Table of the House on the 3rd
September, 1974."

Sir, a few days before, the Prime
Minister asked me to give her neces-
sary information about the where-
abouts of Netaji. Sir, it is needless
for me to oblige the Prime Minister
because as I said on an earlier occasion
the Prime Minister knows much more
than I do, in this regard. Also, it is
known to her and to many others that
whenever there is any information
anywhere about Netaji the Intelligence

men wise no time to rush there, I
would also draw the attention of this
House that till 1950, it is on record in
the bulk of the evidence of the Netaji
Inquiry Commission that the British
Government and other Governments
have had sent men to different places
to find out information about Netaji
and it is also on record in the evidence
of the Netaji Inquiry Commission that
till 1962, Government of India had
made many inquiries in different
places of our country about where-
abouts of Netaji. Sir, I do not want to
say much about it. But, I am glad
that at least the inquiries about the
whereabouts of Netaji by the Prime
Minister have done a good service.
Just a few days before, Mr. Borooah,
the Congress President of the ruling
faction....

AN HON. MEMBER: Ruling party.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA: Yes, ruling
party. He told me that they have
decided... (Interruptions). I will take
another 15—20 minutes. I have my
anxiety that I may not get a chance
again in this Lok Sabha. For that
reason, I want to say a few things.

I was saying that Shri D. K. Borooah
told me that this year Congress has
issued a circular to observe Netaji's
birthday all over the country. Before
independence, the Congress used to
observe Netaji's birthday but since
then officially—although individually
many of them observe it—at no time
has the AICC ever observed Netaji's
birthday. I repeat that at least my
query and the Prime Minister's query
had done a service in the sense that
they are going to observe Netaji's
birthday this year

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI:
And instal a statue also.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: I want to
correct my hon friend. The AICC has
been observing Netaji's birthday. It has
issued a circular to all Congress Com-
mittees and it has been observed. It

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

is a regular feature of our programme. So what he has said is absolutely wrong.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVAT: Because it was a confidential circular, Congressmen did not know.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: It is a regular feature of our programme. (Interruptions).

सभापति महोदय आप नहीं समझने किसी मेम्बर के सेंटिमेंटस किस के लिए क्या हैं। शायद आप को मालूम नहीं कि प्रो० समर गृह और डेर श्री सेंटिमेंटस नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के लिए दया है। इसलिए मैं नहीं चाहता ऐम जोके पर कोई इस तरह की बात कही जाये।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I do not know whether Mr. Khosla had the sense of responsibility of the task he had undertaken by becoming the Chairman of this Commission. Otherwise, he could not have produced this report which is nothing but a frivolous piece of document. It has been recorded in the evidence that in December 1945, Mahatma Gandhi publicly stated: "If somebody shows me the ashes, even then I will not believe that Subash is not alive". After that, on several occasions, he made public statements that he believed that Netaji was alive. Not only that, he went to the extent of instructing the Bose family not to perform the Sradh ceremony. Again the AICC meeting in Bombay when Maulana Azad was the Congress President, he refused to pass an obituary resolution on the reported death of Netaji.

Further more on 13 December 1945, Pandit Nehru made a public statement which appeared in the *Hindustan Standard* after Alfred Wag— a Canadian reporter, showed a photo

of Netaji to Baldev Singh, the then Defence Minister, and to Panditji and also to Sarat Chandra Bose. That was a picture of Netaji after the reported plane crash. That was taken somewhere in Saigon. After that, even Pandit Nehru made a statement that he had doubt about the reported death of Netaji. Even in 1962, in a written letter to the elder brother of Netaji, late Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, he said: "There is no precise and direct proof of Netaji's death". Only passing of so many years, he added, contributes to circumstantial evidence of his death.

Then I want to draw your attention to the fact that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose not once but several times had said "I have positive information that Netaji is alive. Netaji's death story is a myth".

This gentleman, Mr. Khosla, did not even have an iota of the sense of responsibility of what he was carrying on his shoulders. Otherwise, he would not have produced this document. There is 8,000 pages of evidence of 224 persons, some documents and arguments. It took four years to complete the work of the Commission. I do not know whether the Law Minister and the Cabinet before accepting the findings of the Commission had gone through those reports and documents. There was no necessity of going through the whole bulk of the documents. If they had gone through only the evidence of the Japanese witnesses, which was only 500 pages that was enough to show that there was no justification to believe in the death report of Netaji. In that case there would have been no necessity for me to comment on the report. If what has been produced before the Commission is placed before a bench of either ex-Supreme Court judges or present Supreme Court judges I have no doubt about what this remark will be. They will say that this document of 125 pages of Khosla Commission is nothing but an outrageous example of a judicial chimera.

Why is it so? I have no time to explain today. I have brought many things today but I shall just make my introductory speech today. I will show from the beginning to end how irrefragable, unfactual, and unrelated to the terms of reference is this report on Netaji's death and the other related facts there about. In the findings Mr. Khosla brought most extraneous subjects which were not at all related to terms of reference of the Commission. Out of 80 pages dealing with the evidence of witnesses 45 pages are devoted to evidence of Satyanarayan Sinha, Malhotra, Dixit and another S. M. Goswami. Our brilliant young bar at law, Shri Gobind Mukhoty who is practising in the Supreme Court, argued the case of 24 days. He did not even once mention these four witnesses. But about 65 pages of this document have been devoted to rubbish statements where there was nothing. My friend Shri Gobind Mukhoty took 24 days to argue. I beg of you on behalf of the National Committee to remind that it is no political issue Netaji is the greatest national hero of our national struggle. We must know what happened to him? It was our first national duty, the duty of the national Government, after 15 August, 1947 to enquire into it. The Government did not. I will only beg of you, to bear with me that if I get a chance, if I get two hours I will convince the world that Khosla Commission's report was nothing but just a judicial chimera, atrocious example of a judicial chimera;—from the beginning to end it is full of contradictions. He did not go deep into any document or evidence; he did not do anything of the kind.

What is the story about the report of the plane crash involving Netaji? The story is that at about 2 or 2.30 on 18 August, 1947 Netaji's plane crashed at Taihoko. In that plane there were 8 or 9 persons, alongwith Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and General Shedei who was the principal escort of Netaji. According to the plan of the Japanese Government Netaji was

to be carried to Manchuria by General-Shedei, as he was a Manchurian export of the Japanese army. He knew German and Russian also. Then there were the pilot, co-pilot and the navigator and about 8 or 9 persons more in the plane. Altogether there were 13 or 14 persons in it. It was a bomber and there was no seating arrangement in it. There was no seat belt also. What happened when the plane reported to have crashed? I will show you how contradictory the report is. There was sound of some explosion in the plane and the propeller fell. The plane nose-dived. I just ask you to imagine: in a bomber plane where there is no seating arrangement and no seat belt if that plane nose-dived what will happen?—All the persons will be jumbled together before the cockpit. That will be the natural conclusion. Now, look who died in such a circumstances? Pilot, co-pilot and navigator. These three persons were to carry Netaji's plane to Dairen. Gen. Shedei was to escort Netaji to Dairen in Manchuria. He also died. And who else died? Died the principal hero of the drama, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. The others on board were all safe but with minor injuries, like nail burns, or ear burns. Such accidental coincidence of selective choice for death,—persons who were required to be killed, they were killed. Others miraculously escaped with just minor injuries. Such providential miracle even perhaps God cannot perform. These strange things did not strike Khosla.

Then what about the announcement of the report of the plane crash? Plane crash took place on 18th August, 1945. On 23rd an announcement was made by Demei agency in Tokyo that at 8 p.m. a plane crash took place at Taihoko and Netaji was flown to Tokyo, where he was given medical treatment in the hospital, but there he died at midnight. The imperial Headquarters at Tokyo had sent a signal to Saigon headquarters. In it they reported that his body was

[Shri Samar Guha]

seriously injured and his body had been flown to Tokyo by the Formosan Army and the Formosan Army had been asked to collect proof of his death in the plane accident, alongwith his remains, photographs, etc. Then it was found that they had done a great mistake because Netaji's body was not flown to Tokyo. The signals were sent by the Imperial Headquarters of Japan. After five days of the reported plane crash, the news was broadcast on 23rd August, not by Japan but Aiyer was asked to make the broadcast from Tokyo. There was a mistake in the broadcast, because Netaji's reported body was flown to Tokyo, but actually nothing was flown to Tokyo. On 25th August Taiwan Shimbhum reported something at Taihoko. I have produced all these documents before the Commission. Formosa Military headquarters quickly corrected the mistake. A news was published in Taiwan Shimbhum that Netaji died at Zero hour on 19th August at Taihoko.

I will not go into details today. When I will give you details, all of you will be simply startled to know how this man Mr. Khosla arrived at the conclusion unless he has something else in his mind.

The Government of Japan only got four documents to produce before the Netaji Enquiry Commission. They said that all other documents related to report of plane crash were destroyed. Now, about these four documents: four signals they left at Saigon HQ, where all the other papers, in Saigon and Bangkok were burnt. Four signals. Death certificate of General Shedei; death certificate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose; another document they produced is the crematorium certificate of Netaji. This is the report of the signal. I will quote what Mountbatten in his diary and the British intelligence in their investigation said about the signals what was the reason.—they argued,—for leaving these documents undestroyed, when

they destroyed all other documents? Why nothing else was left? Why they left only four signals about Subhash Bose? Their conclusion was that it was nothing but an attempt to misleading the investigation and enquiry work about the report of plane crash. Mountbatten headquarters also intercepted a message from Shanghai sent by a British military intelligence man. He said in that message that Netaji Bose—according to Mountbatten diary was not in the plane. Another plane was sighted; it had gone back towards Bangkok.

I will read all the documents mentioned in Mountbatten's diary. These four signals were sent only to mislead the British Intelligence men pursuing Netaji. In that signal there was an instruction: "keep photographs of Netaji". Shahnawaz Committee and Khosla committee produced many photographs, these photographs of the crashed plane, photograph of Habibhur Rahman sitting with bandages at the side of a casket reported as containing Netaji's ashes. The Japanese could take photograph of Habibhur Rahman; they could take all the other photographs. Do you recognise this? Do they not know how to take photographs?

9.50 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

The unusually photo-minded Japanese could take photographs of other things, but why not of the reported dead body of Netaji? Why have they not taken that particular photograph? The Government of Japan were so anxious, so eager to prove to the world that Netaji really died, it was necessary for them to take a photograph of the body of Netaji; they could have produced that photograph to convince Anglo-Americans about the viracity of the report of Netaji's death.

I will mention about another significant thing. Col. Habibhur Rahman

was the only Indian who was said to have accompanied Netaji. Whether he really accompanies Netaji from Touraine is also a matter of doubt. In his statement Col. Habibur Rahman stated that Netaji's body was cremated on 20th August 1945. This statement he wrote on 24th August 1945 and said that "this statement of mine should be kept along with the casket carrying the ashes". When the Japanese made the broadcast, it was said that the body was cremated on 22nd August. Look at the person! The man who was in Taiwan and who claimed to have accompanied Netaji, the man who claimed that he was present at the time of Netaji's death and cremation, he changed the date within three or four days.

These are the photographs of the crematorium certificate and the death certificate of Netaji. In 1956, the Government of Japan with a forwarding note submitted these two photostet copies of the certificates to the Shahnawaz Enquiry Committee. Thereafter, they have submitted them to the Netaji Enquiry Commission. Harinshah collected copies of these certificates in 1946 from Taihoko and submitted them to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This time we collected them from the Health Board of Taipei and produced before the Commission. The miracle of miracles, the surprise of surprises is that when these death certificate and crematorium certificate which were submitted by the Government of Japan as the official document of Netaji's death certificate and crematorium certificate and when they were translated, it was found that these were not the death certificate and crematorium certificate of Netaji but the death certificate of a 44 year old Japanese soldier. Japan was so eager and so anxious to prove to the world that Netaji really died. But why did it not produce the real death certificate of Netaji if there was any real death certificate at all? What stood in the way of their having a photograph of Netaji if there was any dead body at

all?

Sir, if you give me two hours time, I will analyse document after document—not today, but next time to show how Netaji's death story is a myth.

Gen. Fuzyara was in charge of one of the sectors of the Imphal campaign and he was one of the important persons in Japan's military hierarchy during war time. When he came to present Netaji's sword—Members of Parliament received it in Delhi also—he was asked in the Netaji Bhavan, "What do you think about Netaji? Do you believe Netaji is alive?" The English translator was sitting by his side and I quote what General Fuzyara said: "Yes, yes, yes. We had given enough hints to the people of India. The military headquarters in Tokyo declared him dead and you accepted it through your Parliament. So you and your Government have something to do about it."

I do not want to argue and justify whether Netaji is alive. When the sun rises, everybody sees the sun. If the sun rises again, they will see the burning son of India's destiny.

Our whole purpose in the Netaji Inquiry Commission was to disprove with facts, documents and arguments that Netaji did not die in any plane crash. But I repeat that a man like Mr. Khosla who sat over thirteenth the Commission of the Government, having a permanent bungalow, having a permanent staff, perhaps, aspiring to be the Chairman of Commission after Commission till he is alive, has produced such a frivolous document and, I repeat further,—if the Government produce this report, its documents, arguments and evidence to any Bench of the Judges of the Supreme Court, they will say, this report is a classical,—an atrociously classical,—example of a judicial chimera.

Sir, I would like to continue the next time provided the House continues.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes; he may continue next time.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, there is the Resolution of Shri Shyamnandan Mishra.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): We may take it up during the next session if it is the pleasure of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House?

HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. SPEAKER: So, it will be taken up in the next session.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Sir, before you adjourn the House *sine die*, I have a request to make

कही आप को श्री तुलमोहनराम मिल जाये, तो उन को मेरा नमस्कार कहना ।

शब्दक महीबब : अगर किसी मेम्बर को श्री तुलमोहन राम मिल जाये, तो वह उन को कह दें कि मैं श्री बनर्जी का नमस्कार लिये बैठा हूँ ।

Now, there is no other business left. The session has now concluded. This has been a very strenuous and eventful session.

I must say that the problems in the country are the problems of the people and the problems of the people would become the problems of the Members. Naturally, when the Members see the people outside, the people approaching them, and the electorate is not so small as in any other country—a Member of Parliament represents a little more than

one million people and a big area—you can imagine when such a mass of people face him, he feels very strongly about the problems of the people and his feeling tries to find expression in this House sometimes in a cool manner, in a moderate manner and, sometimes, the tempers run high. But there is nothing wrong in that so long as we survive. And we must survive.

The democracy which runs through many strains and stresses and where the people are so vigilant and where Members are so careful in bringing the grievances and the problems of the people before this House and the opportunities are given to them that democracy is bound to survive. There is no other system in the world better than the system of parliamentary democracy.

I thought I must appreciate it and convey my gratitude and good wishes to you. All the best of luck to you. Recoup yourselves; spend some time with your families.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Is it the Swan-song of this Lok Sabha?

MR. SPEAKER: You forget about all the problems for some time, you refresh yourselves and come more stronger for the next session.

All my best wishes and greetings to you for the New Year. May God bless you. May you all flourish. May your families find you in a very happy mood when you go back. All my best wishes for them. Thank you very much.

The House stands adjourned *sine die*.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned *sine die*.